

*The Way to Swaraj*

# FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

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ONE ANNA

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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.

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*Subhas Chandra Bose*



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SATURDAY, MARCH 2

## The Way To Swaraj

The Congress Working Committee with Ramgarh in view have made once again a confession of their political faith. In the course of a lengthy resolution calculated to capture the mind and imagination of the rank and file of Congressmen, they state as follows :

"Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of the British Imperialism and Dominion Status or any other status within the Imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India and is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation and would bind India in many ways to British politics and economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage."

In the course of the last six months after the declaration of War by Great Britain, the Congress Working Committee have changed their minds and moods as often as it has suited them, and there can be no knowing when, if at all, they will settle upon a final position. Their first political reaction was to go back upon the Haripura Resolution on War and to forget altogether the Tripuri Resolution on National Demand. Gandhiji as the

*de facto*, though unofficial, leader of the Congress, stated in unambiguous terms that he stood for unconditional co-operation with Great Britain. The Congress Working Committee did not dare to be as unvarnished in their confession of faith as that, and therefore they sought to hide their light under a bushel of words, which, they claimed, embodied the charter of liberties for All sub-merged peoples. They began to think of twenty-five countries ; they seemed to strut upon a *world* stage. So for as India was concerned, and her immediate issues, they could only temporise. Then began pilgrimages to Simla and Delhi and learned essays on war aims and the coming world order. India and the problem of Indian Independence were definitely relegated into the status and importance of minor issues. All of us, for a spell, came to be citizens of the world, and became tuned to the still, sad music of humanity. The practical Mr. Rajagopalachari however chimed in his theses about Dominion status, and preached to the Indian people that Dominion status, for certain unanswerable considerations, might be even better than complete Independence for, then, we would get a navy without cost.

The keynote of Congress policy during the last six months of the war has been its attitude of compromise with British Imperialism on the issue of independence. It has shunned the way of struggle and has depended on peaceful consultation and negotiation for a solution of the Indian problem. Its shilly-shallying—its weaknesses—the many detours it has made in statements of its policy and programme—its pro-British bias—and its general

anti-struggle attitude have been fully availed of by representatives of the British Government, and the latter have shown a progressive stiffening of attitude regarding the problem of Indian independence. Called upon to face some awful moment to which the Time-spirit and the complex of world events have joined great issues, so far as the Indian people are concerned, the present Congress leadership showed itself singularly wanting in faith and courage and the power of initiative, bereft of high purpose, and divided in its aims. When action was called for, it failed to act. It had shed the revolutionary content of its emphasis and its programme.

It is not enough now to pass another resolution on Purna Swaraj. What if the newest resolution, ever so high-sounding, goes the way of the Haripura and Tripuri resolutions into the limbo of old, forgotten things ? The rank and file of Congressmen—and the vast mass of the Indian people must remember that Purna Swaraj is our *inalienable* right and cannot be contracted away by any one however great, by any body of men however *patriotic* they be ; that Purna Swaraj cannot be won by pilgrimages to Simla and Delhi but must be won by the Indian people by sufferings undergone and sacrifices made in that behalf. We cannot sing our way to Swaraj, nor spin our way to Swaraj. We must fight our way to Swaraj. Purna Swaraj is our goal ; Satyagraha our method. And there must not be any more of temporising and prevarication about either the goal or the method.

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## BLUFF AND BLUSTER

The speeches that Herr Hitler and Mr. Chamberlain delivered on the same day (24th February) have no very striking novelty that can arrest our attention. Both of them indulged in a lot of boot-thudding and sabre-rattling. Both of them re-iterated once again their pompous "war-aims". The Fuehrer declared that "after the last Great War Germany was a victim of a gigantic world swindle" and proceeded to say :

It is true we were not alone because others were also taken in. Italy was deceived. India was deceived for the Indians had been promised independence in the event of a British victory. The Arabs were deceived, indeed the Jews were also deceived because the same territory which the Arabs were to receive according to British promises, was also promised to the Jews.

And he concluded this part of the speech with the last angry thrust at Britain :

It is not God's wish that three quarters of world should be ruled by one race. We, therefore, demand return of German property of which we were robbed.

Whatever be the Fuehrer's sentiments, there is no haze of ambiguity in them. Indeed, it is not his way to speak through equivocation. We need not take all that he has said on their face value. The man who is brimful of his Nordic pride, can not be moved with any genuine sympathy for the "inferior races". One whose whole life has been one long-drawn record of inhuman persecution of the "Jewish under-dogs," cannot be expected to develop suddenly any real solicitude for them. Evidently Herr Hitler used a convenient big stick wherewith to belabour his declared enemy. He is wincing under the grievous

wrong that Germany was dispossessed of her property in the last War. His grabbing propensity has found a blatant expression in his speech.

Now, let us look to the other side of the picture. We quote the relevant extract from Mr. Chamberlain's peroration :

You have the Nazi aims—destruction of this nation and domination of world. We, on the other hand, are fighting against German domination of the world but we do not desire destruction of any people. We are fighting to secure that the small nations of Europe shall henceforth live in security, free from the constant threat of aggression against their independence and extermination of their people but we do not want domination for ourselves nor do we covet any one else's territory. We are fighting to right the wrongs inflicted by Germany.....

This sounds verily like the bluster of one Philip Drunk against another. The imperialist *status quo* is to be maintained for good. Henceforth the nations of *Europe* shall live in security but those of *Asia* and *Africa* are to remain as comfortable foot-stool of their white imperial masters. There is the keen tie as to who will capture the spoils of the loot. Germany is whining because she is dispossessed, and Britain is swaggering with her sense of domination and unwilling to part with even a slice of the vast empire over which she holds sway at present. The bewildered spectator of this terrible drama asks, where is the meeting-ground between the two? How can peace be restored? Is not the mission of Sumner Welles only a will-o-the-wisp? Will it not fare the same fate with similar antecedent efforts? Look with what reckless bravado both the speeches ended. The Fuehrer said in conclusion :

Germany is bound in friendship to Italy by the knowledge that our two

countries will have to rely on each other in the future, but our relations with Russians are changed. Our two countries are too good to bleed one another...Japan too maintains friendly relations with us. This means a powerful bloc of mighty States...Germany can not be broken economically or militarily.

And then Chamberlain :

We have no reason to fear the result of this struggle, however long it may last. We do not stand alone.

However may the swelled tribunes of the rival imperialisms rant and rave, History knows its course and will inevitably work out its process in the end. Empires have risen and crumbled to the dust before. Whether the present conflict will change the old vicious order for ever, remains to be seen. At any rate, that is the hope that sustains human idealism to-day.

## VIVE LA BAGATELLE I

The *Statesman* whimpers again. It has been shell-shocked by the resolution of the Congress Working Committee and comes out with its sjambok to make the Congressmen realise their folly. It now leaps from the *Forward Bloc* upon the *Indian National Congress* and declares that the Congressmen are "on the side of Hitler and Stalin; of Hitler who regards all Indians as natural born slaves and Congressmen in particular as beneath his contempt; of Stalin, whose party at the Oriental Conference at Baku decided that all the Oriental nationalism is bogus and bunkum..." The Working Committee have decided that the "sovereignty in India must rest with the people" and the *Statesman*, the tout of the

imperialist Britain, says that it is "a challenge which will be taken up by the British, the Princes and the non-Congress world". The gory vision of civil war is being conjured up to gorge the devil of Indian nationalism and the poor Mahatma has been asked to deal with "the desperate follies of his followers" on pain of throwing India in the boiling cauldron of blood-shed and confusion.

The *Statesman* should realise that it is useless to float Stalin-Hitler-myths among the Indian people as they are sufficiently aware of the cause of this sprattling fire which is threatening to engulf the world today. To make a capital out of the camaraderie between Hitler and Stalin may be a sort of desperate self-abandonment but it is a brunt weapon to carry out one's own evil designs. What is going on in Baku, Berlin or Moscow is not the immediate concern of the Indian people. What Whitehall is conspiring and conniving at that is Indian's concern. It is really funny that when the murderers are abroad the chief of the gang should preach cheap and sickening gospels of love and freedom to the wretched victims.

We, the Congressmen and the people of India, re-iterate with utmost emphasis that nothing short of complete independence will satisfy us. If to demand this birth-right is to commit a wrong we are ready to multiply that wrong hundred times by acquiring it as we will. Lastly, if according to the *Statesman*, these are all "desperate follies," we shout today *Vive La Bagatelle*. Amen!

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### Addresses At Kisan Conferences

The two recent addresses in Kisan conferences at Motihari and Goalghat by Rev. Rahul Sankirtayana and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati respectively, should deserve more than a mere passing notice. Both these leaders are names to reckon with, and have won the undisputed leadership of the Kisans by virtue of the fearless advocacy of their cause. Both of them, again, have the right vision of the order of things that is to be ushered in on the attainment of Swaraj. It is for these reasons that they could not mince matters in regard to the open and underhand activities of the present Congress leadership to sabotage the true interests of the agricultural producers. Rev. Rahul Sankirtayana opined:

The assurances given to Kisans at the Faizpur Congress had not been carried out by the Congress ministries, who entered into a compromise with the Zamindars on their (latter's) own terms.

It is needless to point out once again the relation that the Congress ministries (now on leave) bore to the High Command. Swami Sahajanand, too, was equally unsparing in his condemnation of the attitude of the Congress authorities to the interests of the Kisans and went on to allege that the resolution on Fundamental Rights adopted at Karachi was flagrantly violated by the former in their deal with the latter. We hope that henceforth the Kisans will awake to the realities of the situation and learn to discriminate between the faked and the real. Minor changes on the fringe of the *status quo* will not give them much, its complete overhaul is urgently called for.

### The Fate of the Bengal Jute-growers

Since the outbreak of war there has been an increased demand for jute and the jute-growers of Bengal much weighed down by mounting debts looked for better days. And instead of introducing measures to alleviate their growing economic difficulties the Huq Ministry was found busy hammering Bills to restrict the output of jute in the province. People were startled at the sinister move of the Ministry that banks upon the support of the people for the measure was retrogressive insofar as it aimed at maiming the peasants. On the floor of the Assembly different parties aired their views on jute restriction and the Congress Party found it ill-timed and unacceptable, since it was hedged in with conditions that rightly interpreted would mean further taxation upon the poor jute-growers. But sanity dawned upon the Huq Ministry late and the combined opposition of various political groups including the Europeans has led to the withdrawal of jute Restriction Bill.

This may mean that Mr. Huq has earned the gratitude of the jute-growers of the province. Has he? It must be answered with a categorical no, for he has already betrayed the masses and is ranked with the reactionary.

### Significant Silence

While the Working Committee have been talking occasionally of a struggle to keep up the show and working clandestinely for a compromise with the Government, the latter have been carrying on a drastic drive against the Leftists in the different parts of the country. In Bengal things are fast being pushed on to the brink of a crisis.

In the present issue of our paper is published an article by Sj Manmatha Nath Gupta, the well-known Congress worker of the United Provinces, which sets forth a brief account of the governmental repression to which the Leftists, as a body, are being subjected in that province. But the most tragic part of the story, as our esteemed comrade has rightly pointed out, is that the Congress leadership has not thought it necessary to utter even a syllable of protest against it. Even that wordy volcano, we mean Pundit Jawaharlal, has chosen to keep absolute mum over this vital issue. Evidently, to the High Command, co-operation with the Government is a worthier end for pursuit than that with the Leftists, whose proffered hand they threw off most unceremoniously. Alas! what can be a more cruel paradox than this?

### Penal Reform In India

The first All-India Penal Reform Conference which recently held its sitting at Bombay, has been undoubtedly a move in the right direction. As a matter of fact, the Conference ought to have received its start much earlier; for if there is a country where penal reform has been urgently and immediately called for, it is India. Prisons in this country are like so many dungeons and the system that obtains there at present is calculated to make their denizens more hardened criminals than before. Fortunately the whole outlook towards human delinquency has undergone a radical change today and crime has come to be recognised as not due to any original sin in its perpetrator, but as the outcome of the social environment in which he is placed. Prison

should, therefore, serve as a reformatory and not a squeezing machine. The resolutions that the Conference has adopted, have happily reflected this healthy outlook towards the important problem. And the sooner they can be given effect to, the better. The stupendous waste of human materials that the present hellish arrangements involve, has to be stopped as speedily as possible. In this matter, as in many others, the Soviet system should serve as an example to us.

### Pursuing a Mirage

*Reuter* recently cabled the following from London:

The Indian Swaraj League sent a letter to President Roosevelt through the American Embassy, London, suggesting that Mr. Sumner Welles should receive an Indian delegation when he arrives in London and expressing the view "that any peace settlement cannot be enduring unless freedom is restored to India."

Mr. Sumner Welles is getting a good press and a good deal of praises in regard to his peace mission but nothing is transpiring as to what extent it is meeting with success. The declared aim of President Roosevelt which inspired the present mission was the emergence of a Federation of Free Nations on the termination of present conflicts—a magnificent plan all-comprehensive in its sweep. Certainly it does not contemplate a discrimination among white, black or yellow nations. But even the latest pronouncement of Mr. Chamberlain has declared the war aims of Britain in terms of the freedom of European nations only. The Asiatics and Africans are providentially destined to remain helots for ever! Excluding other belligerents from consideration for the present, Mr. Welles is certain to dash against a veritable wall at least in Britain. How he and the

Government he represents will react to it, remains to be seen. In the meantime, we may tell the Swaraj League that it will be very easy for Mr. Welles to make up things with India, or for the matter of that, with any other subject nation. As a matter of fact, they have no role in the drama except that of silent spectators. The hurdles that will evidently baffle him lie elsewhere.

### The Black Sea Menace

Different interpretations have been put upon recent Turkish Foreign Policy and Great Britain merrily toyed with the idea of building up a bulwark against the Soviet Union in collaboration with Turkey. But the objective is defeated and the latest broadcast of the Turkish Premier has smothered the huge body of lies manufactured by the Press. The Turkish Premier has defined his attitude towards war and it is one of strict neutrality, for the question of active participation in war would be determined by the broader issues of national interest. And this is likely to shock the Allies that had nursed the illusion of having roped in Turkey. About the present Russo-Turkish relations the world is kept in blank ignorance, and the press has spun out the story of rapid fortification of Turkish frontier only to put up resistance against Soviet invasion. The Turkish Premier's utterance should merit close attention since he has defined the Russo-Turkish relation with striking boldness and sagacity that burkes the certainty of an anti-Soviet Bloc on this side of Black Sea.

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By Prof. Subodh Krishna Ghoshal

## NATIONALISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD

The doctrine of the national soul is one of the most fundamental spiritual ingredients in the cultural consciousness of Young India. It had already been a substantial force in the mentality of the Indian intelligentsia during the last half of the 19th. Century. *Bande Mataram* (Heil Motherland), the national hymn, composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterji for the Bengali novel *Ananda Matha* (The Abbey of Bliss, 1822) was conceived in an atmosphere of the country and the people as being animated by a collective spirit or the national mind. This was composed about the time the Indian National Congress was established (1885). The fathers of the Congress movement, especially in Bengal, were as a rule inspired by the cult of the country and the people as a personality with a collective conscience or group-soul. National individuality, national ideals, national traditions, national character, the soul of the people, the spirit of the people, race-characteristics, race-consciousness and so forth were fundamental items in Swami Vivekananda's (1862-1902) teachings. By the time the "glorious Swadeshi revolution" broke out in Bengal in 1905, the concept might be regarded as having become almost a part and parcel of the Bengali literary and middle class consciousness. The poetical works, songs and essays of Rabindra Nath Tagore also contributed to the development and popularisation of this doctrine.

### Herder—an Indirect source of Indian Nationalism

It is difficult to appraise to what extent the concept of the national soul as prevalent in India down to 1905, was an independent creation of the Indian social thinkers and to what extent they were indebted for it to their studies in European literature, philosophy and history. Be this as it may, it is questionable if the German philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist Herder (1744-1805), the father of the doctrine of *Nationalgeist* (national spirit) or *Volksseele* (people's soul) was at all known anywhere in India. But among the European thinkers, statesmen, jurists, political

propagandists and savants in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was hardly any body who did not come in one way or other under the influence of Herder. It so happened that in the last quarter of that century the most outstanding European personalities in the field of politics that inspired the Indian patriots were Bismarck (1815-1898) the German and Mazzini (1808-1872) the Italian, and both of them as nationalists were Herderian. Then, again, British social scientists like Maine (1822-1888) and Mill (1806-1873) were counted among the greatest intellectual forces in Indian Universities or academic circles. Herder's influence on such thinkers had been, as is well-known, inestimable. It is thus not directly but through indirect agencies that Herder could exercise a spiritual sway over the intellectual and patriotic activities of the Indian people until the beginning of the present century. But the name of Herder was hardly known among the Indians.

### Studies in Bankim, Dante and Herder

As a student of comparative literature, I have been greatly fascinated by the ideas of Herder. While writing my brochures *Samaj-Chintay Bankimchandra* (Bankim in Social Thought, 1937) and *The Messages of Dante* (1938), it occurred to me that I should devote some attention to the ideas of Herder who may rightly be described as the father of my science. The most important of Herder's works for the purposes of this study is his *Ineen zur philosophie der Geschichte* or "Ideas for the Philosophy of History" (1784-1790). It is my purpose later to investigate to what extent Condorcet (1743-1794) and other French social philosophers are spiritually allied to Herder. Condorcet's celebrated work on the *Progress of the Human Mind* was published in 1795. As a Bengalee I should commence by drawing attention to the fact that our Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) was a junior contemporary of Herder (1744-1803).

### Nationality and Culture

Herder's conception of nationality brings him to believe in the doctrine of diversities in the domain of culture. Just

as there are several nationalities each constituting a distinct and unique growth, so there are several cultures each different from the others. Culture is the product of a national soul and not of an individual soul. Literature and sciences, strictly speaking, ought to be called national literature, national art and national science. Each nationality develops a peculiar culture of its own which is unique and incomparable. Any attempt to compare it with any other culture so as to evaluate and measure its worth will necessarily be futile. The environmental forces not only mould the physiognomy of a person or group of persons inhabiting a certain tract of land within the orbit of its influence, they have also their effect on the national soul and as such on culture which is its expression.

Herder recognises five formative forces in the building up and moulding of national culture. The most important of the factors differentiating cultures is the physical environment. Herder repeatedly stresses the importance of climate in the development of cultural organism. Man in his scheme of things is a creature moulded by the climate. The body, the way of life, the occupation, even the ideas are simply the products of the climate. He takes up a number of nationalities and by pointing to their distinctive features which have been the gift of the climate, comes to the broad generalisation that the group, no less than the individual, is simply a child of environment and partakes of its nature.

The next in importance comes education. The mode of education, according to him, decides the national character. The peculiar characteristics of the Chinese and the Hebrews, he maintains, have been the results of their education.

Then comes intercourse. Communication with other national groups is another factor which goes to develop national characteristics. Active competition with other nationalities gives a tremendous impetus to the growth of the national soul. The national soul, secluded and cut up from outside intercourse, may grow peculiar but it cannot have that versatility which can only be achieved through

competition with other cultures. Seclusion from this point of view he does not regard to be a blessing but rather an evil.

According to Herder the fourth factor is tradition. This exercises a great influence on the national group. It forces the national mind to think in a particular way in which it is accustomed.

The last but not the least is the influence of heredity. The qualities of buoyancy and spirit are not wholly the results of climate. These are inherent in the seeds of the fathers. The tendencies acquired by previous generations are handed down to the descendants which they cannot easily shake off. It lies with them and becomes a lasting influence. Each of these five factors exercises influence in the formation of that national soul (*Nationalgeist*) whose expression is culture. These factors are also different according as the nationalities are different and hence the diversity of cultures.

#### Not the Individual but the Nation.

Herder does not start with a clear and unambiguous definition of nationalism. It is to him something spiritual and as such vague and undefinable. Anyway, it is, he believes, the greatest formative force urging life and civilization to that end of human nature which he calls *Humanitat* (humanity). Though he talks of nationalism, his interest is not parochial or sectional. Universal happiness and the development of humanity is his ultimate object.

But the development of humanity is not to be achieved in individuals taken as units. To him individuals are not the units that should count. The unit is each nationality. Individuals as such simply go to make up the fabric of that texture which is called nationality. Nationality, like the chemical compound, makes the individuals forego their own qualities so that the totality of the forces working may assume quite a different form than that of the individual. The individual in order to have the best expression of his virtues and talents, must be an integral part of the group in which his lot has been cast. The perfection of the individual is identical with the perfection of the nationality he may belong to. In the role of perfection the individual has no part to play except that of adapting itself to the group which alone can strive as a unit.

The *Elan vital* of Bergson or *l'impul-*

*sion vitale* of Espinas which confides in the superfluous energy of the individual to overcome the bonds and influences of nature does not seem to have been part of Herder's creative thought. That "all-conquering man" in the *Atharva Veda* of the Hindus is not his ideal.

Like Durkheim he believes in environmental forces moulding the destiny of human beings and as such that of a group. In his scheme of life all possibilities of individual initiative have been precluded. It is the group and the group only that can act. The nationality, Herder believes, is an organism. The creative power or the regulating force that motivates it, is the national soul. The national soul constitutes the spiritual element in Herder's thought. As a unit, as an individual the national soul has a personality of its own and the expression of that personality in all its diverse aspects constitutes its culture.

#### Language and Literature in the National soul

The ultimate object of Herder's nationalism was to achieve the highest happiness for mankind. The outstanding mark of nationality was to him the language. It is the spontaneous expression of the group mind, the *Volksseele* or the national soul. He considered the study of the languages as essential for the study of the nations. Besides, he considered the development of the national characteristics as essential for the development of humanity at large. So he laid stress on the authentic study of national language, as of national literature and national tradition. Herder considered a philosophical comparison of languages to be the surest means for obtaining a better knowledge of the national mind and national characteristics. The impetus given by Herder to the comparative study of languages is to a great extent responsible for the establishment of linguistics or comparative philology as a science. Herder's influence on philologists like the Schlegels, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Jakob Grimm, Friedrich Bopp is considerable. The publication of his book, *Volkslieder*, a collection of folksongs of various nationalities, greatly helped to prepare the way for a comparative study of literatures. Not only language and literature attracted his attention, he urged on a study of the physiognomy of man

and could well be regarded as a sponsor for the movement for a study of anthropology as well. It was due to the impetus given by him that a large number of naturalists, philologists, historians, and ethnologists set out to explore the known and unknown regions of the earth in search of authentic materials for building up the history of man.

#### Folkways and the Swadeshi Spirit.

Herder did much to foster a national feeling and stimulate a national consciousness among the German people, and this went a great way later towards the establishment of political unity which could not even be conceived of in his age. Herder's achievement may be aptly compared to that of the Italian poet, Dante. Politically, Germany was at that time divided into many states and culturally it was no better. He urged upon his countrymen the necessity of cultivating the old folkways, which represented the true German culture, instead of imitating the foreigners. He wanted the German culture to be built on what we in Bengal call Swadeshi, i. e. indigenous or national foundations. The old folk-literature, folk-language and folk-custom, said he, must be revived once again if Germany was to have any progress at all. A spiritual Swadeshi movement was thus started among the German people. Herder vigorously opposed all sorts of imitation of foreign culture. Spontaneity and originality were his watchwords.

#### History And Nationalism.

Next in importance in Herder's scheme of unification comes history. According to him, history is not only an account of the political events, of lives and doings of the princes and emperors, it includes within its sphere all that a people may do or think. All sorts of manifestations of the national life come within the purview of history. Language, literature, art, music, religion, fairy tales, myths, legends, all supply the fabric of history of a nation. He considered the antiquities, natural history, geography, legislation and political philosophy to be simply auxiliary to history. What he wanted is a patriotic history of the entire fatherland in which not a single phase of its culture should be neglected and which would put an end to all sectional and parochial spirit. This

(Continued on page 10)



By Prof. A. C. Dasgupta

## NATIONAL VALUE OF EDUCATION

(Concluded)

I am aware that I am treading on a dangerous ground. But the force of logic defies all doubts. My analysis is to me, convincing and it is for you to consider whether although in politics, you want to run in a new way, in education you will sit in the same old groove as in the days of your old grand-mothers. Let me again point out that the politician has no time to judge the teacher. But the teacher has no excuse for not judging himself and his political surroundings. I am impelled to affirm that in the scheme of national evolution, the teacher comes first and the politician afterwards. The teacher sows the seeds, and the politician reaps the harvest. But in this benighted land of ours everything is topsy-turvy. We need not sow any seed, but let us have anyhow a rich bag-ful of harvest. This stubborn truth, born of an undeniable study of the logic of events, has been working subconsciously within my heart throughout my long association as an humble participant in the educational activities of my country. The inherent paradoxes and contradictions have often given me deep pain. Who is a teacher? And where is he, in the modern scheme of national work? The collocation of facts and circumstances is such that a teacher is *ipso facto* always a back-number. His role is only to read books and disgorge his book-learned skill to his students. The masters of the show have no patience with the teacher. The society pays scant regard to him. As things are ordained today, the poor teacher must forever remain a sad spectator of an amazing game.

Fortunately, there are wise men like Sir Radha Krishnan, who pronounce a verdict in favour of this unfortunate doll in an unenviable game. He declares with the wisdom of a seer that the teacher is a nation-builder. In his hands lies the making of the future generation of his country. In other words, it is by teachers that a nation can be made and it is by teachers again that a nation can be disintegrated and ruined. Let us remember that the great Aswini Kumar, illustrious Pandit Iswar Chandra, Mahamati Gokhale, Sir Surendra Nath and others

were devoted workers in this line of national evolution.

There is undoubtedly an ideal set out in some colleges which declares 'nothing is more purifying on earth than truth.' But I am afraid, I must point out that the ideal of *Satya juga* has little application to the grim realities which surround us in this *Kali jugu*. No wonder, therefore, that in the application and pursuit of this ideal we are at every stage confronted with cruel paradoxes. If truth is purifying, the expression of truth must also be glorifying. But we shudder at and shun this logical consequence and take comfort in the soothing balm that although truth is purifying, suppression of truth is edifying. I need not point out how even the unsophisticated young lads have begun to apply a bold analysis to this motto. They very often tell us bluntly that although we profess in words that truth is purifying, what we actually believe is that money is purifying. Let us, therefore, not make a fetish of an old and crusty dogma of a bygone age and profess and practise, a real and a practical principle. The cry of purity should be replaced by the cult of strength both of body and of mind.

If the *sattwic* principle is unattainable for us, the *tamasic* principle which can only lead to confusion and misery is equally abominable. What can truly supply a legitimate principle for us, as was shown by the great Swami Vivekananda, is the principle of *rajas* with a background furnished by *sattwas*. It is the principle of activity, energising, moving—the principle of struggling as well as of achieving.

What then about the dull, monotonous routine-ridden mechanism of our customary work? Is it to be wiped out lock, stock and barrel? I think there can hardly be any implication of ignoring the real. An ideal which can hardly fit in with the real is nothing but an abstraction and a real which is not enlivened and enlightened by the ideal can hardly be accepted with perfect complacency. There can be no clash, there should be no clash between the real and the ideal—no conflict between the old and the new. Truth implies harmony and in harmony lies beauty.

But exclaims the hard-headed practicalist, what bearing can these seemingly fine cobwebs of a specious imagination, have to the actual process of our work? I wish to state firmly here that the determination of the means must be preceded by a clear perspective of the end. The means follows the end, as the conclusion follows from the premises.

Such fools there existed during the Middle Ages in Europe who seriously doubted if women had souls. The world has grown wiser since. And we must

recognise the fact that by education we should seek to develop both the mind and the body of our women. If women have souls which require culture, why should we forget that they also possess bodies which require development? Women have to know how to combat diseases and death even in the midst of life. What consolation will a University certificate or a Corporation job bring to you when your health is sacrificed at the altar of a degree? Miserable is the man who goes without any exercise, but how happy and bright can he be with it! If you shut yourself up in your books and avoid exercise, you may become a graduate indeed; but you are at the same time liable to become a potential invalid. Let a girl ignore physical culture and she will have little chance of joy in life; but let her take only such exercise as will reasonably suit the characteristic tenderness and softness of her constitution, she will thereby, for life, build up a fixed barrier between herself and disease—a barrier between herself and misery.

It is for you to decide whether you will allow your souls to rot in dirty hovels, infected with poisonous germs which may bring you to early grave or make them dwell in rich palaces of growing splendour and beauty. As I ponder over the problem of our nation, I cannot view with ease the case of many of our blundering heroes taking up any uphill task without sufficient moral and physical equipment. You cannot, in my opinion, ignore physical culture without leaving the door open to confusion and bewilderment.

I, as a teacher of some experience, would unhesitatingly recommend some form of dancing for girls below 12, and free-hand exercise for girls above that age. I am impelled also to assure you that physical culture of mild types, instead of impairing your beauty, will serve to promote it.

I may state again, that I am more interested in the ideal. My faith is deep in the principle that the salvation of our country depends on true education and the aim of true education must be the evolution of noble manhood and womanhood. Jesus preached a wonderful doctrine when he said "Seek ye the Kingdom of Heaven; and everything else shall be added unto you." Sri Krishna, the Great Hindu preceptor affirmed the same truth, although in a deeper way.

Let us, then, teachers and students resolutely make up our minds to pursue the ideal of noble manhood and womanhood and the future of our country will never be in doubt and despair.

—BANDE MATARAM—



## NATIONALISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD

(Continued from page 8)

phase of Herder's cultural work is manifest in our Bankim Chandra's emphasis on historical studies as the foundation of patriotism. The scheme formulated by Herder may be regarded as a sort of progress-planning.

### Political Unity.

The ideas of Herder exercised tremendous influence on the German people. His gospel of nationality helped to link together the loosely related German tribes who were for centuries slavishly aping the habits and manners of their more enlightened neighbours, the French and the Italians. Though Herder did not actively participate in politics, yet through his influence on the litterateurs of the period and those who followed him he brought about a revolution in the ideology of the German people. And they were destined within a few decades to come to be a compact nation with an intense sense of nationalism. Germany's present position requires a study of the influence of Herder in the making of it. Herder can be described without any exaggeration as the maker of Germany in the nineteenth century and after. To understand the German people of to-day we have to go not only back to Bismark (1815-1898) and Fichte (1762-1814) but to Goethe (1749-1839) and Herder as well. Be it observed, finally, however, that Herder's political activities were virtually nil.

### The Reality of the National Soul Questioned.

In conclusion, I have to observe that there are grave doubts as to whether the collective mind, group mentality, collective conscience or national soul is a reality. Such doubts have often been expressed among others by Prof. Benoy Sarkar in the meetings of the Bengali Institute of Sociology. He maintains that the doctrine has been of great value in the cultural and political activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and has influenced not only the Germans but the Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Italians and other peoples of Europe as well as the Bengalis and the Indians generally. But the national soul is a myth or a fine frenzy. Besides, all his researches have gone to combat the ideology underlying the doctrine of fundamental differences in spirit and outlook among the diverse peoples. At any rate, here is a subject that should deeply interest our countrymen and call forth appropriate studies and researches.

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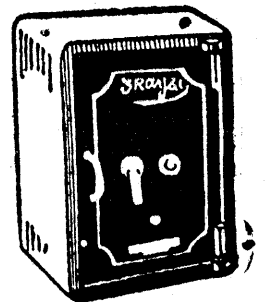
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By Hirendra Nath Mookerjee

## MR. CHAUDHURI ON FINLAND

[With the publication of Mr. Hirendra Mookerjee's present article and Mr. Nirad Chaudhuri's brief note the controversy is closed.—Ed. F. B.]

Readers of *Forward Bloc* must be a little tired of our protracted controversy with Mr. Chaudhuri on the merits of the Finnish quarrel. We should be quite prepared to rest on our previous arguments and the judgment of our readers. Some may, however, have missed the early stages of the dispute and would therefore imagine that the case had gone by default.

Mr. Chaudhuri's chief quality appears to be the ability to set up aunt sallies for the pleasure of knocking them down. The burden of his song is that, in our opinion, a policy pursued by Britain or any other Power is wrong, but the same policy pursued by the Soviet Union is right. Unfortunately we cannot remember to have suggested anything of the kind. And that, we think, dispose of one-third of Mr. Chaudhuri's latest.

Another third is devoted to an elaborate analysis of Soviet policy in the 'twenties, and to the proud discovery that Soviet policy is now rather different. Perfectly true. So what?

In the 'twenties, the Soviet Union, battered by war, civil war and intervention, was forced above all things to gain time for reconstruction. It naturally concluded pacts with any power on any terms it could get. Usually those terms were severe. In his long and learned list of treaties Mr. Chaudhuri fails to mention the terrible Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, by which the Soviet Union was deprived of enormous territory and millions of citizens. Later, Bessarabia was stolen by Roumania, Byelo-Russia and Western Ukraine by Poland, Petsamo by Finland. The Baltic countries and Finland, whose independence it had gladly confirmed, was made slaughter-houses for the interventionists; reactionary governments were set up by force and have only been maintained by force or threat of force since.

For decades the Soviet Union has loyally kept its pacts with neighbouring countries, inspite of repeated intrigues by every one of them against its integrity. It strove for fears to build up a collective peace system, which these same States

assisted the western powers in sabotaging. Today it finds itself in a war situation of infinite menace, but unlike the young Soviet Union of the 'twenties, it is a strong power ready and prepared to deal with that menace. Repeated Finnish violations of the pact—notably their attempt to fortify the Aalands without reference to the Soviet Union, and the plan for leasing Petsamo to the Germans—would long ago have justified the Soviet in annulling it. In fact the Soviet authorities held their hand until Mannerheim began open warfare.

The real Soviet policy has not changed. Its will for peace and determination to take every possible step to maintain peace makes it still the strongest—indeed, the only force in the world opposed to war. But it is not prepared to maintain a fiction of peace when there is no peace.

(Incidentally, Mr. Chaudhuri's suggestion that Stalin has a "N. F. P."—new foreign policy—which would make Lenin turn in his grave is rather amusing. Lenin, being conveniently dead, is admired even by the lion-cubs bred in India, but he wrote in 1920: "The Finnish bourgeoisie, which has strangled thousands of Finnish workers during the White Terror, knows that it will never be foreign for having done so when it is no longer backed by the German bayonets which enabled it to do so").

The third part of Mr. Chaudhuri's article consists of an argument that the capitalist powers did not intend to attack the Soviet Union, and that if they did, they would not do it through Finland. Mr. Chaudhuri carefully evades the point, which was that such an attack was to be expected as part of an allied intervention against a communist Germany or a Germany at civil war. He also fails to point out that, in the wars of intervention of 1918 onwards, repeated offensives were made through Finland, the Baltic States, and the Finnish and Soviet Arctic. Since a quarter of the production of the Soviet Union is concentrated in the Leningrad area, it would be lunacy for an interventionist commander to refrain

from attacking it. "The Times" wrote on April 17, 1919: "If we look at the map we shall find that the best approach to Petrograd is from the Baltic, and that the shortest and easiest route is through Finland...Finland is the key to Petrograd and Petrograd the key to Moscow." Those words are not less true today:

Of course, the interventionist "will have the choice of half a dozen" other fronts. Would that justify Mr. Chaudhuri as chief of the Soviet General Staff in neglecting the Baltic?

It is needless to comment on Mr. Chaudhuri's theory that Stalin is a new Ivan the Terrible, because it merely displays the anthropomorphic view of politics so dear to the hearts of alleged "progressives," and so absurd to intelligent people both of the Right and the Left. Its social significance is another matter. As Lenin said of people of Mr. Chaudhuri's well-meaning type, subjectively they may imagine that they are being very liberal-minded, judicious and detached; but objectively their role is that of deluding the workers in the interests of capitalist reaction. And into very queer company it is leading them, the company of the Belishas and Daladiers, who are all the time laughing at them and will cheerfully put them in concentration camps directly they get the chance.

MR. NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI WRITES :

"A Press controversy must end somewhere. I am, therefore, not prolonging it. I shall say whatever I have to say on this subject in the form of independent articles.

Mr. Mookerji is entitled to his belief that Russia's Foreign Policy has not changed, but I find that the whole world (minus the Stalinist Communists) thinks differently.

In regard to the point whether Finland forms an adequate base for an attack on Finland, the *Times* extract would have carried more conviction if the British interventionist expedition of 1918—19 had tried to pass through Finland. Instead it went to Archangel, and everybody knows what the fate of that expedition was."

By Manmatha Nath Gupta

## MUST HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF ?

The Rightist vendetta against the Leftists has proceeded with unabated fury throughout the length and breadth of the country. Subhas Babu again and again has said that the *real* Leftists in the country find themselves to-day crushed between two wheels of Imperialism on the one hand, with its ordinary laws, such as sections 124-A, 153, 108 re-inforced with such so-called emergency measures as the Defence of India Act, and the wheel at the rear set up by the Rightists on the other, with their election politics and ever-new disciplinary measures. It is true that the provinces of Sir Sikandar Haiyat Khan and Mr. Fazlul Haq have contributed the largest quota of arrests—the political prisoners in each of these two provinces are now to be counted by hundreds—and if goes on increasing at the present rate, will soon mount up to thousands; but the erstwhile Congress provinces, though late in the field, are steadily coming into line in respect of prosecution of Leftist political workers. The U. P. is the first province in India where a person has been sentenced to transportation for life for a speech under section 121-A. Now comes the news that Comrade Rajendra Dutt Nigam, a famous ex-revolutionary, has been arrested under the same section, and as there is no punishment except transportation for life or hanging under this section, one can easily imagine what penalty awaits him. Prior to Mian Jan Mohamad, there have been persons, who have been awarded a life sentence for a speech, but this used to happen long before even non-cooperation days. The Forward Bloc members, the Ahrars and the Communists have been so far chosen for the altar, but there is no doubt that all genuine Leftists, to whichever party they belong, are soon going to be His Majesty's forced guests. It is funny to note that many talkative Leftist leaders of All-India fame are now becoming conspicuous by their silence.

However, this repression by the Government of the Leftists is nothing unexpected, and every Leftist is taking it as a part of the game; but what goes beyond one's understanding is that the Rightists should choose this opportunity to wage an unholy war against the

Leftists. In the U.P. beginning from Pandit Viswambhar Dayal Tripathi, the Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, arrests have followed arrests but the Rightist press and Rightist leaders have chosen to persist in their sphinx-like silence. Pandit Tripathi was a member of the War Council of the U. P., but Pt. Jawaharlal has not even uttered a word about him. The police knows how to interpret this silence, and in consequence searches and arrests have been proceeding on an everwidening scale.

I have been in the political field these last twenty years, but I have never seen this general, and I should say criminal, apathy of political satraps towards the round-up of political workers. Poor Ahrars, though their sacrifices to-day in the field of political work are next to no other party, are neither receiving the publication they deserve nor the sympathies of the politically-minded people which are due to them. It is very easy to talk glibly of Muslim mass-contact, and the necessity of bringing Muslims under the aegis of the Congress, but when the Ahrars, who are working on the right Leftist lines, are dismissed summarily by the big guns of the Congress, one feels inclined to be suspicious about their real motives.

Bhagat Singh and the Kakori martyrs were no Rightists, properly speaking, they were not even Congressmen, but I remember the pitch to which the country was roused when they were incarcerated, tried and hanged, and leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal became deeply moved over the matter; but now we see these very men silent even on the arrest of genuine and important Congressmen (it must be conceded that the holding of Leftist views does not forfeit a man's right to be called a Congressman). One asks to-day in amazement, why is this difference in attitude? To say that this is only due to the whims of the Rightists would be an utterly inadequate explanation. The fact is that these leaders thought it in the interest of their class to applaud people like Bhagat Singh, who though not Rightists, could be made to serve the interests of the Rightists in an indirect manner. Now the tables have turned, the then romantic strain has given place to a sense of reality among the Leftists; they are no longer satisfied to be patted on the back and lionised and then conveniently forgotten in the martyrdom or the dungeons of jails. The sacrificing Left to-day refuses to be satisfied with the fooling martyrdom and hollow glory that were declared their birthright in those days; now it has

been seen that the good of the country lies in waging an incessant and unrelenting mass struggle. This aspect of the question also did not worry the Rightists much, but now that Leftists have started taking the masses into confidence, and that seriously, the Rightists feel alarmed. In the name of reforming the Constitution of the Congress, the Congress is being reduced into a packed body; in the name of truth and non-violence, dissenters are being hushed into silence; constituencies have been reformed to exclude the Leftists and reduce the possibility of their being returned, even in small numbers. Peculiar theories to suit Rightist convenience are daily being manufactured with an ingenuity to make even the devil blush. Such a theory is that rural areas should have more seats in the P.C.C. than the urban areas. Now on the face of it this theory is quite good, but when one notes that the Leftists have more influence in urban areas, one can understand why these crocodile tears for the mute millions. The results of the new election to the P.C.C. in the U.P. can show at a glance that almost all the rural seats went to Rightist Congressmen, who could distribute a few cheques with threats and promises to be made good when the ministry returned. *Yet this is not all, the Rightists are not only apathetic to and jubilant over the arrests of real Leftists, they are manoeuvring the arrests indirectly by spreading rumours of conspiracies and red pamphlets.*

Now this brings to our mind a very pertinent and serious question. Can the Leftists remain, under the circumstances, long in the Congress? In Bengal the situation has forced this question and Bengal Congressmen must answer the question this way or that soon. But in the U. P. and other provinces this pressure of the Rightists is becoming day by day more and more intolerable, they having stopped at nothing to gain their ends. The Congress once was a sort of a Liberal Federation, then the revolutionary elements worked outside it. Lala Hardayal, Tarakanth Das, Rashbchari Bose were no Congressmen. The Congress, for well-known historical reasons, widened its base, and now it contains all the revolutionary forces of the country, but once more the question has arisen, will such an arrangement be long possible? Must history repeat itself? There are people who believe, come what may and at any cost, the revolutionaries must remain in the Congress, even to the extent of watering down their demands and accepting compromises which lead nowhere. This is pompously called *united front*. But the question is how long can this front be maintained? Not only that, is it at all worthwhile to maintain this front?

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

( Concluded )

Now let me deal, if only in brief, with those problems and grievances. I am told the rates of rents are unusually high in some parts of your district as a result of repeated enhancements at intervals. Therefore, it is but meet and proper that these enhancements must be stopped by one stroke of pen of the Government. This has been overdue and it is a pity that it has been delayed so long. We achieved it in Bihar long ago. The basis of these enhancements were certainly either the high grain prices obtaining then or the improvements in drainage and irrigation etc., by the Zamindars and Jotedars. But as these no longer exist, the basis of the enhancements has been knocked out and it is but natural and equitable that these must go for ever and rents must be brought to the level obtaining when prices were the same. There can and must be no compromise on this score. We in Bihar have succeeded in abolishing altogether the transfer-fee and certificate procedure for realizing rent and I am at a loss to understand why your Assam Government should persist at all in keeping these two alive as yet. This transfer-fee is an ignoble symbol of feudalism and this certificate procedure a relic of barbarism as admitted by eminent lawyers and jurists and therefore, these have no place in these days when the people are up in arms against every vestige of feudalism and barbarism. Therefore these must vanish forth with and these should be given a decent burial by the Assam Government themselves.

I am told further that there are lands of the Kisans here, which though partially under water are never allowed to be surrendered to the respective Zamindars and Jotedars so far as the merely submerged parts are concerned and these rents for the entire holdings are realized. But in Bihar the law has been so amended as to exempt the Kisans from rent for those parts of their lands which are either under water or sands or which have been rendered unfit for cultivation owing to other specific causes, with the result that the moment those parts reappear and become cultivable, the Kisans re-occupy them and begin to pay rent. The same amendment must be adopted here also without the least delay and the idea of partial relinquishment of holdings must be given up. Since by surrendering the Kisans will lose those lands for ever.

According to the fundamental rights adopted by the Indian National Congress at Karachi, the uneconomic holdings are to be exempted from rent and revenue. Then again, even in accordance with the present law, there are incomes below which no income-tax is levied. In the circumstances it is but natural that the Kisans too must be guaranteed by law a certain minimum income exempt from rent and revenue or any taxation and for that purpose a specified area of land must be given to each family rent and revenue-free. The ideas underlying the exemption of a certain income from income-tax is simply to

guarantee to the income-holders a specified minimum living standard which is bound to be touched and lowered if every income is taxed indiscriminately and thus that tax will be realized at the cost of the safety of the lives of the family of the tax-payer. Why not then apply similarly the same formula in the case of the peasantry also, and why force them to pay rent and revenue at any cost? Because they are dumb and voiceless and hence cannot agitate just like lawyers, traders, professors and monied men and make the lives of the authorities a veritable hell? It is an irony of fate indeed that even the tiniest holdings of the peasant families are rented and forced to pay rents in the name of a fair rent-settlement. But let me here reproduce the words of the Burma Land and Agriculture Committee in this respect, which read, "A fair rent can only be regarded as that part of the crop which remains after the cultivator of an economic holding has met the normal cost of cultivation and maintained himself and this family in reasonable comforts as that is understood by this class of cultivator in the district in which he lives. We go further and consider that the cultivator should retain for his own use some part of the crop over and above the minimum required to maintain himself and his family in reasonable comforts."

From the foregoing quotation it is abundantly clear that there should be no question about rents of uneconomic holdings. They must be left free. But so far as even economic holdings are concerned, they too should be forced to pay rents only when the families of the Kisans cultivating them have already provided for their reasonable comforts from and have retained over and above a part of the produce of those holdings.

It is reported that the Zamindars realize arbitrarily from the keepers of the country-boats an unauthorized tax called *Khutagari* as soon as these boats unload goods carried by them in a market or town. It is further told that the Kisans and those residing in jungle tracts have to pay *chhanban* tax in the name of straw for thatch and woods for fuel and yet they are generally not allowed to take sufficient thatches and fuels for their domestic purposes and are debarred from cutting *sal* trees for building purposes. These are customary rights and have been enjoyed by these people from time immemorial. Now they are sought to be curtailed and ultimately taken away by those in authority. But I for myself fail to understand it. First of all this *Khutagari* and *Chhanban* tax must be declared illegal and stopped forthwith. There is no justification whatever in levying these and the villagers of the hilly tracts must be allowed unrestricted rights to use jungle produce for their domestic and agricultural purposes. This is not an ordinary question. Rather it is a life-and-death problem for them. Therefore, a strong memorandum on behalf of the Kisan Sabha should be presented to the Government for this purpose and they

should be asked to safeguard fully these rights. But in case they turn a deaf ear to this vital demand, their hands must be forced by launching a furious district-wide agitation and if necessary, taking resort to the jungle satyagraha as elsewhere. But in no case this gradual curtailment of these rights should be tolerated. This *Chhanban* tax is generally compulsorily realized in Mechpara and Parbatzoar Estates and in some parts of Brijni and other estates too.

I am pained to learn that the Kisans and other poor people here are debarred similarly now from catching fishes from tanks and ponds which right they formerly enjoyed without any let or hindrance. Moreover, when during rainy season water enters profusely the fields of the Kisans and it becomes possible to catch fishes there, they are forbidden to do so by the Zamindars and Jotedars. Fishery in these parts of our country is one of the main sources of livelihood of the poor and the same is flagrantly denied and millions of poor people are condemned to full or partial starvation. And yet the Government see no cause for intervention. Callousness cannot go further. It is time they intervened and ended this perpetual misery of the half-fed and almost naked multitudes. It is exactly on a par with forest rights and it must be sought for if the Government donot see their way to intervene.

These, in short, are some of the burning problems of the everyday life of the Kisans and the poor of this district and I think of the province of Assam too.

And even these provide basis enough to build a strong Kisan movement upon. If we only focus the attention of all concerned on these and prepare the Kisans and the sufferers gradually to fight for these and if only we mean business, and unchallengeable and mighty Kisan movement and organisation will automatically come into being and it will shake the foundation of not only the zamindari and jotedary systems but also of the existing social structure including the Government.

### The Zamindars and Jotedars

I learn that about two-thirds of your Goalpara district are permanently-settled zamindari areas, while one-third is temporarily-settled Ryotwari region, just like other districts of Assam, excepting, of course, Sylhet which is mainly a permanently-settled district. I am told further that the entire zamindari area is occupied by six or seven big zamindars and five lakhirajdars. While these latter pay no revenue to the Government, but only local rates or *cesses*—the former too pay only Rs. 73285 as local rates and Rs. 11410 only as revenue both of which taken

together come to only Rs. 84695. They realize from the Kisans and others about 22 lacs or so. It is thus clear that they pay to the Government less than even 4 percent of what they actually fleece out of the poor.

This is a terrible and living indictment of this accursed zamindari system and it surely requires no further proof to make out the nature of this horrible but legalized loot in the form of zamindari. It is ruinous not only for the Kisans and the poor, but also to the Government so far as their finances are concerned. They get only a negligible sum while the Kisans are bled white. Therefore, this zamindari must go and the sooner it goes the better for all concerned, including the Government themselves. This institution is totally out-of-date and it has outgrown its utility even from the view point of the Government as the zamindars have now become almost broken reeds which can not be safely relied upon even by them. The lakhirajdars are worse than zamindars, as they do not pay even the nominal revenue as the latter do. Therefore, they too must share the fate of zamindars, who should be given priority in the matter of their abolition is a mere minor question of detail, and not of principle.

Next come the Jotedars who, I am told, are a creation of Zemindars themselves. The Goalpara district being almost completely a forest tract, no tillers of the soil could easily be established formerly in this district. So, it is said, the Zemindars settled their lands in blocs at heap rents, with these Jotedars who in their turn persuaded later on various tenants and Kisans to take settlement of land direct from them and not from Zemindars. Thus another intermediary under the Zemindars was created between the actual tillers of the soil and the Government. I am further informed that there is still one more intermediary between the Jotedars and the actual Kisans and he is called here Koleyav or some thing like this. There may be others like Mirasders. So there is a chain of a hierarchy of intermediaries between the State and the tillers and all these including the Zemindars and the Jotedars must go as they are useful neither for the State nor for the tillers. Rather they are a burden on the society. They do nothing, earn nothing, while enjoy choicest things. Nature does not allow useless things to exist and why these Zemindars should be allowed any more to lord it always over the Kisans and the down-trodden, I am at a complete loss to understand.

#### **The Struggle for Independence.**

Now-a-days the talk of Complete Independence or Purna Swaraj is in the air and it has pressed on our attention. Let me, therefore, say a few words about it before I finish.

Many people think that what we want will be achieved with the severance of

the British connection alone, while others are busy explaining that mere Dominion Status will do. But to me it seems that nothing is complete in itself, and Dominion Status, moreover, is a thorough undesirable. Independence cannot be considered complete unless and until we get rid of all sorts of vested interests, including the zamindari and capital. It includes not only the severance, but rather 'total disappearance of these vested interests and the oppressed masses must always aspire after that sort of Independence. It is rather too late in the day now to differentiate between the Indian and the foreign vested interests. It is tantamount to differentiation, in a plain language, between loot and loot, robbery and robbery and slaughter and slaughter. It is absurd and futile to differentiate between and Indian and foreign cobra. Let us now talk in a straight and plain language and if for this our Indian capitalists and zamindars get angry with us, we should never mind.

For long we have talked a vague and equivocal language. We must now talk the language of the masses, the Kisans, the Mazdoors and the oppressed lower middle classes, if we are to establish real Independence here. Masses are not properly schooled in political subtleties. They speak plain language, do plain things and therefore naturally expect from us the same sort of treatment. If we mean and interpret Swaraj in terms of their feelings and desires, their demands and necessities, we get nearer to them and become invincible to that extent. Let us not establish mass contact by mere catchwords as if we are to use them merely with ulterior motives, but let us but voice honestly and sincerely the actual feelings of the masses, their pangs and miseries, their tortures and afflictions, come whatever may. It is then and then alone that we shall be able to give a final battle to the British Imperialism.

But I am sorry, our national leaders are mortally afraid such language and such actions and attempts. These sense violence in these, they smell 'himsa' in them, they discern the distraction of our national unity in them. So are some of our Left leaders too. As though to them this patched-up unity at any cost is the real thing and it is thus that they calculate and hope to win Complete Independence. For them this is the shortest cut to Swaraj. But to me there is no short cut like this to it, unless our voice rings into the hearts of the masses and unless our overt acts strike their imagination; to me this is the greatest 'ahimsa' and unity. To cry hoarse over complete Independence and at the same to try to keep the present social system almost intact and reform it

through non-violence and love, is, excuse me, toying with the interests of the masses and adding insult to injury, to say the least of it. It is simply to maintain, howsoever unconsciously, 'himsa' in the garb of 'Ahimsa'. The very foundation of our society is based on undiluted violence and it is the highest form of non-violence, and it is, in fact, the greatest service towards that, if we anyhow destroy this foundation.

Violence and non-violence are comparative terms and no absolute meaning can ever be attached to them. Therefore, it is wrong to check our onward march for fight in the name of non-violence. That march itself is the highest form of non-violence, provided only that it is not interrupted any how, and it is to avoid this interruption that we have adopted deliberately with our eyes open this policy of peaceful struggle. But to try to force on the nation this non-violence as a creed is not only a gross, may be unconscious, betrayal of the masses but also an unnecessary and uncalled-for interruption of the fight and this interruption, I maintain, to be nothing but violence.

It passes one's comprehension how the country is not prepared for fight when there are strong and militant organisations of the kisans, mazdoors, students and youths throughout the country and when there is a unique mass-upsurge, ferment and organisation in the States' people. Of course the leaders themselves are not ready and there is no help for it. But to conceal this unpreparedness on their part behind the plea of violence, indiscipline and so on and so forth is, again excuse me, simply intolerable and unpardonable. We as a nation are now a thousand times more non-violent and disciplined and prepared than in 1921, 1930 and 1932 and the nation is impatient to establish forthwith the Kisan Raj, the Mazdoor Raj, the Panchayate Raj which alone, according to it, is the Purna Swaraj and Complete Independence.

Because by the nation we never mean, as the vested interests do, all the classes inhabiting our country. But, in the memorable words of Marx, only those who produce wealth, only the producing masses of the Kisans, mazdoors and the lower middle classes, who are always condemned to sweated labour and yet are deprived of the amenities and bare necessities of life. Thus says Karl Marx, "Since the proletariats must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation it, is so far itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

I am, therefore, confident you will not be misled by the cry of violence, unpreparedness, Charka and Khadi will rather show by your actions that you are ready for that fight which will enable the producing masses to capture fully the political power and thus establish the Purna Swaraj—the Kisan-Mazdoor Raj, the Indian Socialist Republic, the Panchayati Raj, the Complete Independence.

**Inquilab Zindabad.**

*By A Muslim Nationalist*

## THE MUSLIM NATIONALISTS AND THEIR TASKS •

(Concluded)

The fundamental question is, why do we want any political change in the country? Here again there is considerable difference of opinion and consequent confusion.

There is first of all the sentimental idealist to whom National freedom is an end in itself. He declaims on national self-respect and on the birth-right of nations and waxes eloquent on the text—"Good government can not be a substitute for self-government."

The number of such sentimentalists who, so to speak, take a sort of religious view of political freedom is, however, small, and the rational politician of today thinks and speaks of politics in terms of economic and material interests rather than in those of emotional satisfaction.

Among this latter class of politicians the landlords and the professionals think of all political change in terms of personal gain, that is, of attainment and enhancement of power, with its attendant rights and privileges. To this group belong the majority of the leading Muslim politicians in the country.

A third group consists of financiers, industrialists, and commercialists who see in every political advance greater and still greater opportunities of expanding their business and increasing their wealth. This group has a large following among the lower-middle class intellectuals who are suffering from unemployment and who see in industrial and commercial expansion, which political freedom should bring in its wake, their only hope of economic emancipation.

There is a fourth group which looks upon political freedom as a necessary step to a much greater end, viz., the emancipation of the forty crore dumb masses from their benumbing poverty, and the gradual transformation of their cattle-like existence into full human living, by universalizing plenty of health and culture. This group wants complete elimination of the foreign factor in order to ensure the progress and prosperity of the entire population, by means of a revolutionary change in the social and economic structure of the country. It includes among its members all the socialists other than the variety known as "socialists of the chair."

### How is freedom to be obtained?

The question of tactics is the question of means to an end. Hence an answer to the above question depends on what is understood by freedom.

According to those whose conception of independence or freedom is something corresponding to "provincial autonomy" which Great Britain can easily grant

\* This article is the introductory portion of a longer paper on the same subject.

without affecting her own vital interests, or who, in the simplicity of their hearts, think that the British, moved by their sporting impulses, might give some thing substantial even at the sacrifice of their own material interests, advocate the use of the ordinary constitutional methods such as the passing of properly-worded resolutions in the legislative assemblies and at public meetings, and similar other forms of legal inoffensive agitation. The number of the latter variety of constitutionalists is, however, limited today.

There is then the Gandhite school which believes, as an article of faith, that Swaraj, even in its extreme form of complete independence, can be won by non-violent non-cooperation. The present leadership of the Congress belongs to this school. The critics of this school urge:—

1. That the history of the world presents no instance in which mere non-cooperation on the part of the ruled has forced the rulers to abdicate. To this the Gandhites reply that their leader has discovered a new technique of warfare and that with that they are going to make new history.

2. That this mode of attack of which the success mainly depends on the concerted action of the whole nation, or at least a considerable section of it, can not succeed in India where the masses, i. e. the main body of the population, have no political consciousness, and where the differences even among the politically-minded section of the nation are acute and seemingly irreconcilable.

3. That non-violent non-cooperation can at best be compared to a stay-in-strike, which, unless it is a complete general strike, can only secure some slight reforms, but can not force the masters to hand over the keys of the factories to the workers.

4. That during the past twenty years it has been tried more than once, and that the result of the mountain in labour has been the miserable mouse of provincial autonomy, and a sort of federation which latter has been scrapped.

And it seems that even the leaders have lost their faith in its efficacy. For, to save their faces they have now imposed impossible and even ridiculous conditions on the use of this weapon, e. g. the elimination of all communal differences and the permeation of a spirit of complete non-violence throughout the country. There is also the condition of spinning which, for a man who has not altogether lost his sense of proportion, is too ridiculous even to mention.

There is still a third group that has discovered another technique of political warfare, and which says: "Just watch what is happening elsewhere. Keep your

eye on the international situation, and fold your useless arms over your empty breasts. Let others toil and moil. And one day a new world will rise like a modern Aphrodite from the foaming seas of European strife; and India, by the grace of God, will find its proper and rightful place in it."

There is, however, a fourth group of serious politicians, who realise that the struggle for freedom is a struggle for power—a struggle between those in possession of power, and others striving to capture it—and that it must be fought with all the means at our disposal, if we want to be victorious."

### The Agents of Freedom?

There is then the question, who is to win this freedom? Hitherto the struggle has mainly been fought by the intellectuals, especially the members of the lower-middle classes, though the fruits of the victory have been largely appropriated by the landlord and the capitalist classes. The masses have been almost altogether out of the fight. It is however, beginning to be realised that real victory can not be won by the intellectuals alone, and that the masses must be drawn into active politics, by awakening their economic and political consciousness.

### Political Chaos among Muslims.

The above shows that there is a great deal of confusion in political thinking among all communities and parties. But among Muslims this confusion has assumed the proportions of an ideological chaos. In the first place, the Muslims, as a whole, I mean the intellectuals, for the starving masses have no conscious desires beyond the satisfaction of their animal wants, which, however, are seldom satisfied—have no real political sense. They believe that India must always be ruled by foreigners, and that, this being the case, the present rulers whom we have known for the past hundred and fifty years, with all their faults, should be preferred to any other who might treat us worse than they have. The Muslim League's recent broadcast that India is not fit for democracy, is only a psychological cousin of this very assumption.

There are, however, a few Muslims who admit the possibility of an independent India, but who have a mortal fear of the rule of Hindu Capital which they think is mainly responsible for their economic decline. They would, therefore, prefer British rule to Hindu rule, though they have no clear idea how the British or, for that matter, any natural or supernatural agency can save them from the economic

(Continued on page 19)



# FOURTH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

## TOWARDS THE LABOUR PARTY OF INDIA

The Fourth Conference of the Labour Party, Bengal, was held on Sunday, the 25th February, 1940, at Hajinagar, an important jute centre in the district of 24-Parganas under a presidium consisting of Comrades Abdur Rahman Khan, Bansidhar Saha, Muhammad Ismail, Hafiz Jalaluddin and Sisir Roy of whom the last two comrades were not permitted to attend the Conference by order from the district authorities under the Defence of India Ordinance. Comrade Subhas Chandra Bose addressed the Conference on the present political situation and the struggle ahead. Comrade Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar, the General Secretary of the Party, submitted the Secretary's report in which an analysis and criticism have been made by him, on the controversies inside the Party which led to a breach with the National Front Group. Among others the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Conference :

### All-India Party

The problems facing our people today are all rooted in the political, economic and social conditions of *India as a whole*. Any efforts at their solution must consequently be made on a national scale.

The key problem today is that of Independence—the struggle for independence. The need for independence is not confined to a class or a sect—it is a need of the whole people. But past experience gained in India and elsewhere gives us a profound conviction that this aim of the Indian people cannot be realised unless the people are guided by the *centralised leadership of one class—the working class*, and of one ideology—socialism. These considerations indicate that to discharge the tremendous responsibility of leading the Indian people as a whole the working class must *itself* be centralised on a national scale under the leadership of a single party.

The Labour Party, Bengal, appeals to workers all over India to bring into existence this all national party of the Indian working class as speedily as is possible. To expedite the formation of the Party we resolve to create an All-

India Organising Committee of the Labour Party, India with the following tasks :—

1. To prepare the all-National Draft theses, Programme, Constitution and Manifesto of the Party and to popularize them all over the country.

2. To establish contacts with labour, peasant and other socialist elements in different parts of the country,

3. To convene an all-India Convention and set up the Party organization on a National Scale at an early date and,

4. To take all necessary steps in furtherance of: the objects for which it has been set up.

The Labour Party, Bengal, shall automatically become the provincial section of the All-India Party Organization and shall henceforward work under the guidance of the All-India Organizing Committee and under the Central Organization set up by the proposed convention. All consequential changes in the Constitution shall be made by the Executive Council as directed by the Central Organization.

The All-India Organising Committee of the Labour Party shall be constituted of the following :—

1. Sures Dev. 2. Sreenarain Jha. 3. Harnam Singh Malli. 4. Satya Chatterjee. 5. Abdur Rahman Khan. 6. Hafiz Jalaluddin. 7. Sisir Roy. 8. Promode Sen. 9. Nanda Bose. 10. Ananta Mukherjee. 11. Dr. Bhupen Dutt. 12. Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar. 13. Kamal Sarkar. 14. Biswanath Dubey. 15. Sudha Ray—

with powers to co-opt others from different provinces and States as well as from labour, peasant and other socialist groups and organisations who are willing to join in and help to build up the party on a national scale.

Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar be elected as the General Organizing Secretary for the All-India Organisation of the Party and shall also act as the convenor of the Committee until secretaries and other functionaries are elected by the Committee as it considers necessary.

### Anti-Imperialist Conference

The aim of socialism of the Indian working class, the hunger for land of the

Indian peasant, the national aspirations of the Indian people as a whole cannot be satisfied within the framework of imperialist relations. Independence is a first necessity.

But fear of a fundamental change in the Indian conditions is forcing the Indian bourgeoisie into a betrayal of the popular demand for independence. "Compromise" "Dominion Status" and other such treacherous phrases are being used by the political leadership of the bourgeoisie as alternatives to independence.

To reaffirm this demand for independence we need a national effort. In our opinion the forthcoming Left Conference at Ramgarh would provide such an opportunity. We call upon workers, peasants, students and all other genuine anti-imperialist elements to rally or send delegates to this conference and affirm that there is no stage intermediate between independence bondage although it be a bondage in another name; that India's aim remains and can only remain complete independence. Any compromise on this question is to betray the cause of the Indian people.

The party further affirms that independence cannot be won except by mass efforts—organised mass effort. To make this effort the Anti-Imperialist conference must evolve mass organisations all over the country of a cellular type; democratic in the extreme, with its *basic unit in every village and town*, and yet centralised democratic leadership.

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# FORWARD BLOC FORGES AHEAD

## ANDHRA MARCHING FORWARD

(From a correspondent in Rajamundry)

25th Feb., 1940

Sri. K. Kameswara Sastri, a prominent member of the Congress Socialist Party, has tendered his resignation of the membership of the party and has joined the Forward Bloc. In a statement to the Press, he has expressed his keen dissatisfaction at the policy of the Socialists since Tripuri and their continued efforts to weaken the hands of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who through the Forward Bloc has taken a unique stand against any compromise with British Imperialism by the present Congress leadership. Mr. Sastri also criticised the stand taken by the Communists on the Charka Clause at the Delhi Students' Conference and on the Independence Day. He concluded by saying that the best way at present, to prevent a compromise with Imperialism, and to strengthen the forces for struggle, was to rally round Subhas Babu and his Forward Bloc. Mr. Sastri is the Secretary of the East Godavari District Motor Workers' Union and an ex-prisoner of the Cocanada Bomb case.

## THE KISTNA DISTRICT FORWARD BLOC

A meeting of the members of the Kistna District Forward Bloc was held at Masulipatam on the 15th instant, under the presidency of Mr. M. Annapurnaiah, Member, All-India Forward Bloc Working Committee.

Mr. Annapurnaiah explained the function of the Forward Bloc in the national struggle. He also reviewed the activities of the Bloc both in India and Andhra Desa and expressed great satisfaction at the progress made so far. He explained how certain leftists have recently been trying to vilify the party both from back and fore and thus disrupt it. But, Mr. Annapurnaiah maintained that so long as the Bloc stood for an uncompromising struggle for freedom and steadily worked for that ideal, it could take care of itself against the onslaughts of the enemies and also save itself from so-called "friends".

A strong and representative executive committee was unanimously elected. Mr. P. Bapiah was elected President and Mr. P. Venkateswara Rao, Secretary. Messrs. A. Anjaya, P. Viraraghaviah, M. Venkatappiah, M. Rajeswara Rao, G. Koteswara Rao, S. Virabhadra Rao, A. Venkata Subbiah, A. Ramagovinda Sarma and A. Sitarama Rao were elected members of the executive.

## A. I. C. C. elections.

In the elections to the All-India Congress Committee this year, five out of 27 members elected are leftists, of whom 2 are from the Forward Bloc, two from Kisan Sabha and one Socialist. The Forward Bloc representatives are Messrs. G. Latchanna and G. V. Ramanamurti. Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A., was also elected.

## HOUSE SEARCHES.

The residence of Sjt. C. Satyanarayana Acharya, Secretary of the Rajamundry Forward Bloc and Editor "Sramajeevi" a Telugu weekly, and his office were searched recently. A small bloc of Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was seized

## MR. RAJKUMAR SINHA

Served with order not to enter Bengal for 1 year.

Mr. Rajkumar Sinha, the Publicity Secretary of the Provincial Forward Bloc, has been served with a notice issued by the Bengal Government prohibiting him from entering the Bengal Province for a period of one year.

## SURMA VALLEY FORWARD BLOC

Conference at Silchar on March 2 and 3

Sj. Suresh Chandra Dev, Organiser of the Surma Valley Forward Bloc, informs that the Surma Valley Forward Bloc Conference would be held on the 2nd and 3rd March in the town of Silchar. Mr. Ashraffuddin Ahmed Chowdury will preside over the Conference.

A strong Reception Committee with distinguished persons of Silchar has been formed for the purpose. Congress workers, leftist workers and the public of Surma Valley are earnestly requested to lend their active help, support and sympathy to make the Conference a success.

## ARREST OF MR. DANGE

Alleged Violation of Press Act

Mr. S. Dange, the Bombay labour leader, was arrested by the C. I. D. on the 22nd instant under the Indian Press (Emergency) Powers Act and was released on a bail of Rs. 500.

The charge, which is the third of its kind brought against him, relates to the alleged publication by him of a Marathi leaflet entitled "Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag)" without the permission of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay.

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## Book Reviews

**Journey Through Life :** By Amedee Ozenfant. Victor Gollancz, London. 16s.

*Journey Through Life* records the reality of a renowned French artist's life as a process, the gradual mental evolution of a conscious creative genius. Formerly, being an artist of the Purist school, life, to Ozenfant, lost much of its dynamic splendour and like the majority of the artists in Europe he too sank in stupor, and his art in inanition. But a creative artist as he is, Ozenfant will not rest, as Rolland will not rest, Gorky will not rest, when the entire humanity is restless and moving, when life is struggling, swarming and threading its way towards higher and ever higher ends. He flung open the shutters of his mind on the soil of Greece, the holy-land of modern art and culture, and standing before the remarkable Parthenon with its unending grooves and columns he realises the true meaning of life and art. Parthenon carries the eyes over its ascending slope and the mind soars higher and higher, till a juted column flings the eye back on the earth, on Athens, and says: "Stop, where you are! Descend on Earth. Athens calls you." This is art. This is life. Art aims at the betterment of life, the assimilation of reality, the creation of truth, a truth born and re-born in the boiling womb of dynamic reality. Ozenfant, therefore, finds no essential difference between the teachings of *Athens*, *Jesus* and *Lenin*. His mind, battered by the cruel storms of Capitalist Europe, hammered on the anvil of Fascism and Reaction, did not take a fortuitous shape. A new, buoyant mind emerged with a synthetic view on life, a life progressing through its first idea (First Picture), its swarming stage (Second Picture) to its final (Third and Fourth Pictures) realisation of dynamic reality, a life ever struggling and ever marching forward. This is the kernel of Marxist Philosophy which Ozenfant realises in the process of his life's struggle with reality and finds in it the truth of the age in which we live.

Those who talk glibly of the conflict between Marxism and Art, and gibe at socialist art as a mockery, will find an

answer in this book from an artist, and one of the greatest artists of the world. Modern Art must be Socialistic—this is Ozenfant's realisation of truth and not his dogmatic assertion. B. G.

### BENGALI

**Bou**—by Manik Bandopadhyaya. Published from Udayachal Publishing House. Re. 1-8 as. (Bharati Bhavan, 11 College Square).

The author of the book under review has already made a distinct mark in the realm of Bengali letters. His penetrative insight, depth of psychological knowledge, and, above all, his bold pursuit of truth in life which has made him an unsparing realist, are qualities hardly found in the same measure in any other contemporary young Bengali writer. The last characteristic of his writing has made him a sort of a pessimist—the over-romantics call him morbid—which to me at least, has not distracted much from his glory as a writer. If the present life around us is gloomy, is there any sense in putting on coloured specs and taking it as bright? Rather, should it not be reflected as it is?

I have dwelt on the general characteristics of the author because the collection of stories embodied in the present volume share them more or less with his other literary productions. As the title of the book implies, *the wives of different types of men* such as a shop-keeper, a clerk, an author, a widower and others form the subject-matter of the various stories. The story-element is very slender; psychological flash-light has been directed on one particular situation and its depths have been probed with the minutest subtlety in each piece. The sum-total of impression it leaves is almost everywhere a sense of deep frustration. When the curtain is rung down on each scene, represented by each story, the reader is bound to be pushed to the inevitable conclusion that life around him has become hopelessly out of joint and there is no way of setting it right again. Much as he will admire the skill of the writer, he will still wish that had there been

some rays of hope behind the piled-up gloom in his pages! That would not have made him less a realist; but would have imparted him the added glory of a thorough comprehensiveness of outlook.

B. S.

**Bakya-Rao**—(A Bengali Drama) by Bhola Nath Ghose. Published from D. M. Library, 42 Cornwallis St, Calcutta. Re 1-4 as.

This is, we understand, the first venture of the author at writing a historical drama and after going through it we have no hesitation in saying that it has been an unexpected success. He has fulfilled the test of true historical drama by taking some imaginative liberty with the historical facts. The setting of the drama is truly impersonal, characters well delineated and language quite appropriate. It is perfectly suitable for being put on board. We hope it will meet with the reception from the reading public which it so richly deserves.

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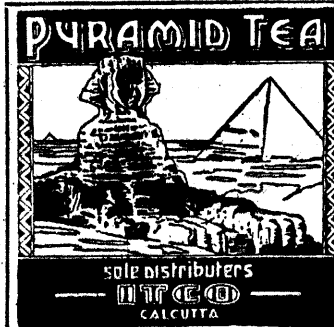
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### THE MUSLIM NATIONALISTS AND THEIR TASKS

(Continued from page 15)

extermination which is fast closing in upon them, and which is the effect not of any deliberate hostility on the part of the Hindus, but of the inexorable laws of capitalist economy on which the Hindu, the Muslim or the British can have no control.

There is still another small group of Muslim politicians who dream of the revival of Muslim Raj in the country, and who talk hysterically of "Pan-Islamism," "Pakistan" and similar other crazy stuff. These gentlemen absolutely refuse to see that even in the predominantly Muslim countries, like Marocco, Algeris, Tripoli, etc. the Muslims, owing to the inherent weakness of their economy and the consequent cupidity of their leaders, are directly or indirectly under the protective wings, of one or other of the European Non-Muslim States, and that the idea of Muslim Brotherhood upon which the structure of "Pan-Islamism" is to rest exists nowhere, not even in the personal relations of these self-same communal enthusiasts with their own destitute and miserable Muslim brethren. For instance, the recent events in Palestine and Albania have evoked no active sympathy in any part of the Muslim world, not even in the independent Muslim States. And the very recent solicitude and expression of sympathy by some of the Indian Muslim leaders for the sufferers of the Ankara earthquake, is more a political gesture than a manifestation of genuine fraternal affection for their brethren in distress. For in every Indian town and village there are innumerable Muslims who are perpetually suffering from frightful privations and hardships such as the sufferers of Ankara. The old adage says, "Charity should begin at home." And the leaders conscientiously practise it in the distribution of their patronage. But in this case, charity at home is less spectacular than charity abroad. At all events, the Muslims, in all the Muslims countries, definitely look upon nationalism as quite distinct from religion and therefore, the idea of a Muslim confederacy, which is altogether unknown in Muslim history, so much so, that it did not materialise even in the face of the Crusades, has today not even an emotional, much less a realistic basis. Thus the idea of Pan-Islamism or Pakistan is little more than a rhapsodical dream of fanatical maniacs whose repressed aggressive impulses find expression, in impotent militancy.



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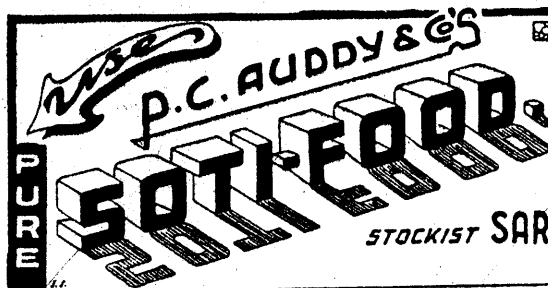
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