

# *Anti-Compromise Conference*

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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor : SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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ONE ANNA

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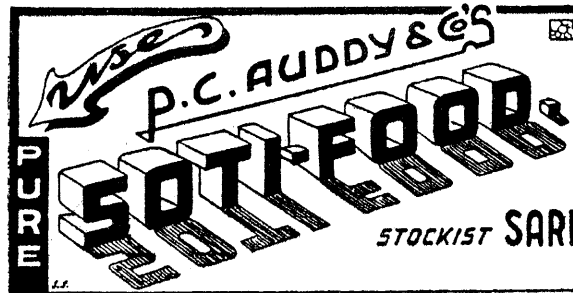
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SATURDAY, MARCH 9

## *Anti-Compromise Conference*

A week hence the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference will meet at Ramgarh. It will be decisively a landmark in the history of India's struggle for independence. Without equivocation, without vagueness of any sort, and without any confusion whatsoever, it has placed before the country the supreme issue of complete Independence. There is nothing to blur the view, nothing to efface the outline, no ifs and buts to condition or qualify our demand for Purna Swaraj. Representatives of anti-Imperialist organisations from all over the country will declare in no faltering accent and with no mental reservation that "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India." India will not accept anything less than complete independence. And India, the real India, will not deserve anything less. The Kishan rally at Ramgarh will give to this national demand its proper content and significance.

Those of our friends who find it tiresome to face the hard realities of political life have begun to say that the Congress itself is the biggest anti-compromise Conference and that a separate All-India Anti-compromise Conference at Ramgarh will be superfluous and unnecessary. It ought to have been unnecessary and it would have pleased us immensely if it were superfluous. These easy-going, though possibly well-meaning friends excuse themselves by an

appeal to sentimentality and say that nothing should be done to "eclipse the Congress." They have allowed themselves to be misled by the Patna resolution of the Congress Working Committee which in its lengthy string of phrases contains the words—"complete independence" and "civil disobedience". The words were there in burning characters in many a Congress resolution passed in all solemnity year after year and they have failed to prevent us from accepting the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, and undertaking arduous pilgrimages to Delhi and Simla.

The ink with which the Patna resolution was written was not dry before Gandhiji came out with his own interpretation of the resolution. And the resolution as interpreted by Gandhiji must forewarn all those who hold fast to the ideal of complete independence. "My interpretation of the resolution", says Gandhiji, "is that the Congress has not closed the door" to compromise. Eternal vigilance, it is said, is the price of liberty. We must be prepared to pay that price and be warned against weakness or vacillation of any sort. Let India's voice proclaim itself—let India's determination show itself through the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh.

## **Our Educational Problem**

The key-note of all the three addresses at the convocation of the Calcutta University which was held last week was undoubtedly a sense of realism. That was but natural. Life has assumed such a grim aspect to our students, particularly to those who have or are about to cross the portals of the University and stand on the threshold of the deadliest struggle—the struggle

for existence—that those who are called upon to advise them, cannot afford the luxury of aerial flights on the wings of idealism. Nor can the students themselves feel like accompanying them in those flights. From the time our students get into the precincts of the University, they are haunted by the spectre of a gloomy future; as they drag on, the gloom deepens and when finally they are landed into the wider world, utterly broken in body and mind, they can find nothing but piled-up darkness around them. Fortune smiles on a few who can get a footing in life. Others are buffeted by ill-luck, who, after knocking at many a closed door, are at last helplessly carried along the dismal current only to find themselves swelling the number of the unemployed. This is the life-story of the overwhelming majority of our students today.

There is nothing to wonder if under the existing conditions the speakers in the convocation cannot bring to our young hopefuls (alas, the irony of the term!) any very cheerful message. The students are the victims of circumstances over which they have no control. At first some dull years in the school, then a fearful life at the college—fear at the approach of the inevitable dark Destiny—then the Destiny itself, what a vicious circle our boys have to move about, against their will, under the present scheme of things! As a consequence, the waste of youth that the educational system involves is staggering indeed. The future of a country whose youthful energies are allowed to run into such chaotic ruin, can not but fill one with grave apprehension and despair.

It is a sheer superfluity to suggest that the problem of education in our country should be attacked at its very source. No

piecemeal or superficial changes can possibly do. For this reason we feel inclined to think that the convocation addresses should be directed more to those who are responsible for running the educational show than to the students who play the automatic dolls there.

The present aimless, wasteful system should be replaced by *strict planning*. After a preliminary course of general education for all, say, up to the Matriculation standard, talents and tastes should be carefully sorted out and each has to be tacked on to the kind of training that best fits him. That will prevent overcrowding in general line which appears to us to be the greatest bane of education today. In fact, educational policies should be shaped with a strict eye to *employment*, whose avenues have to be expanded in all possible directions. Sir Mirza Ismail in his admirable address touched on a vital point when he referred to scientific agriculture, industrial expansion and admission of larger numbers of Indians in Army and Navy. That is urgently called for today. We are not among those who see in science nothing but evil; we believe that it can be rationally utilised to serve the ends of human welfare. We have the vision of an India industrially advanced, proudly taking her place among the foremost nations of the world,—a country that will assure full meals and comfortable living to her teeming millions of sons and daughters. Both Sir Mirza and the Vice-chancellor rightly called upon the students to address themselves to the glorious task of bringing about communal harmony and that of broader nation-building. But we have over legitimate doubts if a sullen regiment of unemployed can ever be fit for that

noble mission. We cannot also share the view of the Vice-chancellor that the communal problem is *wholly* due to cultural reasons. We believe it to be, to a very great extent, *economic* at bottom, springing from a scramble for loaves and fishes of office—a problem of sheer existence on earth. This brings us back to the question of employment. And as we said before, what is sorely needed today is a *comprehensive and planned educational policy on an All-India basis*, to be given effect to as early as practicable. But where are the vision, the will, and above all, the resources for that stupendous task? That diverts us to a different problem altogether—taking us from educational to a political plane. But how can we keep away from politics since national life is not divided into water-tight compartments?

### THE WAR BUDGET

As was apprehended, the Budget estimates presented by Sir Jeremy Raisman in the Central Assembly have proposed to burden the country with more taxations. It does not matter if the Budget for the current year carries along with it a surplus of Rs. 91 lakhs from last year. It does not also matter if the increased railway freights and fares bring heavy sums to the Government exchequer, pressing, at the same time, too hard on the impoverished population of the land. Even it does not matter if the newly imposed Excess Profits Tax fetch, according to the calculation of the Finance Member himself, an additional 300 lakhs of rupees. More monies are called for, because a war is on. So it has been found necessary to increase the sugar

excise duty from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per cwt and petrol tax from ten annas to twelve annas per gallon, bringing altogether no less than Rs. 330 lakhs to the Government funds. It has not worried Sir Raisman that the increased excise duty on sugar will deal a hard blow to an important Indian industry, still in its infancy; that it will hit the vast number of Indian consumers of this daily necessity, has neither weighed with him. Then again the increase in the petrol tax will badly affect the bus transport to and from villages and will be a burden on the numerous taxiwallas all over the country—this too, has not been certainly a matter of much concern to Sir Raisman. All these considerations have paled into insignificance before the all-important question of carrying on the war. The war is on—that is the mightiest argument and let the poor people of the land be squeezed for that. And what a huge sum does it call for and on what various pleas it has been proposed to be drained off! Let us turn to the heads of expenditure and figures as presented by Sir Raisman. Regarding the first, India shall have to bear the stupendous military charge under four different kinds of demands, namely, (a) a fixed annual sum representing the normal net effective costs of the army in India under peace conditions (b) an addition called for the rises of prices (c) the cost of such war measures as can be regarded as *purely India liabilities* and (d) a lump sum of one crore of rupees towards the extra cost of maintaining India's external defence troops overseas. All told, the total military budget for the current year has been estimated at Rs. 5352 lakhs—more than half of the total expenditure of Rs. 8665 lakhs. It

is no use arguing that India was committed to the present war without her consent and against her will; it is no use arguing, further, that it is being waged for British imperial ends to which our country can not conscientiously be a party. The gory war-chariot must move on because the powers that be have willed it, although it may grind down the people of this land under its wheels. The penalty of national bondage has to be undergone in ever increasing measure until the shackles can be cast off. It is almost fatalistic in its rigours and shall compel submission till the country can stoutly and effectively refuse to bow to it.

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### Bombay Strike

Of late there has been a plethora of strikes all over India and in important industrial cities thousands of workers have downed their tools. The cause is primarily economic and the sudden rise in commodity prices after the outbreak of war has not been followed by corresponding increment of wages. Economic difficulties of the workers are multiplying and at present the city of Bombay is facing a big strike, and the total number of textile workers affected is estimated at 2 lacs. The story of Bombay strike, though of recent origin, is complicated and reveals the reactionary attitude of the mill-owners wriggling in the entwining tangle of miles of red tape. Since the outbreak of war the cost of living has gone up by 40 p. c. on foreign and indigenous articles and this implies an extra profit. Textile workers of Bombay demanded 15 p. c. dearness allowance and in case of its non-compliance

they were to stick to 25 p. c. general increment. Petitions, prayers, representations came to nothing and mill-owners' callousness, equalled by Government's indifference, has precipitated this crisis. There is no denying the fact that war has given a fillip to Indian industries and mill-owners have already earned a mint of money. Is the demand of Bombay textile workers improper and ill-timed? Life of Indian workers is tragic, they are drained of every drop of vitality and robbed of all interests in life. But times are changed and the era of glorying in the possession of wealth is over, and interests of the owners are to be sacrificed to the general well-being of the workers. Bombay mill-owners should repair the error before the entire industrial life is deadlocked. Government must know that denial of rights of association and discussion will breed hatred and rule out the possibility of early settlement. We do not believe that the sterile method of threatening workers into submission will defeat the sense of unity that is the only heritage of the working class.

### Reality and Appearance

The Patna resolution of the Working Committee has been hailed in certain quarters as a brave call to the nation. But we think that it is not really as it appears. The rider in the resolution that fight will be launched when Gandhiji thinks the country fit for it, has undoubtedly neutralised much of the valour displayed in the former part of the same. For, if the country has to wait till it fulfils the conditions laid down by Gandhiji *in toto*, then verily it shall have to sit idle till the Greek Kalends. But this is not all that

fills us with misgivings about the real intention of the resolution. There are wheels within wheels in the inner Congress circle and things are believed to be passing there behind the painted curtain. In this connection we present to our readers certain informations which cannot be disposed of as mere nothings. Sardar Patel has sung in chorus with H. H. the Aga Khan regarding the way of resolving the present tangle and Mr. Satyamurti has echoed the refrain of the song. Then the Indian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reports that both Mr. Rajagopalchari and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai commend Dominion Status for India and a recent *London Times* report tells us that there has been a change in the Congress attitude towards Constituent Assembly and adds that the suggestion of drafting a Constitution by a body drawn from provincial legislatures, is approved at present by Congressmen. Moreover, only the other day Mr. Kidwai, the erstwhile Congress minister of U. P. said that Mahatma Gandhi was still in negotiation with the Viceroy for an early compromise. It is not without significance that all these reports have hitherto remained uncontradicted. To crown everything else, there is the statement of Gandhiji himself that "the Congress has not yet closed its door." Surely, there are more mysteries in the inner Congress world than can be apprehended by the uninitiated public.

### A Free Citizen, Not a Propagandist

Mr. H. G. Wells, one of the originative intellectual workers of Great Britain who are re-conditioning human life, explained in a recent broadcast address to the English-speaking world the reasons for which he and his fellow Liberals are supporting the Allied Governments in the present war. As a free citizen he supports the British Government in this war, and says :

"I support my Government in this war, wholly and solely, because it accords me this freedom of speech and because I believe it is doing its best now according to its lights to fight for this same freedom for me and for the rest of the people who agree with me; not only in Britain but throughout the world." We have heard him on many topics, from Utopian schemes of World Federation to unemployment, providing us with an inexhaustible flow of vague, well-sounding exhortation, the precise purpose of which is largely wrapped in mystery and miracle, and which can only be understood by intellectuals of his way of thinking. The only comment we can make upon his speech is that when he says that Britain is fighting for the freedom of all and simply not for her own, we cannot help thinking that he lapses a little from those standards of judgment which we expect in a representative intellectual of Britain in such circumstances. Unfortunately, we are constrained to remark, he and his like with their bits of intellect and stick and smoking pipe, have always been out-witted, frustrated and discredited by the valiant fighters for freedom with their bombs and tanks and torpedoes. Hence Mr. Wells does not speak about freedom as a free citizen of the world. He speaks as an agent, as a propagandist of the British Ruling Class. He may deny this, but it is a fact that intellectuals of Mr. Wells' brand do live in a fool's paradise and the nursery tales of "Federation and Freedom" are the results of their "heat-oppressed" brains.

### The Purist Pose

That illegitimate offspring of the Working Committee, we mean the Bengal Congress Election Committee, has issued a *firman* regarding the coming Corporation elections in Calcutta. With a right purist pose it has made a grievance of the fact that the B.P.C.C. had entered into an arrangement with the Hindu Mahasabha for running the elections. That arrangement has since been dissolved for reasons which it is needless to repeat here. We fail to understand how even if

it stood, the Congress would have been compromised in any way under the terms of the arrangement. But that is a dead issue now. What amazes us is that how the persons composing the body dare vaunt their purism in view of the fact that not very long ago one of its shining lights entered into a pact with the Europeans, headed by Mr. Rooney, to torpedo the Congress in the Corporation. Even the later feats of this bluffing minority junta of the Bengal Congress in the civic affairs of Calcutta have remained unforgettable to the people of this province. Has not this group, in open league with the Europeans and other reactionary elements in the Corporation, been seeking to foil every measure sponsored by the Congress Party even now? By a fiat of the High Command the Congress executive in the province has to-day been robbed of its official seal, which it bore till the other day. But what justification could there be *at that time* in opposing the Congress on every occasion in combination with the elements mentioned before? Was it not pure and simple betrayal of the Congress cause? Indeed, the shameful Plassey tradition still lingers on and it is for the people of this great province to give it a decent burial today. We have no doubt they know who is who and what is what in the present scheme of things.

### American Neutrality

Mr. Joseph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador in London said in a press interview: "If isolation means a desire to keep out of the war, I should say that it is definitely stronger now in America. I think very definitely that this feeling of isolation has increased by the examination of mails and the stopping of ships. Such things as the sinking of neutral ships makes an impression on American minds, but does not make America want to go to war." This is not an insignificant utterance. There are the non-belligerents today who are frankly discontented with their present state of affairs and leave little doubt that when the time comes—to borrow a recent discour-

teous phrase from *New York*—they "will jump in to help the upper dog." But as regards America the case is different. U.S.A. has not forgotten the disappointments that were inflicted upon her when President Wilson was unwise enough to come to Versailles and she hopes that this time by keeping out of the broil she will be strong enough to have a decisive voice on the drafting of the next peace treaty. Recent improvement in business situation in U. S. A. lends additional weight to this expectation. It is estimated that between July 1939 and July 1940 there will be a 33 p. c. increase in sales of radio sets and gramophones; and other indices of national prosperity such as refrigerator, passenger motor vehicle, and motor lorry sales will rise respectively by 30,26 and 23 per cent. This swift return to prosperity may serve in domestic affairs as a potent factor in President Roosevelt's recently rumoured decision for a third term of office and also, in foreign affairs it will give assurance to America's already influential voice. It is America's interest to see that she is not embroiled in this war, and the longer she will be able to maintain her neutrality, the greater will be her prosperity and stronger will grow her influence.

### FOR THE SOCIALIST PANDIT

D. N. Prith K. C. M. P. writes to Pandit Nehru :

"I have read with respect your condemnation of Soviet action in Finland. I feel that you have not considered Soviet case fully, and indeed you may not have had the opportunity to know that case properly.

I would suggest to you and all Congressman not to express judgment of condemnation till all facts are available for consideration. There is a full discussion of this problem in my new book—*Must The War Spread*. All the praise of Russian socialism and past history expressed by you and others in India should convince you of the extreme unlikelihood of Russia behaving in the manner described by the British imperialist press."

Will Panditji respond ?

By "Bewildered"

## ILLUSIONS AND DELUSIONS (1)

The past three years are perhaps the craziest years in the history of Indian politics. These are the years of the gravest blunders and the maddest political romanticism, which seems to have landed the country in a frightful mess. And from this there seems to be no way out, so much so, that the only outlet that one great leader could see is by way of an exodus to a foreign land, or the traditional flight to the Himalayas, or last of all, a violent extermination of himself.

### How has such a situation arisen ?

The question is : how has this situation arisen ? Notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of office-acceptance, it seems that Pt. Jawaharlal and others who opposed the proposition in the beginning were in the right, for the whole trouble can be traced to that fateful decision which changed the entire outlook of the Congress and converted it from a revolutionary mass movement into one of constitutional bourgeois reformism. So instead of pushing forward with the programme of preparing the country for the inevitable fight for freedom, the leaders settled down to learn and master the art of parliamentary phrase-mongering and of bureaucratic state-craft, which the Congress had, time and again, condemned in unequivocal terms before assuming office. This was paradoxically done with the object of wrecking the constitution. But as was natural the official chairs proved too cosy and comfortable to be easily discarded, and therefore the original destructive intentions were soon forgotten. However the futility and hollowness of the so-called provincial autonomy was palpably revealed and what the Congress seems to have got out of this hopeless bungling was a certain amount of discredit with both the intelligentsia and the masses, whose miserable plight remained altogether unrelieved under the Congress regime. The former wanted jobs and the latter wanted bread and the provincial governments could provide neither.

Another result of this assumption of office is the worsening of the communal situation. How it happened is now pretty obvious. The Congress, when it came into office, naturally offended the old occupants of the ministerial *gadis* and their satellites for whom it could not find room in the new cabinets. These malecontents found their natural haven in communal organisations—the Muslims in the Muslim League, and the Hindus in the Hindu Sabha. And they began to disturb and harass the Congress governments in their administrative carnival. The former raised the handy and ready-made slogan of "Islam in danger," and began to spread the communal virus by disseminating all sorts of wild reports about the atrocities committed by the Congress governments upon their

helpless Muslim subjects. Now the only right course for the Congress was to continue and intensify its work among the Muslim masses through its Muslim agents and adherents, who should have been properly organised and equipped with suitable slogans and literature in order to counteract this mischievous propaganda by effective counter-propaganda. But the leaders thought differently. They followed what seemed to be the easier course, and tried to placate the mischief-mongers and started frantic efforts to cajole and win over their leader. This amounted to a virtual recognition of, till then the loosely knit, bourgeois-cum-landlord reactionary League, as the sole, or at least the most important representative of 8 crore Muslims of whom 99% may be said to have as much in common with their self-appointed representatives as the sheep have with their fleecers, or the lean kine with their skinners. The disastrous results of this mistake, which has not yet been altogether abandoned, are now too obvious to need any comment.

### Diversion From Home Politics To International Politics

Having in their own minds satisfactorily solved all the domestic problems by getting into office, the leaders turned their attention to international politics, and adopted the slogan : "India's fate is linked up with that of the rest of the world." Accordingly we were incessantly told that we should keep our eyes on the international situation for there lay the secret of our political redemption. Now the only meaning that one could attach to these somewhat mysterious and mystical pronouncements was that another world war was imminent, and that when it came India would be able to win her freedom. But there was not a word, much less any organised attempt, to prepare for the day of deliverance. It was perhaps thought that on the dawn of that happy day all that Mother India shall have to do will be to don her best *sari*—her only panopoly of War—and just sing "*Bande Matram*," and the Englishman, helpless as he must be feeling at the moment, will just bow, hand over the keys, pack up, and go.

But this was not all. One great leader was despatched to Europe to study the international situation. He travelled all over Europe, visited even the battle-fields of Spain where a great fight was being fought between the forces of progress and of reaction, and brought back not an inspiring message, such as might have roused the young men and women of India from their supine complacency, and served as a trumpet call to rise and line up for action, but the same old banal observations about the international situation, which when matured would bring about, as it were,

by providential intervention and a great miracle, India's political and economic emancipation. We were also authoritatively advised to study international history like "Glimpses in World History," without any clarification or specification of the aspects or the problems which should engage our special attention.

Now, if instead of this vague and indefinite counsel of indiscriminate and aimless browsing in international history, the leaders had only got written and printed in all the important vernaculars of the country, brief outlines of the histories of the recent political and revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia, especially in the countries with which India has a historical and economic similitude, and from which therefore she can learn a great deal, and distributed them wholesale in the country, that would have created a real political awakening among the masses and prepared them for the hour of their deliverance. Incidentally this would have given both the intelligentsia and the masses an idea of how politics were viewed in other countries i.e. as something entirely separate and distinct from religion, and thus provided a basis for proper political alignments, as distinct from the present communal divisions which have been created and emphasised by our rulers and which are being capitalised by the self-seeking leaders among the various communities.

### The International Situation Arises

At long last the much-talked-about international crisis comes i.e. war is declared between the Great European powers. What do the leaders do now ? They only look for the miracle to happen. However to facilitate its appearance, they proclaimed that India would not take undue advantage of her masters difficulties but would offer her willing, unconditional support in their democratic fight against the hateful Nazis. The leaders very much hate these Nazis, whose methods however, they are not loth to copy, *vide*, the wholesale suppression of all attempts at clear and independent thinking, and the political strangulation of the recalcitrant Boses, Narimans and others, of course under the irrefutable plea of all tyrants and dictators, viz, Discipline.

Meanwhile, another leader was flying back in triumph after negotiating a successful pact of mutual admiration and sympathy with China which was just another link in the international chain. Even before he had alighted on the Indian soil, he hastened to echo the sentiments of rigid abstention from all haggling and bargaining and the gentlemanly offer of a free nation's support to another great nation in the latter's



hour of need. He, however, added a reassuring caveat for the consumption of those who, under the same leader's advice, had been impatiently waiting for the promised day of deliverance, that the miracle would happen at the termination of the war when there will be a new order of things, a brave new world, in which India will find herself with, of course, little ado on her own part, in the ranks of free, independent and prosperous nations. Seemingly this cheerful optimism was based on the assumption that the Englishman was a natural sportsman, a born cricketer; and that if Indians at this juncture behaved like good boys, he would spontaneously reward them for their exemplary behaviour with a bigger and more attractive toy than the provincial autonomy which after all, had not proved altogether uninteresting or boring.

And it seemed that for once the hopes were going to materialise. The leader was summoned by the Viceroy. The first interview, as reported in the press, turned out to be a rather sentimental affair. The leader was very much moved by the thought of London being bombed by the barbarous Nazis. This first audience raised great hopes in the mind of the leader, for while returning from it, he joyfully told some inquisitive enquirer that he had not returned "empty-handed."

Then followed the historic statement of the Congress Committee, which won its composer the title of the "Honoured Artist of the people", and the further distinction of being the superman of India, who thought, felt, spoke and wrote like an Englishman. In this statement the rulers were asked to define their War aims, as if they were not already clear even to the purblind, that is, the preservation of the Empire which must include the maintenance of *status quo* in regard to India.

This historic statement, the masterpiece of diplomatic composition, elicited the reply: "Don't be impatient, don't be foolish. You know we are a democratic people. And as such we should like to see the whole world, including yourselves, democratised. And we are steadily moving, though unavoidably at a snail's pace, towards that great goal." This was apparently a rude shock to the leaders whose happy dreams were greatly disturbed. Accordingly, they expressed their disappointment with becoming humility, but they did not lose all their faith in the sportsmanship of the rulers and therefore did not close the doors for future negotiations.

Then followed a series of further meetings between the Viceroy and innumerable leaders of all colours, creeds and shades of political opinion. Alongside of this there was a revival of frantic efforts on the part of the leaders for a settlement with the Muslim League. And this all in the belief that the only hitch in the occurrence of the great miracle, viz., the dawn of the day of deliverance from the West, was the want of unison between the

great leader of the Muslim League, (a great organisation which the Congressites had previously been warned not to criticise.) and the leaders of the Congress. The hitch, however, seems to be irremovable and is assuming serious proportions.

But the leader, a confirmed optimist, has not lost all hope, and has therefore left the door open, may be, for just a glimmer of light from the West. And this glimmer was at last seen in the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club in Bombay. The leader again sought audience with the Viceroy, in order to make sure whether it was really the harbinger of the dawn. The audience proved that the glimmer was only an optical illusion. And the great thing is that the leader has also realised that it was an illusion. Still it seems that he, as he once observed, "lives on hope and hope he would not give up till the very end of his life."

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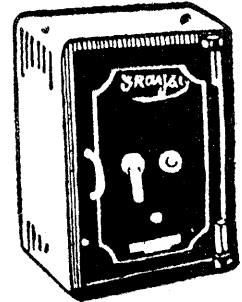
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# INDIA'S WORK FOR ENGLAND

By Principal B. S. Roy

Numberless books, magazines, articles and essays have been written, speeches delivered and pictures drawn to prove and preach the benefits conferred on India by England and Englishmen, since the foundation of the East India Company in that year of grace, 1599, when Queen Elizabeth granted the charter creating a company of merchants to trade with the East. England's work in India is a prolific subject which inspires all writers and thinkers, but none thinks in the opposite way, which I consider to have been a great omission. I have not figures and facts at my command, otherwise it might be proved by undeniable official figures that the commercial, military and even the intellectual greatness of England is largely due to her connection with India.

Students of history who understand the operation of the principles of cause and effect as applicable to historical phenomena, will admit, it may be hoped, that the conquerors everywhere learn much from the conquered and are benefited by them in various ways. According to our Hindu conception of the organic nature of society, of which the mouths were the Brahmins, the arms the Kshatriyas, the thighs the Vaisyas, and the feet the Sudras, the idea of mutual helpfulness and co-operation was clearly accepted and acted upon. The story of Menenius Agrippa in the Roman history is well-known. When the Plebeians seceded from the city of Rome and threatened that they would found a separate city to live apart from the Patricians, as their various grievances, social, political and religious, were not cared for and redressed by the Patricians, Menenius, an old Patrician, persuaded them to come back by telling them a story to the following effect: The members of the human body thinking that the belly that did not do any work, yet consumed the fruits or the labour of the other members, such as hands, feet, etc., struck work and remained idle. The consequence was that the whole body became weak and emaciated and the active members also grew enfeebled. Similarly, the lower orders wrongly

believe the higher orders to be useless. This story illustrates convincingly the organic nature of the human society. In ancient Rome, the practical wisdom of the Romans directed them aright and they knew the utility of allowing all people to have the rights of citizenship, so that they might be asked to do the duties of citizens, according to the capacity of each class. This plain fact has not been properly recognised by the writers on England's work in India.

Any student who will carefully go through the history of the rise of the British power in India and compare the two civilizations of the East and the West that came into contact with each other, will have no doubt, that the benefits of this contact were not one-sided. Mr. J. Wells, who has an insight into historical facts, writes in his Roman history: "The Romans had gone to Spain to protect themselves from the Carthaginians, in fact, purely as a measure of defence. Spain was to them what India has been to the English, who, in the same way, established themselves as ruling powers in the East, to exclude the Dutch and the French. And in another respect Roman dominion in Spain is like that of England in India. It illustrates the great principle that when once a foreign nation gets a firm hold on the sea-board of a country inhabited by weaker or low-civilised tribes, its dominion must extend till they reach natural boundaries. It is not a question of deliberate aggression; it is rather due to the fact that the conflicting ideas of right lead of necessity to actual conflicts; and in these, in the long run, the weaker goes down." This clearly shows how our native chiefs came forward and at their own instance sought the protection of the Company against each other and against their own rebellious subjects. Prof. Seeley's books on the expansion of British power in India and in the world throws further light on the question of the so-called conquest of India. Mr. Wells again says that in one respect the conquest of Spain differed from that of India. In Spain the two races were assimilated by inter-marriage which is barred in India by several obstacles.

Then he proves by citing facts how Spain was a training-ground for the Roman soldiers, officers and administrators. "Spain was" says he "a school for Roman generals, who really wished to learn the art of war." Further on he says: "In fact it was in Spain that the Romans first maintained a standing army."

Has not India been a training-ground for the British soldiers, generals and administrators, and even scholars?

For the purpose of assessing correctly the benefits that England has derived from her connection with India, it will be necessary to look at the condition of England at the end of the sixteenth century, financially and in other respects, and her condition, economical, social, etc. in the year 1900. During these three hundred years what wealth the English people have taken from India and how many of the different classes have been the reapers of this harvest, should be considered. No doubt England had certain colonies since the time of Queen Elizabeth and they were a very good market for the British goods, which Burke has lucidly discussed in his speeches on American Taxation and Conciliation. But by the end of the 18th century, since when the British industries were growing, after the invention of George Stephenson Hergreves and Cartright had taken place, the colonies were lost to England. India was, however, then brought under her sway (the Battle of Plassey was won by Clive in 1757) and her dominion here was spreading since that date. From the history of British trade we may prove by actual figures how India has contributed to the growth of British industries and commerce. Dean Inge in one of his "Outspoken Essays," frankly admits how the capital for the development of the British industries was supplied from India, specially from Bengal. Students of Burke's writings know how the servants of the East India Company became rich and were called "Nababs." These Nababs commanded a great influence in Parliament, so that Burke was justified in saying, "The breakers of laws in India become the makers of laws in England." Any one reading simply the works of Burke bearing on India, such as his speech, "On the Debts of the Nawab of Arcot," and on "the Impeachment of Warren Hastings" will get some ideas as to how India was robbed. This money taken by the servants of the Company supplied the capital for the development of British industries. How the market was created

for British goods here may be learned from various books, specially Major D. Bose's, "The Ruin of Indian Industries."

In order to form an idea as to the economical benefits derived by England one need look at the following monumental works, viz, Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji's "Un-British Rule in British India", Digby's "Prosperous British India", Mr. R. C. Dutt's "India under the Victorian Era", and "Letters to Lord Curzon" etc. Those who have sought to disprove the "Drain Theory" of Mr. Dadabhai, have proved nothing, stating that the payment that India makes to England, has to be made for services rendered to her by Englishmen and English capital. As the natives of India are as competent to do this service, and India also has got capital now, their assumption is wrong. The Islamic rulers, inspite of everything said against them by the European writers, spent the money raised, in various ways, from the people of India, in India and supported the arts and the industries of the country. The money thus came to the pockets of the people and fructified there. If one could make an inquiry into the family history of every Englishman during the three hundred years from 1600 A. D., to 1900 A. D., he might show that a large percentage of people beginning with the aristocrats down to the labourers, derived their incomes and fortunes from their connection with India. A leader of the Conservative peers remarked on the eve of the sitting of the Round Table Conference that every family in England derived one-fifth of its income from India, either directly or indirectly.

The influence of India on England has been indirect in many cases. England's philosophers who are now known as *Brahmabaddins*, must have known something of the system of Indian thoughts. The late Dr. Winternitz traces the influence of the Upanishads on the Sufis as well as on the German mystics, Tauler and others. We may more reasonably trace the influence of the teachings of our Rishis on the English writers and thinkers to-day. This question needs be pursued in individual cases and the effect of the contact with India pointed out. English scholars who came here as teachers and lecturers, have been unconsciously influenced by the writings of the Rishis. Dr. Annie Besant and others of her class have frankly admitted it, others may not have been so frank. We may hope that in course of time, when European scholars will come in more intimate contact with our systems of thought, they will more frankly admit the benefits. England is giving us the ideals of a body-centric civilisation and we shall give her the ideals of a soul-centric culture. In the Indian system of thinking the soul and its welfare were the main concerns. In Europe the civilisation has been built with the body as the centre of thought. Hence she has attained the ideal of freedom in politics, in social organisation and in her industrial organisation. We require these ideals, but not forgetting our own.

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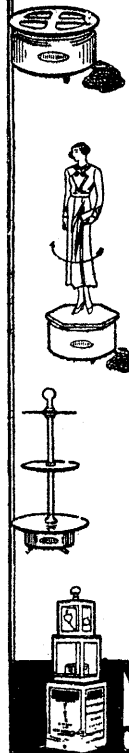
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By D. M. MAZUMDAR

## THE REALITIES OF THE WAR

Immediately after the last world war, a great pacifist leader of Europe once declared that the barge of world-peace would again founder on the rocks of minorities and armaments. At Versailles, much was heard about the right of self-determination of the smaller nationalities of Europe—especially central Europe. "One nation, one state"—was one of the slogans which found much favour with President Wilson, and the League avowedly set itself towards the solution of the much-vexed question of minorities. After the lapse of two decades we again find ourselves facing a war,—a war more devastating than the previous one, considering the resources at the disposal of the belligerents and the tremendous strides at which science has progressed during the last two decades. To-day, the war presents the same worn-out questions of minorities and armaments and the problem of boundaries is intimately connected with the question of minorities. After the conclusion of the last world war when Europe emerged from the chaos of human holocaust, a great hope was held out before the world that the question of minorities would be solved and the justice meted out to the minor nationalities of Europe. But in the turmoil of post-war adjustments, the Allied Powers forgot to implement the pledge so solemnly given and instead resorted to a plan of territorial re-distribution casting all considerations of culture, race, history and language to the winds. The conception of a state composed of murmuring nationalities— all huddled up together, without any common bond to mould all of them into a national entity, received a rude shock during the last few months. Poland and Czechoslovakia will even serve as a stern warning against any such efforts to frame heterogenous peoples into such hotch-potch nations, based only on the shifting sands of the conception of territorial nationality, not cemented by any cultural, racial or historical affinities.

The formation of Poland and the bifurcation of Germany by the creation of Danzig Corridor is an instance to the point. The disruption of Austro-Hunga-

rian Union, creation of independent states of Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slovia, separation of Albania from Turkey—in all cases without due regards to the sentiments of smaller nationalities, paved the way for another European conflict. These treaty-nations broke-up at the first opportunity they got: The German part of them went over to Germany, the Russian to Russia, Czechs to Czechs and Poles to Poles. The politics of boundaries have always exercised a far-reaching influence in European diplomacy and the same question of boundaries is again looming large in the present European conflict. In the Finnish war the same problem has come to the fore.

Germany is fighting two battles: a war against England and France; and a struggle against her own economy and resources. German national economy must be examined on two fronts: her internal economy and her foreign trade. When Hitler came to power a large sector of the German economic machine was idle. By 1938, Germany was working at full capacity, not only was there a shortage of labour but overtime was required. Even women and children were pressed into service. As regards the lack of the necessary supply of labour, the report of Dr. Syrup, the President of the Reich Labour Office puts the figure of workers needed at no less than 200,000 at the beginning of 1938. In the course of 1938 the figure rose to 381,000—a lack which was supplied by importing workers from abroad. There was a further pressure on the rural agrarian population, duped as they were, by the lure of city life and the prospective increase in wages. The exodus of a large number of people from villages into the factories in the towns created a shortage of over 800,000 men in German agricultural labour. At the beginning of 1939, the German Press could not disguise the anxieties which this phenomenon was causing to the leaders of the country.

"In an economy geared on a peace basis, the normal end of all investments is to produce capital goods which are then used to produce consumer's goods, or to

put in every-day language, we invest in factories, railways, theatres which in turn furnish us with automobiles, clothings, transportation and amusement"—says Dr. Richard T. Ely, the great economist. Since 1933, the organisation of the German economy has been quite different, it has been geared on a military economy. By 1938, the production of consumer's goods had fallen *per capita* of population as compared with 1932, while that of capital goods had doubled. To achieve this the Nazi government have liquidated foreign investments, sucked dry savings banks and insurance companies and there has been violent increases in the note circulation of the Reichbank and the successive new public loans. As Dr. Ely says:—

"The portfolio of every bank, insurance company and public undertaking is now loaded with the Reich's I. O. U's." To go any further was "not only senseless" to quote Germany's own Dr. Schacht, "but injurious because the newly created money cannot induce new production of goods but only competition for existing labour and raw materials."

One of the primary needs of Germany is oil. Germany's peace-time consumption of oil amounts to 6627 thousand tons but in war-time it is estimated that the needed amount would vary from 30 to 40 million tons. This huge consumption of oil by Germany is primarily due to the fact that she neglected her railways which could be conveniently used during war as the cheapest means of transportation and communication. Germany's entire system of communication is based mainly on roads and this fact alone explains her ever-increasing demand for oil. We have heard a good deal about Rumanian oil. But even if Germany were to get all Rumania produces, it would still be only about a third of her war-time needs. The increased motorization programme of Germany led to a stupendous increase in oil consumption so that in 1937, out of an oil consumption of 5150,000 tons, internal supplies provided only 35.9 per cent. German import of oil, according to reliable figure, amounted in 1938 to a total of 1,328,411 tons of crude oil and 3,640,522 tons of refined oil.

Germany has recently concluded her commercial agreements with Rumania. Hard on the heels, a Franco-Rumanian trade agreement was concluded the object of which was to cover France's oil requirements from Rumania. Since then, England has come to an agreement with Rumania which secures for her a considerable amount of Rumanian oil. Seven-eighths of the present Rumanian oil production is in the hands of the Western Powers while the German interest amounts to 1.3 per cent. There is another important factor with regard to Rumanian oil. Recently, it has been noticed that the production of oil in the country has been steadily falling. In 1936, it was still up to 8,703,054 tons, in the year 1938 it had already fallen to 6,350,000 tons.

In conducting a war, iron, coal, oil, copper, lead, cotton, rubber, nickel, tin, nitrates, sulphur, mica, chromite, aluminium, zinc, wool, manganese, phosphorus, potash, mercury, tungsten and antimony are vital necessities. Of these Germany produces in sufficient quantities only four, potash, nitrates, coal and zinc. From the point of view of food stuffs she is in a similar predicament. She imports almost 400 million dollars worth annually.

Germany entered the arena of the war after concluding trade and military agreements with Russia. But Soviet's military pre-occupation in Finland has already created situations which are hardly favourable for fulfilling her trade agreements. In assessing the economic strength of the Nazi Germany we should also have regard to the numerous trade agreements with her non-belligerent neighbours which have secured for her at least a certain degree of economic independence. The question of what Italy will do is, of course, of considerable military importance. Considering every aspect of German foreign trade and internal economy, it can perhaps be said that the economic blockade of the type witnessed in last war can hardly succeed as a weapon in the present conflict.

The present European war has been started after due calculation of the resources at the command of the parties and the duration and extent of the conflict. To-day Great Britain and France are far better prepared than they were in 1914. In the last war there were only five weeks between warnings of Serajevo and the start of the conflict. This time

four years elapsed since the crises in Ethiopia and there have been ten months of hectic preparations since Munich. The air has been thick with rumour during the last ten years that a great European crisis was impending. The signal for war was sounded in Great Britain, as early as 1929 when huge loans were floated for the re-organisation of the defence mechanism and the increase of armaments. Sir John Simon in making public the British budget for 1939-40 announced that "the whole of our contemporary public finances is governed and conditioned by our defence expenditures." Commenting on the Budget Dr. Ely said "The expenditure for public defence has increased five-fold during the last five years. The current budget carries the largest appropriation and the largest deficit in British history."

All these show the preparedness of Great Britain in case she is involved in a major international crisis. Unlike the last great war the present European tangle is shorn of its dramatic velocity. The storm was brewing in Europe's horizon during the last ten years and the states of Europe only awaited the crisis to come

at any moment, and it has come not a moment too soon.

England might have been ill-equipped to wage war, but through circumstances and ingenuity she has overcome her geographical limitations. While from two-thirds to three-quarters of her food supply is normally imported and while she is more deficient in raw materials within her national boundaries than Germany, she has knit together an empire of 600 million scattered over the four corners of the earth which she can sponge on as far as possible. France is in a comparable position although she is self-sufficient to a higher degree within her own national limits.

The most important aspect of the present day warfare is its psychological back-ground. No war can be brought to a successful termination while the morale of the people continues to be shaken and the morale of a people largely depends upon economic stability. It has also an international aspect. Recently Britain has been loud in her proclamation of war-aims and a number of statements made by the British Premier can have only one aim in view, viz, creating a psychological background for the continuance of war. England has, to a certain extent, been successful in winning over moral and ideological support of a number of European states while America has been only too glad to revise her Neutrality Bill.

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By BISWANATH DUBEY

## FORWARD BLOC AND "NATIONAL FRONT" GROUP

The Forward Bloc has met with opposition from various quarters, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those for which the Forward Bloc stands. But the latest opposition comes from people whose immediate political aims are similar to those of the Forward Bloc. The statements that the "National Front" group has lately issued in relation to the National struggle and the Forward Bloc have caused painful surprise. They have, in effect, made the following charges :—

1. That the Forward Bloc is adventurist in its policy.
2. That the Forward Bloc is non-revolutionary and will follow the Gandhian tactic in the coming struggle which will end in compromise.
3. That the Forward Bloc does not agree with the view of the "National Front" group that only through the intensification of local and partial struggles can pressure be brought upon the Congress Working Committee to issue the National call, which, in their view, the Working Committee alone is competent to do.

### Let us examine these charges.

It is a matter of recent history that even before the Forward Bloc was formed we fervently pressed the Congress High Command to make preparations for leading the coming struggle as we foresaw a rapid deterioration in the international situation. Since the Forward Bloc was formed, its main line of agitation has been to force the High Command to resume the path of struggle. Forward Bloc was definitely designed to be not a single political party, but to be a Bloc representing all groups and parties of the Left. It is obvious from this that no particular individual or group of individuals had any intention of monopolising the leadership of the National movement. In fact, we held and we still hold that the unity of the Left with the combined leadership of all Leftist groups was the need of the hour. Even the "National Front" group did not want to join the Forward Bloc which in our view was a great blow to Left unity, when the Rightist Camp stood united as also the Imperialist Camp. At their suggestion the Left Consolidation Committee was formed which became practically a loose

consultative body and which has proved impotent to discharge the functions which the Forward Bloc was designed to do. Let Leftists judge from objective results whether the line taken by the National Front at that time was right. Was it adventurism on the part of the Forward Bloc to have a Bloc where all Left groups were united so that pressure could be brought to bear on the Working Committee to resume the revolutionary struggle of the Congress? In order to create the organisational basis of the future struggle the Forward Bloc organised its provincial and district committees which the National Front group opposed and perhaps still opposes.

Political adventurism can only arise when (1) The objective situation is not ripe for a movement, and (2) when the minimum organisational pre-requisite is non-existent. We hope the "National Front" group will not dispute the point that the objective situation is ripe enough. With regard to the second point, the formation of the Forward Bloc itself in order to give organisational unity to all Leftist groups shows that it was not un mindful of the organisational need. As we have said above, the subsequent efforts of the Forward Bloc to build its own organisation throughout India was opposed by the "National Front" group. Who benefited by this policy of the National Front group? Is it not the Rightists who have gone on consolidating themselves? If the "National Front" group, the C. S. P. and the Royists were inside the Forward Bloc, the pressure on the Congress High Command (for which the "National Front" group is now crying) would have been tremendous and the path of compromise would have been permanently blocked.

Is it not a pity that at this moment when international crisis is deepening and the Indian situation is fast ripening, the "National Front" group should suddenly pursue a policy and issue statements which would objectively further disrupt the Left and correspondingly strengthen imperialist forces and their waiters-on?

We could not have believed that of all groups the National Front group could say that the Forward Bloc would pursue the Gandhian tactic, that it was non-revolutionary and that it would compromise in the end. The numerous writings of the Weekly Forward Bloc and the sufferings of the Forward Bloc at the hands of the compromising clique of the Congress and the tenacity with which against tremendous odds, it is trying to hummer out Left unity and lay the agitational and organisational basis for an uncompromising struggle for the independence of our

country, would give the lie direct to such a false, foul and unworthy statement. Is it not a fact that we entreated the "National Front" leaders to join the Forward Bloc, while retaining their own independent organisation, and play a leading role in the Forward Bloc? Does that connote that it was following a Gandhian tactic which would end in compromise? Is it not curious that the National Front leaders rejected that offer and went on worshipping at the altars of Gandhiji, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and of the Fabians of the C. S. P.? Do they represent a revolutionary policy? They have all rejected the National Front leaders, but our offer to them to join the Forward Bloc still stands in the name of Left unity and the coming struggle.

For the Forward Bloc to give a nationwide call, if the Working Committee does not do so, has been called adventurism. But is it not the worst form of adventurism to issue calls for local and partial struggles in the political sense while waiting for the bourgeois leadership of the Congress to issue the national call when it chooses? What if the Working Committee not merely does not give the call but hastens to compromise with imperialism in order to stop an unwanted movement? We hold that the nationwide struggle and partial struggle should not be viewed as standing apart in water-tight compartments, that merely waiting for the partial struggles either to develop automatically into a national struggle or to put pressure on the Working Committee to act, would be sheer adventurism. The partial struggles should form part of the national struggle and be absolutely interlinked with it. We should not wait for the Working Committee's pleasure to issue the national call, for it may never come. Those who desire "proletarian hegemony" to emerge in course of the National struggle, are most welcome. But that can happen only if they form the spear-head of the National movement under united Left leadership. That cannot be done by sectarianism and by sabotaging the unity of the Left which we have been building up with the greatest pains.

May we appeal to rank and file Leftists to scrutinise the group leadership they follow? A situation has come to India when it is now or never. Consolidation of forces is essential. Further disruption of the Left is death. Let us hope that the rank and file will influence their leaders of the National Front group, the C. S. P. and the Royists to realise the supreme need of Left unity at this critical hour. Let not the national movement be betrayed by disunity and disruption.

