Ramgarh

FORWARD BLOG

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor: SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

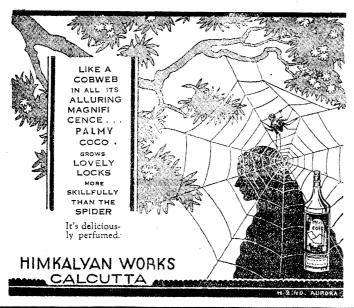
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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, MARCH 16

Ramgarh

The small village Ramgarh has today assumed a tremendous importance. All eyes are now turned towards it. In a day or two the Congress will begin its session there and shall have to take the most fateful decision. The present situation, both national and international, has put India on her trial. Will she fail in this crucial hour of her history? It is the thought upper-most in every ardent mind. Will the Congress still vacillate, falter and fumble out some uncertain accents? Will it put up a sorry, nay, shameful spectacle? Franky speaking, we find nothing to be hopeful about. As a matter of fact, the Congress executive has pre-deliberated at Patna and given its verdict. The bigger assembly will meet only to say ditto to it. Ramgarh, the venue of the official Congress, has been robbed of all its grace and attraction by Patna, whose resolution will be formally put before the gathering and most probably nodded uniformly into acceptance. And what is that resolution? It has been put to scrutiny and shown up. It is rank indecision couched in brave verbiage. It has told nothing though said much. It has not satisfied the throbbing urge of the nationalist soul. It has left the un-prudent, idealist elements in the country utterly cold. Really, it is not the time to wallow in sheer blank. The country must now decide and that boldly. It is the consciousness of this imperative necessity that has called into being another Conference at Ramgarh. It has not been conceived and got

up in a vain spirit of bravado. In fact, no body would have been happier than the sponsers of this Conference if it could have been avoided. But that was not be. The present leadership of the Congress will not act. Instead of putting itself in the vanguard of a country-wide struggle, it has chosen only to equivocate and procrastinate, trying all the while to negotiate terms with imperialism. This suicidal drift has to be stopped, an effective counterblast to it has to be offered. So the truly anti-imperialist forces in the country have found it necessary to assemble at Kisannagar, in another part of Ramgarh, to register their emphatic protest against the weak, compromising policy of the High Command and decide on a bold course of action. It will be a teeming hive of the kisans, mazdoors, students, youths, -in fact of all those in the country who have not swerved from the national ideal of complete independence and do not shirk a fight. We know that the unity of the Congress will be seriously affected by two simultaneous shows at one and the same place. We sincerely regret it. But what is unity worth if it fails to strive for and achieve the goal? What remains of the Congress if it cannot prove itself a real exponent of the Indian people's will and aspirations? But the Congress cannot die and by the unavoidable parting of ways between the old and the new, it will only broaden its base and gather greater strength. Even now we hope, perhaps against hope, that a division in Congress ranks will be averted. Will the combined forces of the nation be able to march together under a common banner after Ramgarh? We pause for a reply.

The Doll-Dance At Delhi

The growing popular movement in the country including the States has begun to tell heavily on the nerves of the Princes and a few days ago their Chamber held a two-day session at Delhi and passed some resolutions of a distinctly panicky nature. That the Viceroy was called on to preside over it is significant enough; it carries the unmistakable pointer that the vested interests in the country are becoming increasingly alert and under the stewardship of the Government they are preparing to mobilise all their resources to foil the people's drive towards freedom. History never errs and as anticipated long ago, the Indian scene is fast assuming its normal aspect: the haves are jealously holding fast to their possessions and the have-nots are striving to knock them out and establish their human rights. This tussle is inevitable and there can be no manner of doubt as to its final outcome.

It is useless to unravel once again the story of internal administration in the units comprising the princely India. The story has been told innumerable times and has become absolutely familiar today. Suffice it to say that the States are the lingering relics of mediaeval barbarism and as such thorough anachronisms in the modern times of rushing progress. Articles by competent and well-informed authorities have occasionally been published in the Forward Bloc showing that unmasked autocracy still reigns supreme even in such "advanced" States as Mysore and Travancore, that the trumpeted reforms there are nothing but a pompous hoax. And the strangest part of the story is that while the British power-the paramount

vaunted custodian of democracyhas today girded up its loins to crush Hitlerism in Europe, it is carefully buttressing up and nursing, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "hundreds of miniature Hitlers" in this country who have kept their subjects in worse than helot-like state. As a matter of fact, after going through the resolutions and the speeches thereon, one can have no doubt that the whole show was a veritable dolls' dance in which the wire-pulling was done by the Representative of the British power in India, who was present in the meeting all the while with $_{
m the}$ clever of a disinterested spectator. Therefore, the Princes literally sang to the tune set by the Viceroy. They talked of Dominion Status and at the same time of the "protection of their rights arising from treaties, sanads, engagements and otherwise!" Unthinking dolls as they are, they did not exercise their brains to the extent of realising that the treaties and sanads are utterly irreconcilable with that Status, that these would reduce itto a sheer nullity. They further parroted out their tutored demand that in that phantom dominionhood "any unit should not be placed in a position to dominate the others or to interfere with the rights and safeguards guaranteed to them and that all parties must be ensured their due share and fair play." The sinister object of the wirepullers is crystal-clear. Pitting one interest against another, they hope to maintain their paramountcy as long as they can. The most amusing part of the whole performance was that the dolls sought to conceal their identity and strut the stage like free actors. Look, for instance, what the Maharaja of Bikaner said in the course of his

speech: "I may here be permitted to state that many States, big as well as small, owe their existence to the strong arm of their former rulers and that too, long before the establishment of the British empire in India." In his assumed pose of bravado the Maharaja forgot that the time that those rulers got on the saddle, passed away long ago. Today their scions have to face a different country, a different people. And hadnot they creeperlike entwined .themselves with the British plant, they would have been swept away by the torrential mass discontent long ago. Even under protective shelter of the Government let them not remain too secure. The Indian people know full well the forces that are arrayed against them and whom they shall have to fight out. Long, long ago a real King sought to stem the tide of the ocean by brandishing his wand and failed. And it is as certain as anything that the surging tide of mass consciousness in India will not be turned back at the threat of the faked and puny Canutes, even though they are now being held up by a tottering imperialism. them be under no illusion about the fate that is sure to overtake them at no distant date.

The Soviet-Finnish Pact

Twenty-two years ago, on March 3, 1918, the Bolsheviks accepted the inevitable and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk was signed. Such was the situation that the representatives of a revolutionary regime should sit at the same table with the spokesmen of a reactionary military caste, that a Bavarian nobleman, a 'Knight of the Golden Fleece' and a Prussian Major-General should negotiate on equal

terms with a group of Bolshevik leaders but lately returned from exile, and from whose clothes the stink of cells had barely vanished. The Treaty required Russia to cede to Germany and Austria-Hungary Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, Estonia, the Islands of the Moon Sound, and to Turkey Ardahan, Kars and Batum. Russia was cut off from the Black Sea and from the Baltic also. At that time Lenin, the true lover of freedom, did not hesitate a moment to greet with joy the independence of Finland. But the ungrateful Finnish Ruling Class gladly joined in a massacre of the innocent Bolsheviks with the Interventionists. killed the socialists in thousands and rendered hundreds homeless. Such is the reward which the Finnish rulers paid to the Bolsheviks, who brought them freedom, their birth-right.

Since then, the Finnish Ruling Class, the semi-Feudal Polish Landowners and the pro-Fascist Baltic Barons have been conspiring to smash the Soviet Union, under the leadership and guidance of the Big Bourgeois Democracies and Fascist Powers of Europe. Soviet Russia has been witnessing in magnificent calm all these manoeuvrings and enduring all sorts of insults and injuries since that international share-out. But Time changes and History changes too. Today when a similar catastrophe is let loose upon the world, it is the powerful and victorious Soviet Union who, wiping out past differences, stretches her fraternal hand out to all her neighbours. The victim of the most brutal reaction is, after long twenty-two years, the saviour of humanity and progress in Europe.

In Poland, by concluding the Soviet-German "Amity and Frontier" Treaty, the Soviet Union not only has removed the immediate dangers of warlfor her peoples but also has created a formidable dyke against the extension of war. By concluding mutual assistance pacts with the Baltic States, the Soviet Union has established the guarantee of their national independence. The transfer of the city of Vilna and the Vilna region to Lithuania once again shows the respect of the Land of Socialism towards the national interests of small peoples. And the Soviet-Finnish Treaty not only protects the independence of Finland, but also guarantees the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries, who are extremely reluctant to go to war in favour of either 'Democracy' or Fascism.

The Soviet-Finnish Pact is a milestone in modern history, as Brest-Litovsk was in 1918. Then the obvious result of Brest-Litovsk was stupendous experiment of the victorious Soviet Power, the collapse of Austria-Hungary and Germany. Now, the Soviet-Finnish Pact may have similar results of incalculable importance in Europe and the world may have to watch with rapt attention the activities of the THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

CURRENT COMMENTS

Prelude To Repression?

Since the outbreak of war India has been feeling the iron hand of the Government and the recent legislations are negation of civil rights veiled in the guise of emergency. In the last few months the has been a carnival of arrests all over India and some leading public men have been spirited away by the ubiquitous police. And the climax has been capped with the conference of Indian police chiefs held in the Imperial

city. The conference is truely indicative of Government's studied opposition to the growing political consciousness that the Government think would spell countless ills to the existing regime. And Government's nervousness is parallelled by the display of continual threats in the form of arrest and detention. Arrest of Coms. Dange, Randwive, Mirajkar, Jayprakasnarayan, Sajjadzaheer and Maulavi Asrafuddin Chaudhuri reveals depths of baseness to which Imperialism can descend. Is it not an organised attempt to cow down the masses? Government will have to repent in blood and tears the indiscreet action, for the issues of the day cannot he decided by iron. Economically strangled, politically convulsed, India, swarming with countless rebels, has been a challenge to British rule. Dumb millions who are denied life and light and are daily ground down under the Juggernaut car of the greedy, cannot be tamed into submission nor would the avalanche of mellifluous speech damp down their ardour. Britain is called upon to answer at the bar of history, let the professed love of Democracy bloom into action.

Frontier Troubles

For years N. W. Frontier has been the cause of perennial uneasiness to the British Government and in a recent debate in the Central Assembly a Muslim League member bombarded the Government with questions about the present troubles. On the origins of troubles we are not divided, but his suggestions, though animated by a rooted desire to end the perpetual feud savoured of uncanniness towards the Soviet Union. Of late Indian press has spread the myth of the colossus that stretches from Vladi-

vostok to Baku and we are asked to build a bulwark against the Soviet Union that may rob us of our culture and religion in future. Is it not a ruse? Boiled down to its simple form the Frontier problem becomes an economic struggle against the intruders whose lust for dominion has wrought havoc. The ramparts or the military expedition cannot calm down the wild tribes. The royal road to peace lies in the organized dimunition of military activities accompanied by measures of economic relief to the tribes. In the past Tzarist Russia was menaced by its frontier tribes and Soviet Russia solved the knotty problem by creating an autonomous republic in the area. Would British Government copy the example?

Whither Balkans

The Balkan Politics are on the throes of a revolutionary change. We have been hearing since the last Belgrade Conference that Balkan States are consolidating with a view to build up an anti-Soviet Bloc in south-eastern Europe. The Allied Powers interpreted the Conference in their own way and indulged in spreading a lie about the attitude of the Danubian States towards the war. The rebuff of the Turkish Premier was a bit unpleasant to the Allies and Ribbentrop's visit to Rome caused consternation. To this serious may be added the latest decision of the Soviet Union, after the conclusion of Soviet-Finnish Pact, to establish friendly relations with Rumania. This would, we expect, turn the course of Balkan Politics to a new channel which the Allies did not and cannot conceive of.

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GOVERNMENT ON WAR PATH RUTHLESS REPRESSIONS AND ARRESTS ARE RAMPANT

Mr. ASRAFUDDIN CHOWDHURY Imprisoned Under Defence of India Rules

Chittagong, Mar. 14.

Mr. P. K. Sarker, Magistrate, lst Class, delivered judgment and sentenced to-day Maulvi Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhry, Secretary, B. P. C. C., Trailokyanath Chakraborty, member, A. I. C. C. and ex-State prisoner and Sudhangsu Bimal Dutt Editor, now-defunct nationalist weekly "Sangram" to one year's simple imprisonment each under the Defence of India Rules.

The accused were charged with violating the rules by addressing and presiding at the meeting held at the local Jatra Mohan Sen Hall premises on

March 12.

B. P. C. C. SECY. ARRESTED AGAIN Defence Of India Act in Operation Lathi Charge On Crowd

Chitttagong, Mar. 12.

Maulvi Asrafuddin Ahmad Chaudhury, Secretary, B. P. C. C., who came here yesterday and Sj. Troilakya Chakraborty, ex-State prisoner, who arrived here this morning, in connection with Forward Bloc work, were arrested this evening under Defence of India Rules while the former was addressing a public meeting held under the auspices of the local Congress Committee in the premises of J. M. Sen Hall as no permission had been obtained from the District Magistrate for the meeting. Sj. Sudhangshu Bimal Dutt, Editor of the now defuct "Sangram" (a nationalist weekly) was also arrested as he was presiding over the meeting.

The police put them under arrest and stopped the meeting declaring it illegal. Audience became enthusiastic and started shouting nationalist slogans. Police charged the crowd with lathis while they were following Maulvi Asrafuddin Ahmad when he was being escorted to the thana. In order to avoid the crowd the police attempted to engage a hackney carriage but all the coachmen refused to carry out the order of the police and they had to walk to the thana on foot followed by the

vast crowd.

A procession paraded the principal thoroughfares and the business centre of the town shouting various slogans.

ANOTHER BATCH OF THREE ARRESTED

Meeting Declared Unlawful & Dispersed

Chittagong, Mar. 13
Another batch of three viz., Mr. Fakir
Sen, an ex-convict in the Armoury Raid
Case, Mr. Ardhendu Palit, a student of
the Homoeopathic College and Pulin De,

(Continued on Col. 3)

India Government's Drive Against Communists

The Government of India, according to a Press Note issued from New Delhi on March 15, have found it necessary to pass orders for the detention of the main Communist leaders under the Defence of India rules.

Following is the Press Note:-

The Central Government have for a considerable time had cause to view with grave concern the activities of the Communist Party of India. Although the Party has been declared to be an unlawful body, there is ample evidence to show that it continues to operate through a widespread 'underground' organisation. Since the outbreak of war its leaders, by means of subversive propaganda and in other organized ways, have attempted to prejudice the internal peace of India and to interfere with the efficient prosecution of the war by impeding the supply of men and material.

These activities form part of the acknowledged programme of the Communist Party and their extension is known to be planned.

Agents of Foreign Organisation

The Communist leaders have also shown themselves as the willing agents in this country of a foreign organisation, boasting that they take their orders from foreign masters and that the Communist Party of India is a section of the Communist International.

The Central Government in the discharge of their responsibility for the defence of India and the prosecution of the war, have, therefore, found it necessary to pass orders for the detention of the main Communist leaders under the Defence of India Rules.

Communist Leaders arrested

Coms. Dange, Randive, Mirajkar, Rahul Sankratyan have been arrested under the Defence of India Ordinance. (Cont. from Col. 1)

Organising Secretary, Kisan Committee, were arrested while addressing a meeting held to-day in the Jatramohan Sen Hall compound presided over by Mr. Pulin De. The police declared the meeting unlawful and dispersed it whereupon the audience formed a procession with flags and posters and crying revolutionary slogans paraded the town. Hartal was observed. The students of the Graduate School, Jatramohon Sen School and the local College absented themselves from their classes as a protest against yesterday's arrests.

Chittagong, Mar. 14

Two further arrests were made this evening when the police dispersed a public meetion, and chased a crowd ef youths who ran through the streets occasionally shouting slogans.

The arrested men are Mr. Prasanta Chaudhury, who presided at the meeting, and Mr. Suhas Roy, one of the speakers.

SAJJAD ZAHEER IN CUSTODY Defence Ordinance In Operation

Syed Sajjad Zaheer, member of the Executive Council of the Congress Socialist Party, whose house was searched at Allahabad yester day, was arrested this morning under orders of the Government of India under the Defence of India Ordinance.—

MR. A. S. K. IYENGAR Madras Socialist Laader Taken Into Custody

Madras, Mar. 12. Mr. A. S. K. Iyengar, Congress Socialist and labour leader was arrested this evening under the Defence of India Rules at the Congress Socialist Party Office.—

MONGHYR SOCIALIST ARRESTED

Patna, Mar. 12.

Mr. Suniti Mukherjee, a prominent Socialist of Monghyr, has been put under arrest there under the Defence of India Act—

DEFENCE RULES CONVICTION SJ. Anil Mitra Awarded 18 Months' R. I.

Mongyr, Mar, 11.

Sj. Anil Mitra, a prominent Socialist, who was being tried under the Defence of India Rules has been sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment.

Sj. Mitra was also sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment a few days ago for violating the Police Act by bringing out a procession on January 26 last at Monghyr.—

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

DOMINION STATUS OR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE?

The first thing that should influence Indian opinion in connection with the relationship of India with the British Empire should be the attitude of the various parts of the Empire towards this country. Before deciding their fate, Indians ought to know whether the Empire was going to treat them on a footing of equality. Free India shall never consent to a pact which relegates her sons to the position of mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Whatever other advantages there may be in the privilege of being a member of such an Empire, if Indians are to be regarded as outcastes and untouchables, they shall never consent to remain within it. The sooner they declined the membership of such a fraternity, the better.

The un-naturalness of such a tie is obvious, and one need not try to say much on the point. One, therefore, needs simply to review the position of Indians in the different parts of the Empire to show that they find there no welcome on on equal terms, and that it would be a disgrace for them to link themselves permanently in a partnership in which their association on respectable terms was not desired.

doors of Canada Canada. The were shut against Indians long ago. Restrictions placed against them culminated in the Komagata Maru tragedy, when about five hundred Indians were turned back from the American shores as if they were suffering from some infectious disease. After that incident, Indians have not cared to go to that part of the Empire in any large numbers. The failure of the Guru Nanak Steamship Company dramatically brought home to the Indians their helplessness in the matter; no self-respecting Indian has again dared to turn his face to-wards Canada.

South Africa. In South Africa new emigrants from India are not allowed to settle; even those who took such a prominent part in civilising the dark continent, who were in fact the pioneer settlers, are daily put under rigorous disabilities. The aim of the white settlers there is to clear South Africa of all

Indians; for this purpose they have framed laws to make that place a veritable hell for Indians. Not withstanding the undertakings given by Union statesmen from time to time, every day new restrictions are placed against Indians; they are denied even the ordinary rights of citizenship. Socially they are regarded as outcastes and politically they are treated as parriahs. The result is that the only course left open to Indians in that country is to leave the Colony and come back to their own homes or todie in their struggle to establish their right to remain in that country as equal citizens. Call it reemigration or repatriation, try to whitewash the ugly fact by this or that pact, it is as clear as day-light Indians are not wanted in South Africa, on any respectable

Australia. Even harder are the restrictions placed against Indians in Australia. The Japanese and the Chinese have almost a free entry into that land, but Indians are treated as lepers; under elever and dishonest regulations the doors of the new continent are permanently shut against them, and they have no remedy against such restrictions.

Kenya. In Kenya where the number of Indian settlers is more than that of the Europeans, and where the part played by Indians in making the Colony a fit place for habitation was of far greater importance than that of the Europeans, Indians are being pushed out from their position every day. It is a Crown Colony, and the powers of the Home Government in its administration are supreme. But Indians get little practical support from that quarter. Under such circumstances it is very doubtful if Indians can remain there honourably for a very long time.

In short in every part of the Empire where Indians have gone to settle, they have been treated as worse than aliens; aliens have rights but Indians have none. In the circumstances to ask Indians to remain within the Empire is to add insult to injury. It is not for Indians to decide but for the other members of the Empire to make up their mind whether they are willing to extend equal rights to them or not. When the British colonies deny

to Indians even the elementary rights of citizenship, what right has any body to ask Indians to remain in such a degrading society? It is difficult to understand how some Indian politicians can still sing the praises of the Empire. Do they like it because in Canada, Kenya, and South Africa, Indians are treated like helots? No self-respecting Indian can have any regard for an empire in which he is denied the primary rights of citizenship. Perhaps it may be a case of a slave loving his chains. It is nothing but political Masochism of the worst type.

2. The Colour Question.

The reasons for the present attitude of the Colonies towards Indians are not difficult to seek. Whatever Christian platitudes may be uttered from the pulpit and the platform, it is a fact that Europeans as a class, and specially the colonials, are infected with a virulent form of colour prejudice.

From the study of what has recently been written in the West on the colour question, it is clear that colour prejudice is very strong amongst the colonials in the British Empire. It is not only the opinion of stray publicists; others who have widely travelled in different parts of the British Empire and have studied the Empire problems, testify to the acute position which the colour question has assumed in British colonies.

A friend who came back recently from one of these Colonies told the author a good story to illustrate the point. At a dinner party one friend sat gloomily on the table and took little part in the conversation that was going on. The others present noticed the fact and asked the reason. After some hesitation he replied, "I have lost all appetite; while coming here I saw an Indian and a white girl, walking together arm in arm."

It was a stray:incident, but it clearly showed which way the wind blows. With colour prejudice running so high in the colonies, it is futile to talk of equality in the British Empire; and then where there is no equality all union is sure to prove disastrous to Indians, if not to both the parties.

It was said that colour prejudice would die a natural death ere long. That day would be welcome, and Indians would be found ready to revise their attitude when it dawns; but as long as the colonials were infected with the present virus, and treated Indians as they do today, it will be very foolish on the part of Indians to adopt any other course than to steer clear of all such connections. For their own self-respect and in order to cure the colonials of their colour prejudice, it is absolutely necessary that Indians should go out of the Empire; not only because Indians did not want to remain in the Empire but also because the Empire did not want them to remain within its boundaries as respectable

To be clear, Indians are not satisfied with the treatment which they receive in the colonies; it rests with the colonies to win their hearts back, and to prove to them that they are wrong. It is now for the colonies to prove not only that they do not want to push Indians out of the sacred fold, but that they are really anxious for partnership with them.

3. Material Advantages and Disadvantages.

Let us now see what material benefit India has to get from and what she has to give to each unit of the Empire by her present connection with each of:them.

American Colonies. India has little to get from Newzeland and Canada and little to give to them: the distance between these to units of the Empire and India is so great that politically and commercially they are almost independent of each other.

Africa. With British colonies in Africa Indian relations are of greater importance. These units of the Empire depend on India for wheat, rice, tea and some other articles of food. In future India may also be able to export piece-goods, iron and some other manufactured goods to these parts. Thus African parts of the British Empire are actual and potential markets for Indian exports. On the other hand, India does not depend on any import from these countries, though South African coal trade largely depends on Indian markets. Commercially both the parties have equal advantages; if African colonies are good markets for some of the Indian surplus produce,

the Africander has the advantage of buying these articles at a lower price from India than it is possible for him to do from any other country. Whether India and these colonies are in the same Empire or not, such commercial relations must continue because such relations are to the mutual advantage of both.

From the political point of view the case is rather different. In the present stage of development, African colonies cannot singly withstand any outside attack; their army and navy are not strong enough for the purpose. India cannot help these colonies with navy because she has none, but her army can form a valuable asset to add to their meagre resources. India must employ a large standing army for her own defence; this standing army can be made available to Africanders more speedily and with less cost than it would be possible to secure military assistance from other parts of the Empire. In return for such help India has nothing to gain. African colonies have no navy of their own to help India when she requires it; their army will not add much to Indian strength.

Thus it is found that by having any special relations with Africa India has very little to gain; every advantage is on the side of the African Colonics.

Australia. Commercial relations between India and Anstralia are inot very important. Politically India can render greater help to Australia than is possible for England or for any other British colony to do. India can send her armies to Australia in less time and more economically than any one else. For her own needs India must always be selfsufficient as regards her army; what she requires from outside for a long time to come is the help of the navy, and that force Australia also does not possess. In this case too it is evident that India has not much to gain, though Australia has every advantage on her side from-close relationship between the two countries.

England. In the case of England the position is quite different. India is a great market for English manufactures; England would be hit hard if Indian markets were closed to her, or if India bought her necessaries from other countries than England. But such a course would not be of any great advantage to India. For a long time to come India

must import manufactured articles from outside; and if that is so why should she not import them from England, if England is prepared to give her the best terms possible. England is also a good purchaser of Indian raw products, though for the last decade or so the percentage of Indian exports to England is on the decrease. For a long time to come India cannot make use of much of her raw materials within her own borders; she must export them to other countries; and if England pays a good price for them why not sell them to her as well as to any one else? It is to the advantage of both the countries that there should exist mutual commercial relations between them.

India has to depend for the defences of her coasts on English navy. Foreign domination has made India a cripple in that respect; for a long time to come India must depend on some one to guard her coasts from invasion. In defending Indian ports England will be helping Indian interests as much as her own, because it is not an inconsiderable amount of money which the British people have invested in India. Other commercial advantages accruing to England from peace in India are also not small.

England has her limitations as regards the strength of her army. Indian army can prove of great help to her at a time of need. This has clearly been demonstrated more than once during the last 30 years.

Reviewing the whole situation both from the political and the commercial point of view, it is found that, in the present conditions, by remaining within the Empire India has little to gain and much to lose by her connections with the Colonies, while these latter have great advantage in an alliance with her. In the case of England, India will have the advantage of the English navy, though it would not cost England anything extra to extend such help to her, because she must have a strong navy to guard her own interests within and without the boundaries of India. In return England will be benefited by the Indian army without any extra cost to India because she must have always at her disposal a strong army of her own for the protection of her frontiers.

It is not difficult to decide whether Indians should remain within the Empire where in the case of only one of its members India has almost equal advantages, and in the case of others all the advantages are on the one side and disadvantages on the other. It is doubtful if any man with a little common sense could advise Indians to remain within such an Empire. Whatever relations India may have with England it is of no advantage to her to have any special relations with the colonies. To ask India to continue to have such one-sided relations is unreasonable; the pact is unnatural and must break.

(To be Continued)

By A. K. SHAHA M. Sc., (U.S.S.R.)

(Member, National Planning Committee)

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL PLANNING

It is gratifying to note that the young generation, on whom depends the future of our mother country, are fully conscious of the present situation of the world in general and our mother country in particular. Many of our countrymen—even some young friends too—cannot appreciate the modern dynamic trend of the progessive world and try to throw back our country by several centuries.

To-day our country is passing through . a transition phase. She stands at the threshold of a new socio-economic order. The Potential Power of India, both animate and in-animate, has risen to such height that its transformation to dynamic action is immediate and inevitable. All of us know what is revolution. Revolution can follow two different tracks-political revolution which destroys everything and on their ruins create a new world. Such a revolution took place in Russia on the 7th November, 1917. That mighty event cost too much blood. On the other hand, when it is socio-economic, it can follow the path of construction. This revolution creates, constructs and builds a nation. I was fortunate enough to join and devote my younthful energy in such constructive revolution of the U.S.S.R. which took place in the middle of I928.

'The most interesting thing about India is that her soil is rich and her people are poor." said Mr. M. L. Darling. The natural resources of India are so varied and vast that after Russia she is the only country who can close her boundaries, rebuild her whole life, develop her industries and advance with glorious success to the standard of the other civilised States of the world. We are living in the Age of Science-which is the foundation of Industry and Technique. "Industry and Technique solve all problems" rightly said comrade Stalin. Re-building the life of the country means the creation of such a life as will foster science and register economic progress. That means liquidation of religious fanaticism and casting off superstitions. Unfortunately same of our leaders still pin their faith to them. The result is that India today, inspite of all her unlimited

possibilities, finds herself to be a country of uncounted unemployed and undeveloped rich natural resources, a country of consumers, a country of importers. To keep our existance, to eke out a decent living we have to transform our country to that of producers, manufacturers of machineries and machine-making-machines. These very terms consumers and producers, importers and manufacturers, are antagonistic to one: another; so the transformation which I suggest cannot be a slow process of evolution-it must be in the nature of an overhaul-a constructive revolution. And here we want National Economic Planning.

The word and the idea of National Planning is associated with the word "God-Plan" of U. S. S. R., organised on 24th Feb., 1921, and we are to remember that the U. S. S. R. is the only country which fully applied N. E. P. and scored a wonderful success. You should not be misled by the so-called planning or rather hapazard planning or the sectional planning of the capitalist countries as envisaged by Agricultural Marketing Act, Coal Mines Act, Emergency Relief, Price Control etc. These are temporary makeshifts to save the Laissezfare policy from destruction and chaos.

Our Leaders of the Congress gave some thought to National Planning as late as 1929—passing resolutions in A. I. C. C. meetings held in May, 1929, at Bombay: "In order to remove the poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities. But it was our beloved and ardent young leader Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who during the term of his presidentship, gave a direct and bold lead on this issue. That was at the conference of Ministers of Industries held in Delhi on the 2nd and 3rd October, 1938.

Now coming to the question of education in National Planning, I must definitely request you not nurse any longer the fantastic notion that "education is for education's sake." It must be understood that in reality education is the art which helps one to lead a decent, cultured and comfortable life. If education is given to the masses in accordance with the general constructive plan, it

will create the eadres fit for lifting up the country's burden, thus liquidating the disastrous poverty and unemployment. This is what has been accomplished in Soviet Russia, and to drive it home to you I shall invite your attention to the Soviet universities and colleges. Suppose a Russian youth has firished his preliminary compulsory education, that is the standard of our Matric, now what to do? Study is the clear road to future life and work is duty. How this duty before the fatherland can be discharged in the most effective way? It is necessary to choose the special subject of study which is suitable to your capacity; necessary to think over what kind of work will please you better. There are so many colleges to choose. Entering, suppose, the engineering college or that of Science, and getting sufficient Govt. provision if you are poor, all the attention of a disciplined and self-consious youth will be concentrated on the idea that he is to be fit for further work, that he is belonging to one intimate family. one nation, which is struggling her unmost for the happiness of all her members. The most striking fact in the system of Russian education is that every student is assured of his future job. Number of students in different educational institutions is regulated in accordance with the needs of the State. Education, being included into the Planned Economy, has a conspicuous part to play in the creation of the nation calculated, for example, that within the next four years it will be necessary to get 15,000 engineers, 10,000 doctors, for villages and cities, 8,000 teachers approximately 1,500 dancing masters, 1,500 songsters, 5000 qualified sellers for the village and city govt. shops, 5,000 tractor-drivers for the collective peasant's fields. Presently the corresponding institutions:—Engineering, Medical, Peda-gogical colleges, Horeographical schools and conservatories, commercial institutions and academies, schools attached to the tractor-stations etc. will accept nearly corresponding number of students. After they have got their training, they all will be immediately absorbed by the gigantic Govt. machine. Their acquired knowledge will be then and there utilised for benefiting their land. This is what we would want for our country, too. Complete re-organisation of educational system, able to give us the key to modern science and technique—those golden treasures of humanity, is what is called for new Theorems. for now. The country does not want dead knowledge, she wants living, devoted ardent members of the society, able to sacrifice, able for comradely feelings, for organisation of labour, to control the destiny of the nation and to change the face of their country.

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By A. K. Sen

THE INDIAN FILM—IT'S PROBLEM AND POSSIBILITIES

Art cannot be non-political

-Mayerhold.

"Cinema for us", said Lenin, "is the greatest of all arts today and Russia was the first country to introduce film for mass education on a large scale. In backward countries with wide-spread illiteracy, hardly could any other medium be so suitable for an immediate application to mass education and enlightenment as the film." In our country however, the film occupies a much less exalted status, for it is offered to the public here almost exclusively as only one of the cheap and popular forms of amusement, while the purpose of film-making continues either to be obscure or at best the collection of big returns in money for the capital invested in production.

While an application of cinema to education must, as a scheme, be considered premature yet in this country, compulsory primary education itself having to wait for want of funds, it would nevertheless be worth our while to examine and watch what other countries are doing. Leaving out Russia and her pioneering work in the application of cinema to mass education and enlightenment, we should take note of the fact that film has been put to wide use in schools all over Germany and that countries including Britain are introducing film in the general scheme of education. Reporting on educational film impetus, the Journal of the Motion Picture Society of India in its issue of January, 1939, writes, "To meet the cost of setting up a central film library in Scotland, the British Film Institute is to receive a grant of £ 5,000 from the Carnegie Trustees. The grant will be spread over three years. Scotland, it is stated, has been foremost in the British Isles to develop the use of the film for educational purposes and 20 p. c. of the total number of projectors are in use to be found there. The supply of films is the most difficult problem. In some big towns film libraries have been established, but other areas are still experiencing difficulties in satisfying the demands of their teachers. The solution, it is suggested, lies in the establishment of regional

film libraries." This magazine also reported the formation of a new international organization to facilitate the exchange of historical, educational and artistic films between countries of the world in which the founder-members would be the National Film Library of the British Film Institute, London; the Reichsfilmarchiv, Berlin; the Museum of Modern Art Library, New York; the Cinematographique Française, Paris. The scheme of course could not unfortunately come into effect due to the outbreak of the present hostilities.

Leaving out for the present the function of film in the sphere of education, one has to admit, on making a general review, the importance film has progressively gained as a form of popular entertainment. More and more films have got to be made to meet the growing demand in this country, as elsewhere, for entertainment. While such films need not be so many sermons of virtue nor lessons by school-masters, yet there could certainly be no harm if the cultural level of the Indian films were clevated a little. Injudicious copying of western costumes, ceremonials or cock-tail parties do not certainly effect that. Our film-makers will have to be clear first as to the difference between a film "made in India" and an "Indian film" before they can realise the futility of copying blindly. The American films that usually reach us and also influence our film-makers are tendencious in as much as they exaggerate only one side of the American life-wealth, leisure and plenty and thus propound false social values. America indeed is no social paradise as these pictures would suggest and we would be wrong to be led away from the other face of America and the one that really matters, which despite all the wealth and resources available in that vast continent, is still disfigured with poverty, unemployment and disease, evils to which millions of people stay condemned just as here in our own country. While most of the mass-scale American productions are not made to reach high standards of cinematic or dramatic excellence, it would be folly not to recognize

the great photo-plays which America has given the world. The general run of the American films however, leaves the connoisseur with the regret that the large proportion of American film-makers continue to lean unduly on the stage, the opera or the cabaret with the obvious intention of adopting their mode or technique of expression for an art which is not only new but also so different from any one or all of them. The American also depends to no less extent on the artificially bolstered up glamour of "stars" and "starlets" and noisy publicity. "Out of the welter of Hollywood directors, good, bad and indifferent", writes Mr. Herman G. Weinberg, one of the leading film-critics of the world, "emerge a handful who have not been satisfied just to turn out slick films that would make money and get them more assignments, but who have, either out of instinct, or out of artistic conscience, stayed off the well-worn path to delve into the film of social reality. None of these men, save perhaps Griffith, was a crusader, none began with any particular credo, social or political theory, nor was any moved by a consistent inner urge to look life square in the eye and do something about it, save perhaps, von Stroheim."

If film is to be sincere and purposeful, it has to be rescued from the artificialities and pseudo-humanitarianism which are stifling this art. The amateurish and narrow chronicles of love and heart-break have to make room for the earnest realities of life-its joy, anguish and struggles. Compare films like "The Crowd", "The Citadel", or "The Life of Emil Zola" with a Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire hotch-potch and it would be evident to what heights a film can rise in purpose and in the world's estimation when based on realities, for, what other indictment of mob-violence and lynch-justice could be more grim and real than the "Fury"? "The Good Earth" stands as a powerful picture of economic and social struggles in China and as a living monument to the stoicism of a Chinese woman who loves, sacrifices and suffers. Every art has grown out of Nature and necessity and

must therefore, rest upon realities. Otherwise it becomes a mere artificiatity. Art is no gift of the fairyland. The looks, costumes, fineries or idiosyncracies of "stars" or "starlets" have no importance in the world's scheme of things. This new idolatry of the cine-world is an introduction to exploit the petit-bourgeois appetite for pomp, fineries and glamour and for such stuff as the sex-appeal. No amount of artificial glamour or publicity can make up the lack of sincerity which alone can create a great art or art of abiding value. There is a wealth of Indian subjects, which, if handled with mastery and sincerity, can not only make great Indian films but also films of international importance. Handled by a novice or by a person of limited intellect, a film is not sure even of a reception at home as has been proved so often in this country, for it needs intellect and sincerity to create art and film is no exception.

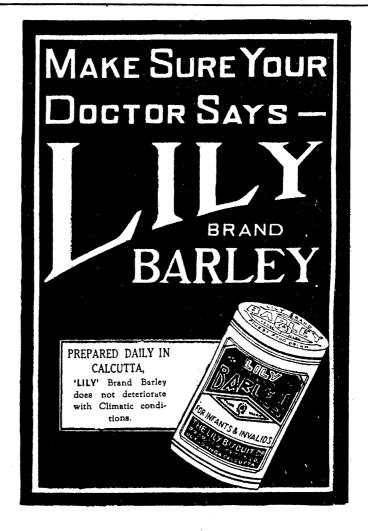
To come now to the sphere of technique, the extent of cinematic sucess and excellence is determined by the degree to which a story has been told through the camera. Here, in this country, film could not outgrow the influence of the stage where the story is exclusively told by dialogue. For us, with the introduction of sound in film, the only modification amounted to the replacement of titles and sub-titles by a copious amount of convenient dialogue thrown in to explain the story. The camera was relegated to the position of just an indispensable instrument to illustrate on the screen the authors of the dialogue and their lip-movements. With such a poor use of the camera it is not in the least surprising that the povertry in the art of placing the camera in an Indian film should be so patent.

Leaving aside the art of cameracraft in which most of our film-makers exhibit a sad lack of insight, much of the story contents is left untold inspite of all the speech inflicted upon the audience from beginning to the end. In this connection I feel tempted to mention "Extase", Machaty's international prize-film, in which the camera was so masterfully used that not more than three mere monosyllables were found necessary to be introduced throughout the film. The film however, was replete with wholesome music in the background with the rare qualities of restraint and unobstrusive-

ness. Yet few films in the world could equal its grip and emotional value or even its returns in money. Murnau in the silent days had the genius to tell stories as "The Faust", "The Last Laugh", The Taboo" without even the use of subtitles. But then humanity has reared few Murnaus to stir the conscience of the world with film-lyrics and it would be futile to expect such heights of creative genius in an atmosphere which stifles the very art of cinema. Our ideas of film-making are usually limited to photographing and recording long shots, followed successively by medium and close shots or vice versa, interspersed with a few camera movements as diversions and loaded with dialogue, dialogue and dialogue which break intermittently only to make room for a number of songs. It is no wonder that with such a simple technique in view-supposed here to be the best and also applicable as working formula to the treatment of any and every story-there should be a crowd of people who stand on the pretension that their capabilities film-making in are second to none. Dialogue certainly has

a place in film, but the photographed stage is no cinema. The spoken word" observes Earnest Vajda, noted writer of screen-plays as "The Barrets of Wimpole Street", "Dramatic School", etc, "must be used to emphasize action, not to replace it. Whenever an effect can be achieved by action, by camera, by lighting, these devices should be used rather than dialogue." According to an observation made by a recent number of "The Hollywood Spectator", "since sound came to screen, intead of being used intelligently, it has been used as a weapon to murder screen-art. One way to reduce costs is to make more use of the camera with a corresponding reduction in the amount of dialogue." The regrettable attachment of many American film-makers to a profuse measure of the spoken word in cinema has its counterpart in the increasing tendency of shrinking from Nature-her grand setting of colours, forms and expanse (a tendency accepted readily by copyists here) to enter the narrow indoor settings with artificial decorations and fittings, which inspite of all ingenuities, swing round the old pivot of the stage.

(To be Continued)



By Bewildered

ILLUSIONS AND DELUSIONS (2)

optimism, in an individual is not a bad thing. It is a mark of a healthy digestion struggle against the Government. The and a happy, beatific state of mind. But unfounded optimism in a leader, in a critical situation when momentous decisions are to be made, is a dangerous thing. For besides inducing a state of inaction and relaxation, it exposes the movement to a reaction which, in the event of inevitable disappointment, depresses, unhinges and unnerves the leaders as well as the rank and life.

And symptoms of such a reaction are already visible in the Congress movement. There was first of all a pitiable wail from the leader himself, that he, (a loyal and devoted subject of the King Emperor), had been let down by the British Government. Then came the counsel of despair: "The British Government and the minorities have combined and it would be a contradiction in terms to fight against them." It is, however, not quite clear how the inevitable struggle between the progressive and the reactionary forces in the country can be illogical or a contradiction in terms. If the leader means that the struggle for freedom in such a situation will lead to civil strife, he is stating a truism, for civil strife is absolutely unavoidable in any struggle for freedom and all that can and should be attempted in the circumstances is to restrict the effects of this strife by weakening the forces of reaction.

After this counsel of despair there came another prayer to the British Government: "Please say a word, drop a hint or make a gesture, that may be interpreted even by a stretch of imagination as an acquiescence on your part that you would graciously consider the possibility of convoking a constituent assembly at the conclusion of the war." All this shows only the bankruptcy of the leadership to which Subbas Babu and other progressive leaders have referred time and again.

The question, however, is: What is the leader's optimism based on? Evidently it does not rest on a consciousness of the strength of the movement, for the leader has more than once proclaimed

Now optimism, especially perennial the nation's weakness and publicly denied the possibility of waging a successful weakness, according to the leader, lies in the fact that the country-mind, the whole country is not permeated with the spirit of non-violence. Obviously as this condition can never be fulfilled, (at least not till the necessary objective conditions of non-violence have been created i.e., the present social and economic contrasts and differences have been abolished and classless society Communist's established) the movement must suffer from an incurable weakness and therefore, the struggle for freedom must wait till the Greek Calends.

Another source of weakness which the leader lements is the opposition of the Muslims. As the leader absolutely declines to think of communities and nations in terms of classes, the opposition of a few self-seeking and self-appointed leaders appears to him as the antagonism of a whole community. This is indeed true that as long as intensive political work is not done among the Muslim masses-that is among the workers and peasants who form the bulk of the population-the Muslim community, as a whole, will remain in its age-long political somnolence and will always be amenable to the perverse propaganda of its unscrupulous leaders and their agentprovocateurs and will continue to be subject to fitful outbursts of religious frenzy.

The leader, however, does not seem to have given up the hope of receiving (not winning) freedom (as a gift) only if "Qaide Azam Jinnah Sahib" would sign a joint petition to the British Government. One could hardly believe that such infantile utopianism existed in the year of grace, 1940. The leader evidently believes in what is known as the democratic instincts of the British people whose statesmen have so selflessly thrown themselves and their nation into a conflagration for the sake of saving democracy for the world. The leader, who is himself a devotee of Truth, accepts these declarations at their face value and naively believes that the Englishman has of a

sudden dropped his imperialistic creed and is out not only to reestablish democracy, (whatever may be understood by this democracy,) in Poland and Czechoslavakia, but also to extend the benifits of it to his coloured subjects in India and other Asiatic and African colonies. Now leaving aside a handful of socialists and communists. who perhaps genuinely object to colonial exploitation, there is probably not another Englishman who has ever seriously thought over the prospect of his abandoning the inestimable advantages that he and his compatriots are directly and indirectly deriving from India and the other colonies. Even the Labour Party, which is perhaps mainly responsible for creating and sustaining the political illusion among Indian politicians that Swaraj will come one day as a voluntary gift from the British people, and whose members, at least as long as they are not in power, are indeed most eloquent and profuse in professing their sympathies for India's political aspirations, would, when in power (as experience has proved) be as little inclined as the worst dic-hards to help in the materialisation of these hopes. In fact, no British worker, even if he be credited with an intelligent interest in politics, saturated as he is with the view-point of capitalism, should be expected to agree to a radical change in the British colonial policy, such as would adversely affect the security of his employment or the rate of his wage or deprive him of even a small part of the social service which he has, after a strenuous struggle of half a century, succeeded in extorting from his masters, and which, he must know, are largely paid for from the loot of the colonies. And as to the real rulers of the Empire viz., the British capitalists, it is only infantile credulity that can be deceived by their loud professions of democracy. In fact, they are fighting even now as they did in the last War for the preservation and, if possible, for a further intensification of their world exploitation. Thus any hope built on the possibility of the British people's (including the workers) voluntarily relinquishing the incalculable advantages they have derived and are still

deriving from their colonial possessions, is an illusion and for that matter a very harmful illusion, which has absolutely no historical basis or justification. No nation in the world has been known to have voluntarily given up a conquered or acquired territory as long as it could derive any benefit from it. One, of course, should not be misled by the recent example of the Soviet Union that has, to all appearances, spontaneously handed over a conquered territory viz. Vilna to a small power like Lithuania. This is evidently an extraordinary case. For, in the first instance, Soviet Russia professes to be a socialist State and as such disavows all intentions or desire to possess or exploit any colonies. Therefore, Vilna which has a large population of Lithuanians and was before the Versailles Treaty a part of Lithuania had to he transferred to its original owners. Beside, Russia being a very large country, extending over one-sixth of the globe, is economically self-sufficient and as such can afford to be generous. On the other hand, England is a highly industrialised capitalist country with an area of about one-tenth that of the Soviet Union, and her greatness lies only in her colonial possessions, especially in India which is rightly known as the brightest gem in the Imperial crown, and which has been and still is an inexhaustible source of wealth and glory not only to herself but also to her self-governing Dominions, which fact is perhaps not a minor cause of the latter's filial attachment and adherence to the mother country. It is, therefore, good that this illusion that England would one day voluntarily abdicate from India's sovereignty, is at long last dead and buried. The leader too, regards this as a blessing in disguise. Let us then sing to the eternal memory of the deceased and take full advantage of the lesson it has taught.

There is still another illusion perhaps even more harmful than the one mentioned above, from which some of our leaders, especially those who have pinned their hopes entirely and exclusively (i. e. exclusive of all efforts on our part) to what they call international developments, they call international developments, suffer; and that is, that somehow or other the present war at its termination will create a new order of things, which will bring in its wake the promised millenium in which India, seemingly without much ado, will be a happy partner. It is true that an international situation, say like the present one, can be very helpful in our struggle for freedom, provided we are otherwise fully prepared to take advantage of it.

All such illusions that are mainly responsible for our present unpreparedness, despondancy and inaction, should be forthwith, absolutely and finally discarded and we should now accept and face the naked, though unpalatable, truth that freedom will never come as a free gift from our rulers but shall have to be won by strenuous and organised efforts and after a painful and may be prolonged struggle.

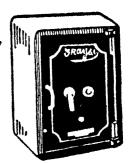
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ANTI-COMPROMISE CONFERENCE

SJ. SUBHAS BOSE ELECTED PRESIDENT.

Arrangements For Session Nearly Complete

Ranchi, Mar. 12.

The Kishan Nagar has not been affected so far through the nature's onslaught. Very rapid progress in constructions has been made including waterpipe fitting, stalis, delegates volunteers and vistors' camps. Electric light arrangement shall be made and ohe Gaya Company has been asked to fit it within three day. One propaganda car with microphone has arrived for touring in the interior of Chota Nagpur propagating the object of the Anti-compromise Conference against which the Congress propaganda department has become much active.

The general meeting of the Reception Committee yesterday evening elected Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as the President of the Conference and the office-bearers and the provisional committee were also re-elected. Several committees viz, finance: sanitation, volunteers and accommodation were formed.

Swami Sahajananda arrived here yesterday and the President-elect will arrive on 18th March detraining at Ranchi Road Station. Elaborate arrangements to accord a right royal reception to Sj. Subhas Bose are being made.

Yestrrday evening's hailstorm accompanied by strong wind caused much damage to Mazharpuri. If the present inclement weather continues the authori ties shall experience much difficulties in arranging comforts for the visitors and the gathering shall dat be as big according to expectation. Sj. John Ambulance car arrived at Mazharpuri and commenced duty since yesterday by removal of one diarrhoca patient to Ranchi Sadar Hospital.

THE PRESIDENT

To Be Taken In Procession From Ranchi Rd.

Patna, Mar. 12.

Sj. Subhas Bose was elected President of the Anti-Compromise Conference at a meeting of the Reception Committee for the conference held here this afternoon.

The meeting elected Swami Sahajauanda Saraswati as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Dhanraj Sharma and Mr. Sheelbhadra Yajee, M.L.A., as the Secretary and Treasurer of the Committee respectively.

Sj. Bose will arrive at Ranchi Road on the morning of March 18 and will be taken in a procession to Kisan Nagar, where the Anti-Compromise Conference is being held.—

All-India Working Committee Meet At Ramgarh On Mar. 18

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose announces that a meeting of the All-India Working Committee of the "Forward Bloe" will be held on March 18 at Kishan Nagar, Ram- garh. All members of the Committee are requested to attend as several important duestions will come up for consideration. Provincial organisers as well as Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Committees of the "Forward Bloe" are invited to the meeting of the Working Committee.

INCAPABLE CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

Resolutions For Anti-Compromise Conference

Ramgarh, Mar. 13.

Disapproval of the Patna resolution of the Congress Working Committee, it is understood, wil be the main resolution before the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh.

This resolution, it is understood, considers references to Khadi and Charka in the Patna resolution irrelevant to a fight for freedom or for preparation for it and endorses the Forward Bloc contention that the country is prepared for a struggle and that conditions inside and abroad are suitable for launching it.

The conference will also discuss the present policy pursued by the Congress Working Committee and will consider a resolution expressing the view that the present Congress leadership is not capable of leading the country in its struggle for freedom.

The arrangements for the conference are nearing completion.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose is expectedhere on March 18, and among other leaders expected are Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mr. H. V. Kamath, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Mr. P. N. Bepat and Mr. Rahul sankirtayana.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and Lala Shankerial have arrived.—

NO MORE VOLUNTEERS REQUIRED

Mazharpuri, Mar. 14.

The authorities of the Reception Committee of the Anti-Compromise Conference informed the "United Press" that they had got a sufficient number of volunteers and require no more.—

GRIEVANCES AGAINST OFFICIAL CONGRESS

To be placed in Anti-Compromise Conference

In a meeting of the Singhbhum Dirtrict Forward Bloc the following resolution has been passed regarding their local grievances to be placed in the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh: This conference strongly condemns the high—handed and extra—constitutional actions by the B.P. W. C. as detailed below in respect of Singhbhum District Congress affairs.

(a) Trying to transfer D.C office without even reference to D.C.C. (b) Dividing and again amalgamating the Singhbhum District Congress Committee. (c) Vindictively taking deciplinary action without proper investigation. (d) Postponing the delegate election without reason. (e) Holding elections without proper notification.
(f) Partisan handling of elections by returning officers. (g) Issue of membership books by P. C. office to unauthorised persons. (h) Concealing membership lists up to the end of election. (i) Allowing expelled members to participate in the election. (j) Taking deciplinary action againt leftist rivals, with a motive on the eve of election without mentioning any reason. (k) Making undue use of the exemption clause in respect of allowing short-termed members to contest election. (1) Patronising opportunist neo-Congressmen as against old tried workers. (m) Tolerating open violence by their partymen. (n) Encouraging indiscipline and insubordinain general. etc.

It has been further decided that virgorous attempts should be made to collect locally about Rs. 200/- to help the expenses of the proposed conference.

Those who want to go to Ramgarh as volunteers to the Anti-Compromise conference are requested to give their names to Mr. N. K. Sane in the Forward Bloc office-Bistupur.

BENGAL LABOUR PARTY

Organising Committee Meeting At Ramgarh

Mazharpuri, Mar. 14.

Sj. Sisir Roy of the Bengal Labour Party announces that a meeting of the Organising Committee of All India Labour Party will be held at Kishan Nagar during the Conference week the exact date shall be fixed after Sj. N. Dutt Majumdar's arrival.



FORWARD BLOC NEWS

FORWARD BLOC OFFICE OPENED N. G. Ranga Criticises High Command

(From our correspondent)

Madras, 12th March.

"The resolution of the Working Committee is a triumph for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. He represents the real fighting spirit of the masses and of the living and powerful youth of the country" said Mr. N. G. Ranga unveiling a portrait of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose recently at the new Office of the Forward Bloc (Madras Branch) at 157 Broadway.

Mr. A. K. Pillai presided. He said that it was in the fitness of things that Mr. Ranga, who was a dynamic personality like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, should unveil his portcait.

Mr. N.G. Ranga said that the Forward Bloc enjoyed the confidence of a large number of people, including some of those who were not its members. The Working Committee's resolution marked a great advance over what had happened in the Congress for the past 6 months.

Mr. Ranga regretted that the Congress High Command, while advocating independence for India. should in the same breath have suspended the Bengal P. C. C. He said that the High Command was pursuing the British policy of "divide and rule."

Explaining why he had not joined the Forward Bloc, Mr. Ranga said that the Forward Bloc, like other parties, did not underline the declaration for Purna Swaraj with a declaration for Kisan and Mazdoor Raj. But it did not mean that the Forward Bloc should not claim the allegiance of the masses.

SENAPATI BAPAT ON TOUR.

(From a correspondent)

Poona, 11th March

Recently Senapati Bapat toured some States. He visited Miraj, Sangli and Kolhapur. He addressed big meetings in each place. He could not however, complete his programme as he had to to come back to Poona on learning that the Forward Bloc office there was searched and some papers taken. He also addressed meetings at Ratnagiri, and Karad. The burden of all his speeches was complete non-co-operation with all war measures.



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Book Reviews

The Alternative By M. N. Roy. Publishers "Independent India", Parekh Street, Bombay 4. Price 8 as.

Mr. M. N. Roy has been airing his views incessantly through innumerable writings and speeches. Whether one agrees with them in toto or not, we cannot help admiring the keen analytical acumen and indefatigable propagandist zeal of Mr. Roy. The book under review is a survey of the present Indian situation from his standpoint. The first three chapters have been devoted to a searching—nay, ruthless—analysis of Gandhism. We substantially agree with the author in his evaluation of Gandhian doctrine and its political implications.

The cult of non-violence is not a spontaneous expression of the Spiritual nature of the Indian people. It was expounded and preached with the object of arresting the development of dangerous forces which threatened to push Indian natinalism further than desired by those who had established thier monopoly on it.

And the conclusion at the end of the analysis is absolutely unescapable.

It is time for the Congress rank and file to know that the present leadership excludes all possible struggle. As long as it remains, there will be no political struggle under the banner of the Congress.

The following chapter has been devoted to Pandit Jawaharlal and his position in Indian politics today. Mr. Roy has carefully examined some of his recent utterances and has rightly concluded that this phrase-enamoured, "ineffectual angel" of Indian politics is virtually helping in buttressing up the present leadership of the Congress. In the next two chapters the author has unfolded his own plan, which is known to us all. As a side-issue he has made some observations about the Forward Bloc (not Block) which call for close scrutiny. Mr. Roy's main grievance against it is that "it has no distinct ideological foundation." We maintain that this view, expressed by some others as well, has arisen out of a misunderstanding, wilful or otherwise, of the aims and objects of the Bloc. It has been designed to be a common platform of all the Left forces in the Congress with a view to rescue the great organisation from its present incapable leadership. It seeks to mobilise the teeming Indian masses with the ultimate object of siezing political power. It pins its faith in the necessity of immediate struggle (because it is the crucial hour in view of the present international situation) as against the compromising drift of the present leadership. To say

that "it has fully and unconditionally reaffirmed its adhesion to the principles and policy enunciated by Gandhiji and followed by the Congress until now", is not only a wrong statement but a base calumny as well. Mr. Roy has found fault with the Bloc because it has accepted the Gandhian satyagraha as the instrument of struggle. But what other "alternative," effective slogan can be put forth at present? It should not, however, be forgotten that satyagraha is only a means and not the end, which is seizure of power in the land. If the means prove incapable of realising the end, it will in the process break its bounds—there needs be no worry about that. We ask Mr. Roy and others concerned to do bare justice to the Bloc. It is extremely unfair to give anything a bad name only to hang it.

BENGALI

MUKHAR-BANDI—By Sj. Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit-Roy. Published by M. K. Roy from 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4 as.

The writer of 'this book (as its name implies) had to spend more than eight years behind the prison-bars owing to the operation of the notorious Regulation III of 1818. He came out not very long ago. In reading the book what one is most struck with is the immense vitality of the author's soul which, instead of being squeezed out by the long repression, could well out in such beautiful poetic rhapsodies.

Yes, the book has appeared to us like a bunch of lyrical poems, though written in prose. It is thoroughly poetic in contents. In the solitary prison-cell of far-off Peshawar or Bareilly (the writer had to spend most of the time there), fancies came flying to him like tiny golden birds with which his mind flew into the empyrean, weaving on the way splendid cobwebs of thought which cannot fail to "startle and waylay" the readers. The range of his meditations are widely variant and comprehensive: it has taken into its sweep religion, love, poetry, woman's question and even Hinda-Muslim problem. Be neath all the ramblings of his mind runs the lofty idealism of the author (which knits together all the diverse topics)-an idealism that is not only soaring, but a-quiver with very tender emotions, fortified with deep thought and wide reading and embellished with jewelled language. His imaginative flight into the past of our country (Manash-jatra) is a piece of wonderful creation which not only testifies to his literary ability but abounding love for our national culture as well. We have no doubt that the reader will find it a sheer delight to go through it.

State-prisoners and detenus have, for obvious reasons, been painted as a pack of blood-thirsty wolves in certain quarters. Books like the one under review will give the lie direct to that impression and serve to scotch and bury it for good. But the importance of the book does not lie in any utilitarian purpose that it may serve. We have no hesitation in accepting it as "a thing of beauty" and as such "a joy for ever." Therefore, we commend it to all appreciative readers quite unstintedly.

The print and get-up have been well done and the price is very moderate.

Sabar Sathe By Swarna Kamal Bhattacharji—Published by Barendra Library, 204 Cornowallis Street, Calcutta.

The book is a collection of short stories in Bengali. It would, we are sure, make all lovers of short stories feel that the author does not pretend to be an artist for the sake of being so, but that he has in him that uncommon talent to probe into the deeper realm of human nature and to find out there a changing but relatively constant truth in hunger, love and affection. His themes are surely not original, but that does not count at all in measuring the greatness of Art. His way of realising the truth is new, and that realisation couched in a fitting language has become an Art. The characters of the stories, from the children to the lovers, are as living and real as the situations are. And that is why it has every claim to have respectful attention from critics and readers of short stories.

Kena Socialism Chai—By Amala Devi. Rasiyar Gana Andolan—By Abdul Halim. Burman Publishig House 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

Present is the age of unrest. Humanity is passing through a great crisis and old values are weighed in the balance and found wanting. And against the welter of chaos and confusion stands the doctrine of socialism that promises to lead Humanity out of the impasse of negations. The first book gives an analysis of problems basic to the capitalist system and the ultimate aim of socialism. Bengali readers would find the book absorbingly interesting.

Com Halim is one of the few Bengali writers on politics who can claim candid disengagement and detached concern in the delineation of the theme. The book under review may be treated as an introduction to his former book on Bolshevic Party and is essential to the proper understanding of Russian Revolution. The introductory chapter is an analysis of United Front that has emerged as a mighty weapon to fight out the forces of barbarity and darkness. Readers would do well read the book.

Letter To The Editor

TIGHTENING GRIP OF OCTOPUS

With the advent of appreciable indi-genous capital in the process of rapid industrialisation of India, labour problems have entered into a new phase. In the fight for amelioration of the condition of workers, India as a whole-rich and poor alike—was ranged on one side, and the foreign capitalists on the other. But under the changed conditions we have an ever growing and most influential vocal class of Indian capitalists in league with the foreign capitalists on the basis of their community of interests. The Indian National Congress or the Muslim League cannot now be counted upon by the working class to champion their cause so thoroughly as it would have been the case had there been only the foreign capitalists to reckon with. These bodies have appreciably been dominated by this class and its hold is likely to tighten as time advances and they assimilate and make use of the tactics which have been developed to perfection in Europe for the purpose. In this task the intellectual middle class are and will continue to be in ever growing number under the thumb of the capitalists. Intellect, like any other commodity, is a purchasable thing. And it is there for the capitalists to assess its value and use it to further their cause. The foreign capitalists have already found out that the field of capital is not their close preserve, so the necessity of a coalition based on community of interests, with the Indian compeers has been forced upon them. To strengthen their hands for joint action and to neutralise competition in the field of labour and raw materials, the Indian section is being educated to use their technique with equal efficiency. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the European capitalistic technique controlling public openion through the press and governments through the public political associations, has already made amazingly rapid strides in our country. It is quite obvious that in manipulating the subtle method the *Chelas* will not lag behind their "Gurus" very long. Let us now examine the progress they have made so far. One by one the influential newspapers have begun to succumb to their influence. Due to years of untiring championship of the cause of the down-trodden and the weak by their idealist founders, these organs grew into genuine institutions of national progress and welfare. But their heirs, owing to the absence of idealistic zeal and inspiration of the founders in them, have come to regard them merely as means of good living. Their services are now at the disposal of those who can pay them well.

And who can pay them better than the monied class? Thus a regimented "nationalization than the monied class that list press has begun to sabotage the

interests of the poor. One or two such organs who have yet been able to resist the lure, are being undermined by starting of cheaper rival papers by the rich. The process of gagging the poor workers is thus proceeding according to plan.

The great political organisations, built up by the toils and sacrifices of thousands, were disdainfully shunned as long as the capitalists had no need for them. So long as the Goverement was run by the bureaucracy, and people had no voice in it, hobnobbing with the executives was profitable and safe. And double purpose was served by avoiding and ridiculing these bodies. Risks and troubles were avoided by displaying an attitude of hostility towards these political organisations. The attitude however, changed when political power was partially siezed by these organisations. There was a rush to be in it, even at the inconvenience of having to use coarse khadi. The result was that the men who worked and died to build up the institutions were either

elbowed out or subjugated. Power of purse has made it possible in this field also vulgar utilisation of middle class intellect. Masters' behests are being carried out under different pleas and pretences. The organisations have been tempted to tread the path chalked out by men holding the purse-strings. Recalcitrants there must always remain but it is all right if and when sufficiently strong check can be maintained.

There is no direction in which power of money cannot be used to advantage. Labour unions have also been invaded. Communalism with a view to cause division, setting up of rival organisations under purchasable leaders are the directions in which it works in this field.

Against this background the incidents turning up in such quick succession around us will not look as so many unconnected events but part and parcel of the same subtle and refarions conspiracy.

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