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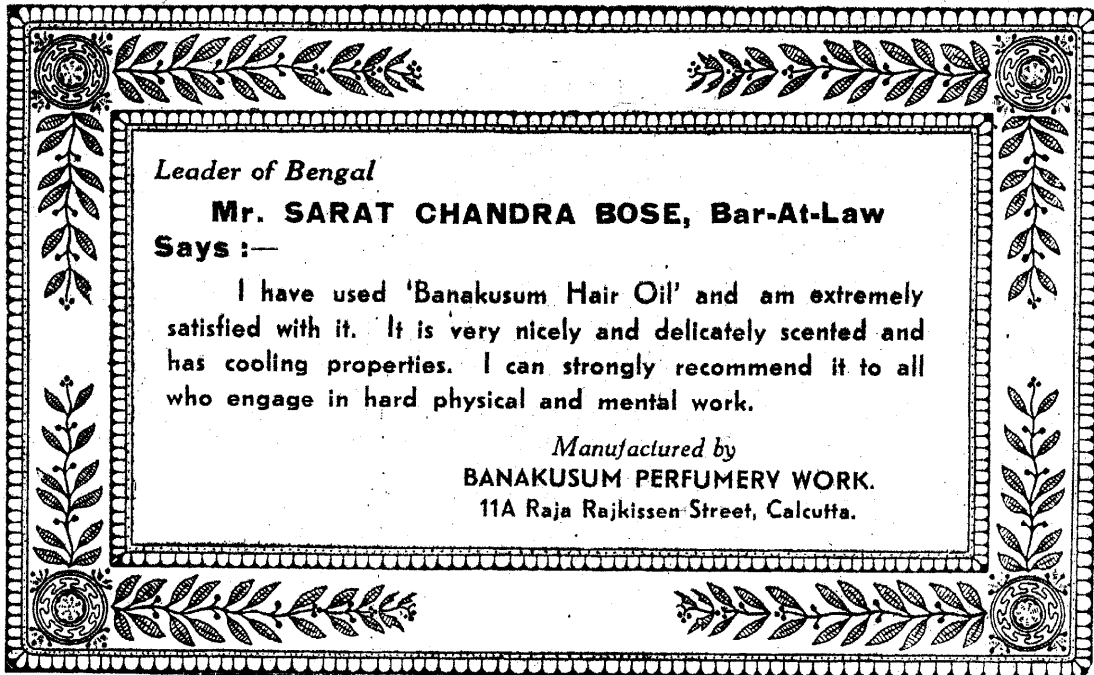
A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL 1. No. 1

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY AUGUST 5, 1939

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Subhas Chandra Bose

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By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5

Why Forward Bloc

The Indian National Congress represents a movement which has sprung from the soil of India. It is the political organ of the Indian people and embodies their hopes, aspirations and ideals. It is an organisation which has unlimited potentialities of growth and development—potentialities which are as limitless as those of the Indian nation itself. The growth and development of the Congress has taken place as the result of an inner urge—though it has been stimulated by external factors. It is this inner urge which is primarily responsible for the birth of the Forward Bloc. Neither personal factors nor accidental circumstances can account for this new phenomenon in Indian politics. The Forward Bloc has appeared because the Congress must enter on a new phase in its evolutionary process.

Now, how does this growth and development of the Congress take place? What is the law underlying it? Several theories may be put forward by way of explanation, but the one that appeals to me most and which in my view approximates to reality more than any other—is the Hegelian Dialectic. Progress is neither unilinear, nor is it always peaceful in character. Progress often takes place through conflict.

Out of the conflict between "thesis" and "antithesis", "synthesis" is born. This "synthesis" in its turn becomes the "thesis" of the next phase of evolution. This "thesis" throws up an "antithesis" and the conflict is resolved by a further "synthesis." Thus the wheels of progress move on and on.

Those who in season and out of season talk of unity and appeal for unity under all circumstances and at any price, lose sight of the fundamental law of evolution. We have to distinguish between real unity and false unity—between the unity of action and unity of inaction—between the unity which makes for progress and the unity which brings stagnation. To-day the slogan of "unity at any price and under all circumstances"

is a convenient slogan in the mouths of those who have lost dynamism and revolutionary urge. Let us not be led astray by its fascinating appeal.

In every movement, that is living or dynamic, there is a latent left—a latent "antithesis," if you will. This latent left wing becomes manifest in the fulness of time and through it, further growth and development takes place. To determine how best the leftwing could be nurtured under a given set of circumstances, requires political, and sometimes philosophical, insight. It often happens that through compromise and co-operation with the right-wing, the left-wing gathers strength and extends its influence. In a different set of circumstances, this may not prove possible. It may then be necessary for the left-wing to differentiate itself from the right and consolidate and expand its strength and following. In such circumstances, a sharp conflict, though painful for the time being, may in reality be conducive to progress and be in fact, unavoidable. Organisational development invariably necessitates the appearance and growth of a left-wing. Through cooperation with the right or through conflict with it, the left must continue to grow till it succeeds in capturing the organisation or in winning the right over to its side. When this is achieved and the possibilities of the left-wing (now the majority party) are exhausted, history must repeat itself and a new left wing must emerge and ultimately oust the left wingers of yesterday. The Gandhites of 1920 were the left wing in the Congress, but it does not follow therefrom that they are the left wing today. The leftists of yesterday often, if not always, become the rightists of to-morrow. To say that there should be no differentiation between right and left within the Congress of today and to argue that this Congress as a whole is left—is talking arrant nonsense. It is time we faced facts—however unpleasant they may be.

Between 1936 and 1938 the left wing of the Congress has grown and developed as a result of cooperation with the right. In September, 1938, the cry was first raised on behalf of the right that cooperation with the left was no longer possible and that the left was becoming too noisy and troublesome to collaborate with.

This new cry ultimately reached climax in 1939, when the right-wing deliberately decided to end cooperation with the left. What else is the deeper significance of the present-day insistence of the rightists on a homogeneous Cabinet or Working Committee? For three years they could cooperate with the left, but they cannot do so any more. Why? Because the right wing can no longer view with equanimity the growing strength of the left in the Congress.

When the All India Congress Committee met in Calcutta on the 29th April 1939 to settle this problem of the new Cabinet or Working Committee it was found that the left wanted to cooperate with the right and their slogan was that of a composite or mixed Cabinet. The right, however, were not prepared to cooperate with the left and their slogan was that of a homogeneous Cabinet. Consequently, it was the rightists who ended compromise, cooperation and unity. The right wing today want nothing less than complete surrender on the part of the left. Should the left agree to it on the score of unity? If they do so, what would the consequences be? Would we thereby lubricate the wheels of progress or would we buttress reaction within our ranks.

The right wing having refused cooperation with the left we leftists would be justified in surrendering to them on the plea of unity, only if the right-wing still had a dynamic role to play. But it is unfortunately clear from the correspondence I had with Mahatma Gandhi in March and April last that he no longer thinks in terms of a coming struggle. The Ministers and their guides who now dominate the Congress do not contemplate a struggle either. To surrender to the right under such circumstances and preserve the external facade of unity would in reality amount to perpetuating stagnation and reaction within the Congress. We cannot do so. We should not do so.

The time has therefore come for the left wing to differentiate itself from the right and proceed to consolidate itself. When this is done, the left will secure a majority within the Congress and then proceed to resume the struggle for independence in the name of the Indian

National Congress. This is the task of the left wing today. To fulfil this task the Forward Bloc, has come into existence.

It was open to the existing leftist parties to accept this role of left consolidation, but for some reason or other, they did not do so. Last year, when the proposal to form a left Bloc was being discussed by left-wing Congressmen—it looked as if the left-wing parties would accept this idea and try to put it into effect. But later on, they changed their mind. It then became indispensably necessary to inaugurate the Forward Bloc with the help of fresh elements from the left. The Forward Bloc is therefore not only the creature of an inner urge within the Congress, but it is also the product of historical necessity. Moreover, the circumstances of the present day warrant its emergence. Having been born in this manner and under such circumstances, the Forward Bloc cannot die. It is an inevitable phenomenon in our political evolution. It has come to stay and it will grow from strength to strength as the days roll by. Let those who doubt the truth of what I say have patience and watch the future history of the Congress and of the Forward Bloc.

Subhas Chandra Bose

BENGAL POLITICALS

Suspend Hunger Strike

On August 3, at 8-25 P.M. the 89 political prisoners in the Dum-Dum and Alipur Jails, who were on hungerstrike from July 7, last suspended their strike for two months and broke their fast at the persuasion of S. Subhas Chandra Bose, Sarat Chandra Bose and other friends who saw them, and, proved to their satisfaction that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had undertaken to launch direct action in case their demand for unconditional release is not fulfilled within the period.

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

The political prisoners in the Alipore and Dum Dum Central Jails have suspended their fast. It has brought immense and instant relief to the people all over the country. The vow of self-immolation undertaken by the political prisoners extorted admiration and reverence from all sections of the people,—and a certain risk to precious lives cast a deep gloom upon the face of the country.

The gloom has been lifted. They live, and they have trusted the cause of their liberty to their admiring countrymen. A heavy responsibility now rests upon the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and upon the Indian people. We have undertaken to work unceasingly to secure their release. They live as hostages of the country's honour. We must strive to redeem our pledge.

It was said that the sacrifice was undertaken not for a worthy cause, that the hunger-strike was an act of coercion and that it was subversive of discipline and orderly Government. Yes, courage and truth are subversive forces and they have ever dared to defy unreason and reaction and nail the coffin of effete systems. The political prisoners have demanded release. They must live and be free in order that they may serve, with greater devotion, their country which is dearer to them than their lives.

CURRENT COMMENTS.

Lokamanya Tilak

On the 1st. of August people all over India observed the 19th death anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak. He was one of those bold spirits who taught the Indian people to cast off mendicancy as early as half a century ago and stand on their own legs for winning national freedom. His inspiring words "Swaraj is our birth right, we shall have it" have today attained the glory and sanctity of a political *mantra*. A man of towering intellect, immense drive and deathless determination, he dedicated all his rich gifts at the altar of the motherland. A sort of deadening stagnation seems to have held the country in its grip today. May the spirit of the valiant fighter of Maharashtra remain with us and illumine our foot-steps.

Congress and Kisans

"We want to utilise the kisan sabha for strengthening the Congress but Congress men themselves do not want it"—said S. Jay Prakash Narain presiding over the fourth session of the Darbhanga District Political Conference. The truth of this indictment is evident to every observer. The Congress is pledged to draw the masses in its fold in ever increasing number but it is unfortunate that present leadership has yet shown no

enthusiasm to widen its base and give it a truly comprehensive national character. It has, on the contrary, scented danger in the mass-ward expansion of the organisation and has sought to put brake on it on every conceivable pretext. The president has referred to the compromise of the Bihar Ministry with the zemindars of the province and has given out some other very unpalatable truths. Will they produce any effect in the quarter for which they have been meant? The past gives no such assurance.

Not To Be Silenced

Mr. S. Satyamurti has an irrepressible manner. It seems he will not be shamed into silence. His success in connection with the campaign for office acceptance has emboldened him to take up the bad case of Federation. His valiant speeches for this unworthy cause have often brought upon him warnings, but he will argue still. He seems to think that persistence and perseverance will succeed at last. Basking in the sunshine of Congress official favour he does not care to note the fact that an advocacy of the Federal scheme runs counter to Congress resolutions on the subject. He has now been energetically preaching that the Congress organisation needs a purge, that disciplinary action in connection with the demonstrations on the 9th. July will help the Congress to remain a good, docile, well-behaved body. Congress discipline might have found worthier and less suspected advocates.

Language that Does Not Conceal

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy has a precise way in his writings and statements. He has the manner and style of the bureaucrat. He does not trust the intelligence, knowledge or understanding of his readers. In explaining, in a recent press statement, his own defection from the Congress Municipal Association, Dr. Roy said that Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, "brother of Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose" was leader. To be full, he might have added, S. Subhas Chandra Bose son of _____, village _____ P. S. _____ etc. Language if ever so explicit, really should be helpful. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, of is explicit and revealing.

The Moonson

After an unusually long and gruelling summer, Calcutta nay, the greater part of Bengal, was passing through a monsoon of unprecedented duration. Verily, as Emerson has said, there is a sure law of compensation in Nature. For full two weeks the sun took leave of the city leaving it to the cruelty of an angry Rain-god and people here began to wonder, if the retirement of the former is going to be permanent. To the poets with their imagination inflamed to luxuriance by the glory of roaming clouds or the tingling music of drizzles, it may have been a quite pleasing experience. But to the mere man of the world it has been immeasurably distressing.



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FASCISM IN INDIA

By Amiya Nath Bose.

Some time ago it was a fashion in certain circles to use the expression "counter-revolutionary" for condemning anybody who was not a persona grata with them. In revolutionary circles in India the word "spy" was often used for the same purpose. It seems as if the word "Fascist" is now coming into vogue in the same manner in India, when people are condemned today, they are often dubbed as Fascist. This word has, however, a scientific or technical meaning in Europe and it would be desirable to adhere to it whenever it is used. One can at least hope that when socialists or scientific thinkers use the word, they will not introduce a new connotation.

While going through the speeches and writings of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru one often comes across this word, but I wonder if Panditji uses it in its technical sense. His utterances give one the impression that, according to him, Fascism is a living reality in India today.

Now, Fascism may be used loosely to describe every form of reaction or counter-revolution. But it is used by socialists to describe a definite socio-economic phenomenon and a particular form of reaction. It is patently unscientific to characterize every conceivable form of reaction as Fascism.

As Panditji calls himself a 'socialist' it may be assumed that he uses Fascism in the socialist sense. If by Fascism he means something fundamentally different, I do hope that he will make it clear. It will be our purpose to discover whether Fascism, as socialists understand it, has grown or is growing in India and whether objective conditions today offer an economic basis for the rise of Fascism.

A comprehensive description of Fascism will not be given here. I shall not deal with its political and historical aspect. Again, there are some remarkable differences between German Nazism and Italian Fascism, though fundamentally they are same. I shall not deal with this aspect of the question either. I shall merely examine its economic basis, because what distinguishes it from other reactionary or counter-revolutionary movements is its peculiar economic character. This economic character is its fundamental attribute and its real

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basis. The political form is a mere super-structure.

Fascism has arisen, as is well known, in the stage of monopoly capitalism. It may even be said that Fascism presupposes the existence of monopoly capitalism. A few words here about "monopoly capitalism" will perhaps be useful. According to Marx, free competition gives rise to the concentration of production, which in turn at a certain stage of development, leads to monopoly. The following data will show that today monopoly has become a fact: According to the figures published by the German Institute for Business Research, in 1931, cartels controlled about 50% of industrial production in Germany. In 1933, a law was promulgated providing for compulsory cartelisation. As a result, by the end of 1936, according to the Berlin Institute, cartels embraced no less than two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the total German industry—the whole of the raw materials and semi-manufactures industries—and 50% of the finished goods industries. The degree to which separate spheres of production are controlled by cartels in Germany today is illustrated by the following:—

Manufactures Controlled by Cartels

	Degree of Control (%)
Potassium, pig iron, coal, iron bars, tin plate,	95-100
drawn wire, electric metres,	
pottery, synthetic	
nitrogen, sugar, line, wire	
netting, soap, glass,	
cement, cigarettes, automobile	
tires, tobacco,	
chemicals, drugs	

Machinery, boilers, apparatus,	80-95
railway cars,	
newsprint, flax yarn, jute	
fabrics silk,	
artificial silk	
Allow steels, salt, fabric belts	
Window glass, cotton fabrics	

In the stage of monopoly capitalism the contradiction sharpens because of continued existence of individualistic appropriation (or distributions) under conditions of socialised production. This contradiction makes the class-conflict more intense and acute.

Monopoly capitalism also makes a financial oligarchy the supreme master of the entire economic life of a nation. The pro-Fascist writer Ferdinand Fried, in his book 'Das Ende Des. Kapitalisms', notes in reference to Germany that in the basic raw materials industries (coal, potassium, iron and steel) 19 persons or families, own wealth to the amount of 810 million marks, in the manufacturing industries,—11 persons or families own wealth to the amount of 280 million marks, and in the chemical industry—12 persons or families own wealth to the amount of 210 million marks. Altogether, 42 persons or families, own wealth to the amount of 1.25 Billion Marks. The author points out that in the sphere of finance capital in Germany, 110 persons or families, own wealth to

(Continued on page 7)

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Whither The World ?

By S. Upadhyay.

Plagued by the messiahs of millennium, heavy with peace treaties that have worked only death and devastation the world is facing a grave crisis. Ceaseless chauvinism, feverish agitation, nervous unrest—these are the dominant notes of the day. To-day the world lives in the war camp and human beings are found roaming in the grave yard popularly called trench. The organised slaughter of human beings is going on and the modern world, though abhors the sweat and dust of the arena, is found lacking in the right initiative to end this lamentable state of things. Historically speaking the last European War that was fought for the division of the globe had divided the major nations of the world into two distinct categories—Have, Have not. England, France, America belong to the former and Italy, Germany, Japan to the latter. And the present day world is facing the second Imperialist War.

Acts of Aggression

The Have-not powers claimed their due and aggression started. The League that was regarded the strongest bulwark against aggression dwindled into insignificance when its fundamentals were violated and some nations had walked out. The Nine-power-pact was torn up by Japan. The treaty of Versailles that hung heavy like a dead weight upon Germany was torn up by Hitler and the Duce too was found lined up with the Furher. Freed from International responsibilities the Have-not Powers were in a position to start marauding and a series of aggression followed. Goaded on by the lust for dominion Mussolini preyed upon Abyssinia and deprived the people of their independence. His unbounded respect for Islam and his readiness to salvage Islamic culture found expression in annexing Albania to the Italian Empire. Unimpeded march of Hitler across Central Europe is an outstanding fact and the dream of Greater Germany is being realised. Japan has already brought a major portion of China under her control. The fond legend of Pan-Asianism has been exploded and the Imperialist design is exposed in all its horror. Flagrant violations of International laws, acts of brutality perpetrated by Japan have won her universal odium and revealed the

lowest depths of meanness to which Imperialism can descend. To-day Hitler is claimed to be the saviour of Germany that was wronged and humiliated in the last war. He is said to have galvanised the dead bones of the nation into the semblance of life. But contrary is the truth. Germany, though undisturbed on the surface is a smouldering volcano of unrest in no distant day to burst out into an eruption of wonderful character. Thousands have been slaughtered, hundreds of thousands exiled. The entire Reich is a veritable prison house. Startling news suggestive of accumulating internal crisis in Italy often leaks out and merits close scrutiny. The totalitarian State is not faring well and Brazil's reluctance to purchase Italian goods has created additional difficulties for Italy. Reports of food shortage, anti-Mussolini demonstrations must needs be studied with an alert eye. Evidences are not lacking that these powers had helped Franco to move on his historic career. These are the belligerent nations that had started the second Imperialist war. Italy and Germany have formed the axis and Japan moves sandwiched in between the two. The primary object of these Fascist powers is the maintenance of capitalist regime, concentration of the national power in the Dictator's hands and colonial expansion. And the totalitarian state is fashioned in the mechanical pattern. "Fascism is an ideological gangsterism". It depends on the method of coercion and rejects representative democracy, civil liberty and the right of Free discussion. Fascism disarms the workers by destroying their industrial and political organisations. "The army is the last and highest form of training, not only for military duty but for all tasks of life". The belligerent nations have wooed the non-aggressive powers by the false myth of Anti-Comintern pact. Are they really fighting Communism? Critically examined it is found to be the cunning method of colonial expansion and the pyramid of their arguments based upon falsity crumbles down. Obsessed with the fear of revolution in their countries the non-aggressive nations have maintained 'benevolent neutrality' and thrown out 'the democratic babies of the world to the ravening wolf of Fascism'.

(Continued on page 9)

FASCISM IN INDIA.

(Continued from page 5)

the amount of 3.4 Billion Marks. F. Fried concludes that 100 to 140 persons hold the economic key positions in Germany.

In this situation and out of this conflict, Fascism has arisen. In the period of decay of capitalism, the financial oligarchy openly uses the state-power for the continued oppression of the people. This it must do for its very existence, for otherwise the capitalist integument will burst asunder. Under Fascism compulsory cartelisation is resorted to and capitalist competition is violently suppressed. The private owners of socialised production control and organise the entire economic system for defending it against the onslaughts of the people, for increasing the profitability of capital and for perpetuating the contradiction in society.

This is by no means a complete picture of Fascism. We have merely noted its fundamental economic basis. We have seen that Fascism is vitally linked up with the highest stage of capitalism, that its power is based on the existence of a financial oligarchy controlling the entire economic activity and that it is a bulwark against the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the existing order arising out of socialised production.

It can be said without any fear of contradiction that these economic conditions are non-existent in India today. It will be absurd to claim that we are already in the stage of monopoly capitalism, when we are surely in its initial stage. The economic base of Fascism is financial oligarchy. That does not exist in India today. The contradiction arising out of socialised production, which is the *raison d'être* of Fascist Violence is still to be developed. If our analysis is correct, it must be concluded that the economic roots of Fascism do not exist in India today. A few individuals or even a party may claim to represent Fascism in our country, but they need not be taken seriously. Fascism cannot and, therefore, will not take roots under the existing objective conditions in India. It is, therefore, clear that Pandit Nehru's analysis is fundamentally wrong and misleading. What is more, his approach is definitely non-socialist.

From what has been said above, it should not be understood that the danger of reaction was non-existent in India. Far from it. As a realist, I shall admit that at present the reactionaries are gaining ground inside the Congress and we have no doubt that they will surely attempt to suppress the revolutionary rising of the masses. We shall not deal with the nature of this reaction here. It should, however, be stated clearly that this reaction could not be described as Fascism because that would obviously be wrong and unscientific. If we are to succeed in resisting and overmoing reaction, we must know its real nature.

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(Continued from page 7)

Role of England

A study of the role of Britain and France in recent years is helpful in forming a correct estimate of the present day world. Politically France has been an appendage to Britain. Britain's problems are various and varied in nature. Armed with the experiences of the last war Britain has been behaving like a passive watcher while the kaleidoscopic changes are taking place. Nervous at the seething unrest in colonies, conscious of the rapid political developments in home-country Britain has been keeping a thousand leagues off. At present Britain's chief concern is maintenance of colonies that has been the source of her economic prosperity and material well-being. Any active opposition to the acts of aggression might drag Britain into the orbit of war. Britain's foreign policy has been one of appeasing the aggressive powers, only to avert a major crisis. Abyssinia was robbed of her independence and Britain's embargo upon Italy turned farcical. During the Spanish war Britain's neutrality proved to be the source of strength to the insurgents and hastened the end of Spanish Republic. Burial of the Munich Pact is a sad commentary upon Chamberlain's foreign policy and how neutrality changes to active support is explained thereby. In China Britain has pursued the policy of 'wait and see', for the British Statesmen viewed the prospect of a victorious China with grave concern and regarded China freed from Japanese exploitations the perineal source of uneasiness. It meant the end of British economic sovereignty in China. Important British trade centres, to the surprise of the whole world, were captured by the Japanese and British citizens were subjected to ruthless bombing. Britain watched these with smugness suggestive of non-chalance. Sanity dawned upon Britain when the Japanese aggression was pushed to the point of annihilating total British trade and commerce in China. Loan was granted to China, the new Burma road was constructed, arms and ammunitions were supplied. It is an act of self defence and Britain was inspired with the necessity of saving the capital pooled in China. Days of Britain's political supremacy are over. She is no longer the power that

had guided international politics in the past. To-day Britain is played out and stands exposed to the dangers of foreign invasion and revolutions in colonies.

Case of India

India, though a subject country has been taught to think in terms of internationalism by the National Congress. The National Congress has welded the teeming millions of the land into an organic whole and is leading the struggle of independence. Fundamentals of the Congress are clear and well defined. It stands for democracy and severence of all relations with British Imperialism. Officially Congress has denounced Fascist aggressions and expressed sympathy with Abyssinia, Spain, China, Chekoslovakia, etc. It has repeatedly declared through its resolutions that India would line up with the democratic forces of the world to ensure peace. "The Congress dissociates itself entirely from the British Foreign policy which has consistently aided Fascist power and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both of these. In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism, and pursuing her path of peace and freedom." India cannot have any sympathy with or community of interests with the Fascist countries and our sympathy should be ranged on the side of China for a victorious China means the end of Imperialism in the Far East.

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SPLIT OR UNITY

By—GOPAL HALDER

The crisis within the Congress deepened and we are faced with a split. Yet it has to be admitted that a split within the Congress was welcome to no body. Even in Bombay when one could smell it in the very air, more even than violence which upset Mahatmaji, the Left groups agreed, as a preamble to all their agreement, that they would not further any split in the Congress. Almost at that very hour was being forged in the official Congress anvil the sharp sword that must cut the body into two unless the Left prepared to cut themselves away from the masses of the country. Still the Leftists would hide their heads in the Chaupatti sands. They would still avoid the division in the national rank that was being forced through by the more resolute wing of the Right. The Left talked of unity, and meant it—against the hard facts at Bombay.

Dissent is Disturbing

The reason is not far to see. Every split weakens the body—at least, temporarily. A split, when the international crisis may any moment confront us and put us on our trial, is likely to prove a national disaster. It simply advertises our incompetence. It will betray us against ourselves. We shall be denying our destiny with the ranks broken, the country confused and the masses bewildered. Responsible minds must necessarily shrink from such possibility. Ardour for dissent thus would cool off into silent conformity. Less ardent spirits would not, of course, risk the mental and moral crisis that a breach must mean to them. For, a split is distressful to all. It is distasteful to most, and dismays many. Conformity assures quiet days, a constitutional calm and repose. The psychological frame-up of the dissenter has to be more hardy to stand the many-sided reactions of a dissent. A split is a great disturbance of peace.

Fear of Indiscipline

Here lies the secret why a split is so often suspect. A disturbance of peace is generally the line, as we know, of the mentally deficient. They are the results of undeveloped or under-developed social instinct. They are in a sense no doubt an indictment of the civilisation. For, civi-

lization is a failure in so far as they are failures. A civilization in crisis casts up such failures by hundreds and even by thousands. In an unbalanced situation many who could otherwise hold their own break down—and break into revolt and disorder. Thus, necessity of a protest may lead to a spontaneous demonstration, as at Tripuri; but, once roused, the demonstration could not regain its balance as the necessity demanded. Hence the keen eye of a student of social mind and moulder of social activity detects even in the revolt against the unbalanced order a lack of balance, a lack of mental order—no, even an outrageous tinge of abnormality. It is indiscipline, it is disruption; and, the moulder of men and events himself, in reaction from that, falls back to the position that is unbalanced, that is the cause of the outbreak. All protests are suspect to him; all dissent fills him with distrust—and slowly he succumbs to his suspicion and distrust to collapse into neutrality as the struggle wages around them or relapse into reaction as the complicated web of events unrolls itself in revolt and splits.

The Root of Vacillation

Thus do they, the intellectuals, betray themselves unawares. Reaction claims them back to the fold of a *status quo* while the historic necessity of revolt draws its recruits from the next rung. These latter are less gifted than the intellectuals, but more vitally connected with the masses, more akin to them in their interests, in their thoughts and feelings and responses. There is naturally an element of balanceless disorder in their ranks, as has been seen, and that causes the intellectually aloof to hang away from their ranks. Yet it was the role of the intellectual to weld them, this medley, into a sort of disciplined force as the historic necessity arises. Not that the intellectuals do not know all this. They do know their Hegel and Marx, the dialectical process that moves men and things; they do admit the necessity and the sacredness of a revolt that history enjoins on men at times; they do know too, that society, or even any big portion of it, is a complex complicated whole in which many divergent elements may be lodged, and that the banner of revolt is frequently the signal for the conscious and unconscious misfits of life to come together, but, that as the intelle-

ctuals too warn, cannot for the matter frustrate the purpose of history provided it is there, provided the revolt is a necessity. All this they know, and perhaps more. But when a concrete situation presents itself before them, its *elemental* quality, passion and pathos, wildness and disharmony, sets them flying from it to take refuge in deceptive historical analysis and dissatisfied introspection.

Trial for All

Meanwhile, when the 'intellectual Hamlets' fail, revolt puts forward its men of destiny, whom the concrete reality does not frighten, men generally of two kinds temperamentally,—the man of vision who is not a visionary, and the man of action who is not undecided. They are not dismayed by the situation into quiescence or acquiescence. The necessary efforts claim and secure from the former the mental and spiritual qualities that are sturdy and sterling. The latter contribute the dynamic quality of life, the vital drive, the elemental urge, that is the basis of all progress. And thus the call for dissent puts all on their trial—the man of action and the man of vision.

They alone, who respond to it, ensure human progress. It is the protestant that saves a society from its own laws. They would not rest and the society knows no rest for them. The disciplined, and the undisciplined too, of the 'split' forces compel the society to move, to conquer and be conquered as well by the challenging movements.

Protestantism

Examples can be cited to any number how the dissenter has helped the orthodox to recover from his own disease of 'doxy'. It is also well-known how the heterodoxy of a day becomes the orthodoxy of the next day. But it has to win its way to become so. That way is the way of protest and non-conformism. One has to set at naught the Papal Bull. Many may have to face the Inquisition until Protestantism can be conceded the right to live. Then of course in due course orthodoxy will find itself overwhelmed and surrender or transform itself. It will set its house in order at the Council of Trent. Similar history is repeated in other lands, in other spheres of life as well. We are familiar with our own Brahma protestantism and the Rama

Krishna Vivekananda counter-reformation. The last simply adopted the liberalism of the Brahma Samaj in its Hindu garb, so much so that the Brahma Samaj languishes while the Brahmoised Hindu Samaj proclaims its victory. Political parties have had similar fates that overtook them. When the Bolshevik Party broke away from the Social Democratic Party it was a Party of protestants, of 'visionaries', of 'extremists', of probably 'the undisciplined'. The wisdom of the step has however been vindicated by the vast stretches of the Soviet lands in the two Continents. We have seen our own Indian National Congress too to pass through a phase like that which was finally completed by the rise of Gandhiji in the early twenties. The Congress then came to be accepted as an organ of struggle, with direct non-violent action as its method, and its structure was to be shaped so as to reflect more and more the ever-growing political consciousness of the masses. Do we not then approach once more the period of a protest in the Congress history ?

Conflict within Congress—Its Character

That is what we do undoubtedly, but that is what we were afraid of confessing to ourselves as we showed in Bombay. But it may be doubted, as it has been, that we are building on superficial similarities, drawing identical conclusions for situations which are quite different. It is argued that the present conflict is a contention between personalities, at most a difference over the question of speed or pacing. A split that is a necessity, that, to quote, S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose's language, 'paves the way for synthesis and unity' must be based on more solid basis, of say, divergent outlook, of divergent approach, revolutionary or reformist, and of historic necessity or otherwise. This calls for a brief examination as many of us are not sure about the character of the present differences between the Left and the Right in the Congress.

Congressmen are not all of one ideology, principle and programme. No, the Congress is not a picture in monochrome. It is colourful and varied in every way within the frame-work of its creed—the objective of 'complete independence' and the method of 'peaceful and legitimate means.' Even this, as can be proved, is no steel-frame. Mahatmaj would interpret

independence as 'partnership' with the foreigner; ordinary men or the English lexicon would hardly approve of such meaning of the word. 'Legitimate and peaceful' are two difficult adjectives too. However, the Congress has allowed Indians of all shades of opinion who agree on the objective and method to come in within the Congress. On these foundations the Congress platform has been built, and in course of its rise the Congress thus came to acquire certain characters which may be called fundamental. These are, firstly, the Congress is a weapon for struggle; secondly, the Congress is an over-growing mass organisation; and lastly, the Congress is an ever-widening movement for mass emancipation. These are the aspects which became established with Gandhiji's entry in the Congress. The Moderates left it, not because the Congress had then accepted the goal of independence or Gandhiji's outlook on that point differed from theirs. But they felt a different approach was being insisted on, an orientation was involved which would turn the Congress into a revolutionary body through the revolutionary possibilities of the method, viz, direct action, that Gandhiji was introducing. This was a fundamental difference which could not but lead to a split. Similarly, if the parties and groups of today find that they differ on any of the above three points, they must be prepared to face a split again.

Now, on the face of it, it is evident that none of the groups within the Congress disavow the above three principles'. The Left consider this to be the fundamental points of their agreement with the Right. The Gandhi-Bose letters are an interesting evidence on the point. Subhas Babu repeatedly held that the differences were not deep or profound; Gandhiji stoutly maintained they were fundamental. This was an enigma to most who could not read into his mind nor anticipate the decisions that were taking shape in the curious recesses of that mystic soul. Those who could foresee, would not,—dare not,—speak aloud. The Rajkot settlement (the hunger-strike one) indicated that Mahatmaj would no longer put his trust in the mass satyagraha. It meant that mass movements would no longer be viewed with favour by the Gandhian Congress. The States Peoples' struggles made it clear that struggle was no longer what they would commit the Congress to. The Left could not believe in this Rightist attitude, however, in the face of the Tripuri call for preparing the country for 'nation-wide struggle' and the formal adherence of the Right to the accepted principle of struggle. But the

Leftist illusions should have been removed by the 'New Light' that dawned on the Mahatma and the 'New Technique' that he came to reveal to the public. It was clear that the surging wave of the mass life in the States was to be locked up in a dam; negotiation was henceforth definitely to be the Congress instrument to replace direct action; and in all direction there was to be a resistance to mass infiltration in the Congress and to mass pressure on the Congress. These became patent in the A.I.C.C sitting in Bombay when, without actually and honestly repudiating the fundamentals, the character of the Congress was sought to be changed through Constitutional fetters that would operate against the masses and mass worker, through the ban on the criticism of ministry and on launching Satyagraha. Stands the Congress where it did ?

Yes, the Extremists of yesterday are the Moderates of to-day. They in practice want the Congress to go back and become a parliamentary party, not a mass movement, a reformist body and not a revolutionary organ; an instrument of constitutionalism and not a weapon of direct action. Thus they turn their back on the march of history and, in so far as they fail to follow the line of historic growth, the Right comes under the ban of history as well.

The differences between the two, Left and Right, within the Congress are thus becoming fundamental in practice though not in profession, and practice is nine-tenth of politics. It is here that the Left should know that a split may not be avoided; their loyalty to the character of the Congress, to its fundamentals, may force them into that position. At the same time, here too, the Left have to be careful that the split is not forced by them prematurely. A premature split would mean a loss to the Left of that big undecided element, which still decide the issue—as they did at the time of the Presidential Election and as at Tripuri. They may be misled easily, as at Tripuri; but they do want a Struggle—the very thing that the Left want. So, the Left, on circumspection, may decide what character the possible breach should take. If the feared split come, it should come only on the question of struggle and the Left is to remember that Struggle and Unity are still to be the objective for the Left in the present state of the national life,—'A Split that paves the way for Synthesis and Unity.' But, a Unity again of the pro-struggle elements, "a unity of action and not a unity of inaction."

And in this connection the Left may remember as well the following reminder by the veteran publicist S. J. Ramananda Chatterji in the *Modern Review* for July, "What is plain is that so long as political protestants do not demonstrate their power to form a body by themselves, the politically orthodox may not be disposed to take their protest seriously and effect a compromise."

FORWARD BLOC THE CONSTITUTION

The following constitution of the Forward Bloc was adopted by the All-India Conference in Bombay. A resolution was also passed approving the formation of a Left Consolidation Committee.

The constitution provides for the following among others :—

This organisation shall be called the Forward Bloc.

The Forward Bloc is an organisation within the Indian National Congress, which is to serve as a common platform for all the Left elements inside the Congress.

The aim of the Bloc is the same as that of the Indian National Congress, i. e., "the attainment of complete independence by all legitimate and peaceful means."

Membership of the Bloc is open to all primary members of the Congress, who subscribe to the programme of the Bloc.

The All-India Council of the Forward Bloc should consist of all the members of the A. I. C. C. who subscribe to the programme of the Bloc. They will have the right to co-opt additional members not exceeding one-third of the total strength of the Council.

The Provincial, District and other subordinate Councils of the Bloc shall consist of the members Provincial, District and other subordinate Congress Committees respectively who subscribe to the programme of the Bloc.

The All-India Council will elect the following office-bearers ; one President, two Vice-Presidents ; one General Secretary ; four Secretaries and one Treasurer.

The Councils, excluding the All-India Council, may function as the executive of the Bloc or may elect small Working Committees from amongst their members.

THE PROGRAMME

The following resolution embodying the Programme of the Forward Bloc was adopted at the All-India Conference of the Forward Bloc held in Bombay :

The Forward Bloc will endeavour to implement the following programme to the best of its ability and will, at the same time, carry on propaganda in its favour, with a view to having it adopted by Indian National Congress.

1. While every Indian should have full freedom of religious worship, religion and mysticism should not dominate politics or political affairs. Political affairs should be guided by political, economic and scientific considerations alone.

2. Strenuous efforts should be made to fight provincialism and communalism which have been accentuated since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy.

3. Any corruption that may exist today among Congressmen—whether it be the result of an attempt to capture the Congress machi-

The All-India Council may take such steps as may be necessary in order to bring about co-ordination between the Bloc and any Left group or groups in the Congress that may not join the Bloc for the present. Such co-ordination should aim at complete consolidation and unity of all Left elements and groups in the Congress.

The register of primary members shall be scrutinised by a Sub-Committee of the Province, which shall have authority to correct the list and exclude names of undesirable persons. The decision of the Sub-Committee will be subject to appeal to the All-India Committee.

nery or whether it has appeared in the wake of office acceptance—should be rooted out.

4. The Congress should be freed from the influence of the vested interests and from the domination of the Congress Ministries. Democracy should be restored within the Congress and should replace the present authoritarian tendency. Simultaneously the Congress organisations throughout the country should be radicalised and activated.

5. The parliamentary programme of the Congress should be implemented more vigorously and with a radical, revolutionary mentality. The Congress Ministries should function not under the aegis of the British Government but of the Congress. Congress Ministries as well as the Congress organisations in the country should set before themselves the objective of developing a parallel Government in the country.

6. The struggle of the peasants and the workers for their economic emancipation should be actively supported.

7. There should be close co-ordination between the Congress on the one side and other anti-imperialist organisations like the kisan sabhas, trade unions, youth leagues, students federations etc.

8. A volunteer corps should be organised on an All-India basis.

9. The Congress should actively help the states people in their struggle for responsible Government and civil liberty. Close co-ordination and collaboration should be developed between the Congress and the states people's organisations with a view to making the states' people's organisations an integral part of the Indian national Congress. There should be a comprehensive

(Continued Page on 15)

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THE PROGRAMME

(Contd. from p. 13)

plan for helping and guiding the states' people's movement throughout the country.

10. Uncompromising hostility should be offered to the federal scheme and it should be combated by all peaceful and legitimate means, should the British Government endeavour to foist the federal scheme on the Indian people.

11. All attempts should be made to prevent India being dragged into an imperialist war by Great Britain and to prevent Indian resources in men and money from being utilised and exploited in the interests of British imperialism.

12. The boycott of British goods and of foreign cloth should be intensified once again. This is necessary not only to help Swadeshi industries in India and the workers engaged in those industries but also to thwart the war preparations of British imperialism.

13. Provisions should be made for the proper training of political workers.

14. Steps should be taken from now to prepare the country for an early resumption of the national struggle for complete independence.

15. In the realm of national reconstruction, the Forward Bloc will stand for the idea of planning for India and in particular of industrial planning. When the time and opportunity arrive, the Bloc will stand for industrial development through the medium of the State. The Bloc will also advocate a progressive land-policy which will be determined after consultation with other Anti-Imperialist organisations.

THE FUNCTION OF THE FORWARD BLOC

By Humayun Kabir

The formation of the Forward Bloc marks a necessary stage in the development of Congress policy. For some time past, the divergence between the leadership and the aspirations of the members had become perceptible, and every day this divergence grew wider. In a way this was inevitable, for the old leadership thought (and perhaps still thinks) in terms of political liberty, but the rank and file yearned, in many cases with an unconscious and inchoate longing, for economic and social freedom as well. This the old leadership failed to realise, not so much out of intellectual incompetence or moral failing, as because of its identification with the social milieu which brought it into prominence. By its very composition and origin, it lacked the necessary social perspective to face the new problems created by the grafting of economic imperialism upon a decadent feudal social structure. Members of the old leadership had revolted against the political humiliation of British imperialism, but their revolt had ossified into rigid forms, and the meaningless reiteration of loyalties that belonged to a vanished past was only a symptom, among many others, of their incapacity to face and solve the problems which a new age had ushered.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose created Congress history in bringing into sharp relief the contradictions that had imperceptibly developed between Congress policy and Congress leadership. He precipitated the inevitable crisis by deciding to seek re-election, but this was in itself a distinct service, for it turned the minds of Congressmen from a consideration of personalities to a re-examination of principles. There have been Presidential contests in the Congress in the past, but they have invariably occurred on the personal or provincial plane, while the contest this year sought to measure, not the personal popularity of the candidates (for that was never in question) but the direction and intensity of public feeling on the outstanding political questions of the day. Gandhiji was stating the bare truth when he acknowledged the defeat as his own, for it was precisely a revolt,—rejection

would at this stage be too strong a word,—against his programme and principle that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's victory registered.

The controversy over the reformist and revolutionary conduct of affairs formed the centre of the dispute, and the particular questions over which the battle raged.—Federation and the problems of Indian States,—were merely the symbols used by the conflicting attitudes of mind represented by the protagonists. It would, however, be too great a simplification of issues to suppose that the delegates consciously voted against a particular political attitude, for it was inevitable that all kinds of extraneous and non-political factors must intervene to colour the mentality of the average voter. But even the personal factors were not unrelated to the political issues. Discontent against the High Command may have been aggravated by personal feelings in certain cases, but in the main, the personal feelings were themselves a function of the dissatisfaction of the average congressman with the conduct of Congress policy. The almost complete unanimity with which Moslem Congressmen supported Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was significant, for it indicated that the policy of the High Command, at least in the aspects in which it affected Mussalmans, was unacceptable to them. The Presidential contest forced people to think afresh of the policy of the Congress High Command and the verdict of the country was a rejection of that policy.

It was here, however, that fresh complications revealed themselves. The discontent against the conduct of policy was deep and widespread, but as yet the discontent had not been focussed upon those responsible for the conduct of that policy. The halo of leadership still clung to those with whose policies the country was dissatisfied, and Tripuri and Calcutta marked the triumph of allegiance to personality over that to principles. Besides, the transformation of the political complexion of the Congress had been so rapid that very few perceived the change, of those who perceived it, fewer understood it and still fewer realised all the far-reaching implications brought by it in its train. The widening of the bases of the Congress and the emergence of socialist thought were different aspects of the same phenomenon. This measured the incursion of the mentality of the younger generation, and Faizpur marked the first step in the transformation of the Congress into a socialist mass organisation. The process was accelerated in course of the election campaign undertaken at the inauguration of provincial autonomy. The victory at the polls was at the same time a symptom and a factor in the transformation of the social composition of the Congress,

The victory contained within itself the seeds of incipient revolt. It brought to the level of consciousness the inconsistencies so long concealed in the policy

and composition of the Congress, for the programme of action demanded by the election manifesto could not be reconciled with the interest of the classes from which the old leadership was derived. It was perhaps not a mere accident that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose became President for the first time immediately after the assumption of office by the Congress in seven provinces, just as it was not an accident that his candidature for a second term precipitated the internal crisis which had been brewing so long. The policy of the Congress Cabinets was in many cases progressive enough, particularly from the point of view of those who had come into Congress before its social transformation had taken place, but this could hardly satisfy those who had been brought in by its socialist appeal, and in turn, tended to emphasise its socialist leanings. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose became the symbol of new forces and factors, and could not without violating the very essence of this symbolism, permit his absorption into the old leadership.

Herein lies the significance of the Forward Bloc. The incipient discontent in the country seeks to reconstruct Indian policy, Indian society and Indian economic life. The old leadership can think of remodelling the structure of the polity, and making a few half-hearted alterations in the social composition, but the reconstruction of the economic life is a prospect that it can hardly face. Its pathetic clinging to old sociological and religious ideology while working to change the outward expression of the political structure indicates that the lessons of Nineteenth century Europe and the Revolutions of the Twentieth century have been lost upon it. If they have taught anything, they have taught that without fundamental economic reconstruction, political justice is a mere mockery and social equity an impossible dream. The organism of society cannot be modified in any limb without profound alterations in the character and composition of the others, and any attempt to isolate one aspect is bound to lead to social atrophy. The heightened communal consciousness in Indian public life to-day is a glaring instance of this, for the attempt to retain or glorify old and effete social and economic forms while seeking to alter its political framework is bound to lead to such catastrophe.

The Forward Bloc must seek to organise the discontent of the new social classes within the Congress. The mysticism which has concealed confusion of thought and weakness of purpose must be fought, even though mysticism may offer nearer prospects of success in minor matters. Fissiparous tendencies express themselves, not only in communal and provincial jealousies, but also in the splitting up of the organic unity of the revolutionary struggle for a better human order and must be equally fought. That is why the question of Federation and of the Indian States, of agrarian reconstruction and industrial revolution, of political

BOOK REVIEWS THE SOVIET COMES OF AGE.

By Twenty-eight of the foremost citizens of the U. S. S. R.

William Hodge, and Co. Ltd.
London, 15 S.

Existence of Soviet Russia has been the cause of perennial uneasiness to the capitalist society. The Soviet Union was regarded as the antithesis of human culture. But Soviet Russia has disrupted these with historical data and has justified her existence as the harbinger of a new civilisation and arrested the admiration of the civilised world. Romain Rolland regards the Soviet system as the greatest attempt at social reconstruction in the history of the human race. And the publication of "The Soviet Comes of Age" is well timed and would be of immense service to students of social history. The present book is a detailed study of Soviet's achievements in various spheres—trade, industry, science, art, agriculture etc. It is prefaced by the Webbs and is encyclopaedic in scope. The article on present Soviet literature, though a short one, is illuminating and propounds the key-note of Soviet literature—'social realism'. "The literature of the whole family of the Soviet peoples is first of its kind based upon a socialist ideology and on a real and not verbal equality of mankind". Of the Soviet press little is known and the article on press and publishing is helpful in forming a correct estimate of the press in the Soviet Republic. Immense progress has been made in the realm of press and in 1937 no fewer than 8521 newspapers were published with total circulation of 36197000 copies. To lovers of pictures the article on cinema would be astonishingly interesting and they would discover the true type of cinema that uplifts and nourishes life.

U. S. S. R. is a land without unemployment and the article on labour should merit close attention. "Work in the U. S. S. R. is the honourable duty of every able-bodied citizen in the land. The right to work is secured in the constitution and guaranteed by the Socialist organisations of nationalistic economy, the steady growth of productive powers of society and the absence of economic crises and unemployment." The Soviet financial system is complicated and the article on money and currency is an explanation of the subordinate role played by currency. "The basic principle of the soviet regime is the socialist ownership of the machinery and means of production. Such ownership may be one of two kinds—of the state or of co-operative and collective farm. The revenues of all state-owned

liberation and social freedom must be seen as different facets of the one fundamental issue. The significance of the Forward Bloc must be in emphasising this unity and supplying the impulse for the sustained effort which alone can solve this basic problem.

property accrue to the national exchequer and provide the main source of its income. The revenues of the co-operative and collective undertakings, belong solely and wholly to the latter after payment of the statutory taxes of the State exchequer. Taxation is in the form of income-tax. There are two distinct categories of socialist ownership and each of these has its relation to the national system of finance. The private ownership permitted by law is limited to individual peasants and handicraftsmen and must be based entirely on personal labour. The last source of direct taxation is that provided by the private earnings of citizens which are subject to income tax on their salaries from state-owned or private undertaking as well as on their share of profits as members of the latter. Of these four sources of national revenue, the first is by far the greatest, as the whole revenue of the state-owned property of the country goes to the national exchequer, where it constitutes the actual basis of the fiscal system, whereas other sources of revenue merely serve to supplement the national income to a limited extent."

Soviet foreign policy has been inspired by the desire of fortifying the peace front and her sincerity of purpose can hardly be questioned. "The Soviet Union stands for the consolidation of all the peace forces in the world under the banner of the League of nations, for it is convinced that the aggressors will not attack peaceful states if they stand together." The article on Soviet foreign policy should be read by the critics who have ranked U. S. S. R. with the reactionaries of the world. Serious students of world politics would do well to read the book. It is a book to be bought or borrowed.

S. U.

The Military Strength of the Powers
by Max Werner: Victor Gollancz Ltd, London. 7s. 6d. The book can be safely recommended to every student of international affairs. The author has given an objective analysis of the present position. The book is well-written and is fairly comprehensive.

Armaments play an important, if not the dominant part, in the conduct of foreign policy. The sanction of diplomacy, in the modern world, is after all a sanction of force. That being the position proper understanding of international affairs presupposes a fairly accurate knowledge of the military factor. An analysis of the military position is necessary for two reasons. First, as we have already noticed, this is vital for the understanding of the international situation. Secondly, we must keep ourselves informed about recent developments in military technique and military strategy. We shall have to tackle the military problem as soon as we shall capture political power. We should, therefore, have clear ideas regarding the defence of our country. Technical knowledge is vital and it must precede and not follow the actual capture of power.

A. N. B.

OUR LONDON LETTER

London, July 28.

The Far-Eastern tangle that developed over Tientsin has now been resolved in a manner that has once more shown up the Chamberlain Government. To put the whole matter in a very simple and curt language, it may be said quite accurately that China has been betrayed by Britain. No amount of mystical verbiage can conceal this hard fact. Britain has practically accepted almost all the demands of Japan, although Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax have laboured hard to convince the legislature that it is not actually the case. In the House of Commons the Premier had to face a regular volley of very uncomfortable questions which he had to meet with a simple, stark and peremptory denial. Do the concessions given to Japan constitute a virtual recognition of Japanese sovereignty over Chinese territories now under the control of their forces? "No" replies the Premier. Have the British Government definitely sided with Japan? Again "No" replies Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Does this development denote any change in Britain's Far-Eastern policy, if there is any policy at all? Again the same stereotyped and sickening "No". And the funniest part of the story is that the Premier doesn't care to explain how the fact is otherwise than what the questions indicate. Whatever Mr. Chamberlain may say, the broad fact remains that he has let down China in a most shameless manner. The Premier shines today as the champion appeaser of Europe. After Munich, China—no body can accuse Mr. Chamberlain of inconsistency!

Reshuffling of Cabinet.

In spite of the Premier's persisting in a policy of appeasement (or because of it?), there's every indication that the war temper in Britain is rising higher and higher. It is evident that general British attitude towards the aggressive policy of the Axis has been gradually stiffening. The air is filled with the rumour that there will be a General Election by the middle of November next which will provide an acid test for present appeasement policy of the Government. Whether that turns out to be an actuality

or not, it appears quite probable that Mr. Chamberlain will not be able to resist long the public pressure for inclusion of Messrs. Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and Duff Cooper in the Cabinet—the very persons who are today the accredited exponents of a 'peace front' against the Axis. In the meantime Herr Hitler has publicly declared that he would regard their inclusion as a positive proof that Britain is anxious for a fight against Germany. Some newspapers often flash the bold head-line—"Chamberlain must go." If Chamberlain has actually to go—and this does not seem improbable in view of the fact that a reconstituted Cabinet is likely to throw his policy overboard—then the chances of an European conflagration will be greatly accelerated in which Britain shall have to figure as a prominent partner. What will be the extent and reaction of that catastrophe not only in Europe but also elsewhere in the world, is a matter about which prophecies should be discreetly withheld for the present.

The House of Uncommons.

"Tory M. P."—that is the title of a recently published book by Simon Haxey (Gollancz, 7/6) which has attracted wide notice both in the press and among the public here. It is an exceedingly revealing publication in as much as it analyses and dissects the records of Government supporters in the House of Commons, the House of Lords, high finance and industry. By an irrefutable array of facts and figures it has torn the veil from the pretence that the Britishers try to rule democratically. The following facts, as chronicled in the book, tell their own tale. Of the Tory members of Parliament is 1 peer, 18 are heirs to peerages, 25 Sons-in-law of peers, 24 blood relations of peers, 12 relations by marriage of peers, 55 landed gentry, 24 baronets and 64 Knights, making a total of 236 Tory Knights and aristocrats sitting in the present Parliament. These members are openly Pro-fascist in attitude and quite a large number of them are associated with such bodies as the Anglo-German fellowship and a whole series of similar organisations. It is clear from the above facts that the ruling power in Britain is not *on principle* opposed to Fascism, and if it rants and raves occasionally against the Axis Powers,

WEEK BY WEEK
INDIAN SCENEPandit Nilkantha Das's
Outspoken Speech

Cuttack, August 1.

"The Forward Bloc has emerged out of the Congress as an historical necessity. It was bound to come as a reaction. The disciplinary action of the Congress High Command on the one hand and enforcement of gagging orders under Section 144, Cr. P. C., even under the Congress regime had made the birth of Forward Bloc possible. Whether you like it or not, whether you call it Forward Bloc or Backward Bloc, you must admit that it was a child of reaction and so it was inevitable and was bound to come."

With these words Pandit Nilkantha Das President of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, wound up the proceedings while presiding over a public meeting, held last evening, at the Town Hall to discuss the "Present Political Situation in the country." The meeting was well-attended and several prominent Congressmen, including S. J. Harekrishna Mahtab, member of the All-India Congress Working Committee; S. J. Prankrishna Padhiary, President of the Cuttack District Congress Committee; S. J. Jadumoni Mangraj, M. L. A., Parliamentary Secretary and Mrs. Sarola Devi, M. L. A., addressed it.

REPATRIATION ENFORCED

10 Indians Leave Ceylon

Colombo, Aug. 1.

Ten Indian daily paid Government employees whose services were terminated yesterday under the scheme for discontinuance of non-Ceylonese in Government service, entrained for India to-night. They were given railway warrants, with which they obtained tickets for their homes and necessary letter of authority to receive their bonus on arrival at their respective places in India.

the reason thereof is to be sought in the fact that its imperialist *status quo* is today being menaced by the aggression of those Powers. It is *really* a case of one Fascism being pitted against others of more open and frank type. Yet Britain doesn't cease boasting of being the bulwark of democracy and peace in the world. What a terrible hoax!

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY Life Extended For 1 Year

Simla, July 31.

The Governor General has decided to extend the life of the existing Legislative Assembly (Central) for a further period of one year from the 1st of October, 1939, when the extension effected in this notification dated the 7th May, 1938 will expire.

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL Governor Gives Assent

The following notification by the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal has been published in the "Calcutta Gazette" of August 3.

"In His Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor has assented to the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1939".

PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY Inaugurated among great enthusiasm

Bombay, August 1.

The large scale celebrations lurching Prohibition in Bombay today reached their climax in a mammoth public meeting in the Azad Maidan. There was a huge gathering on the occasion. The meeting itself was preceded by a very big procession. Sardar Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and Premier Kher addressed the meeting.

PEASANT GIRLS Join 'Forward Bloc' Demonstration

Patna, July 31.

More than a hundred peasant girls joined a demonstration organised under the auspices of the 'Forward Bloc' last evening. They carried posters demanding release of Bengal politicals and had also red flags.

CONGRESS GOVT'S COMPROMISE WITH ZEMINDERS

Sj. Narain's address at Darbhanga Conference

"Our objective is to do good to the kisans and our activities are directed towards that end. But the Congress

Ministry of Bihar made a compromise with the zamindars and enacted worthless laws. And therefore if any awkward situation arises in the course of the kisans' fight for their rights, the policy of the Ministry and not the Kisan Sabha was responsible for it. We want to utilise the Kisan Sabha for strengthening the Congress but Congressmen themselves do not want it". So said Sj. Jai Prokash Narain presiding over the Fourth session of the Darbhanga District Political conference at Sagarapur on the 29th July.

MR. SRINIVAS IYENGAR'S SPEECH Appeal To Youths To Keep Aloft Standard Of Criticism

Madras, July 31.

"It is the younger intelligentsia as representing the rising generation that stands still unsophisticated by all those ambitions, all the callous indifference to the human suffering and the confusion in morals, religion and politics. To the younger generation I appeal to keep aloft the standard of robust and manly criticism to see that the weights and measures are not tampered with, and that the political currency is not debased".

This was the appeal made last evening to the youths by Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, delivering an address to the Madras Christian College Union Society at Tambaram. Mr. Victor Pavamani, President of the Union, presided and extended a hearty welcome to the distinguished speaker.

FOREIGN SCENE BRITISH CREDITS FOR POLAND Agreement Signed in London

London, Aug. 2.

Mr. R. S. Hudson, Secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade, and the Polish Ambassador signed to-day an agreement providing for the granting of guarantees to Poland up to £8,160,000 for the purchase of goods wholly or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom.

The Polish Government will issue five per cent bonds up to that amount and the principal and interest are guaranteed by the Board of Trade.

The money raised from the sale of the bonds, which is repayable over a period of 16 years, beginning 1941, will be used for the purchase of goods.

JAPAN AND EUROPE

"Inner Cabinet" to Discuss Policy

Tokyo, Aug. 2.

It is reported that Japan's "Inner Cabinet" consisting of the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs, War and Navy will meet tomorrow to discuss Japan's policy towards Europe.

The War Minister, General Itagaki, to-night called an emergency meeting of executive members of the War Office to discuss the attitude of the Army at tomorrow's conference.

Mr. Eden on Appeasement

London, Aug. 1.

Appeasement has been buried forty fathoms deep and, instead, the Government is embarked upon a policy of building up a peace front to resist further acts of aggression writes Mr. Anthony Eden in a letter to his constituents to-day. He adds: "There is only one task for British statesmanship—to convince the rulers and peoples of Germany and Italy of the unshakeable firmness of our determination."

GERMAN PREPARATIONS FOR WAR Proclamations To Army, Navy & Air Force

Berlin, Aug. 2.

General Brauchitsch in a proclamation to the Army says "Once more to-day the power that forced us then (1914) into a defensive war are trying to encircle us. We desire peace but if a new War is forced upon us the German Army will fight for Germany's right to live with the same inner solidarity and readiness for sacrifices and gallantry as in 1914 and give proof of the superiority of Germany's soldiers."

Field Marshal Goering in a proclamation to the Air Force declares "I have done my best to make the Air Force the biggest and the strongest in the world. To-day it stands ready to carry out every command of our Fuehrer with lightning speed unparalleled in striking power."

Admiral Reader previously sent a proclamation in similar terms to the Navy.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

WHAT DOES PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL
STAND FOR ?

Sir,

Pandit Nehru has vented his wrath upon the Leftists and regards their latest move as the antithesis of discipline. Educated in England, bred on pure diet of English liberalism Pandit Nehru has proved to be an escapist—never ready to face the Social realism. Notwithstanding the gulf of yawning difference between him and his colleagues he had aired his views and blown the Trumpet of Socialism in the past. But of late he has been acting in a manner not in keeping with the fundamentals of Socialism that he professes. In India he has been hailed as Lenin and his writings must needs be subjected to critical examination and I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a part of his article on A. I. C. C. "More and more the choice before many of us becomes difficult.....the choice is of the unthinking acceptance of decisions.....or opposition or inaction. Not one of these courses is easily commendable.....the sense of helplessness increases after the Rajkot event..... I do not understand at all what happened there". Helpless pleadings of a noble mind! Can any student of Scientific Socialism be reasoned into believing it? Rightly speaking he has harmed the cause and done much in spreading confusion amongst his countrymen. As a student of Social history he has offered an illuminating analysis of the Society and various classes with their historic role.

Thrice he has been the President of Indian National Congress; is the Chairman of National Planning Committee. And on Rajkot he remains silent and prays for inner light. Kamath-Nehru correspondence is an expression of his growing desire to curb the individual activities of the people connected with Congress. Kamath's case has received country wide publicity. During the Presidential Election Kamath stood by Subhas Babu and rendered possible helps that every congressman did. In a dependant country politics are far more complicated and every one has the right to act and formulate his opinion. But poor Kamath has been cashiered on technical ground. What is about our Kriplani? Can he claim immunity from controversial politics?

Now Panditji finds 'United National Front' threatened and has sounded the tocsin. United 'National Front' does not mean compromise with Imperialism and its allies. The chief task of United National Front is to develop struggle on all-fronts. Did he offer any opposition to the colossus of Gujrat when our struggle in states was bottled up? Theoretical ignorance cannot be attributed to Panditji, for he is one of the leading politicians of the East. He reminds Gorki's Samgin who abhors action but works on the intellectual plane. Is it not true of Panditji? On international situation he writes well and his style rises to the full height of argument. Indian situation baffles him and he is found floundering in the mud. Situations are worked and never sandbagged by Socialists.

S. PRADHAN

WAR CLOUDS IN EUROPE

Sir,

Europe is a powder-magazine, The axis powers are coquetting with the idea of war. The Anglo-French policy of appeasement is a dismal failure. In this inevitable struggle for the re-division of the world, Fascism is doomed to perish. The eventuality of its victory is however horrible to contemplate.

The triumph of Anglo-French finance-capital is again bound to lead to a prolonged subjection of colonial and semicolonial countries. It is only pathetic self-complacency and blind illusion which fails to reckon with the predatory and imperialist character of the coming conflict of nations. Although the correlation of forces is fairly clear, it is impossible to predict the course of the imperialist war. It is to be verily doubted if war should remain only a war, if victory is attained by technical, economic and military means alone. There are incalculable elements far beyond the admirals and generals. The war is not always a war of large scale attrition and universal destruction; it is not always fought in the manner of David and Goliath. If revolution does not prevent the war, the war will help the revolution. The friends of peace in every country may work for the defeat of their 'own' government. The Imperialist war may again be transformed into a civil war. Deadly fighting in the front may yield to fraternisation between the soldiers of belligerent nations.

There are other conceivable contingencies which may prove to be baffling to
(Continued on page 20)

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(Continued from page 19)

the general staffs, Prime-ministers and war-commissars. Class antagonism is always accentuated and is brought to the surface under certain special historical conditions. Danzig may prove to be the grave-yard of Hitler and witness the decent burial of Imperialism at the same

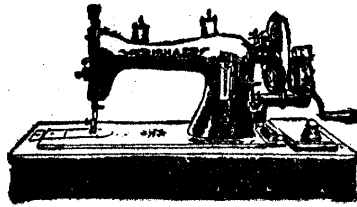
time. Even if this present crisis is averted, such episodic disturbances as a prelude to world war may develop any moment in Europe. We live in an age of armed truce. The situation in Danzig may bring about another Munich and the map of Europe may again be rearranged at the will of the Axis Powers. But a profound

crisis is writ large in the objective conditions of the world. The British Empire, as Chamberlain and other diehards conceive it, and the Third Reich, as Hitler conceives it, cannot co-exist in same planet.

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