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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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CALCUTTA, SATURDAY AUGUST 19, 1939

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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19

Our Critics

Standing as we do for the right of legitimate criticism and believing as we do that healthy criticism is indispensable for growth and development, we welcome the criticisms that have been hurled at the Forward Bloc since its very inception. We have carefully examined them and have endeavoured to profit by them. We have also tried to answer them to the best of our ability. We are gratified to find that, in consequence thereof, several of our erstwhile critics are now our supporters.

But it appears that a certain class of critics are determined not to be satisfied and are going on repeating their charges. Most of them are Rightists; nevertheless, among them are to be found men who are generally looked upon as Leftists. It is not difficult to imagine what motives inspire such incorrigible Rightist critics, but it is difficult to understand those who call themselves Leftists, yet seem to find a peculiar pleasure in attacking the Forward Bloc.

In the earlier stages, it was urged that the birth of the Forward Bloc was due to personal factors and factional differences—that the Bloc did not have a positive programme and was in reality an "anti-Bloc"—that the Forward Bloc accepted the Gandhian policy and programme and still wanted to set up a new organisation within the Congress in order to create an unnecessary split and that the Forward Bloc was set up with the sole object of fighting the Congress Working Committee or its inner circle, the Congress High Command. Since the All-India Conference of the Forward Bloc held in Bombay on the 22nd June, such criticisms have been virtually silenced as the principles, policy and programme of the Bloc have been clarified beyond the shadow of a doubt. But criticisms of a different type have been persisting, despite effective replies repeated from many a platform.

These criticisms can be classed under two heads. The burden of one set of

criticisms is that the Forward Bloc is drawing into its fold Opportunists and Fascists. To accuse the Forward Bloc of opportunism is amusing indeed. A member of the Bloc has to fight on two fronts—British Imperialism and Congress Bureaucratism—and has to suffer persecution at the hands of both. From the personal point of view he has nothing to gain, but everything to lose. The line of least resistance and the path of opportunism, however, takes one straight to the Rightist camp. There you find Congress Ministers who had been openly working against the Congress, till the Congress eschewed Satyagraha (or Civil Disobedience) and took to Parliamentaryism. You find men who never went within miles of a British Jail. You find multi-millionaires who pose as patriots, because they can call themselves Gandhites. You find Congressmen who accept nomination to local bodies through the mercy of Congress Ministers (as in Central Provinces) though acceptance of Government nomination to local bodies was definitely banned by the Congress. And you find Congress Minister, (as in Bombay) making J. P.s by the score in order to rope in more opportunists, though the Congress had long ago advised Congressmen not to become J. P.s or Honorary Magistrates. What are the Zeminders (landlords), industrial magnates and multi-millionaires who now hang about our Congress Ministers, if they are not opportunists? And are not the British-owned newspapers of Bombay and Madras, that have overnight become ministerial organs, blatant and undisguised opportunists? Verily, verily one can urge and maintain that it is the Rightists and their allies who are the real opportunists.

And referring to our so-called Leftists, may it not be pointed out that to talk as a Leftist and act as a Rightist—to seek to overthrow Gandhism by words and then succumb to the first Rightist rebuke—to boycott the Working Committee and yet take part in its deliberations—are perhaps brilliant examples of opportunism.

And now about the Fascists. It is difficult to understand what exactly is meant by "Fascist" in an Indian context, if the word is used in its scientific or technical sense. Nevertheless, if by "Fascist" is indicated those who call themselves Hitlers, super-Hitlers or budding Hitlers,

then one may say that these specimens of humanity are to be found in the Rightist camp.

The burden of the other set of criticisms is that the Forward Bloc is associating with the anti-Congress elements in the country and will soon break away from the Congress and set up a parallel organisation with their help. Those who intend condemning the Forward Bloc in this indirect manner as an anti-Congress organisation, know full well that without being a member of the Congress, one cannot be a member of the Bloc and that one has to be a radical, besides being a Congressman, in order to be a member of the Forward Bloc. Moreover, I have repeated from any number of platforms that in no circumstances are we going to break away from the Congress. Our task is to convert the Congress—not to desert it. Our critics know this as well as we do, but they go on repeating their accusation, hoping that if there is sufficient mud-slinging, some of it will stick in the long run.

It may perhaps be that our critics are jealous of the fact that while their Rightist friends are unable to attract the minorities and other sections of the Indian community to their fold, the Forward Bloc has, from the very beginning, succeeded in winning their sympathy to a large extent. These sections, who are outside the Congress, have, comparatively speaking more faith in the Left-Wing of the Congress than in the Right-Wing. And if they come into the Congress in the near future, it will be a Congress under the aegis of the Left-Wing. This is perhaps because the Left-Wing fights for Democracy, stands for a mass-movement and a programme which will benefit the masses and declares uncompromising hostility to the Federal Scheme.

But this game will not do. You cannot deceive even the Indian public to-day in this way. They are no longer as unsophisticated as you would wish them to be. Consequently, these critics notwithstanding, the Forward Bloc is forging ahead and will continue to forge ahead. The only alternative to Right-consolidation and constitutionalism is the programme of the Forward Bloc. The threefold task of the Bloc is Left-consolidation, winning over the majority in the Congress to our viewpoint and resumption of the national struggle in the name and with the united strength of the Congress. If you can suggest a better alternative than that offered by the Forward Bloc, by all means do so. We have an open mind and are ready to be convinced. But it is no use indulging in the negative role of a carping critic. That way lie futility and disaster.

Subhas Chandra Bose

CHOWRINGHEE THUNDERS

The *Statesman* of Calcutta regarded the rift in the Congress and knew *there was a time to speak*. And like people of a certain kind, it remembered *there was a time to hate*. It emptied its venom upon Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose—and to its misfortune he lies hale and hearty.

For the greater part of a week it suffered upon its readers an unconscious and involuntary farce, that heroic moral interpretation of dyspeptic moods. We must admit, it was consummate cant. It accepted Gandhi as the thesis, and Subhas Chandra Bose was, of course, the antithesis. "The world is menaced by terrible destruction . . . the ether is daily and nightly filled with charges and counter-charges"—so it wrote pompously. The *Statesman* is annoyed that its mad encounter of 'charges and counter-charges' has found Subhas Chandra Bose cool and unconcerned. He alone stands out of the crowd of conformists. The intended lesson has not been burnt into his bones and marrow, the lesson "that out of 200 years of Indo—British connexion can come a synthesis of the best in the East and West, something that will help the world to a solution". He is not to be counted among the "people of goodwill" who have understood England's industrious tutelage and India's indisputable mission. The cant then breaks into the merely laughable and the ludicrous, and we find the *Statesman* of Calcutta, whose kith and kin have helped the ether to be filled daily and nightly with charges, pleading, with the verisimilitude of passionate language, for "a new development of spiritual force".

The premises are all there set out in tendentious details—and the hand of fate has written out conclusions in the unanswerable manner of the secret police. Rome, and Berlin, and Tokio figure like a trail of black smoke in letters connoting blood and fire. The cult of admiring murderers and eulogising criminals has to do its part. Mass revolutionary movements, industrial riots, general strikes, destruction of property and capital are there galore, and jostle and crowd upon the stage. The sentence then is read out, not in the reserve manner of the judge, but with the fierce mouthings of the prosecutor.

"If War comes all such movements will simply resolve themselves into assistance to Hitler and Japan. They will be given short shrift. Spies and traitors will of course have to be put to death. Those who attempt to impede the task of national defence will have to be confined in some way."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has characterised all this as "hitting below the belt." But that is only the small part of the *tour de force*, the usual part, the part with which we are all so familiar. The meanness and the mischief, are there no doubt. The arrogance is there, the rolling, rumbling, punitive blood-and-thunder manner. What is strange, and staggering, is that it should have contemplated, even in thought, the passing of an Empire. It regards "what Germany and Japan have to offer" in place of the familiar blessings of British Imperialism. The *Statesman* has survived out of the old world into ours, but the accents of the new age have not reached its ears. The old 'Rule Britannia' manner which watched with vigilance every new symptom in the near, and the middle, and the far East, any stirring in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and had a sort of a permanent rivalry with Russia, which was to England in the nineteenth century what the competition with France for the new world was to her in the eighteenth, has been played out, and is outmoded. The bogies are laid at rest. And the German and the Japanese bogies have all the staleness of a twice-told tale. They will serve no better. They cannot stage a fright. They are irrelevant. The issue is between England and India. The issue is British Imperialism versus Indian nationalism. And Britain in India has to-day to deal with a population that is looking up, that has begun to hope and to feel its strength. We already stand on the threshold of the future, and a new order is knocking at our door. It is the oncoming things, the thousand faces of the future which absorb our interest completely. We have no use for shades and bogies. The independence of India can no longer be side tracked or sabotaged.

We note however the strange uses that are or may be made of Gandhi and Gandhism by irreverent minds.

Current Comments

Nehru's visit to China

After playing his part at Wardha where though not a member of the Working Committee his services were still deemed indispensable, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has now got ready to hie away to China. Things in that benighted country could somehow muddle through so long in Panditji's absence but evidently that's not possible any more! Commenting on this visit the *Sind Observer* has written, "We hold the view that when clouds are darkening in the European skies and Congress might have to take fateful decisions it is inadvisable that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should go to China." We think it has been cruel on the part of our contemporary to have disturbed the complacency of Pandit Nehru just on the eve of his historic journey. "Flying in the Monsoon"—its charm of poetry and adventure—is of absorbing interest. The journey to Ceylon was undertaken with hesitation and misgiving because of the deterioration in the European situation and the journey to China may well have been advised by the same deterioration. India is not in the picture.

The Federation

The life of the present central Assembly has been extended by a year and the rumour is afloat that the Viceroy's term of office too, is going to be lengthened out. These indicate that the stage is being set for the early inauguration of the Federation. The paramount power has wooed the Princes too long and has tried to net them in, but they still appear to be too wary to be caught. As a matter of fact, according to the Simla correspondent of *Roy's Weekly*, while some major states like Baroda, Gwalior and Kashmir have been in for Federation, Bikaner and Rajputana are said to be still hesitating and holding out. Hardly a week now remains for the Princes to give their final replies on the Instrument of Accession. The Princes are hesitating. The Muslim League, for its own reasons, has set its face against the federal scheme. The Congress Resolutions are hostile to it. The federation should have been "as dead as dodo." What then emboldens Simla and Whitehall to persevere with it so frantically? Will the Congress High Command throw light on the intriguing situation?

Behind the Curtain

For some time past a regular war of nerves has been going over Danzig. The boot-thudding and sabre-rattling of the Axis Powers captained by Germany have evoked almost identical performances from the self-styled Democracies. So far as Britain is concerned, Mr. Chamberlain has stage-managed the whole show with such subtle cleverness that many have been duped into the belief that a second Munich won't be perpetrated over Danzig. It is said that a settlement over the issue is now in sight. It does not require much of a thought to understand that the projected settlement is going to be nothing short of a virtual sell-out. An ominous hint of the whole sinister game that has for sometime been passing behind the scenes was given by the London correspondent of a local contemporary when he wrote :

"While keeping up a pretence of negotiating with Moscow, Chamberlain diplomacy has been actively busying itself with various plans for enabling Hitler to take Danzig without provoking Polish armed resistance. For some time now Poland under pressure from London has been carrying on secret negotiations with Berlin. It would be more accurate to say that a section of the Polish Cabinet has been carrying on secret negotiations"

It is now clear why Mr. Chamberlain sent the Parliament to a sudden recess only a few days ago. He requires some time to prepare a white-washing explanation to confront the House with when it meets next time.

Self-revelation

The following is a precious gem of a saying from the incomparable Mr. Satyamurti. "I see no future for the Indian States as such functioning outside the British Indian federation." No body, it seems, can excel the Madras Parliamentarian in the art of vicarious self-revelation.

"Urgent mission"

Hard on the heels of the Wardha resolution on war and its accompanying monthfuls of hot words comes the news that Mr. Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary, has left for Delhi on what is described as an "urgent mission." To an ordinary observer it will certainly appear as an anti-climax, but a deeper look into things will reveal a method beneath the seeming inconsistency. And then the "disciplinary action" has made the Congress sound enough for contacts with Delhi.

RENAISSANCE IN INDIA.

By A Student of History

There are clear indications that India is just now on the threshold of a new Renaissance. Every body, who cares to think about her future, is firmly convinced that there is soon to be an uplift of her spirit, a rebirth of her soul. An Indian patriot of to-day has not the same vision of the Mother-to-be as his predecessor, say in 1905. The changing world has made a new gift to India and she can set her face against it only at great loss, if not positive harm. Ideologies, therefore are now floating in the air but they have to take root in the soil. Otherwise how will they fructify? How will they build anew on the ruins of the old, rotten state of things?

A Question

There is no doubt that our country now presents the picture of Hamlet's Denmark. "The very base of her life calls for reconstruction. Reforms of a tinkering nature will not do, a revolution is necessary. But where is its all-comprehensive vision? Like light, a vision can't remain hidden unseen. It should take shape in her philosophy, arts, letters and architecture. Rousseau and Voltaire sang of the coming dawn in France, Tolstoi, Dostoievsky and Kropotkin in Russia. But where are their Indian prototypes to-day? Is then all the frenzy that we are witnessing now mere sound. That can't beget constant insurrection of spirit. India's increasing sacrifice in her best manhood and womanhood is the answer direct to that question. Our country is determined to be free. But mere freedom is a negative or at best neutral concept. Free to be what? That has got to be settled once for all.

Conception of Wholeness

It seems that the patriots of the Swadeshi era (these observations are restricted to Bengal) wanted political freedom for their land of birth. Now the surging tide of socialism has added economic leaven to it. In that dreamt of order social inequality as well as economic inequity shall be done away with like political serfdom. The fact remains that human life in its growth manifests itself in multifarious beauties and forms of grandeur. This conception of its wholeness must be made clear. The tree has its

roots underneath the ground whereof we get no glimpse, but its green foliage, flowers and fruits are all visible to us. The tree as a whole implies the totality of them all. The complete picture must be conceived and presented. That is to be the first herald of a genuine Renaissance.

The Need of Philosophy

The chief task before the thought-leaders of new India is to thresh out a new philosophy which will comprehend life in all its aspects. Modern thought has exploded the myth of a Heaven far above the earth. It has pulled Heaven down below and installed it in our every-day life, in fields of work, in our hearths and homes. In a word, the modern conception of life has undergone a thoroughly realistic transformation. Even the minor experiences of daily life have come to be viewed in a philosophic setting. The philosophy of the future must be in keeping with this attitude. A neo-Realism has to be evolved. If the glorious philosophies of India can supply it, well and good. If not, modern philosophers should be drawn upon without prejudice and reserve. Bradley, Bosanquet, Morgan, Alexander, James,—one and all of them may be knocked at if real assistance be forthcoming. Culturally, the modern world has ceased to be compartmental. This fact should be borne in mind and earnestly acted up to.

Wider Culture

Philosophy is the very bed-rock of life. It is the deep source of its sustenance. Every detail of one's conduct is apt to be controlled by it. So that philosophy should be the basis of a wider culture. The arts, letters and architecture must be thoroughly coloured by it. Real urge in life can't help creating. So along with efforts at political, economic and social reconstruction of our national life, new arts and letters too, have to be created. That is the urgent demand of a genuine Renaissance. At present there is merely a motion on the placid waters of Indian life. It has to be formed into rhythmical waves. Otherwise, it may be wasted into a chaotic blank. Let not the great sacrifices of India prove ultimately barren. A rich harvest should follow invariably.

Socialism—Real and Faked.

By Amiya Nath Bose

At a time, when the Right is delivering a broadside on the Left, it is vital for conscious revolutionaries to expose the "wobblers," pseudo-Leftists, and pseudo-socialists and make their influence ineffective. This exposure is necessary for eliminating confusion from our ranks and for cementing Leftist unity.

Socialism arises out of historical process. It believes in dialectical and progressive development. Socialists fulfil a definite function in every stage of this historical process. Consequently, socialists have a distinct role in the present stage of our political evolution as well.

It is admitted that objective conditions today make a socialist revolution impossible of achievement. Therefore, socialists cannot obviously lead a successful revolution at this stage. But India is in the throes of a revolution, though it is not socialist in character. The character of this revolution, which is determined by objective conditions, is anti-imperialist in content and national in form. The duty of a socialist is clear in this situation; for Marx has taught us that socialists should support every revolutionary movement. It may be added that they should lead that movement to success; for a national democratic revolution is a step towards socialist revolution.

We have examined the role of socialists in the present struggle. We must now analyse the existing situation and determine the form of socialist action.

The unique factor in the present situation is the growing strength of the mass movement. We see, on the other hand, a determined and systematic attempt on the part of the Right Wing leadership to weaken and sabotage it. This strange behaviour of the Right Wing leadership can be understood, only if we appreciate its class-content. It is attempting to weaken the forces of struggle, precisely because it is afraid of a successful mass movement. A national democratic revolution will sweep away the vested interests, which the Right Wing leadership happens to represent at the present moment. Here one should draw a clear line of demarcation, between the Right Wing leadership and its following. In the given situation

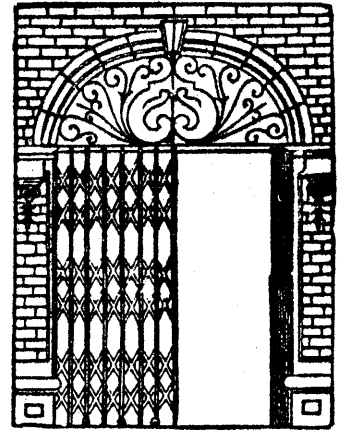
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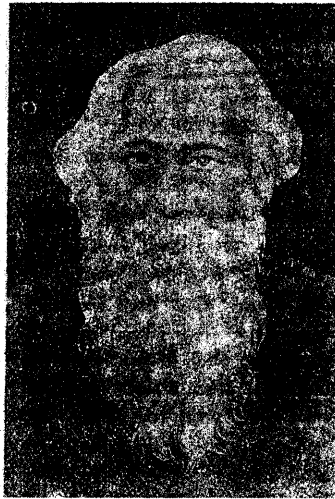
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Viswa-Kavi Rabindranath Tagore's Address

Bengal led India in welcoming European culture to her heart. Living currents flowed from overseas stirring her with new freedom. From age-long hibernation, Bengal's intellectual mind awoke to full splendour. Mighty-souled Indians like Ram Mohun Roy had sudden access to a wide range of rational imagination, frontiers vanished from their vision in a background of universal humanity. Bengal launched India's crusade against custom, religious sectarianism, and political serfdom. Bengali language gathered new momentum, its stiffness was dispelled by youthful vigour, literature came laden with unprecedented hope sheltering and nourishing life like islands uprisen from primeval ocean's depth. Painting in Bengal burst the bonds of alien imitation; striving for the genius of India's art, it defied the savage attack of mimic-mongers. Music again, in Bengal, released itself from the coils of blind traditions, and even if final judgment cannot be delivered on her creative experiments, her path of self-expression, in spite of pedants' verdicts, has been opened. Bengal's individuality is being revealed in her songs.

Where life's call is vital, living centres must respond: Bengal did so even though the call of the new Age came from distant shores. In that lies Bengal's pride, and her true identity. India's first home for cultivation of national freedom was in this province; in those critical days again, when, our leaders were banished behind jail-bars it was our youth in Bengal who led unhesitatingly in flinging themselves in the face of dire calamity—no other



part of India can claim a parallel to this. Not that we are judging such events in the light of results, or by the standard of permanent beneficence—but we must give full value to intolerable suffering, to dauntless sacrifice for the sake of freedom. Hundreds of youthful lives in Bengal have burnt themselves out during long terms of imprisonment; Bengal's lights are dim, we know, for this reason; and yet we know that the soil in which they were born will give birth again to heroic sons who will not waste their manhood in destructive work but harness it to national reconstruction.

To-day in this great Hall of India we shall lay the foundation of Bengal's prowess, but our strength will not lie in arrogant nationalism, suspicious of friend and foe. We shall invoke Bengal's magnanimous heart of hospitality in which our humanity has found liberation; we

shall seek freedom in many sided co-operation. Valour and beauty, resolute work and creative imagination, devotion to truth as well as self-dedication in public service—may these unite in benediction to our land. Noble memories of the past would mingle with great hopes for the future, heightening our power of action. Bengal's greatness, carrying her to a new sunrise will be augmented by propitious circumstance and stirred to triumphant ardour by adversity; she will spread the urge for diverse self-expression in our many-roomed Hall of Nation. We welcome here the reascent soul of Bengal which has taken solemn initiation from History to dedicate its wealth of intellect and learning at India's shrine. To that beneficent part of our culture we offer homage; in our dignified self-respect we shall come nearer to our united nationalism, never yielding to the egoistic vanity of isolation which hurts our inherent humanity. High over all contentious politics let us keep the banner of truth flying and pray.

Make them true, O Lord,
Bengal's vows, Bengal's hopes,
Bengal's work, Bengal's language,
Let them be true.

Bengal's heart, Bengal's mind,
Brothers and sisters in Bengal's home.
Let them be one, O Lord, make them one.

And to this prayer let this be added: May Bengal's arm give strength to the arm of India, Bengal's voice give truth to India's message; may Bengal, in service of freedom for India, never make itself ineffective by betraying the cause of unity.

THE HOUSE OF THE NATION

To-day we assemble here to witness the beginning of the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream. Those who for years have toiled and suffered—laboured and sacrificed—so that India may be free, have long wished for an abode to provide shelter and protection for their activities and to serve as a visible symbol of their hopes and ideals—dreams and aspirations. More than once has the attempt been made to give us the home that we have wanted, but it has failed and it has been left to you to lay the foundation stone of the "House of the Nation." It is indeed a rare piece of fortune that we have you here in our midst this afternoon to sow with your hands the seed that will bear the fruit with which our nation will be nurtured in the days to come.

On this auspicious occasion we cannot help casting our eyes towards the past and the future of our people. From this soil sprang the movement that was at once the Reformation and the Renaissance of modern India. It was a movement which knew no provincial boundaries and which transcended the national frontier of India as well. Was not the message of Ram Mohon and Ram Krishna—a message for humanity? Was it not the voice of awakened India that spoke through them? We are the heirs of their spiritual and culture heritage and we are conscious of it.

The liberated soul of Modern India wanted to manifest itself in action, but found itself enchained by the state on the one side and society on the other. Then emerged the movement for the political and social emancipation of the Indian people. For this movement, our soil was not less fertile than it was for the earlier



movement—the Reformation and Renaissance of Modern India.

Twenty years of agitation after the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, ushered in a new era in our political history—the age of self-help and self-reliance, of Swadeshi and Boycott. The pressure of governmental repression on the one side and of the Partition of Bengal on the other soon broke down the walls of prudence and the maddened youths of India sought inspiration along another path—the path of armed revolt so well-known in history. Before the lapse of a decade, we again entered on a new age—the age of nonviolent non-cooperation and Satyagraha (or civil disobedience).

To-day clouds have darkened our political firmament and the Congress stands at one of the cross-roads of history. Shall we hark back again to the days of Constitutionalism which we thought we had discarded in 1920. Or shall we continue along the path of mass-movement which ends in mass-struggle? I shall not enter into a controversy. I shall only say this that the awakened masses of India cannot give up the method of

self-help and self-reliance, of mass-organization and mass-struggle which has given them the success they have won and which will bring them the greater success that is yet to come. Above all, they cannot give up their birthright of freedom for a sordid bargain with alien Imperialism.

To-day our people dream not only of a free India, but also of an Indian State founded on the principles of justice and equality and of a new social and political order which will embody all that we hold noble and sacred. With the voice of eternity you, sir, have all along given passionate expression to the hopes and aspirations of our regenerate nation. Yours has been the message of undying youth. You have not only written poetry and produced art—but you have also lived poetry and art. You are not only India's poet but you are also the poet of humanity. Who can understand better than yourself what surges within us to-day as we assemble to witness the beginning of the fulfilment of a dream? Who else can perform this sacred ceremony for which we have gathered in your presence Gurudev, we welcome you as the high-priest in to-day's national festival; proceed to lay with your hands the foundation stone of "Mahajati Sadan." Give us your blessings so that we may be able to make this the "House of the Nation"—the living-centre of all those beneficial activities which will bring about the emancipation of the individual and of the nation, as well as the allround development of India's manhood and nationhood. Bless us that we may hasten along the path that will lead to India's liberty and to our national self-fulfilment.

"JOIN FORWARD BLOC"

Sj. Bose on Disciplinary Action

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following statement on the Congress Working Committee's Resolution on Disciplinary Action.

"By trying to warn the country about the continued drift towards Constitutionalism and Reformism I have committed a crime."

I welcome the decision of the Working Committee virtually expelling me from the Congress for three years. This decision is the logical consequence of the process of "Right-consolidation" which has been going on for the last few years and which has been accentuated by the acceptance of ministerial office in the provinces. The action of the Working Committee has served to expose the real character of the present majority party in the Congress and the role they have been playing. The punishment accorded to me is, however, thoroughly justified from their point of view. By trying to warn the country about the continued drift towards Constitutionalism and Reformism, by protesting against resolutions which seek to kill the revolutionary spirit of the Congress, by working for the cause of Left Consolidation and, last but not least, by consistently appealing to the country to prepare for the coming struggle—I have committed a crime for which I have to pay the penalty. The sentence meted out to me may have come as a shock to the vast majority of our countrymen, but not to me. It has appeared as a perfectly logical development in the struggle between Constitutionalism and Mass Struggle and as an inevitable phase in our political evolution. Consequently, I do not find within myself the slightest trace of bitterness or anger. I am only sorry that the Working Committee did not realise that this sort of action should hurt them more than it should hurt me.

To members of the Forward Bloc, to Leftists in general and to the public at large I would appeal to remain calm and

collected in face of the above provocation and to continue working with increasing patience and perseverance. What does it matter if I am victimised today? I shall cling to the Congress with even greater devotion than before and shall go on serving the Congress and the country as a servant of the nation. I appeal to my countrymen to come and join the Congress in their millions and to enlist as members of the Forward Bloc. Only by doing so shall we be able to convert the rank and file in the Congress to our point of view, secure a reversal of the present policy of Constitutionalism and Reformism and resume the national struggle for Independence with the united strength of the Indian people.

In conclusion, I would request the public not to forget that what has happened today is but a repetition of history. Years ago, Left-wingers were once expelled from the Congress, but they came back in larger numbers before long and the Congress then had to accept their policy and programme. I feel no doubt in my mind that the cause which we Leftists represent is a just cause and it will prosper more through such Action on the part of the Working Committee than otherwise. The wonderful response that the Forward Bloc has received from one end of the country to the other makes me feel confident that before long we shall be able to rejuvenate the Congress, restore to it its revolutionary character and role and resume the struggle for Independence in the name of the Indian National Congress.

SOCIALISM—REAL and FAKED

(Continued from page 6)

a big portion of the Right Wing following is potentially revolutionary. It must be brought over to our side and the leadership must be isolated from its following. This will be possible only if we mobilise the nation on the slogan of immediate struggle.

The Left, which includes both socialists and non-socialists is the spearhead of the mass movement—of the forces of struggle. Therefore, the onslaught of the Right Wing leadership must be directed against the Left, because only thus can it weaken the mass movement. A disunited Left will make its task easier and will thus fetter the tempo of our movement at this stage. The duty of socialists, is therefore, clear. They must forge Leftist unity to resist successfully the onslaught of the Right. They must then seek to win over the "Centrists" in the Congress on the slogan of immediate anti-imperialist offensive and to isolate the Right Wing leadership from its following. Leftist Unity is thus the basis of real national unity—unity for struggle.

Our socialist friends, who have been opposing Left Unity are thus, from an objective point of view, weakening the mass movement. By disrupting the Left, they are assuring the victory of the Rightist onslaught. The success of this onslaught will mean the sabotage of the national struggle.

It is clear, therefore, that pseudo-socialists are not only betraying socialism, but are also betraying cause of the national revolution.

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Forward Bloc Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc which met in Calcutta passed the following resolutions :

On "Forward Bloc"

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc approves of the steps taken to launch "Forward Bloc," an English weekly, as the All-India organ of the Bloc. The Committee requests all members and sympathisers of the Bloc all over the country to help the journal in every way possible and to arrange for its widest circulation. Members and branches of the Forward Bloc are requested to send regularly news and reports to the journal for publication.

Release of Political Prisoners

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc views with grave concern the continued incarceration of political prisoners and Kisan and Labour Satyagrahi prisoners in Bengal, Bihar, Punjab, Andhra, Tamilnad, Frontier and other provinces. The Committee condemns the attitude of the Provincial Governments, specially of the Congress Ministries towards these prisoners and their persistent refusal to treat Kisan and Labour Satyagrahi prisoners as political prisoners.

The Committee notes with pain and sorrow the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the question of the release of political prisoners in Bengal and particularly its condemnation of the hunger-strike of political prisoners for securing their release. The Committee feels that hunger-strike is the final weapon in their hands when all other means have been exhausted. The Congress Working Committee was entirely wrong in placing political and ordinary prisoners in the same category when condemning hunger-strike.

The Committee views with alarm the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi and of the Congress Working Committee on the maintenance of orderly Government as an argument against hunger-strike on the part of political prisoners. Such a plea for orderly Government goes ill with the

declared objective of office acceptance by the Congress, namely, combating the Government of India Act.

The Committee expresses its gratification at the decision of the hunger-striking political prisoners in Bengal Jails to suspend their fast for a period of two months. It assures them of its whole-hearted sympathy and support in the demand for their immediate and unconditional release.

It requests the Congress Working Committee to make the release of political prisoners an All-India issue, and if all the Bengal prisoners are not set at liberty by the end of two months, to create a country-wide constitutional crisis.

It also requests the Bengal Government to lose no time in responding generously to the insistent appeal made by the public throughout India for their release. Should all hopes be frustrated and should the people of Bengal, as a consequence thereof, be compelled to resort to Direct Action, the Committee resolves to place all its resources at the disposal of such a Satyagraha campaign and thereby to convert the political prisoners' issue into an All-India issue.

On War Preparations

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc draws the attention of the Indian people to the progressive deterioration in the international situation and the increasing possibility of a world-war in the near future. The Indian people being themselves victims of an alien Imperialism, will naturally sympathise with the forces of freedom, democracy and progress in any international conflict. At the same time, it is their determination not to be drawn into any imperialist war by Great Britain. The Committee views with concern the systematic war preparations being made by the Government of India and condemns the despatch of

Indian troops abroad without the consent of the Indian people. The Committee, further, disapproves strongly the tendency on the part of some Provincial Ministries, including Congress Ministries, to cooperate in these war preparations in diverse ways. The Committee desires to make it clear that in pursuance of the lead given by the Congress, the Forward Bloc will resist by all non-violent means any attempt on the part of the Government to exploit the resources of India in men, money and materials for war purposes.

The Committee has given the closest consideration to the resolution on war preparations passed by the Working Committee at its last meeting. It opines that it is neither adequate nor effective for the members of the Central Assembly to merely abstain from attending the next session as a protest against the despatch of Indian troops abroad. It is necessary for the members to resign their seats in protest and ask for a mandate from their electorate with a view to giving expression to the popular will.

The Committee thinks further that effective steps should be taken by Provincial Governments and especially Congress Ministries from now to stoutly resist the war preparations of British Imperialism. It is not sufficient merely to refrain from assisting the British Government, because effective non-violent resistance is the need of the hour. The Committee also calls upon the Indian people to prepare for effective non-violent resistance so that the British Government may be warned in no uncertain manner of the implacable determination of the Indian people not to be drawn into a war waged by British Imperialism.

Volunteer Organisation

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc recognizes the supreme necessity of a well-trained and disciplined All-India Volunteer Corps for assisting in the prosecution of the programme of the

Bloc with a view to preparing the nation for the next offensive against British Imperialism. This work of raising and training the Volunteer-Corps should be taken in hand without further delay. The President is authorised to take necessary steps in this behalf and to appoint a Board for this purpose if necessary.

Foreign cloth and British goods

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc desires to draw the attention of the Indian people to the renewed menace to Indian industry from the destructive competition of foreign cloth and British goods. With a view to effectively countering this growing danger, to helping swadeshi industries and the workers engaged in those industries, to resisting the onslaught of British Capital on national economy and to thwarting the war-preparations of British Imperialism, the Committee calls upon the Indian nation to once again intensify the boycott of foreign cloth and British goods, to launch a campaign for that purpose and to resort to peaceful picketing, wherever necessary. This Committee desires to impress upon the Indian people that the time is opportune for wielding this economic weapon against British Imperialism.

The States' People's Movement

The Working Committee of the Forward Bloc welcomes the awakening among the States' people which is not only conducive to their own welfare but is, at the same time, a source of great strength to the freedom movement in British India. It places on record its tribute of respect and admiration to those who have suffered for the cause of the States' people in different parts of the country.

India is one and indivisible and the struggle for freedom in British India is indissolubly linked up with the struggle in the States. The Committee, therefore, notes with deep concern the continued suffering of the States' people under a medieval feudal-autocratic regime and extends its sincere sympathy and support to their fight for civil liberty, agrarian reform and responsible Government. Their struggle being an integral part of the national struggle for independence, the Committee is of opinion that the tendency to isolate the struggle in the States is definitely harmful to the States' people and to the country's cause.

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A storm is gathering and clouds of a dark hue fill the sky. But our hearts are buoyant in the conviction that the night is deepest before dawn and that mists that envelop us today will rapidly vanish before the rising sun.

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"Vande Mataram"

H. V. KAMATH

The laying of the foundation stone of the Calcutta Congress House is taking place today under the most trying circumstances in the history of Bengal Congress. The ceremony is being performed by the world renowned poet Rabindra Nath Tagore and I have not the shadow of doubt that before the construction of the House is complete all the present obstacles will be overcome, and Bengal Congress will emerge out of the ordeal with flying colours, The great pains taken by Desh Gaurab Subhas C. Bose and Prominent Bengal Congressmen will be greatly appreciated throughout the country.

NATHALAL D. PAREKH

The Committee is definitely of opinion that the same method or technique for winning freedom which is applicable to British India is equally applicable to the Indian States. The Committee therefore regrets the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi intervened in the Rajkot Struggle and suspended the Satyagraha there. It also condemns the new technique of Mahatma Gandhi, which is merely a new form of moderatism and deplors the advice which he recently tendered to the States' people to suspend their struggle, to lower their legitimate demands and to adopt the method of negotiation. The Committee, however assures its active sympathy and support to the States' people in their struggle and also appeals to the Indian nation for their help and cooperation. It assures the States' people that it is one of the objects of the Forward Bloc to ultimately make the States' people's organisations an integral part of Indian National Congress. In conclusion, the Committee desires to impress upon the entire population of India that a national offensive against British Imperialism is looming ahead and expresses the hope that in that eventuality the people of British India will get the active participation of the States' people in their fight for India's liberty.

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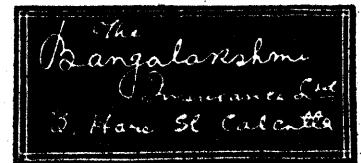
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NATIONAL STRUGGLE WEEK

31st. August To 6th. September

The All-India Left Consolidation Committee adopted the following resolution.

At Tripuri the Indian National Congress recognised that the possibilities of Provincial Autonomy were being rapidly exhausted. Considering, along with this, the imminence of the danger of war and the imposition of Federation, the Congress gave the call to the country to prepare a nationwide struggle against Imperialism.

Since then there has hardly been any attempt to mobilise the people of India on the basis of this resolution. On the contrary, persistent propaganda has been carried on from responsible quarters that the country is not prepared for a struggle. This has damped the ardour of the people to a very great extent and has encouraged Imperialism to launch on the one hand an offensive against the people by an increasing suppression of their liberties and aspirations, and on the other to continue unabated its preparations for imposing the monstrous scheme of Federation on the people of India.

But in spite of this, the masses everywhere, crushed under an appalling burden of misery and oppression, have been rising in revolt against Imperialism and the vested interests. Mass organisations of the workers and peasants have grown rapidly and their movements have gathered strength. For the first time in our history the millions of the States people have entered the political arena and begun to wage heroic struggles against feudal reaction for democratic rights, civil liberties and agrarian reform. In millions the masses have joined the Congress and are looking to it for a united and centralised lead.

It is evident that the people of India have the strength today to fashion the India of their boldest aspirations. It is only necessary to make the whole of the nation conscious of its strength and to prepare it for co-ordinating and transforming all its partial struggles into an all-embracing nation-wide struggle.

Unfortunately, the reformist tendencies within our national organisation, the Congress, have precipitated an internal conflict within the organisation. In the name of discipline active disruption is

sapping the very foundations of national unity.

In order to put a stop to disruption, to check the growing corruption within Congress caused by the taste of power, to make the nation conscious of its strength and to prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle, it is imperative that attention of the nation be focussed on the central issue of struggle against Imperialism, on resolution of the Congress which call for such a struggle and an active preparation for the same.

The Left Consolidation Committee, therefore, calls upon its constituent units as well as upon the people of India to observe the National Struggle Week from 31st. August to 6th. September, 1939. In this, it seeks the co-operation of all Congressmen, irrespective of parties, for the issue is one of popularising the decisions taken by the Congress, of strengthening the unity of the Congress and of preparing for a nation-wide struggle. Simultaneously, the Committee reminds supporters of the need to be restrained and dignified in their utterances, so that the real issue of struggle may be brought out in prominent relief.

The time before us is very short. The Committee requests every one to prepare for mass demonstrations, rallies and meetings on the days of the National Struggle Week by starting immediate propaganda by means of handbills, posters, street corner meetings, house to house propaganda etc. It also hopes that brisk enrolment of Congress members will take place during this whole period. The detailed programme for the week, fixing each particular day for emphasising one particular problem before the country is given below :

- August 31—Demand for the release of political prisoners and civil liberties.
- Sept. 1—The demands of the Kisans and Workers.
- Sept. 2—War Resistance.
- Sept. 3—Fight against Federation.
- Sept. 4—Boycott of foreign cloth and British goods.
- Sept. 5—Demands of the States' people
- Sept. 6—National Demand and National Unity.

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(From Our Andhra Office)

The following organisations have passed resolution to present welcome addresses to Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, on the occasion of his forthcoming Andhra tour :—

The 16th Andhra Students' Conference, Cocanada.

The West Godavari District Committee.

The North Vizag " " "

The Chittoor " " "

Narsapur Taluk Congress Committee.

Bhimavaram " " "

Kovvur " " "

Tannkur " " "

Tadepalligudem Taluk Congress Committee.

Tuni " " "

Masulipatam Town Congress Committee (Dr. Pattabhi's Place).

Palakol " " "

Nellove " " "

Mandapeta " " "

Masulipatam Municipality.

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Besides these, there are several Youth Leagues, Labour Unions Congress Socialist Parties, Kisan Sabhas and Students' Associations which have passed resolutions, according welcome to Sjt. Subhas Bose.

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All such communications should be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication but as a guarantee of good faith.

In preparing M. S. S. for the Press correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

The Editor cannot be responsible for the return of rejected communications, though, as far as practicable they will be returned when stamped and addressed envelopes are enclosed.

THE RIGHTIST ONSLAUGHT AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

By SOMNATH LAHIRI

There is widespread popular indignation at the disciplinary action against S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose. But it would be wrong to judge the disciplinary action by itself. In order to arrive at a proper estimation of the situation and to evolve tactics which would help the Left Wing to carry forward its policy, it is necessary to consider and analyse all the decisions of the last meeting of the Working Committee.

In 1938, on the eve of Munich, the All India Congress Committee met at Delhi. It decided to oppose Britain's imperialist war designs in the light of the Haripura resolution on "war and foreign policy". It also declared that in India the existence of the irresponsible government at the Centre was intolerable and that it should be ended.

It is a long way from Delhi to the recent meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha. The irresponsible government at the Centre has not only continued but its life has definitely been prolonged till such time as the inauguration of the Federation may take place. Britain, instead of stopping her war preparations, has intensified them and the shackles of the Anti-Recruitment Repression Act have been forged and Indian troops have been sent to Egypt and Singapore. But the leadership of our National Congress have slept over the Delhi resolutions. It has not thought of taking any action on them so long. In the meantime discontent has grown in India. This discontent has found repeated expression in the practical struggle of the masses for greater political rights, for better conditions of life. The Left inside the Congress have grown with the growing struggle and strength of the masses. They have hammered at the gates of our sleeping leadership for a forward policy, for a live struggle against imperialism.

The leadership have replied, not with an attack upon imperialism, but with an attack upon the Left, upon the forces of mass struggle. At Tripuri mass discontent forced them to pass a resolution for preparing for a nation-wide struggle

against imperialism. And Sardar Patel and other leaders of the Working Committee "popularised" the resolution afterwards by declaring repeatedly that the country was not prepared for a struggle. The semblance of power wielded by them through the Congress Ministries has made them sleep over all the pro-struggle decisions of the Congress and believe in the capturing of similar power by negotiations and without struggle. Simultaneously they have tried to check the forces of struggle in every possible way so that they may be able to appear before Imperialism as the sole controller of the National movement in order to strike a good bargain.

This is the key to all the decisions of the Working Committee taken at its last meeting. The Left, representing the forces of struggle, was becoming stronger every day. Discontent against the policy and monopoly control of the Right Wing over the Congress was expressed by the huge reception to S. J. Subhas Chandra all over India. At the same time the British Government was in no mood to grant any concession. It was calmly preparing for Federation and War.

Therefore, behead Subhas Bose and strike terror into the heart of the Left Wing. Drive out the Left, monopolise the Congress organisation and show to imperialism that the Rightists are the masters. That is the key to disciplinary action.

Therefore, ban Satyagraha, give independence to Congress Ministries to suppress the labour and peasant movements, come out as the champions of the existing "orderly" Governments even in Non-Congress provinces, suppress all struggles, so that imperialism may be assured that we do not want any struggle, we want only a compromise. That is the key to the anti-Satyagraha resolution, the resolution on Congress Ministries and the P. C. C. s and the resolution condemning the hunger-strike of the political prisoners.

Therefore, put pressure on the Government for crumbs of political power, tell

them we are not satisfied with what we have got—we do not want much just now but we must have control over the Central or Federal legislature, and if you don't give any thing we may have to turn back to the forces we have kept in check. That is the key to the theatrical resolution on Congress members not attending this session of the Central Assembly and the resolution threatening a crisis if Indian men and money were used by Britain for its war purposes over the heads of the Congress Governments.

The steps taken by the Working Committee before and at its Wardha meeting have been the result of this well laid-out policy. And one has to admit that they have been very thorough in their work—particularly in suppressing mass struggle and slackening their exclusive hold over the Congress. The notorious U. P. Government circular, in spite of the false promises of not being given effect to, has led to arrest, ban and convictions of labour and peasant leaders under section 107, 108, 144 etc. In Bihar, Kisan Satyagrahis have been made to fill the jails, even their hunger-strike demanding classification as political prisoners has been looked on with callous indifference. Bengal prisoners' fast has been condemned and support assured to the "orderly" government of Huq. Vindictive disciplinary action against Bose has been taken and the P. C. C. s. have been screwed up to take similar action against other recalcitrant elements. Bengal and Delhi had been the strongholds of the Left. Therefore, the Delhi P. C. C. has been dissolved, the Bengal Executive and Election Tribunal invalidated, and though the Bengal Executive enjoys the confidence of almost the entire masses of Congressmen in Bengal, an Election Tribunal composed of supporters of the Right Wing will be nominated by the President so that by means of bogus members and false voting an artificial majority for the Right Wing might be created there. The action of the Working Committee has been so ruthless and so thorough that they expect to silence every voice of protest within a year or so.

Their plans are so well worked out that their success seems to be assured. But the one fundamental flaw in their plan is that they have reckoned without the laws of motion in the political advance of

(Continued on page 16)

THE RIGHTIST ONSLAUGHT AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

(Continued from page 15)

the country. The majority of those Right Wing Congressmen who are pro-struggle but have submitted to the existing policy of the leadership through their faith in the leaders who have led them in the past struggles and through the propaganda stigmatising the Left as irresponsible elements wanting to drive out these leaders, are bound to react strongly against this vindictive disciplinary action on Subhas Babu and other Leftists, against this organisational disruption as evidenced by the dissolution of the Bengal Congress Executive and against this oppression on the rapidly growing struggles of the masses. In fact, we already find spontaneous expressions of disapproval and indignation against the disciplinary action on Subhas Babu from the most unexpected quarters. Even a veteran Gandhite like S. J. Shivaprasad Gupta of Benares had not been able to swallow this disciplinary action—and similar disapproval is being expressed by persons all over India.

This discontent has to be mobilised by us and transformed into a support for our positive line of struggle. While the drastic measures of the Working Committee welds the Left into an even more compact body, makes it at the same time it possible for the Left to win more supporters from the Centrist and Rightist sections of Congressmen. The way to do this is to intensify and develop, on our own initiative, the local and partial struggles of the people and to lay the greatest emphasis on our line of united national struggle and the need for unity in the Congress.

The Satyagraha movement to be launched in Bengal for the release of the political prisoners is just such an issue. It is an issue which will get the support of many Centrist and even Rightist Congressmen all over India. The task of the Left is to unhesitatingly launch this struggle under the leadership of Subhas Babu and by carrying it on resolutely to show to the already discontented Congressmen that the Left not only criticises but can also take the foremost part in actual struggle.

The National Struggle Week decided upon by the Left Consolidation Committee

is another issue of a similar nature. The urge of the majority of Congressmen for struggle forced the leadership to call for preparing for a nation-wide struggle. We have to turn the call back from the blind alley of constitutionalism and compromise into which it has wandered and make it echo in every nook and cranny of the country. We have to show to the Congressmen and the people that undeterred by the disciplinary action and threats against a policy of struggle, the Left is prepared to make still greater sacrifices to preserve the unity of the nation and to restore to the Congress all its fighting traditions, all the heritages that have made the Congress the supreme national organisation of our country.

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The Disciplinary Action

How Forward Bloc Views It

It is altogether unjust and uncalled-for The Committee has reasons to apprehend that disciplinary action against Leftists may be followed by Governmental prosecution in several provinces . . . If and when this takes place the path of the Rightists towards a compromise with British Imperialism would become safe and smooth."

The Working Committee adopted the following resolution setting out its views on the disciplinary action against S. Subhas Chandra Bose and giving a lead to the country to meet the situation arising therefrom.

This meeting of the All India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc reaffirms its approval of the decision of the Left Consolidation Committee to observe an All-India Day on the 9th July, 1939, to protest against the two resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee on "Satyagraha in the Provinces" and on "Congress Ministries and Provincial Congress Committees."

Diverting The Congress

In the opinion of this Committee it was extremely necessary in the interests of the Congress and of the country to protest against the above two resolutions. Apart from the constitutional and democratic right of Congressmen to exercise their freedom of speech and of legitimate criticism—the resolutions themselves are harmful to the country's cause. As clearly stated in the resolution passed on the 9th July, the first resolution of the A. I. C. C. puts obstacles in the way of Congressmen participating in the day to day struggle of the masses. The second resolution deprives the Provincial Congress Committees of their right to exercise general supervision and control over the Provincial Ministries. It further isolates Congress Ministries from the Congress organisations and denies Congressmen their right to influence Ministerial policy by banning public discussion of issues in dispute between the Congress Ministries and the Provincial Congress Committees. In effect, these two resolutions subordinate the extra-parliamentary activities of the Congress to the exigencies of a purely constitutionalist policy and help to divert the Congress from its immediate objective of a nation-wide struggle against British Imperialism.

Unwarranted and Vindictive

The Committee congratulates all Congressmen as well as members of the public who participated in the observance of the 9th July last and helped to make it a success.

In the opinion of the Committee the above move to mobilise Congressmen with a view to having the two resolutions rescinded was perfectly right and legitimate and the Congress President's interference in the matter was altogether unwarranted.

The Committee has considered at great length the resolution of the Congress Working Committee virtually expelling from the Congress for a period of three years Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Forward Bloc, who was twice elected President of the Indian National Congress and who tendered his resignation of the office of Congress President in April last because of the refusal of the Right-wing leaders to co-operate with him in the formation of a composite Working Committee representing different groups in the Congress. The disciplinary action taken against Sjt. Bose by the Congress Working Committee on which there are no representatives of the Leftists who form an influential section in the Congress—is altogether unjust and uncalled-for. Considering on the one side the record of service and suffering which he has to his credit, and, on the other, the way he has been treated by the Rightists ever since the last Presidential election, such disciplinary action appears to be vindictive and monstrous and casts a slur on the good name of the Congress.

Right Consolidation

The Committee has spent long hours in discussing the political background out

of which the above developments have taken place, as well as the ultimate political objective of the Congress Working Committee. As a result, the Committee warmly approves of the statement issued by Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose after his victimisation. It agrees with him that the disciplinary action taken is the logical consequence of the process of Right-Consolidation—which has been going on for some time past and which has been accentuated by the acceptance of ministerial office in the provinces and the disciplinary action is a natural development in the conflict between the forces of Constitutionalism on the one side and of Mass Struggle on the other. The Committee also agrees with him that he has incurred the wrath of the Rightist leaders for warning the country against the continued drift towards Constitutionalism and Reformism, for working for the cause of Left-Consolidation, for continually appealing to the country to prepare for the coming struggle and for protesting against resolutions which seek to kill the revolutionary spirit of the Congress. In these circumstances, the Committee emphatically declares that the members and sympathisers of the Forward Bloc throughout the country, whole-heartedly support Sjt. Bose in the stand that he has taken and will be with him in heart and spirit in any persecution that may still be in store for him.

National Struggle

After considering all the informations available as well as the aspects of the present situation, the Committee has reluctantly come to the conclusion that the disciplinary action which has been

(Continued on page 18)

THE DISCIPLINARY ACTION

(Continued from page 17)

taken against Sjt. Bose or which is likely to be taken against other Leftists is not merely for the purpose of Right-Consolidation and suppression of the Left, but appears at the same time as part of a plan for arriving at some sort of compromise over the federal scheme, through negotiations with British Imperialism.

In the light of such a situation, the Committee is compelled to take a much more serious view of the present onslaught of the Right on the Left than it would have done if the conflict had been the result merely of a desire on the part of the Right-wing to maintain its sway over the organisation and machinery of the Congress. The Committee has reason to apprehend that disciplinary action against Leftists may be followed by Governmental prosecution in several provinces. If and when this takes place, the path of the Rightists towards a compromise with British Imperialism would become safe and smooth. The pressure of the Left may on certain occasions compel the Rightists to assume a fighting attitude, but that should not lead the nation to think that the Rightists have given up their compromising role.

Immediate Programme

With a view therefore, to resisting the increasing attack from the Right, pursuing the task of Left-consolidation and preparing the Congress and the country for an early resumption of the

struggle for independence, the Committee adopts the following immediate programme of work and appeals to the country to help the Committee in carrying it out.

1. A continuous and intensive agitation should be carried on throughout the country from now onwards in order to persuade the Congress Working Committee to reconsider and rescind the disciplinary action taken against Sjt. Bose and to drop further disciplinary action against other Leftists. Provincial Committees of the Forward Bloc are requested to chalk out detailed programmes for their respective areas for the period ending on the 15th September, during which a special effort should be made for enlisting members of the Congress and of the Forward Bloc.

2. A National Struggle Week should be observed for the purpose of helping to prepare the country for the coming struggle according to the instructions to be issued by the Left Consolidation Committee.

B. P. C. C. Assured Support

In conclusion, this Committee assures the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee of its whole-hearted support in the steps that the B. P. C. C. may be forced to take in the event of unwarranted encroachment on its legitimate rights on the part of the Congress Working Committee. The Committee trusts that all Congressmen and Congress Committees in Bengal will rally round their Provincial Congress Committee at this critical juncture.

**NOW AND THEN
TO THE EDITOR, FORWARD BLOC**

Sir,

Our memory is short but it is not so short as to forget the important events in the history of the Congress which happened only a few years ago. In 1923 Sri Rajagopalachari not only flouted the resolution of the A.I.C.C. held at Bombay but openly declared himself "a rebel" against the A. I. C. C. at its next meeting. Did he resign from the A. I. C. C. or was any action taken against him? What was the attitude of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our present Rashtrapati, who disobeyed the same resolution? No action had been taken against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. S. Aney who organised elections to the Central Legislature in opposition to the Congress candidates. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru happens to be the first offender against the principle of discipline because he openly criticised the United Provinces Ministry in defiance of the Bombay A.I.C.C. resolution. I failed to understand why then Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose had been singled out. I hope Bengal will not tolerate this insult. Subhas Babu will certainly continue to be the leader of Bengal. I therefore appeal to the B. P. C. C. members in the name and honour of Bengal and the Bengalees to refuse to elect any other. President of the B. P. C. C. for three years.

Yours Etc.

Mukundalal Sammader

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By F. BARKENAU, Faber & Faber, London, 12s. 6d.

Dr. Barkenau's book is the first comprehensive and synchronous history of international communism and is not merely its chronicle. As a writer of contemporary history Dr. Barkenau is well known and there is hardly any doubt that he is competent for the task. He was himself a member of the Communist Party for nearly a decade from 1921 till 1929 and was associated with the most active epoch of the German Labour movement. But somehow his faith in Marxian Socialism has been shattered. This accounts for none-too-thinly veiled condemnation of Marx, Engels, Lenin etc., and his in his condemnation he shows the zeal of the iconoclast burning the idols he once worshipped. The Chinese debacle in 1927 coupled with treacherous liquidation of the British General Strike in 1926 and the large scale defeat of the World Proletariat have made him a fervid champion of liberal democracy.

The book on the whole is a scholarly and erudite work, although the acuteness of the author's analysis can be seriously called into question. He is at one with the Evolutionists of the Fabian school, who were denounced by Lenin as the most "obtuse eulogists of English Philistinism." There is hardly any warrant for such a view. Dr. Barkenau is again living in

a dust-storm of delusions as to the true nature of proletarian dictatorship, which in form as well as in content, is nothing if not, full-blooded democracy. One could hardly expect these banalities from Dr. Barkenau, who should have known better. He has again done less than justice to the revolutionary passion of Karl Liebknecht, although he is profoundly appreciative of the sturdy intellect and sterling intelligence of Rosa Luxemburg. The vocation of defeated revolutionaries is always found to be very tragic, not merely in the hands of their oppressors but also in the judgment of History. His appraisal of Lenin leaves much to be desired and he has betrayed a total incapacity to grasp the Leninist view of the United Front tactic. One remarkable feature of the book is the vivid pen-pictures of many of the outstanding revolutionaries, which are mostly fair except in matters of stress on detail. He traces with almost meticulous detail, the origin and genesis of the Soviet State down to the present day, the short-shrift in the Comintern's strategy of world revolution, and concludes with the pious belief that future lies with liberal democracy.

K. Bannerjee.

BENGALI

Baktrita-bijnan or the Science of Oratory—by S. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty M. L. A. with a foreword by S. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Book under review is a novel treatise upon a novel subject. The book is certainly the first of its kind in Bengali; but that is far from being its sole or chief merit. It is both scientific and systematic; it is written with great verve and charm of style; it is almost as interesting as a novel; and it is written by one who knows his subject from A to Z.

The author, Babu Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty, as an orator in Bengali, certainly stands in the very foremost rank. In fact we do not know if there is any one else in Bengal to-day who gets a firmer grip of his audience when he puts his heart into it. There is, therefore, nothing jejune or amateurish about Mr. Chakrabarty's survey of and discourse upon oratory; it is the fruit of much knowledge and experience; it comes straight from the heart; and hence it is bound to be of surpassing interest.

The author tells us many interesting things about the different styles of oratory, the chief elements of eloquence, the main handicaps under which aspiring orators labour and how to overcome them; and he gives us also acute and luminous criticisms upon the great practitioners of oratory, to whom he has listened himself or of whose work he has experience through existing specimens of their style. The book gives us also valuable practical hints upon some of the essential pre-requisites of a public speaker's make-up—how to manage the voice, how to arrange the subject-matter and how to avoid clichés, stale tricks and artificial devices.

Altogether, we must say once again, a novel valuable and most interesting work—which ought to command a ready acceptance and deep and appreciative attention.

J. L. BANERJEE.

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