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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 4

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY AUGUST 26, 1939

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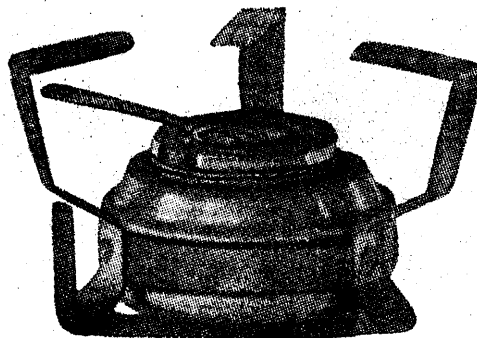


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Addendum

The Address of Viswa-Kavi Rabindra Nath published in the third issue of F. B., was delivered by him on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of MAHAJATI SADAN on August 19, 1939.



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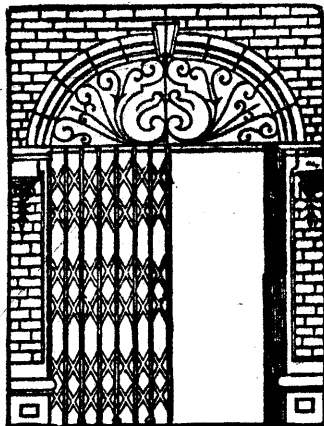
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SATURDAY, AUGUST 26

The Need of the Hour

As I write, who knows what is happening in Europe? There are reports that Herr Hitler has delivered an ultimatum to Poland. This is quite possible—nay, probable. If this has happened, how is Poland going to react? With the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact staring them in the face, will the freedom-loving Poles fight for their sacred soil? Or will they go the way of the Czechs? If Marshal Pilsudski had been alive, one could have safely predicted war, despite the Non-Aggression Pact and despite the German ultimatum. But the first Marshal of Poland is no more and it remains to be seen how his people will act in his absence. If the Poles had not been as emotional as they actually are, one should have banked on peace based on surrender to Germany. But today, no safe forecast is possible, though it is quite on the cards that under diplomatic pressure from Great Britain and France, Poland may finally decide that discretion is the better part of valour.

It would be correct to say that if war broke out between Germany and Poland the sympathy of Indian people would be with the Poles. It would take Germany a lot to convince us that the Polish Corridor or any territory over which there may be war is now inhabited by more Germans than Poles. But so far as Danzig is concerned, the German claim is certainly indisputable and if war breaks out over the issue of Danzig alone, Germany will have an unanswerable case before the bar of world opinion.

Whatever our subjective reactions in this international conflict may be, what are we to do as a nation? Are we to go on cogitating and wrangling while the conflagration spreads from one end of the world to the other? If Russians and Germans, who till yesterday were sworn enemies, can bury the hatchet when confronted with a world-crisis, cannot the two wings of the Congress sink their differences and join hands for leading the nation towards Purna Swaraj? Will non-party, "national" Cabinets remain an exclusively

European phenomenon? In such emergency, will not Congressmen learn to discard homogeneous Cabinets and form composite Cabinets instead? The answer to this can be given only by the members of the Congress Working Committee and their mentor, Mahatma Gandhi. The Leftists have always stood for the principle of a composite Cabinet, but they have been ignored so far.

It would be well for all concerned to realise that if the majority-party in the Congress and its leaders do not rise to the occasion and give the proper lead to the nation in this critical hour, they would be lending confirmation to the belief that is now widely held that the Right-Wing of the Congress is aiming at a compromise with British Imperialism. Great Britain and her apologists are now talking of self-determination for the Poles and if she goes to war, she will do so with the word "Self-determination" on her lips. Is not this the time to remind our British rulers that east of the Suez Canal there is a land inhabited by an ancient and cultured people who have been deprived of their birth right of liberty and have been groaning under the British yoke? And is not this the time to tell the British people and their Government that those who are slaves at home cannot fight for the freedom of others?

It is time to inform Britain in the simplest language possible that India is not going to allow her resources in men, money and material to be exploited for an imperialist war. The Congress is pledged to war-resistance, though that resistance must necessarily be of a non-violent character. It is therefore not enough to say, as the Working Committee has recently done, that we shall *not assist* British Imperialism in a war-emergency. We have to go further and reaffirm our resolve to non-violently *resist* enforced participation in an imperialist war.

The Working Committee has called upon the members of the Central Legislature to abstain from attending the next session of the Central Assembly and the Council of State. This is, of course, better than doing nothing—but it is utterly inadequate. The members of the Central Legislature should resign their seats forthwith as a protest against the war-preparations of the Government of India and should appeal to the electorate for a fresh mandate on this issue. This would

stimulate political consciousness among the masses and would make the question of India's participation in war a live issue with even the man in the street.

If war does not break out during the next few days and if the present storm blows over, we should not be so foolish as to think that the crisis has been finally resolved. International tension may increase once again over the issue of Roumania or the German demand for colonies. Moreover, if Herr Hitler wants a war, he will never suffer from want of a convenient issue. Consequently, we in India should realise that the present international tension is a continuous one and we should prepare ourselves accordingly.

In a statement which has appeared in today's papers I have made an offer to Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee. I have stated therein that if they adopt a bold policy and take up with the British Government the issue of India's National Demand, we shall sink all our differences and line up as humble camp followers. And if the need arises, we shall gladly surrender all the posts that we Leftists may now be occupying. We shall anxiously await their answer.

Meanwhile let us tell the British Government in unmistakable language that only a free India can determine what our policy should be in the event of war. War or no war, we demand our freedom and we must have it.

Subhas Chandra Bose

THE REAL ISSUE

When Mahatma Gandhi withdrew from the Congress organisation several years ago the country was pained and surprised. The Congress without Gandhiji to lead it and work for it, it was rightly thought, would be immensely weaker and poorer. The arguments that he used in support of his action had however the merit of plausibility. His presence in the Congress meant that others would cease to think. The decisions of the Congress were *his* decisions. His presence paralysed the will of the Congress. It showed no initiative. It suspended its judgment. From outside the Congress Gandhiji would be a real guide. In cases of conflict his advice would be sought and would have the merit of detachment. Gandhiji

was to be our reserve force. He was to be our peace-maker.

This arrangement did not last long. Personal friendships exerted a pressure which he could not ignore and avoid. Immediately after the last presidential election, where *he* was certainly not the issue, and where his detachment would have been a valuable aid to a solution of the conflict, he came out in the open to say that the victory of Subhas Chandra Bose was *his* defeat. Political judgments were at once throttled, and the matter at issue was taken upon the plane of magic. The magic of the Mahatma's name played havoc with the wits of mere Congressmen. This identification with group interests and partial issues has been growing since and he has pulled all his weight upon one side. The disciplinary action, he knows, has created bitterness and confusion in the ranks of the Congress and in the country. It has been an extremely unpopular step. There is wide-spread indignation against the Working Committee. It has threatened to disrupt the Congress itself. It has proved the highhandedness of the Working Committee in an unmistakable manner. Now comes the Mahatma upon the scene to say: "I must confess that the Subhas Babu resolution was drafted by me. I can say that the members of the Working Committee would have shirked the duty of taking action if they could have. They knew that there would be a storm of opposition against their action." Once again, it is feared, it is magic that is intended to work, and political issues necessarily go by the wall. Here was a matter where Mahatmaji, instead of being a party, might have been truly a peace-maker. If ever there was need of his detachment, here was a matter that called for it. He has chosen however to shelve the members of the Working Committee. The judgement we are told, is *his*. The decision is *his*. The Working Committee gets all its benefit without any of its odium.

The issue is not personal. It is not even organisational. Big political issues are involved in it. And we should press upon Mahatma Gandhi to consider the political issues. The interest of the country demands that those political issues should have a chance to be considered. In his statement to the press, Sriyat Subhas Chandra Bose wrote:

"On several points I could join issue with him, but this is not the time to

accentuate our differences through a wordy warfare. I shall say one thing, however, Mahatmaji does me a gross injustice when he says that I have 'pitted myself against the Working Committee if not the Congress organization.' I have only pitted myself against the official policy of the Congress which will culminate in a compromise with British Imperialism over the federal scheme. No personal factors are involved in the present dispute among Congressmen, nor is there any question of revolt against the Congress, but to save it and to preserve it as an organ of anti-imperialist mass-struggle."

And again:—

"We want the Congress to shake off its present weak-kneed policy, unite all Congressmen as well as organizations that are prepared to fight the federal scheme and take up with the British Government the issue of India's national demand. Will he and the Working Committee do it? If they do so, then I am sure that all our differences can be ended in one minute."

As regards organisational matters we should remind Mahatma Gandhi of what he wrote in the column of 'Young India' in 1921.

"The rule of the majority has no meaning i.e. one should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is slavery to be amenable to the majority no matter what its decisions are..... Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. I therefore believe that the minority has the perfect right to act differently from the majority so long as it does not act in the name of Congress. Thus and thus alone shall we save ourselves from false idolatry"

The tendency now-a-days is to gag minority. This spells disaster for democracy. This spells disaster for the Congress.

Current Comments

Not All-Powerful!

A few days ago Mahatmaji sprang a surprise on us by stating that he had little to do with the work of the Congress High Command and the Ministries. Hard on the heels of that comes another statement from him which flatly contradicts the former. We are now told that he

himself drafted the resolution on S. Subhas Chandra Bose and got it passed by that docile and obliging body, the Working Committee. It is the same old tale—Gandhiji and the Working Committee playing Jekyll and Hyde to each other. And as regards his earlier statement, well, that can only be taken as one of the sallies of supreme humility so characteristic of the Mahatma.

Truth that Helps

Acharya Kriplani has of late been snatching some hours from his arduous secretarial work to impose on the public rambling and unconvincing discourses on Gandhism. In the course of one of these he has unconsciously given out a very precious truth. He has said "We, the Gandhians, had brains." The implication is that they have thoroughly got rid of that stuff at present. That is why there is so much prevalence of magic, instead of logic, in the charmed inner circle of the Congress.

Mock Heroics

It is clear that the bold and uncompromising stand taken up by the Left against the present constitutional drift of the Congress has begun to tell. That is why not only the High Command but even its ministerial henchmen have been driven by diplomatic necessity to put up a spectacular war-mood—an unusual phenomenon indeed! Taking his cue from Wardha the Madras minister Mr. T. Prakasam has opined that in view of the international situation and the threatening war clouds, he could not say how long the Ministers would be able to continue in office. Nay, a war in Europe might be followed by another "war" in India and they might have to march to the jails. These words, unfortunately, are not likely to impress the public as anything more than mere clap-trap in view of the developing contacts between Wardha and Delhi. As regards "international situation" and "war" in India—need it be reminded that the day of reckoning is not far off? Mock-heroics should, therefore, be discreetly withheld for the present.

Flight from Reality

Pandit Jawaharlal, with his head and heart at loggerheads, continues to play the some old tragic role on the Indian stage. The times are sadly out of joint

for the Pundit and he finds himself a sorry misfit in the present scheme of things. He is acutely conscious of the rot that has set in at Wardha, but still he cannot resist its hypnotic spell. The country certainly feels profound pity for the dazzling futility that is Jawaharlal, but that is helpful neither to himself nor to the country. He must assert his will and choose his place. The hour is too pressing for the luxury of escapism—whether through a flight to China or to Spain or somewhere else.

As Japan views it.

On Monday August 21, Herr Von Ribbentrop asked the Japanese, like the other friend of the Axis, Italy, to "appreciate the circumstances" when Germany informed the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin of her decision to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet. Evidently, the Japanese have failed in it. Perhaps, their own circumstances are different from those of Italy and allow them, therefore, no scope to be appreciative now. Italy or Germany has no "China incident", developed into an unending affair to drain off all their gold. They were not made to disgorge, as Japan had to do of late, the positions secured in the Sakhalin mines or in the Amur fisheries to a Soviet foe. They have no Mongolian borderland shadowed by the Bolshevik bombers. And they certainly launched in no daring adventure to establish a new order in China and the Far East. Japan, now that the "Axis" is broken, and the Soviet is relieved of its European anxiety, would have to rely for the anti-comintern crusade entirely on her resources. And the resources are what everyone knows. Is Japan, instead of appreciating the circumstances, apprehending that the circumstances may result in the line up of all European interests, including those of her erstwhile Axis partners, along with the Soviet in establishing a 'new order' in the Far East? Anyway, "Japan's great indignation and anger must be borne in silence."

Britain's Role.

Will Britain fight? For what—that is of course the question. Her preparations are however complete. "The issue now does not rest with us," and "we can not in honour draw back now." These are of course big pronouncements reminding one of the accents of Grey and Asquith.

But how incredible they sound in the background of recent history of appeasement—an unbroken chapter of broken promises and solemn pledges. One feels sure that Mr. Chamberlain has no cause to despair of himself. He will keep Britain out of war and out of honour as he has so long succeeded in doing. That is his mission.

What About India.

War may or may not be coming; but Britain is being placed on war footing. An Emergency legislation would re-enact for a year what the D. O. R. A. during the last war provided for in the United Kingdom against internal troubles. That is but a logical step, even if Britain keeps out of war, to carry on the Chamberlain process of curbing popular liberties of England. And, if Britain revives a D. O. R. A., need we ask what the British India would do? The war bogey will extort from the provincial ministers willing or unwilling consent to any Ordinance on the become. We know their communism-hunting, to which Congress Governments are become also a party. We see the Princes at last veering round the federation plan. And, we can very well guess to what use an Ordinance or Emergency Legislation in India will be put. War may be averted; but the ordinance cannot; for the federation path must be made smooth.

Disciplinary Action.

Nariman Victimised

At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, of which Mr. Bhulabhai Desai is President, a resolution taking disciplinary action against Mr. K. F. Nariman and seven other distinguished leftist Congressmen was passed on 23rd. August. A two year ban has been imposed, prohibiting them from holding any elective position and becoming office-bearers of Congress organisations. They were, however, allowed to continue as primary members. It is to be noted Mr. K. F. Nariman is Secretary of All-India Forward Bloc.

The Andhra Bans

The Working Committee of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee which met under the presidency of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, its President, adop-

ted a resolution removing thirteen Congressmen from elective membership of the Congressmen for a period of two years as they participated in the meetings held on July 9 last to protest against the A.I.C.C. resolutions passed at Bombay. They have been debarred from standing for any elective membership of Congress during the period.

They are Messrs. M. Annapurniah, P. Sundrayya, Suryanarayan Raju, Muttevi Mudvachari, A. Sreeramulu, T. V. Narasimha Murthi, R. Tippa Reddi, K. V. Krishnamurthi, U. Suraparaju, U. Raman. Bhupathi Lakshminarasimhapatic, V. Krishna Row and Nekkulpadu Rama Raju.

Mr. Annapurniah is a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc.

The Choice Before Left.

BY NIHARENDU DUTT MAJUMDAR

It is not the personal matter of Sj. Subhas Bose, nor the provincial matter of the B. P. C. C. Bose and B. P. C. C. are symbolic of the resurgent spirit of the masses and of the Leftists throughout India. Hence the alarm in the Rightist camp. The Left must be crushed here and now, so that the path of the no-struggle leadership of the Congress may be smooth and lead to the much-coveted federation. Then will come the era of wiping out the Left entirely by "legal" means and with the approval of British Imperialism. Coming events are already casting their shadows before in some of the Congress provinces. Comrade Dange, Mirajkar and others are under arrest.

It should be perfectly clear to all Leftists throughout India that to-day in the march of the Congress to Revolution, the upper bourgeoisie can exert only a retarding influence and has no positive role to play.

Leftists may entertain any illusions on this matter only at their own peril; the upper bourgeoisie have got what they could out of the present revolutionary surge of Congress movement. They could and can trust Gandhiji and the existing Working Committee. They have realised with Gandhiji and his Working Committee with perfect clarity that for all of them the era of mass struggle is over.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

By Prof. JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSE

We live in stirring times—all the world over, the whole international political atmosphere is seething with the deepest discontent and every moment the possibility of a crisis developing, which may develop into a world-war, is growing from more to more. The war that is coming is not merely a war generated by impact of imperialist ambition of rival powers, fed by land-hunger and the desire of commercial expansion through the establishment of monopoly in the world's market but it has, as its inevitable repercussion the solution of the more living and mighty issues, which lie at the root of the economic servitude of the masses, from which the rank and file of the army are generally to be recruited. It is bound to be a war of ideologies and principles, of conflicting interests and the whole world is bound to be turned upside down unless and until a stable solution can be found guaranteeing a national state on a democratic basis with a socialist superstructure to remove economic inequalities which have become chronic in the world of to-day. We may take it that the new world war will be a

Thrice has Gandhiji led the mass movement and has thrice sabotaged it, because the movement was each time trying to exceed the bounds, which Gandhiji and the upper bourgeoisie set to it. The masses were to help to get the upper bourgeoisie to "power" but were not meant to direct as to how that power should be used. But the masses would not play the role assigned to them, as their inherent dynamic urge leads them on to the seizure of real power, through struggle. It is now clear as noon-day that Gandhiji and the present Working Committee standing as they do, for the upper bourgeoisie of the country, would not only not lead another mass struggle, which they can not hope to control any more, but would not even tolerate it. The Leftists are right in trying every possible means to maintain unity in the Congress, but if the Rightists are determined to "amputate the diseased limb" of the Left from the Congress, it is time that the Leftists ganged the situation as it is and determined their course of action afresh.

long drawn-out fight from which all nations will have to come out exhausted and ruined economically, the government in most countries of the world being subverted by internal revolutions, militaristic in character but socialist and democratic in its basis and the world will have to begin its race anew after the war is at an end. We may take it for granted that the new conditions thereby created will give those nations, which will be able to consolidate their strength and conserve their energies by a policy of non-participation in the war on the principle of launching an anti-imperialist move a chance of standing up with their heads erect and claiming equal partnership with all other powers in the world's Common-Wealth of Nations. We believe that India will be able to secure her independence of the right type at the end of the prospective world war if she bestirs herself in time to organise her strength and resources to start non-co-operation with British Imperialism on a nation-wide scale and actively to refuse co-operation in all forms, of course fully prepared to take the consequence of so acting, strong in the faith that the heavy toll demanded for freedom in terms of suffering and sacrifice must be paid before a nation can claim its freedom at the bar of world-opinion. If we take stock of the forces at work in shaping the present, we shall be convinced that India is just actively making herself busy to mobilise and marshal her forces in order to launch Satyagraha at the earliest possible opportunity under the leadership of her bravest and most distinguished sons, headed by S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose.

We live essentially in the present and look ahead to the future and in all our big moves, we want to remould the present in the light of prospective future developments. The past is important only as a background mainly affording a subject of special study for the scientific student of history and the sociologist but for the practical revolutionary, the less he thinks of the past, the better for him and the cause he represents; for it has been a long period of political subjection and economic and social slavery through which the nation had to pass, which served to vitiate all developments along normal channels of activity.

What do we find in the present to help us in generating the necessary amount of momentum to carry forward the movement

for complete independence along the speedy path of Revolution? The Congress stands at the parting of the ways, there is a split in the Congress between the Rightists and the Leftists, the former trying to consolidate all the forces of construction and negotiations and the latter to mobilise all the forces from the masses that stand for the revolutionary urge, the Government leaning towards the Rightists and trying to crush the Leftists with the help of the Rightist leaders. The Leftists, who have staked their all to prepare the country along the path of Revolution, stand to-day between two fires which has been the bane of the Indian national movement ever since its inception, the only redeeming feature being that the masses, becoming conscious from day to day by rapid strides, are to-day with the Leftists in their struggle for complete independence, which affords the surest guarantee for success in the near future.

In its organisational aspect, the split, though deplorable, has helped the sifting of the wheat from the chaff; judged from a revolutionary angle of vision, it has served to clarify the living issues and pave the way to consolidate and mobilise the mass-energy for mass-action in the name of the Congress through the establishment of the Forward Bloc within the Congress, mainly to serve as a cementing nucleus for all progressively revolutionary elements in the Congress to work together in harmony and cooperation for creating a fighting atmosphere in the country and launching Satyagraha on a nation-wide scale. In order to make it effective as a working formula, the Leftist forces have already been organised as the All-India Leftist Workers' Consolidation Committee, which is working under the leadership of S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose, the initiator and President of the Forward Bloc and has agreed to give its whole-hearted support to S. J. Subhas Chandra in his forward move to democratise and revolutionise the Congress.


It is a hopeful sign of the times that the necessary drive has been forthcoming to carry on a vigorous agitation against British Imperialism. A handle has been given by the callous attitude of the Bengal Government in not responding to the public demand for the unconditional release of the political prisoners, although they went on hunger-strike over that issue and which they agreed to suspend for

two months at the special request of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who agreed to accept the full responsibility for carrying on a sustained activity through the Congress for securing their release, even to the length of starting Satyagraha on an All-India basis over that issue alone, should all other methods to secure that objective fail. Already, recruitment of volunteers for Satyagraha has begun in right earnest in all the districts of Bengal and promises of help have been coming from other provinces in case of necessity, so that although Congress Ministers may be unwilling to make the question of the release of political prisoners an All-India issue by their resignation, the revolutionary Congress workers all over India are determined to maintain the integrity of the Indian Nation by undergoing suffering and imprisonment for common cause. Secondly, the general policy, arrived at by the Congress High Command sometime ago, to purge the Congress of all Leftist workers, when the masses had become fully conscious and were being organised by the Leftist workers, in pursuance of which the Congress Working Committee has been busy forging weapon after weapon to crush the revolutionary nationalist move, has been most suicidal and unfortunately conceived, as the Rightist leaders have thereby helped to create a move in favour of reactionism and constitutionalism and when they were pledged to fight federation and were bound to create the forces for ensuring the success of the big encounter, they have made themselves open to the charge of hobnobbing with the imperialist bureaucratic Government with the object of getting favourable terms for working the federation as a national experiment, while keeping pious resolutions in the Congress file, recording the nation's given determination to fight its introduction.

To crown all, the latest decision of the Working Committee in taking disciplinary action against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose for having organised Protest Meetings all over the country on the 9th July last against the two notorious All-India resolutions, having for their objective the curbing of individual initiative and freedom of opinion, and the one-sided decision arrived at against the B. P. C. C. Executive and the Election Tribunal, invalidating those bodies on flimsy

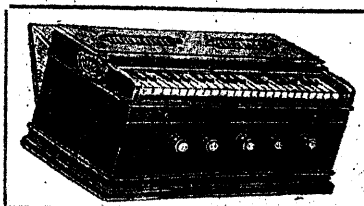
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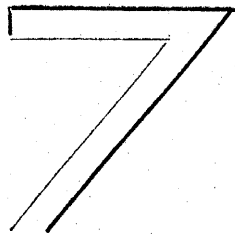
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THE PACIFIC IN WORLD POLITICS

BY S. BISWAS.

The Pacific is one of the storm centres of the world. The mastery of the Pacific which was the question of the nineteenth century affected the three Great Powers of the World, such as, Russia, France and England. At that time Japan and America were out of the arena.

In the Far East Japan has changed the course of events since 1931. Now four great powers such as Russia, America, Japan and Britain are involved in the affairs of the Far East.

Russia's 'Mighty breath' is being felt by Japan. Russia is the only Power which could strike decisively at the heart of Japan. She is holding a naked sword over the

grounds, have led to the exasperation of all earnest and true workers all over the country. As a result there of, we are having a rich crop of condemnatory and protest meetings all over the country, and it is bound to grow in volume and intensity, in the absence of any chance on the part of the Congress High Command to bow down its head in submission to popular demand in the near future. Nor, in the absence of unity amongst our ranks, is there any likelihood of the Government yielding to our demand for the release of political prisoners or scrapping the federation or conceding such other demands formulated from time to time in our march to freedom.

We therefore, welcome the new situation created which will go a great way to consolidate the Leftist forces in the country and create an All-India atmosphere for launching a big fight for freedom on nation-wide scale.

neck of Japan. The aerial strength of Russia is superior to that of Japan. A fleet of submarines is always ready at Vladivostok to counteract the Japanese navy. Hokkaido, the northern most part of the four island of Japan is her frontier where the 'mighty breath' of Russia is being felt by Japan. Rashin, a sea port in Korea is built by the Japanese as a threat to Vladivostok.

America and Japan the two great powers are facing each other across the Pacific. Japan is practically invincible in her territorial waters. The American fleet could not cope with the Japanese navy in the Western Pacific. After the end of Washington Treaty in 1936 America occupied the islands in the Pacific which were of doubtful ownership before. She established a chain of naval bases from San Francisco to Manila in the Philippines such as Hawaii, Honolulu, Wake, Guam, Johnston and Midway. American's trans-Pacific-Airways have an immense strategic advantages. Though Japan is now in possession of a few islands in the Pacific which Germany owned before the Great World War, yet now these are mandated territories under the League of Nations. The fortifications of these islands may endanger both the naval and trans-pacific-air route of America. Japan has no access in the Eastern Pacific; but the naval bases of America are in the Western Pacific. Also the fortifications of the Aleutian islands may threaten the integrity and safety of Japan.

Japan is seethingly active, for she takes a decisive role in the Manchurian and Shanghai affairs; her withdrawal from the League of Nations; her demand for naval parity with Great Britain and the United States; her pronouncement of an Oriental Monroe Doctrine; her

denunciation of naval treaties; her withdrawal from the London Naval Conference; the establishment of a buffer state in North China, etc. all these climaxes are what Japan has experienced during the past few years.

Again Australia is arming. She is spending 21s/10d. per capita with a population of less than 7000000. The port Darwin is being strengthened. Her first line of defence is the navy, second the airforce and last but not least the army. Among the British Dominions Australia is spending much for her defence. The naval base at Singapore is a challenge to Japan whose emergence as a sea power is a threat to Australia, India and the Dutch East Indies. Holland which loathes to buy arms is arming rapidly both in Europe and abroad. The oil stations at Tarakan and Balikpapan are fortified so that they might not be destroyed by the enemies.

The fall of Hankow and Canton has not entirely shattered the entire backbone of the Chinese Government. China has just woken up from her narcotic slumber. The Chinese are consolidating their position behind the Japanese lines. Japan has swallowed China, but not digested her.

By the Neutrality Act America has declared her isolation in the affairs of the World. But Japan's hegemony in China proper will jeopardize the American interest in China. The peril to America may come from the Pacific and not from the Atlantic. The foreign policy of America is like to be changed by her, for her "Splendid isolation" will be suicidal both to herself and the democracies. As soon as war will break out in Europe Japan, taking its advantage, will launch into a career of aggression in the Far East. She is intent on seizing the strategic islands in the Pacific. As Nippon is eager to create "A new order in East Asia," America's interest will seriously be jeopardized.

Thus we have seen that Great Powers of the world such as Britain, France, Russia, Japan and America are entwined in the affairs of the Pacific which ultimately becomes the world problem. Fire which will emanate from the Pacific in no time will blaze the entire globe.

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BETWEEN PRESIDENTSHIP AND OSTRACISM

BY ATINDRA NATH BOSE

The Presidential election of January 29, 1939 was a battle of principles and programmes in which the Left won. In choosing to contest the election against the nominee of the Working Committee, Bose raised three issues—delegates' rights, uncompromising opposition to Federation and struggle in the Native States. He won by the peoples' vote. The election thus raised a square issue before the Congress High Command—to accept or to combat the claims of democratic leadership. The country declared against the Patelian theory of President's position as an ornamental figurehead symbolising the unity of the nation and executing the will of the Working Committee. The contest and the verdict also crystallised the struggle between two conflicting ideologies and programmes which emerged under the vague, generic denominations of the Right and the Left.

Roughly speaking, the Right in the Congress means the orthodox Gandhian school—strict believers in attainment of independence by "peaceful and legitimate means", in class compromise and capitalist order in society, in the Satyagraha technique of fight by non-violent means wherein the burden of struggle remains on a chosen few, not on the masses; and has a progressive deflection towards constitutionalism and reform in external policy and towards dictatorship and party-control in internal organisation. The Left accepts Gandhian leadership and Gandhian ideology as an inevitable phase in the anti-imperialist struggle and views the creed of "truth and non-violence" as an inflexible, irrational dogma which is fast becoming a "sheet anchor for the maintenance of vested interests and *status quo*" (the words are Jawaharlal's!); it believes in class-war and nationalisation of all wealth, though for the present these questions are side-tracked; in comprehensive mass struggle instead of a very limited and peaceful Satyagrahic fight, it opposes the parliamentary drift of the Right and its dictatorial leanings in internal practice. Uncompromising acceptance of Mahatma's

leadership with his creed and programme is the Rightist stand. Mass struggle in the States and against Federation, and democratic methods within Congress are the cards of the Left.

In the election the delegates knew that they were voting for their right and for a principle. After the election they were given to understand that they voted against a man. "The defeat is mine", said the Mahatma. His historic statement side-tracked the issue of democracy and delegates' rights and immediately shifted the contest to the personal plane—to the question of leadership between himself and Bose. The resignation of the Working Committee *en masse* while the President was on sick bed and the dramatic fast of the Mahatma over Rajkot on the eve of the Tripuri session, were astute tactical moves which swung the pendulum. At Tripuri while the Leftists who thought leadership to be a closed question were busy watering down their Resolution of National Demand to appease their defeated opponents, the Right replied by springing a resolution which threw programme in the background and brought leadership to the fore. The Pant resolution which they demanded to be and got passed without changing a comma, divested the President of his constitutional right to form the Working Committee, gave it over to the Mahatma who is not even a four-anna member of the Congress and reiterated faith in the leadership of the Mahatma and the members of the old Working Committee. The Left was out-maneuvred and their consolidation shattered to pieces.

Still the Left shut their eyes to realities. They mixed the slogan of the joint-leadership under Gandhi; they did not realise that this pithy phrase contained all the contradictions in earth. For the Mahatma who played his own personality as trump-card was not going to enter into any bargain on ideas and programme. Bose stood on the principle of a composite Cabinet with a majority of the old Committee to ensure continuity of policy but

with some 'fresh blood' to make the Cabinet more representative. This position maintained at Calcutta with firmness and restraint once again cleared the real issue from the clouds of personal equation. The Right wanted a homogeneous Cabinet to ensure undisputed sway of Rightist policy and the programme of the legislature; the Left strove for a composite Cabinet with the hope of binding down the Right to an anti-imperialist mass struggle.

The sitting of April 30, brought Leftist indecision into painful relief. The Socialist parties did not think then that the Right would bid so high, even after their victory was assured and their *amour propre* appeased. That fateful day played a cruel irony on them. They came armed with amendments to Jawaharlal's resolution of the previous day wherein they wanted in clear terms the inclusion of 'fresh blood,' and on this issue they had reason to hope for a victory. But the Right set the stage for a *coup-d'etat* from behind. The Chair allowed no amendments to be raised. The Left, again out-maneuvred, settled down to 'unity at any price', but the President refused to capitulate.

So within the first four months of the year it happened that a President had resigned—a President called to office for the first time by the verdict of the country; that this President could not win a single point he fought for; that many of his supporters who urged him to contest the election proved irresolute and vacillating in the hour of trial; and that in the result there was defeat and disintegration.

The Left paid with defeat for unity. But that fine thing cannot be achieved by one-side capitulation and punctilious repetition of phrases. The thin end of the wedge driven at Tripuri gave the mortal thrust in Calcutta to unity in Congress ranks and left behind a trail of rankling sores and deepened doubts. The Left pinned its faith on the Tripuri resolutions of National Demand and struggle in Native States and on the Calcutta resolution against imperialist war, and hoped that the Right, satisfied with personal victory, will acquiesce in ideological surrender.

Of the sloughs of Tripuri and Calcutta remain only the 'Resolution of leadership and the election of President'; the resolutions of programme are dead letters. The 'New Technique' in Native States,

(Continued on page 12)

"He is Greater than A Disciplinary Action"

BY SHIB CHANDRA KANWAR, L. L. B. DEHRA DUN

It is an absurd suggestion, that Mr. Subhas Bose's differences from the "Congress High Command" are personal. His opposition to the Rightists is not new. During the controversy on the Independence resolution, he stood by the Left. His memorable statement along with the late Mr. V. J. Patel condemning the orthodox Leadership issued after the last Civil Disobedience Movement was the first Public call by All India Congress Leaders for replacing the Rightist Leadership by the Leadership of the Left. It was only in the fitness of things, that he refused to betray the great movement he led at Tripuri and at Calcutta. He, therefore, did not care to retain the President-ship of the Indian National Congress. He declined to turn to the Right from the Left. He had courage of his convictions. His resignation shall always be remembered as an act of unrivalled sacrifice.

In view of all that happened, Subhas Babu made a correct analysis of the situation and decided to organise a Forward Bloc in the Congress. A large majority of the Leftists welcomed his Plans. But he readily agreed to the Formation of the Left Consolidation Committee in addition to the Bloc. He conclusively proved that the Left Movement was his first love.

Some persons describe the Forward Bloc as a party of the Left Nationalists only. A greater misunderstanding could not prevail regarding the composition of a Political Party. All the Left Nationalists certainly support the Bloc. But independent Socialists, Congress Socialists and Communists have also joined in large numbers. The President of the Bloc is a foundation member of the Socialist Book Club of India. The Working Committee includes eminent Socialists, Communists, Trade Unionists, and Kisan Sabhaists like Mr. V. D. Tripathi, Comrade Datta Mozumdar, Comrade Ram Kishan, Mr. Ruikar and Comrade Indu Lal Yagnik. As a Socialist, the writer of this article is proud of the fact that the Bloc is very popular amongst the rank and file of the Socialists and amongst the pro-Socialists.

It is an amusing criticism, that the Programme of the Forward Bloc does not differ clearly from that of the Gandhian

School of thought. Has not the Programme of the Bloc as passed at the All India Bombay Conference made it clear, that the Political affairs of India should be guided by Political, economic and scientific considerations alone and that mysticism should have no place in our ideology? Does this not definitely distinguish the Policy of the Bloc from that of Gandhians and does this not create a world of difference between the two? Is not true that the Programme of the Bloc actively supports the struggle of the State People, of the Peasants and of the workers? Can this be described as Gandhian ideology? Are not these facts that the Programme of the Bloc wants Democracy to be restored within the Congress, desires that the Congress be freed from the influence of the vested interests, demands close co-operation between the Congress and other anti-Imperialist Organisations and makes it clear that Congress Organisations should be radicalised throughout the length and breadth of India? Is this Gandhism? Does not the Forward Bloc stand in the realm of National reconstruction for the idea of Industrial Planning for India? Does not the Bloc assure that it will stand for the Industrial development through the medium of the State and will advocate a Progressive land Policy which will be determined after consultation with other anti-Imperialist Organisations? Can any body suggest that the Gandhists desire that same things. The answers to all these questions are clear. The Forward Bloc stands for a definite Programme, which satisfies the needs of the hour and gives a new lead to the country.

Not only the eminent Socialist Leaders referred to above have joined the Bloc, distinguished Congress men including Mr. K. F. Nariman, Hero of many a Royal Battle, an ex-member of the All India Congress Working Committee and President for many years of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee; Dr. Satya Pal of Martial Law fame, an ex-member of the All India Congress Working Committee and President for more than a decade of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee; S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, the

veteran Sikh Leader and an ex-member of the All India Congress Working Committee, Mr. Shanker Lal, who stood a joint trial with Gandhiji at the time of the first Civil disobedience movement and is now the President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee; Mr. Abdul Rahman, a veteran Pro-Socialist Muslim Leader of Southern India and the President of Kerala Provincial Congress Committee; and Mr. Hoshmani, the well known Congress Leader and President of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee have also enrolled themselves as its members. Some first class Kissan and other Left Leaders are extending their sympathies to the Bloc. The Leader of the Forward Bloc Mr. Subhas Bose possesses the most dynamic personality in the whole country. He inspires confidence both amongst the Hindus and the Mussalmans as also amongst the other communities. In the Congress, he commands following only second to Gandhiji. To the millions inhabiting the towns and the villages of India, Subhas Babu is the Left Movement and the Left Movement is Subhas Babu. He is a serious challenge to the citadel of orthodoxy.

The Forward Bloc has a mass basis. Its Programme and Leadership are both convincing. The Gandhists in their heart seem to realise this better than some of the Leftists. They have, therefore, launched a crusade against the Bloc. It is high time that every Leftist makes a serious note of this fact. Disciplinary action has been taken against Subhas, the idol of the Left. He has magnificently survived it. He has proved that he represents a great movement and that he is greater than a disciplinary action. It is the immediate task of all Leftists—rather of the whole Nation—to accord full support to the Forward Bloc and Subhas Babu's plans for the consolidation of the Left.

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Congress and Foreign Contacts

BY B. S.

India is still smarting under foreign domination and she is yet to be the mistress of her own house. Her foreign relations are still Britain's affair and as such shaped according to the demands of the British imperial interests. The federal scheme that has been forged on the British diplomatic anvil and that is being sought to be foisted on an unwilling India, has also kept the foreign relations of the country a reserved subject and therefore, under the direct control of Simla and Whitehall. But the Congress is pledged to fight for the country's freedom; it has become imbued with the unshakeable faith and unbreakable determination of winning independence for India. When the dream of the Congress will be transformed into a glorious reality, India, as a member of the Federation of Free Nations, shall be called upon to evolve her own foreign policy and establish suitable relations with others. And the Congress, even in the present stage of national struggle, has decided upon and has been following a definite foreign policy. What is that and why?

Evolution of the Policy

But before proceeding to a discussion of the question posed above, it will be quite relevant to offer a short survey of the foreign policy of the earlier Congress. The Congress had been under the control of the Moderates till 1916. The foreign policy followed by it upto that time consisted solely in sending deputations to England for the purpose of pressing on the authorities there the urgency of redressing this grievance and that. This was fully in accord with the general policy of the Congress of that period—the policy of earning concessions by prayers and petitions. It may be demurred, and quite rightly, that this begging business should not deserve the dignified appellation of a foreign policy; but that is quite irrelevant here. Its second stage may be said to have begun in 1917 when at the Calcutta Session of the Congress it was decided to establish closer relations with the British Labour Party and Mr. Joseph Baptista and Mr. H. S.

L. Polak were authorised, in response to an invitation from the same party, to attend its annual session and convey to it the hearty good-will of the Congress. The policy adopted here is an improvement on the previous one in so far as it sought to work up and mobilise public opinion in Britain, though sectionally, in favour of self-government in India. A further advance in the evolution of the policy was marked when the Congress in 1919 decided on "establishing a permanent mission for its own propaganda work in England and elsewhere." In 1921 the All-India Congress Committee by a resolution categorically declared that the treaties and other arrangements negotiated by the present Government of India with other States would not in any way bind the future national government of the country. In 1925 the Congress took the decision of opening a Foreign Department for the purpose of "disseminating accurate information in foreign countries in order to interest them in India's freedom." And in the following year it appointed Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru as its representative to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, which was held in Brussels. In 1928, the Congress resolved that "the people of India would not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims." This policy has been further extended and has become all the more pronounced in subsequent years till today it has taken the definite shape of uncomplaining opposition to Fascist and imperialist aggression wherever that may occur.

The Political Background

In the present international situation mere national self-sufficiency is a political blunder fraught with grave consequences. The rise of Fascism with its idealisation of the cult of blood and thunder has become a veritable menace to freedom and peace and unless the democratic forces all over the world combine to resist it, the gloomy fate that has overtaken Abyssinia, Austria, Rhineland and Spain and which has been threatening China, will gradually overtake other weak nations of the world as well. Therefore, the Indian National Congress has raised its voice—and at present it has nothing more than a voice, however soulful that may be—against all imperialist designs and aggressions. Particularly, the attitude of England, which under the sinister mask of democracy, has been practically aiding

and abetting the Fascist ravages, has fittingly come in for severe castigation by the Congress. The other day I was reading a book whose clever author after a searching examination of the characteristics of different European nations, has labelled the German as philosophical, the French as emotional and the Englishman as realistic. But realism is a very elastic term and in politics, as in all other mundane affairs of life, it may connote base selfishness and utter callousness to all idealistic urges. The diplomatic game that Britain has been playing for some time past, furnishes unmistakable evidence of this fact. Complacent in the possession of a vast empire, she has not been caring a tittle about the destinies of other nations and it cannot be expected that she will come forward to raise even a small finger as long as her own vested interests will continue intact.

Organising Foreign Propaganda

The Congress has been maintaining a Foreign Department which has as yet been functioning within comparatively narrow limits. The services it has rendered are worthy of all praise, but in view of the expansion of the Congress activities and the keen interest that is at present being taken by some foreign countries in Indian affairs, it is worth while to consider if the scope of the Department should be extended and if so, in what directions. To keep touch with all the organisations that are anti-imperialist in outlook is a quite necessary piece of activity on behalf of India's freedom movement; sending out occasional contributions to the foreign press setting forth true state of things in this country is also quite necessary. But these should not be considered quite adequate at the present stage of India's struggle for independence. Foreign relations should be more widely, intimately and carefully organised. Propaganda should be of two-fold nature; cultural and political. The press in different countries sympathetic to Indian aspirations should be approached with the request of accepting contributions from distinguished countrymen of ours who can write with authority on the different aspects of Indian life. It will serve to counteract the sinister British propaganda against India that is being carried on with shameless persistence in various countries. Besides the Congress can invest suitable Indians resident in different countries with authority to keep contact with appropriate organisations, study the situation and send out regularly political reports and studies to the Foreign Department. They are to be a sort of non-official ambassadors owing allegiance to the Congress Working Committee and acting strictly according to its instructions. De Valera was assisted by America and Lenin by Germany in winning freedom for their respective countries. The Indian National Congress has launched on a non-violent struggle; its methods are open and above board; still it has need of international goodwill, sympathy and support in ever increasing measure to crown its efforts with success.

BETWEEN PRESIDENSHIP AND OSTRACISM

(Continued from page 9)

the Home Ministers' Conference at Simla, the suppression of mass movements in Congress provinces, smothering of criticism against Congress Ministries, ban on local satyagraha, all foretell an era of reaction. On the crest of all has come purging and heresy-hunting. The Right has struck against the arch-heretic. The erstwhile peoples' President is now ostracised as a rebel.

The events since Bose's resignation have brought into sharper relief the conflicting ideologies and programmes in Congress. This is the meaning of the crisis. The crisis is accentuated by two questions—democratic practice in internal organisation and nationalisation of the struggle—which is to mean that the burden of fight will not rest with a man or a group but spread deeper and deeper among the masses. The Left wants increasing association of the struggle for freedom with the peasant and labour movements, which they embodied in the original draft of the resolution of National Demand. The Right views this tendency as a fore-runner of economic and social revolution.

The decision of the Working Committee has posed the issue more sharply than ever. For, it is *protest* that is anathemised, not *indiscipline*. The Committee also significantly decrees that the President's ukase forbidding the demonstrations of July 9, had to be obeyed without entering into the merits of the ukase. The importance lies in the guilt proclaimed; and this guilt attaches to every member of the Congress who voiced his protest against the reactionary constitutional changes effected in Bombay. The entire Left forces of the country, who believe in democracy and mass struggle, stand face to face with extinction unless they consolidate and see realities with courage and decision.

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THE OBSERVER

"We never forgive those we wrong"

"Mr. Bose, as we all know, was disillusioned. He had no case in law, but the Patels had a much worse case upon the ethics laid down by "Raja Ram" whose praise is sung morning and evening in Mr. Gandhi's ashram. For bringing that fact home, Mr. Bose has never been forgiven. And the stand that he made against the party caucus seeking to thrust upon the delegates a President nominated by it and not chosen by them, and the subsequent show down, followed by the dirty intrigues of Tripuri and Calcutta, all left an ugly impression about the caucus on non-partisans all over India. As the person mainly responsible for that impression, Mr. Bose's presence in the Congress machine had become repugnant to the ruling group. The protests organized by Mr. Bose against the suppression of individual freedom by the group was the culmination. He would have guillotined if those whom he had exposed had the power to do so with impunity."

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Wardha Intolerance

"Do the British Government take disciplinary or legal action against Mr. Churchill for criticising the action of the

Government or Prime Minister? Do the American Government take any action against any member of the Senate for criticising the action of the Government openly through the press and public platform? Certainly not. Why? Because it is the inherent and fundamental right of the people in a democratic organisation. Now we must judge what this disciplinary action against S. J. Bose means. Definitely an intolerance in the Congress High Command. This intolerance is a miserable and most unfortunate frustration of intents and purposes of democracy."

P. SARKAR.

The Papal Bull
from
Wardha
What People
Think of It

Ultra vires

"The intention of the Working Committee appears to be to remove S. J. Bose from all positions of trust and responsibility and as such the resolution can be construed as seeking to debar him to be a member of any elective Congress Committee including the All India Congress Committee. If this be so, then we maintain that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee is clearly *ultra vires* and runs counter to the definite and unequivocal provisions contained in the Constitution of the Congress."

A. B. Das

S. B. Chowdhuri

A. C. Bhattacharya

S. C. Bhattacharya

The Bureaucratic Attack

"The Working Committee by hitting out mercilessly and ruthlessly at S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose has delivered a serious blow to the unity of our people.

It is not the victimisation of an individual Congress leader but a bureaucratic attack against a whole section representing revolutionary and virile forces of our Nation.

The National leadership is grievously mistaken if it thinks it has strengthened the Congress by this decision, by this effort to crush "indiscipline and revolt against the Congress."

On the other hand, by taking this step at a critical moment, when the world is on the brink of war and when our relation itself will have to come to grips in a final conflict with Imperialism, the Working Committee has only encouraged the disruptive forces within and without the Congress, who pin their faith on the sabotage of struggle and on compromise with Imperialism on the issues of Federation and War."

NATIONAL FRONT.

Blow to Democracy

"In this age of democracy every body has got the right to express his own opinion, be it granted by the majority or not. What Subhas Babu has done to-day is not a new incident in the history of the Indian National Congress and certainly will not strike as unlawful to an unbiased mind."

G. C. DUTTA.

Challenge to High Command

"S. J. Subhas Bose should again stand for Presidentship. That will give the Congress a chance to declare its verdict as to whom it wants—the High Command or S. J. Bose."

G. K. HARKARI.

A Great Calamity

"I have all along felt that the way in which you have been jockeyed out of the Presidentship is not merely a political calamity but that it is a portent of a reaction extending deeper into the social and religious life of India. We seem to be going back on the achievements of the great minds of India for nearly a hundred years!"

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PROP :—A. CHANDA.

What Is Happening In Bihar ?

By SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI

Perhaps very few people outside Bihar are aware of what is actually going on here under the "congress regime" or "our Govt." The press reports are extremely meagre, and even they appear late and at long intervals for reasons easily imaginable and beyond our control, with the result that they are almost lost upon the average readers by the time others bearing on the same subject reach them. The consequence is that the subject matters of these become impossible of calculation and counting and classification in order that their cumulative effect on the Kisan movement may be realised. Besides, the inspired and exaggerated news and comments to the contrary coming out time and again cloud naturally the minds of the public and leave them utmost in a fix, if they fail at all to misguide them. Hence it is next to impossible for an outsider, and even to the Bihar people to recognise the heaviest odds we are struggling against.

Since Bombay meeting of the A.I.C.C. thousands of the militant Kisans and the Kisan Sabha workers have been arrested and clapped in Jails in addition to the merciless thrashings which are the rule now every where, and the process is progressively being intensified. Even the members of the A.I.C.C., the Legislature, the P. C. C., the D. C. Cs and the Boards have not been spared. Proceedings against the tallest amongst us under sections 379 and 447 etc., of the I. P. C. and 144 and 107 of the Cr. P. C. have become the order of the day and to them are added every now and then sections 117, 143, 147, 148 and the like. It is a staggering fact that the proceedings under the notorious security section 107 have become a common feature simply to show that we are danger to the public peace, and not under section 108 which is political. Not less than 500, and I am afraid considerably more, such cases have been instituted already and many times more are threaten if we do not give in and the fight continues. The fun or rather tragedy of it is that despite the brutal beatings of thousands of the

THE "NATIONAL STRUGGLE WEEK."

MAKE IT FULLY SUCCESSFUL.

The Left Consolidation Committee recently at Calcutta has finally decided to observe the "National Struggle Week" from 31st of August to the 6th of September. The second day of this week will be the ALL INDIA KISAN DAY for which instructions and appeals have already been issued. The world war stares us in the face every moment and the dark forces of domination and destruction are awfully engaged in a mad race of terrible armament and manoeuvres. The storm may break any moment and we may be taken unawares and consequently may lose a golden opportunity to free ourselves. It is to rouse and awaken us to the sense of duty at such a critical juncture in the history of our national liberation movement that the Left Consolidation Committee has decided to celebrate the National Struggle Week and has fixed different items for each day which have been announced through the press.

I hope every freedom loving person in the country will realise the importance of this week and leave no stone unturned to make it really successful. The responsibility of the Kisan Sabha and Kisan Workers in this connection is immense and they must rise to the occasion and ully co-operate with others and take initiatives wherever necessary to achieve the success for the week it deserves. There is no time left.

Bihta, Patna.
18-8-39.

Swami Sahajanada Saraswati
Gen. Secretary
A. I. K. S.

Kisans and the Kisan workers—men, women and children of tender age—by the *lathials* of the zemindars and the police at hundreds of places of the Bakasht struggles, they have kept strictly and studiously cool and calm and not a single report of a concrete injury to the police and the *lathials* or others of the zemindars' men has been published so far and yet we must be shown to the outside world in the blackest colour and proved, as if upto the hilt, to be most violent. Hence this handy weapon of the security proceeding under section 107. This reminds one forcibly of "giving the dog bad name and then hanging him." I confess "our Govt." has surpassed even the most accursed bureaucratic Govt., in this respect, as not even half as many cases were ever started by that Govt., at a time under section 108, let alone 107. When in jail, we claim to be classed as "Political" but the Govt. say, although by implications, that we are dangerous criminals for the public peace. It is an anomaly and indeed an irony of fate that the proofs against the danger to the public peace are sought to be labelled as danger to the same.

Hunger strikers in Bihar on death bed. Will you raise voice to save them ?

The most tragic and callous part played by "our Govt." is not perhaps realised by the public at large. Four of our brave comrades, four bright jewels and heroes of our fight are condemned by the Govt. to pine and languish in prison, expecting, of course determinodly, every moment the iron hand of the stern reaper fall upon them. They are Brahmachari Rambriksha and Jagannath Prasad, and Comades Karyanand Sharma and Anil Mitra. And what is the unpardonable crime of theirs? They have been fasting for an exceptionally long period—the former two for full 80 days and the latter for 45. And for what? For facilities? No. For release? No. Their simple demand is that all the Kisan and Labour movement prisoners should be classed as "Political." They tried their utmost, and along with them we also, to reason with and persuade "our Govt." to concede this most humble demand, for years and most vigorously for the last six months or so. But having found the Govt. adamant and

(Continued on page 16)

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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.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN BIHAR ?

(Continued from page 15)

having been left no alternative they have taken to fast. But the Govt. is not the least worried over it. Nay, the false and the most malicious propaganda is at times resorted to, as if to add insult to the injury, that they are hale and hearty in jail and so and so forth.

The country with one voice has fought, and is still fighting for the indomitable politicals, on death beds in the prisons of Bengal and the Punjab, and we of the Kisan Sabha here have never lagged behind and will never do so in this fight, and will add our humble mite to it. But cannot we expect similarly our country men to join issue here with us by raising persistent and irresistible voice even from the remotest corners of the country supporting the demands of our heroes, our pride, the pride of the nation, and thus to save the precious lives of them while it is not too late, though late it has become already. Is it too much? We want the reply in action with the strong hope not to be disappointed.

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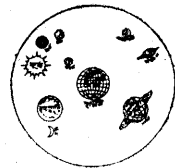
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THE SOVIET-GERMAN PACT

BY SOMNATH LAHIRI

On 22nd, August it was disclosed that negotiations were going on between Soviet Russia and Germany for concluding a non-aggression pact between the two countries. On the next day the following news appeared in the press :—

"London, Aug. 23. Instructions were sent to the British and French Ambassadors in Moscow last night to inform M. Molotov that Poland was now ready to accept Russian aid, according to the Daily Mail's Paris correspondent.

"The correspondent adds that acceptance by Poland of Russian regiments apart from Russian armaments was one obstacle holding up negotiations..." (between England, France and Russia—S.I.)

This is the first tangible effect of the non-aggression pact between Soviet and Germany. One of the main obstacles in the way of the mutual assistance pact between England, France and Soviet Russia is removed.

Every one knows the game which Chamberlain as the head of the Cliveden set of England has been playing. It was to the interest of this most reactionary financial clique of Great Britain to keep up a war scare so that they might pile money on the armament industry and at the same time to divert the enemy towards other countries so that they might step in at a later period and take away the spoils. Though the aggressor states like Germany, Italy and Japan were openly and forcibly redividing the world at the expense of the 'democratic' non-aggressor states like France, England etc., Chamberlain adopted a policy of non-intervention and appeasement. Stalin clearly exposed this policy in his famous report to the Party Conference in March, 1939 in the following words :—

"Through the policy of non-intervention there runs the eagerness and desire not to prevent the aggressors from perpetrating their black deeds, not to prevent, say Japan, from becoming involved in a war with China—or still better, with the Soviet Union ; not to prevent, say Germany, from becoming enmeshed in European affairs, from becoming

involved in a war with the Soviet Union, to allow all belligerents to sink deep into the mire of war, stealthily to encourage them to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another and then when they become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out of course "in the interest of peace", and to dictate their terms to weakened belligerent nations. It is cheap, and it serves its purpose."

This was why Abyssinia, Austria and Spain were allowed to go into Fascist bondage. The Soviet Union which was the most consistent supporter of an all-round peace and mutual assistance policy was deliberately excluded from Munich and Czechoslovakia was offered to Hitler as a bribe.

Chamberlain had to carry on its game of appeasement. But the impending catastrophe of a devastating war was bringing about a change in British public opinion. They were increasingly asking for a defensive alliance between England, France and Russia against the aggressive axis powers. In spite of all his unwillingness Chamberlain was forced to start negotiations for an Anglo-Soviet defensive and military alliance.

But he does not want to conclude the alliance ; on the contrary, he wants to sabotage it. Therefore, his game is on the one hand, to carry on the talks endlessly, and create every possible obstacle in the way of its conclusion, so that the morale of the people in both the countries might be broken and the British people might be led to believe that it was the Soviet which was standing in the way of such an alliance. At the same time he wanted to play upon the anti-communist sentiments of the British public, to create the illusion that after all it was the Soviets and the communists that Hitler's attempts were directed against...so that another concession might be made to Hitler. Even *The Statesman*, which is none too friendly towards the Soviet Union, admits this weakness of the public in the imperialist countries. Commenting on the Soviet-German Pact it writes editorially on 23. 8. 39.

"In Germany and Italy, as in Spain, France, Britain and elsewhere the excuse that Conservatives, Catholics, aristocrats and businessmen who have otherwise little cause to admire the dictators, have offered for them has been 'at least they saved their countries from Bolshevism.'"

It was this fear which Chamberlain and Hitler wanted to play upon for concluding another deal over Danzig. It is exactly this that Soviet diplomacy has smashed by this master stroke of a non-aggression pact with Germany. The British and French people will see in this that the real designs of Hitler at present are not so much directed against Soviet as against Britain and France and their eagerness for a defensive alliance with the great Soviet power will increase. Chamberlain will have to give way. The beginning of this is already manifest from the overcoming of Polish resistance to Russian aid and Russian regiments. And a military pact between England, France and Russia will be the surest guarantee for checking Hitler and preventing aggression in Europe.

The details of the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact are yet under discussion. But it can be said from a general view of non-aggression pacts that it cannot stand in the way of Russia coming to the aid of Poland in case Poland was attacked by Germany. Soviet has all long expressed its willingness to conclude non-aggression pacts with every nation and has actually concluded many in the past. Previous non-aggression pacts, such as that with Poland, contained a clause in which it was stated that should one of the contracting powers stage aggressive action against a third party, then the other power would have the right to denounce the pact without a warning. And in fact Soviet Russia did declare its intention to help Czechoslovakia against Poland when Poland was massing her troops for an attack upon the Czechs. Even if a pact is concluded without any such definite stipulation, the mere absence of any stipulation to the contrary would mean in diplomatic language that Soviet is free to act when Germany commits aggression in any country.

Hitler's stock-in-trade in instigating Germans was that he would lead a holy crusade against Bolshevism in the near future, that stock falls with the conclusion of this pact. At the same time, it takes away the basis of the anti-comintern pact between Germany, Italy and Japan and leaves Russia free to deal with Japan and to come to the aid of China. The pact weakens the solidarity of the axis powers, out-manoeuvres the game of Chamberlain and Bonnet, and brings the possibility of a conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet alliance much nearer.

BOOK REVIEWS

Prayers Praises and Psalms—Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras (Re. 1/- 4 as.)

The book under review contains a selection from the Vedas, Upanishads, Indian epics, Gita, Puranas, Agamas, Tantras, Kavyas and the writings of the Acharyas. The publication will prove immensely helpful to those who want to get into the spirit of the ancient Hindu culture as revealed through the monumental creations of the early Hindu sages. A glance back to our brilliant past is essential for developing the right sort of vision about the future. Here is the utility of books of this kind.

The learned translator has shown commendable discrimination in his selections and Devanagari texts and their English renderings have been put side by side for the facility of the readers. The annotations appended at the end of the book will prove particularly useful. The brief foreword by Mahatma Gandhi is an additional attraction of the book. Print and get up are quite neat and tidy in consideration of which the price seems to be very moderate.

BENGALI.

Indian Architecture in Cambodia by Swami Sadananda. (National Literature Co.)

Within the short compass of 64 pages the writer gives us in Bengali quite a dependable and handy account of Hindu architecture in Cambodia. Hindus conquered and colonised that land in the first century A. D. and in course of time powerfully influenced and moulded the entire culture of its people. Thanks to the loving labour of French archaeologists in Indo-China, the remains of old and long-forgotten Hindu towns, places and temples have of late been excavated in the midst of dense tropical jungles. From these discoveries we come to know many interesting facts of Cambodian history, especially of the Hindu Colonists, of their manners and customs, of their religious faiths and cultural interests. The charts and photographs of 'Angkor Wat', the masterpiece of Hindu architecture in the land enhances the value of the booklet, which, we hope, will be found interesting by all serious students of Indian culture.

S. GHOSH

"Krishak-Andolan" or the Kisan Movement—Burman Publishing House, Calcutta—Price Six Annas.

The book contains the Presidential Addresses of Comrades Muzaffar Ahmad, Rebati Burman, Abdul Halim and Abdulla Rasool, delivered in the Kisan Conferences held in the districts of Faridpur, Bankure, Birbhumi, Murshidabad and Mymensingh. The addresses are filled in with informative facts and figures and the history of the Kisan movement in each district has been traced on their basis. We welcome this book as an invaluable guide to the development of peasant movement in Bengal and wish to have more of its kind in future.

"Marx-bad" or Marxism

—Price Six Annas

Capital—Price 1-8-0—Burman Publishing House, Calcutta.

"Marx-bad" is the Bengali translation of the famous booklet 'Marxism' by Lenin. It is needless to emphasise the importance of this book as it puts forth all the salient principles of Marxism in a nutshell. Except a few unfortunate Bengali equivalents of political and philosophical words, which are nevertheless unavoidable in the present state of Bengali vocabulary the translation is, on the whole, good and free.

Capital is the Bengali translation of a few important chapters from Marx's original book of that title. The chapters have been cautiously selected with an eye to their varying importance for the proper understanding of Marxism, specially the economic side of it. Comrade Burman has done a great service to us by making the book available at a time when we need it most. The book is really worthy of study and attention as it should be.

B. Ghose.

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Letter To The Editor

Democracy And The Gandhian Way

To

The Editor, Forward Bloc

SIR,

Since the Calcutta meeting of the A.I.C.C., there have been tall talks about democracy in the higher circles of the Congress. Statement after statement is being issued by the present leaders. It seems they are bent upon teaching the theory and practice of democracy to all and sundry. Yet, inspite of all this, it is curious that the leaders themselves are of different opinions. Not only different, but diametrically opposed to one another, in theory and practice, both. For example, that Plato of the Gandhian philosophy, Shri Rajgopalacharya opines: "Democracy implies that the power of administration should be vested in the hands of a select few. Self-government implies discipline and willing submission to the exercise of authority by a select few. Power can pass only from one set of people to another; it cannot pass into the hands of all people." On the other side the Socrates Mahatma is emphatic on the point. He wants that the Congress should move in his, one individual way. He declares that either the Congress should accept his line, otherwise.....The matter does not end here. Other disciples of Socrates and Plato are alert and alive. Sjt. Satyamurti and Dr. Rajendra Prasad also do not keep silent. It is surprising to note that those who are out to teach democracy to others are not at one amongst themselves. We would ask them to set their own house in order first and then proceed further.

Aristotle has been called a practical philosopher and he was also a master of Alexander the Great. Acharya Kriplani, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., certainly holds a responsible post and his statements should be given due consideration. He has come out with a long statement regarding democracy and the present crisis inside the Congress. He writes: "Democracy, if it means anything, means that, right or wrong, the will of the majority must prevail." Quite so. But it is essential

that before declaring its will, the group in power should prove that it is there with the consent of the majority. More so, if it is challenged. The present Congress President who appointed the Working Committee and the General Secretary, should first prove that he commands the confidence of the majority, and that he is democratically elected. The Congress constitution requires that the President shall be elected by the delegates to the annual session of the Congress. But the fact in this case is quite otherwise. It was Sjt. Bose who was elected by the delegates. They alone could remove him and elect any other President. This is the only and perfect democratic way. But this was not done. And Prof. Kriplani talks of democracy in theory and practice. If the General Secretary really believes in democracy, let him first call the meeting of the delegates and prove the case of the majority and then talk of the "will."

Acharya Kriplani has confused the Congress with a parliament, and that is why he talks of government, cabinet, alternate rule and subjection etc. All this is irrelevant. It must be made clear to all that the Congress is neither a parliament nor a government as yet. Its aim is not to carry on the government in a somewhat reformed way like that of the parliamentary parties. Congress is a fighting organisation whose aim is to overthrow the present British imperialist State of India.

Further, the General Secretary writes that the Congress committees and office-bearers of such committees cannot condemn or criticise any act or resolution of the A.I.C.C., because "the will of the central organisation can be carried out only through the office-bearers of the local organisations". In this connection it may be mentioned that the local committees can carry out any resolution only after their opinion on the matter has been taken. True, that it is their duty to obey and carry out these resolutions, but it is also equally true that they should have a right to express their opinion on any matter before they are asked to carry

it out. But what is done in the present case? The resolutions are super-imposed upon the local organisations, perhaps against their wishes. This is the practice of the democracy which the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress wants us to follow!

As Acharya Prof. Kriplani himself has admitted "while a local committee represents parts of India, the A.I.C.C., represents whole of the country. The local committees are, no doubt, autonomous bodies but only so far as local affairs are concerned. As far as the general policy and work for the whole of India go, the local units are the agents of the central All-India organisation democratically elected by the whole of the Indian nation including the States." Taken in this light the Satyagraha resolution of the A.I.C.C., is a most undemocratic one. It deals with local affairs. The Satyagraha which is resorted to by peasants and workers against local zamindars and mill-owners is not a general policy or a work for the whole of India. Nobody wanted that an all-India Satyagraha should be started just now without the verdict of the whole nation. When you have prohibited action in local organisations dealing with purely local matters, where is the local autonomy?

The Provincial Congress Committees have sent the ministers to the legislatures. It is the former who truly represent the voters of the province, and therefore it is only democratic way that they should control the Ministries. But no; the Gandhian democracy is of a different kind. By passing a resolution it has subordinated the P.C.C.s to the Ministries.

Every section or group, other than that in power, is strongly of the opinion that this is the most suitable time to launch an offensive against British Imperialism. They are so certain of their opinion that all of them want a plebiscite. If the Working Committee sincerely believes and practises democracy, as the General Secretary wants us to believe, why not hold a plebiscite and decide the matters once for all? Democracy demands that.

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