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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No.-9

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

National Demand

The interview that Mahatma Gandhi had with the Viceroy a few days ago, coupled with the invitation of the latter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad to meet him on October 3, have a significance that is too great to be missed by anybody. It is said that other prominent names too, figure in the list and one by one a few more will be called by Lord Linlithgow for talks in connection with the grave situation that now confronts both Britain and India. It is not possible to forecast the outcome of these parleys. Mahatma Gandhi's pithy observation after his last meeting with the Viceroy that "he shall get something" has naturally raised some hope in the country. At any rate, it has provided evidence to the fact that India's demand—to use a much misunderstood expression—for democracy has not peremptorily been turned down by Britain and that it is at least being given some consideration by Simla and Whitehall. Unhappily, Lord Zetland has struck a rather discordant note by characterising the demand as "ill-timed". Need we repeat to his lordship what has been made so abundantly clear in the statement of the Working Committee that India has not pressed her claims in a spirit of base bargaining at this critical hour in Britain's history?

The issue, as it appears to us, is quite straight and simple. It need not be loaded and clouded with useless verbiage. Britain has declared in solemn terms her anxiety to preserve democracy from the onslaught of aggressive Fascism that has already become more than a menace to the peace and progress of humanity. If this country is to be a proud co-sharer in the preservation of that invaluable treasure for coming generations of mankind, she must be in possession of it first so that she may be inspired to put forth her best in this noble endeavour. India must be free before she takes a plunge in the struggle in the best interests

of humanity at large. The freedom that she wants for herself must be full and unqualified, not a iota less than what is her inherent birthright. We do not know if Mahatma's "something" is just a form of expression or anything else. But it requires to be made clear beyond all doubts that the Indian nation, the teeming millions that comprise it, will not be satisfied with anything less than the complete fulfilment of the National Demand on which the Congress has taken its definite and unswerving stand.

In this connection it may be noted that the Muslim League's recent performance at Delhi has come upon us as a sore disappointment. Not that we did not apprehend as much from a body of the nature of the League, but still the flickering hope did not forsake us that at this crucial hour in national history, it would be able to cast off all prejudices and false fears and rise to the full height of the occasion. That hope has unfortunately been belied by the League. It is evident that the bogey of Hindu domination has been pressing on that body like a veritable nightmare—a fact that has induced it to commit itself to the ridiculous anomaly of demanding *freedom hedged in with various safeguards*. We emphatically repudiate the claim of the League to speak on behalf of the entire Muslim community. We hold with Mahatma Gandhi that "the Congress is an all-inclusive body. It can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half a century, without a rival, the vast masses of India, irrespective of class or creed." We believe that the heart of the Muslim masses is sound, that they will not be led astray by the separatist moves of the communal leaders to whom politics is no more than a comfortable highway for self-aggrandisement. We believe, further, that if a referendum is taken, the truth of our assertion will be amply borne out. Similarly, with regard to the Native states—the strongholds of mediaeval autocracy—which are so thoroughly out of tune with the progressive life of modern times. We hold that if a referendum is taken in those states, the awakened people there will emphatically declare themselves for full democratic rights within the framework of a national constitution. We would

ask Simla and Whitehall to take note of these facts and proceed accordingly. The common people should have the most predominant voice in the determination of the form of Government in which they are to make overwhelmingly major constituents. To put the whole matter summarily: if Britain is really desirous of striking up a settlement with India and secure her friendly co-operation in the present crisis, let her ask the latter to frame a constitution through a Constituent Assembly based on full adult franchise and then declare its acceptance by a Royal Proclamation in order to avoid tediously long-drawn legislative process for the present. Let her thus establish her *bonafides* as a real votary of democracy. It is a golden opportunity for Britain which her statesmanship should utilise both for her own benefit as well as that of India. Let her not seek to meet the grave situation by temporary make-shifts or half-measures. Let her not propose something that will be unworthy for her to offer and unworthier for India to accept.

SOVIET RIDDLE

Somewhere in Euripedes we vaguely remember to have read, "Things that must happen are so beyond all our imaginings." The incalculable in life upsets all our petty plans; its elemental quality defies all our schemes and designs. But the uncertain game of politics by its very nature so amorophous that in it there is nothing that can be a really incalculable. But the Soviet Russia is a new factor in world politics. It attained its majority sometime ago; but it has not sobered into the time of respectability as it was supposed sometime ago. The Soviet still possesses something of the elemental quality that signified its birth and vigorous early days. Is it because of this that, all our international calculations are upset, all our accounts cast with elaborate care of a wordly minded idiot appear to be the poor play of fossilised wisdom? For, such at least appear today the politics of Eastern Europe—which have been changing with a rapidity and in a way that the world can hardly anticipate or grasp. For, the politics of Europe, or more

frankly speaking, the politics of entire Europe, have passed into the hands of Moscow; and unless the rest of Europe Unites to snatch it back, Moscow becomes the master and decides the politics of the Balkan and the Baltic at this hour. Politicians and students of politics never were prepared for this emergence of the Soviet in the master role, and, their reaction has been wild and conflicting as a result. The incalculable has burst upon their world of petty details and narrow visions. They do not know—and we cannot foretell—what the Soviet intends. *Quo, idis, Domini*, questions the bewildered political journalists.

It is not difficult, however, to know where the Soviet goes if we know what the Soviet stands for, and, how the Soviet was pushed out of its positions by the Powers. Alone against the world, Russia had to yield to Poland the vast lands and smaller nationalities, the Poles to lord it over. Under the inspiration from the Western Powers, the Baltic sea-board was studded with new states, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and lastly Finland, which practically shut out the Baltic way for the Soviet Russia. Never could Russia emerge into a warm sea port,—never could it play any worthy part as a sea power. The Arctic ways and the Pacific sea-coast were tried—the one was developed and provided with a canal to prove considerable triumph of Soviet science, engineering and organisation. The other was menaced by Japan and therefore, admitted of no reasonable development. The Soviet with the little coast line on the West was condemned to an inland existence. And the states on the Baltic served as good footholds for the Western Powers to strike at Petrograd, if necessary. Moscow realised her position, and, realised quite well as the Nazis rose to power in Central Europe and Eastern Europe was allowed thoroughly masterly inactivity to pass into the politico-economic hegemony of the Nazis. So, the Baltic Powers were practically handed over to Hitler and, Nazi shadow approached the very threshold of the Soviet and Nazi influences set them to the new key, so much so that these Powers were not willing to accept any 'Peace Front' to guarantee their life against possible aggression from any quarters.

The Moscow Pact with Germany came, therefore, to them as perhaps a rude shock. Germany had realised that she was incapable of confronting the Soviet. Poland was to be a prize, that could not be let slip. The Baltic powers thought they would be allowed to enjoy their immunity. Slowly, the mystery was clarified. Poland was over-run only to allow the Soviet to cut off Germany from her long cherished ambitions. Thus the White Russians and Little Russians are unified into their Soviet Republics, a Polish Soviet is born to serve to Sovietize its other half, under the Hitlerian heels, while the German domination of the Balkans and beyond the Danubian basis and the Black Sea coast, is become a fond illusion of the past by the posting of the Soviet troops on the borders of Rutenia and Hungary and Soviet talks with Turkey and Bulgaria. It is not difficult to see who would play now the dominating role in the Balkans. Germany has to yield; for the Western Front calls for all her energy to defend herself, and the Soviet is her possible vendor for the precious supplies. Great Britain and France find the Soviet unjustified, but would not at this hour challenge the iniquity to multiply the number of enemies. Still significantly France dissolves the Communist Party of France. The Soviet approaches the Baltic now to take up the positions she was made to yield. The allied Powers are out of the picture in the area. It interests only Germany, the fleet of which utilises the harbours. This must be ended now when the Nazis can hardly contend with the Soviet. The Estonian Minister M. Selter is called to Moscow; Herr Von Ribbentrop is again invited there for a decision—apparently of the Polish question and the Baltic problem. Plainly, Herr Von Ribbentrop must agree—Estonia is to yield the islands of Dagoe and Oost to the Soviet; and "the rest would follow suit" until on the Baltic the Soviet emerges as the liberator of the world.

The Moscow Pact was characterised as signifying the Soviet joining "the Anti-Comintern Pact." It was a riddle which the world can read now as the situation develops. The Soviet has come of age in world politics—and, come of age shedding none of its incalculable policies and professions.

Current Comments

Britain's War Budget

Britain is mobilising her financial resources for a long war. According to Sir John Simon's own figures he proposes to take well over a quarter of the national income in taxation. The British Official Press is of opinion that there will be no complaint about the heavy increase in taxation, because, these resources will be utilised in defence of international law and justice. Quite a noble idea. But why the budget does not follow the fundamental canon of taxation that the incidence may be shared by all proportionally? Why the budget lets off the very rich lightly? Men and women with small or middle incomes will get hit the hardest and why? While Mr. Attlee would gladly welcome the attempt to raise three large sums by taxation, Mr. Gallachier would call the budget a most terrible commentary on the capitalist system. There would have been a fair deal if the wealthy had contributed a very considerable share. But as it has been arranged, the budget would make the wealthy wealthier at the end of the war. Hence, as Mr. Gallachier rightly says, "There is no question of a fair deal all round" and the budget is really the "saddest" commentary on the capitalist system.

Non-violent and truthful anger

In a leaderette of the 27th September the *Searchlight* (Gandhian organ of Behar) has indulged in an orgy of non-violent ire at the cost of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. The head and tail of Mr. Bose's offence is that he could not approve of Gandhiji's offer of unconditional co-operation with Britain as it ran counter to all the Congress resolutions about war. Evidently, according to the *Searchlight*, Congress resolutions are not meant for being acted up to, but for being preserved in a gaudy show-case for exhibition before the public. The paper's insinuation about Mr. Bose's irreverence towards Gandhiji is to be treated with the contempt it deserves; for he yields to none in his respect to the great man although he disdains to make his name a convenient stock-in-trade for base earthly gains. The paper has not stopped even at this; but like a fierce sleuth-hound has chased Mr. Bose still further and has openly charged him with being sympathetic to Nazism and Herr Hitler. One need

not tax one's intelligence too much to understand why the *Searchlight* has allied itself with the *Statesman* in levelling this maliciously false charge against Mr. Bose. The Patna oracle has predicated his "destruction." Is this propaganda a deliberate move to that end?

"Reason to Lament"

There are people who seem to think that appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi derives an added flavour from depreciation of S. Subhas Chandra Bose. Shri Kripalani is one of them. He cannot praise Mahatma Gandhi without a dig at S. Bose. Since January last when S. Bose's re-election was signal enough for Shri Kripalani to scamper away from his post, he has transformed himself into a sort of scuttle-fish emitting ink and ink, smelly and venomous and spiteful. He has hardly issued any public statement of importance wherein he has not tried to blacken S. Bose. He repeated his familiar trick in a speech at a meeting of the students of the Lucknow University on the 26th Sept. and of course he was subjected to a lot of heckling. This Shri Kripalani claims to be a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and a servant of non-violence and truth. And not alone Shri Kripalani. The public have seen statements and heard speeches by other hawkers of holy saws too, wherein the crunching of teeth against the Bloc and its founder equally drowned the voice of reason. Indeed, if such be the apostles' holy plan, have we not reason to lament what they have made of non-violence and truth?

Students' Duties

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was to have presided over the Tamil Nadu Students' Conference. Being unable to attend the Conference he sent a message to it to which we invite the attention of the entire student community of India. "The Conference," so ran the message, "was meeting at a critical juncture in the history of the country. Students, therefore, had to ponder over their duties as citizens of a great country and prepare for them. Their duty as students would naturally have to give precedence to their duty as citizens." The Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, warned the students against joining the Conference as "things would be said there with which the students

should not be associated." But in disregard of this inane advice of a retired politician and at considerable risks to themselves, the students of the University attended the Conference in large numbers and made it a complete success. All glory to them.

Forward Bloc and Pandit Nehru

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has for some time been the most amusing political riddle in the country. From Karachi where he came red-hot from the Moscow furnace more than a decade ago, upto Faizpur, he strutted the stage as a Leftist fire-brand. Then he began to cool down, under what influence it is hardly necessary to point out here. Not that he does not profess leftism still; but it has been conveniently twisted to cover up his shameful vacillations. From the very inception of the *Forward Bloc* he has been looking on it with green eyes and with its increasing success they have become greener. It may be remembered that some time ago he characterised the Bloc "as a group of opportunists and disgruntled elements" and on Mr. Subhas Bose's demanding substantiation of this mischievous statement, the valiant Pandit could only save his face by a thoroughly unconvincing quibble. Undeterred by that experience, he has now given his pithy judgment of the Bloc as "an evil." But he has not cared to oblige the public by explaining how it is so. A pseudo-leftist as Panditji is, possibly he has been prompted to this estimate of the Bloc by the fact that it has come to offer a counter-blast to the policy of constitutional drift pursued by the present leadership. But whatever Panditji may think and say of it, there is no denying the fact that the *Forward Bloc* has been daily growing from strength to strength; and it will have its mission fulfilled only when it will be able to deal a knock-down blow to the prevalent "evil" of reactionarism in the Congress.

A. R. P. Scheme

India is still far, far away from the scene of active warfare but signs are clear that panic has got heavily on her nerves. The elaborate A. R. P. Scheme that has been set on foot for the protection of vulnerable cities like Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta has served to put a further premium on the sense of panic. In this city the Corporation is even organising training classes in which a series of lectures on A.R.P. work will be delivered. People in dismay are naturally wondering as to what the exact situation is. The buzzing sound of the aces make them look up to ascertain if these are going to drop some havoc-dealing bombs. The occasional vague statements of some experts here and there do not appear to

NEW GERMAN- SOVIET PACT

(Latest News From London)

The terms of the German-Russian Agreement were received in London in the early hours of this morning and the necessary time has not elapsed for any authoritative reaction from London. It is understood, says the Ministry of Information, that the Agreement is being considered by the Cabinet and until that meeting has been held and there has been consultation with the French no statement of policy is likely.

All interest concentrates on how far the new Russo-German Agreement with the promised supply of Russian raw materials against German manufactures may affect the progress of war. The question of transporting huge quantities of Russian raw material over the long distances they must travel overland presents one difficulty. Another is Russia's own internal requirements, particularly in oil, the increased output of which in the past eight years has been fully absorbed by home demand.

Soviet trap for Germany

Apart from practical considerations the view is widely held that Russia expects the war to culminate in a revolution in Germany on which she may rear a Communist State. The question then is whether Russia will deem best to Germany collapse quickly or by partially feeding Germany with supplies will prolong the agony with a view to making the crash worse when it comes.

Well-informed quarters recall Mr. Chamberlain's statement in Parliament last week and the situation, it is considered, has in no way altered from what it was a month ago, nor is the German-Russian statement likely to change the policy of the British Government.

It is recalled Mr. Chamberlain's statement of last week was stressed during the last week-end in a broad-cast comment on Sgr. Mussolini's speech, reading "Our general purpose is well-known. That is to redeem Europe from the perpetual fear of German aggression."

them to be particularly assuring. Thus only about a week ago Mr. Harold Graham, Chairman of the A.R.P. Committee, in the course of an address to the councillors of the Corporation, made the following intriguing observation, "While emphasising that there is no occasion whatsoever for panic, I do assert there can be no excuse for apathy or for a false sense of security." The new Russo-Japanese *entente* has of course made things worse for the country; and it is urgently and immediately necessary that people here should be allowed to know more exactly where they stand. For an apparition, it has been well said, looks deadlier in the dark.

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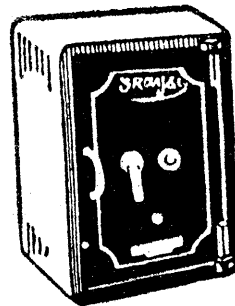
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THE SHAPING OF BALKAN POLITICS

By B. G.

Contemporary world is moving so swiftly that it is very difficult to find words that will carry definite meanings with them. Words will have huge potentialities and their meanings will be changing till no sort of balanced situation confirms them. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the days in which we live and evade the events tossing about on the troubled surface of the world. They are all worthy of careful attention and close analysis.

Europe today is absorbingly interesting, more interesting than a novel. The Soviet Union, the hero of the novel, stands in prominence with a conspicuously calm grandeur. Conspicuously, because the moves of the Soviet Union are so subtle and far-reaching that purblind political critics will be looking at her askance and being dazzled in the splendour of a high-rate political diplomacy will take up the cheapest and the most convenient role of destructive critics. Calm, because we do not see the Soviet Union plunged into the savagery of war uptil now, but with all his majestiness he scores triumph after triumph. This would seem flattery, but that is an art in which the Fascists are past-masters, not the Bolsheviks. Their politics are based on scientific reasoning and analysis, which the spokesmen of Fascism miserably lack.

We have heard of the Sovietisation of Eastern Poland. There could be no better news. At a time when the White Russians and the Ukrainians were just going to be swallowed up by the hungry Nazi wolves, the Soviet Union came to their rescue and succeeded in snatching them off the clutches of the Nazis without a single boom of machine-gun. The Nazis were forced to retreat. After a prolonged period of subjection under a semi-fascist Government which they did not in the least approve of, the White Russians and the Ukrainians found in the Soviet Union a true deliverer with the offering of their long-cherished self-government. Now, they will have their Republics which they will set up and work up at their own will. This is not imperialism, not even the shadow of it, and

the critics who are too much prone to use this term to lower the Soviet Union before the eye of the common people should know what it exactly means. Plainly speaking, imperialism means the subjugation of a nation by a nation motivated by economic interests. This is not subjugation but resurrection, not economic interest, but the interest of humanity and civilisation and democracy and all such things that we are in the habit of talking so glibly. Of course, we like to see that Poland will arise out of her ashes in near future but she must be a true Poland, the Polish nation of the history of Nations, not a bundled up Poland of Versailles.

It is clear that the Soviet Union has cried halt to Nazism. As we have now amidst us a Sovietised Eastern Poland, Hitler's *Drang Nach Osten* will have to be shelved on pain of the whole Balkan being sovietised and the total annihilation of Nazi Germany. The Soviet German Non-Aggression Pact will gradually unfold all its petals that are now shut out of common eye. The critics who have been persistently scourging the Soviet Union as a Fascist instigator since the signing up of the pact, will look back aghast at their yawning stupidity when they will clearly realise that he has led Fascism on the road to destruction and saved the people of Europe from a savage state of defiled culture and debased civilisation.

"Totalitarianism from within" has so long been the aim of Germany's *Drang Nach Osten*. Upon her ability to convert the Balkans to the Nazi creed Germany's success of this policy entirely depends. To that end he has tried to replace the economic systems of the Balkans by economic totalitarianism, and the political systems by totalitarian dictatorships. Even he was partially successful in Hungary, in Yugo-Slavia and Rumania. Today the Balkan politics are on the verge of a complete orientation.

It is interesting to note here some of the manoeuvres of Balkan politics to fight out Nazism. In the April of 1937, a cabinet of anti-Nazi land-owners and Catholics

stilled an incipient Nazi revolt in Hungary. In Rumania King Carol in one the most astute manoeuvres first divided the Fascist movement against itself by appointing the minority leader, Goga, to be Prime Minister in December 1937; then by forcing Goga to "Nazify" the country, he nicely managed to crush all popular support for Nazism, so that he could finally throw the powerful leader of the Fascist majority into prison and drive out Goga without having to call out the police even. The Bulgarian Government was similarly successful in crushing a Fascist middle-class movement. In Yugo-Slavia, the Regent, Prince Paul, has more than once warned the pro-Nazi members in his cabinet that their tenure of office is at his discretion. These are the past records of fights against Fascism in the curious machiavellian history of Balkan politics.

Recently, there has been a thorough reshaping of it. Hungary is now in favour of improving his relations with Rumania and he is now understood to have suggested the conclusion of a non-aggression pact with the latter which he refused till the other day. The brightest of all news is that today Yugo-Slavia stands united, perhaps for the first time in his history. The Serbs and Croats have at last reached an agreement, which will inevitably change the entire outlook of the country. Dr. Matchek, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, is now the Deputy Prime Minister of the new Government. There cannot be any happier news. Moreover, we know that the Soviet Union is negotiating with Turkey for the establishment of a new relation, to which Bulgaria also has reacted favourably. To these hopeful orientations in Balkan politics and the significant moves of the Soviet Union, if the Sovietisation of Eastern Poland up to Carpatho-Ruthenia be added, is it not justifiable to predict with an amount of certainty that Germany's drive to the East is blockaded and now, after Poland, if Germany at all risks that drive that would surely mean the end of Nazism and probably the Sovietisation of a large part of the Balkans.

Along with the foregoing facts it

must be remembered that in the Balkans the peasants are in a large majority, sometimes accounting for 90 per cent, and everywhere the peasants are without any political or economic power, without land, debt-ridden, ruthlessly exploited, in dire poverty, and at the mercy of a very small ruling class. To quote a few figures which are probably far too low, in Hungary 40 to 45 per cent and in Yugoslavia 30 to 35 per cent of the peasants have no land at all and in Rumania the conditions are worse. Under these circumstances, is it not likely that if the Balkans are embroiled in war, the Soviet Union may slowly step in with the slogan of "Land to the Peasants" and try to make the peasants of the Balkans capable of emerging triumphant out of a revolution and ask them "to keep up power" with the help of the Red Army? Our prediction may be true if Germany determines to take up her South-Eastern programme which she is supposed to do after Poland.

As we write, in Kremlin discussions are going on between Herr Von Ribbentrop and M. Molotov. It is believed in Moscow diplomatic circles that the conversations concern economic and military relations generally, also future policy towards the Baltic and Balkan States. It has also been reported that the Soviet troops have reached the Hungarian frontier and after exchanging courtesies with the Hungarian frontier troops have taken up strategic positions near the border. The Bulgarian Government have agreed to the appointment of a new Soviet minister in Sofia. Rumania is also reported to be cheerful that Russia's desire to stop Germany's drive eastwards will preserve Rumania's neutrality. Do not all these moves and counter-moves definitely suggest that as soon as Germany will launch at his *Leang Nach Osten*, the penetration of the Soviet Union into the Balkans will be speeded up?

Will another significant triumph be scored by the Soviet Union over the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany hard on the heels of the discussions between Molotov and Ribbentrop in Kremlin?

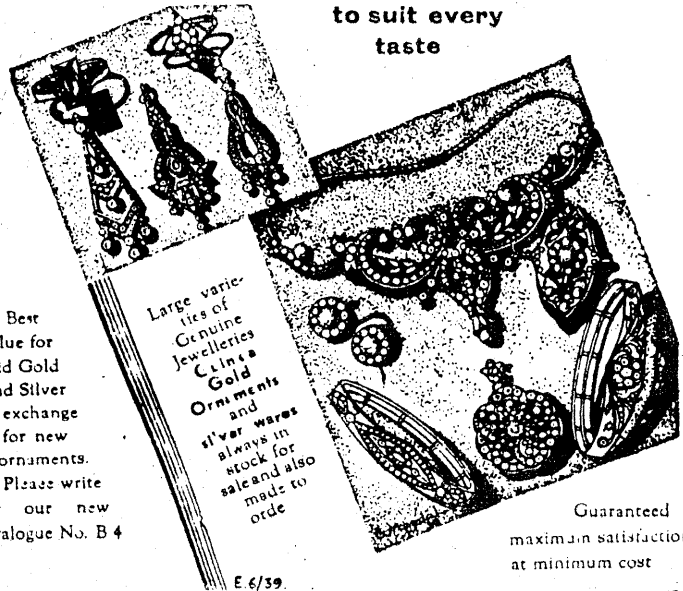
Will the critics who are now throwing slabs and muds on the Soviet Union for setting up soviet republic in Eastern Poland, then call up all the evil spirits in heaven and earth to fall in with them to fight out Kremlin? We advise them to watch quietly because the policy of Kremlin has depths which their intelligence cannot plumb.

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CHINA CONTINUES HER FIGHT

JAPAN MUST YIELD TO CHINA

(Our China Letter)

Kwangsi, Sept. 4.

The collapse of Japanese aggression in China will come within two more years at the most, declared General Li Tsung-jen, commander of the Chinese forces in the fifth war area.

More than two years since she fired the first gun of her undeclared war in China, Japan has, in the estimate of the Kwangsi army leader, sent more than 33 divisions to this country; her casualty has been well in excess of 1,000,000 and her war cost noward of 15,000,000 Yen.

"But what she has gained is little and insignificant," said General Li. While nominally China has lost nine provinces, the area actually under Japanese military occupation only totals 49 countries.

In northern Anhwei, for instance, the Japanese only hold five or six countries, while in southern Honan only Hsinyang is in Japanese hands. In eastern Hunch, Japanese military control is limited to the immediate confines of the tri-city of Honkow, Hanyang and Wuchang.

These 40 counties of occupied territory require large garrisons, otherwise the Japanese have every chance of losing them. When the enemy concentrated on their advance on Wuhan, it was recalled almost all the county cities in northern Anhwei, eastern Hupoh and southern Honan under their occupation were recaptured by Chinese forces. The same thing happened during the fall of Hsueh in northern Kiangsu when many other cities previously occupied by the Japanese were retaken by Chinese.

Chinese guerilla forces, according to General Li, are exceedingly active around the Wuchang area so that the Japanese troops holding Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang are utterly unable to move. Thus, it would be well nigh impossible for the Japanese to launch any major offensive as they could not move up their troops from any of the occupied cities without exposing those points to Chinese attacks. Even if they should succeed in capturing another city or more, such

conquests would only lead to further weakening of their military strength in China as a whole.

"Granted that Japan can increase her strength in China to 65 divisions," the Chinese army commander declared, "she will still be unable to maintain peace and order in the 49-county territory under her occupation, let alone any further advances on Chinese soil."

With China's resistance going on with ever increasing vigour and assuming the offensive on the various fronts and behind the enemy lines, the general concluded, Japan is bound to collapse in her manpower and economic resources within two more years.

China keeps up resistance.

China will not relax her resistance to Japanese aggression inspite of the favourable turn in the international situation, and she will cope with the rapidly changing world developments in accordance with her established policy, says Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Generalissimo Chiang took recognition of the rapid changes in the international situation, since the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.

However, he says he is not at all surprised at such changes as many people would and he believes that the situation will develop along a natural path and will finally follow a trend beneficial to the world and mankind and compatible with the purpose of China's resistance.

China's resistance has made the world realize the importance of peace lest they should break it too carelessly. In spite of its myriad changes the international situation is obviously following a tendency which is opposed to the war of aggression and seeks for the establishment of international justice. In his opinion China's resistance is one of the main factors for creating this tendency.

China Fights With Paper Bullets

Throughout China today, there is an army of Chinese journalists who are fighting Japan with their pens and bru-

shes no less earnestly than their comrades at the front.

After the outbreak of war, the Chinese press immediately began a crusade to educate the people to rise and save the nation. As the war progressed, they have also turned their tone with the Government's policy of armed resistance and national reconstruction. They have fired their paper bullets with the most prodigious zeal. A nation-wide newspaper and photo exhibition was held in China's war capital, Chungking. Sponsored by the Association of Young Chinese Journalists which has many high government officials as its directors, the display illustrated the perfect harmony and unity of China's journalistic front in this life and death struggle. China's frontier provinces, where in many cases journalism is still in its infancy, were well represented in the exhibit with contributions from Sinkiang, Chinghai, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Ninghsia and Sikang. The large number of papers published behind the Japanese line formed the most interesting section of the display. In almost every "occupied" province where the Chinese are waging deadly warfare against the Japanese, newspapers are published, and many copies reached China's capital for the exhibition. Newspapers published in the areas entirely administered by the Chinese Government formed the main journalistic front in the exhibition. In it many well edited and powerful dailies were represented. These papers, published in Chungking and having local editions in all other important cities in the interior, are leading hundreds of other smaller newspapers and tabloids in views and news about the war of resistance and other current events. In the pile of news services by press agencies in China were found five or six of the more prominent, with the official Central News Agency and the semi-official Kuo Min Agency taking the lead. One of the most colourful participants or the exhibit was "The Voice of the Orient," published in Esperanto and dedicated to peace and international brotherhood.

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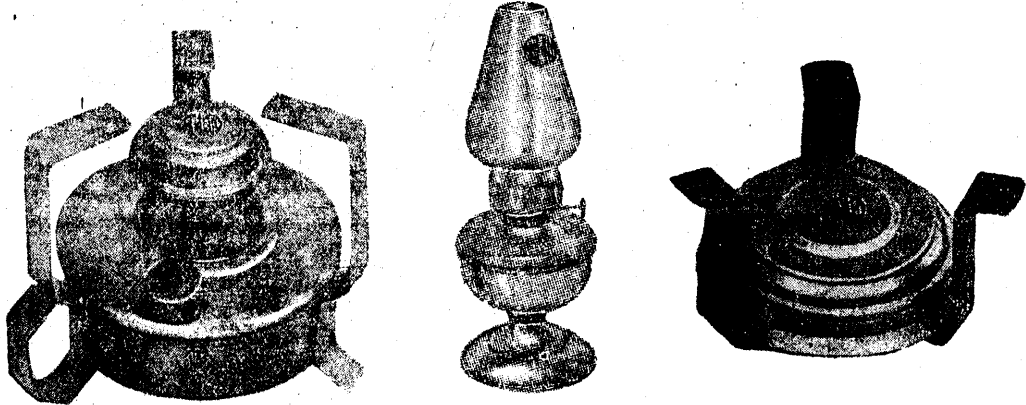


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SIGMUND FREUD

The Scientist of Human Mind

By GOPAL HALDAR

It is perhaps Immanuel Kant who said, "Two things alone fill me with wonder—the heavens above and the human mind within." The twentieth century marked the entry of human spirit into those two strange regions of imagination and bewilderment.

A Pioneer Pilot

The feeling of wonder is receding. Man finds himself on the threshold of knowledge and knowledge opens up an "expanding universe" within and without. New Physics and Cosmogony thus lead to the portals of a 'Mysterious Universe.' A new wonder overpowers man—an awe that at once chastens the spirit and ennobles its efforts. A similar feeling comes over the thinking half of humanity as it looks within itself, into the fathomless space of self, to which Sigmund Freud, just dead, introduces his fellowmen as the pioneer-pilot of the human soul.

An Ancient Study

Yet the mind of man has even been a puzzle to man, since mankind came to know that it possesses this strange thing. The study of mind, therefore, dates from a very early age—perhaps, as the Freudian light has shown, it is the most ancient branch of study. Only it was not *study* for, it was unconscious. But most of the activities were bound to be so in that infant stage of life. Freud has thus also helped us to discover that, Freud was not the first man to dive into the depth of the human mind. Whenever immediate demands of material existence had left men "a breathing space," men looked beyond the frontiers. But, the very material equipments of life were as yet too rude and too crude to extend man's physical domains far enough. He turned his eyes within, and, in India as early as the age of Mahenjodaro, we find the sitting *yogis* trying to pierce the veil of mystery. The traditional development of the line of thought and practices has presented to mankind certain psycho-physiological 'control' powers in the shape of *yogic* triumphs which fill the crude westerners with wonder and the conquered

easterners with an equally crude illusion about our past. The mind of man was a vast uncharted sea to the ancient *yogis* or gnomes, or whatever we call them, though they might dare into it like the ancient sea-faring people.

Science of Matter and Mind

But the very *material* limitation on the knowledge of ancient man circumscribed his very *spiritual* endeavours. Hair-splitting was not unknown; but this leisure-class study of mind could not grow into the science of mind. The methodology of science was wanting; the material struggle and grasp was to develop far to yield that body of knowledge, that rapidly moving process which at last turned astrology into astronomy, and alchemy into modern chemistry. The science of mind could come only at the top of it, only when the inheritance of human knowledge had sufficiently strengthened the grasp of man on the laws of matter, on the biological knowledge of his evolution, and on the physiological knowledge of his actual existence. It had to be realized that "the law of cause and effect was as operative in the sphere of mind as in that of the matter. Where introspection fails to reveal the adequate *conscious* cause of a mental content, it is assumed that unconscious mental factors are operative". And this was to be empirically corroborated. Such alone was the scientific approach, and such approach alone could promise a knowledge of the vast uncharted seas of mind and the dark, unfathomed depths of the unconscious. It was beyond the grasp of those ancient sailors and divers. It was reserved for our times to make the first scientific approach to the study of mind, and, Sigmund Freud, made that venture most coolly, most boldly, most dispassionately, shedding one theory after another which his facts disapproved, in the truest spirit of a scientist tied to nothing but truth.

Scientific Hypothesis—not Doctrines

Confused students of psychology and confounded critics of psycho-analysis were not slow to take advantage of the scienti-

fic attitude of Freud, as he, like a true scientist, went on correcting and amending his notes and theories to the end of his days. They may be left to enjoy their petty reputation, for, Freud would outlive them all. It is not unlikely—rather, it is most likely—that the pioneer work would lead to greater discoveries and some of the dearly held theories of Freud would be thrown away in course of time, and that his outline, sufficiently clear now, would be broadened further. But all that the Doctor himself would wish for and pray for—were he capable of praying for anything—and ask at least to live for. For, this is the scientific spirit—the only spirit in which he believed as he conclusively asserts in his *Future of an Illusion*.

Psycho-Analysis

The outline of this work of a lifetime stands out clear and bold. The name of Freud is linked with *Psycho-analysis*—the method of psychological study and therapeutic practice, the facts discovered by this method, the theories that explain and correlate the facts, and again the application of the method and theories to other facts. It is needless again to remind that, unlike academic psychology, psycho-analysis was the result of the "concrete thoughts and emotions of individuals actually struggling with life's difficulties." And, similarly its conclusions are inconclusive if they fail when applied to other facts. Its method of work was at first "hypnosis" which slowly gave way to "free association" i.e. asking the subject in question to say everything that comes to his mind. But 'resistances' appeared; impediments in the conscious side of mind which are found rooted in a deeper, undiscovered layer, "of emotionally toned associations." The force of this unconscious depth becomes evident. And, the *Unconscious* becomes the real object of study. It is found to be key to determine the conscious life, to yield the dreams and errors and 'meaningless nothings,'—the psycho-pathology of every day—life, and to art, literature, history, anthropology.

The Unconscious and its Contents

Not that this Unconscious was Freud's discovery, but certainly, his scientific approach has clarified this concept and enlarged its scope. More and more the "submarine life" was being surveyed. It was found to be a battle ground of

conflicting desires, of contradictory impulses, of deep instinctual urges and the powerful traditional privations that society and civilisation impose on human mind. This process of active exclusion, itself unconscious, of certain thoughts and desires from consciousness is called *Repression*, or *Inhibition* as opposed to *Suppression*, which is conscious control. But repression is not extinction, the forces are too strong for that; they make their way through a 'compromise' with the repressive forces, called *Censor*, into our dreams, errors, arts, activities etc. These all in a sense are, therefore, symbolic, veiling the dark forces that the repression would deny an expression. And, when we remember that these instinctual urge is at basis primarily something that life cannot do without, that biological necessities have imposed on us a fulfilment of these as well as a restriction of the same to make our existence possible, we have no difficulty in seeing why Freud finds them, to be mostly sexual. And the symbols are but the fulfilment of that *Libido*. This emphasis on *Libido* at once raises the world in arms against Freudian 'pan-sexualism.' The resentment goes into hysteria, supporting the very Freudian hypothesis of opposition. As Oedipus Complex is mentioned *attraction* between the mother and the son, the father and the daughter. Its biological and physiological roots are not remembered or recognised; that the same flesh and blood i. e. mother-child cannot but be dear to each other, and that, with the slow growth of later sex-differentiation the opposites (mother-son, father-daughter) come to be more attractive to each other. It is unholy, it is sacrelege, it is beastly,—and, lastly, the Nazis step in to declare—it is Jewish.

The Nature of Mind

For any one but a Nazi it is only easy to know that Freud was not so simple or so unscientific. Even the Unconscious, as he analysed he asserted, is not a monochrome of sex urges. The Censor is as much a part of it—though this 'unconscious morality' is not the same as our conscious ethical outlook in all respects. That unconscious morality comes to be designated as *Super-Ego*, while the *Ego* forms our conscious plane of debate and ethics and rationality; and the *Id* is the Caliban of the unconscious. And, on a survey of human mind and

human civilisation can, one on the whole, deny Freud's statement: "*the moral man is not only far more immoral than he believes but also far more moral than he has any idea of it.*"

To what, however, the biggest scientist of the era failed to attach due emphasis is not this but the fact that his individuals were social beings, whose subjective conditions of existence would reflect the objective socio-economic conditions of life. This background psychoanalysis has not counted so carefully. Yet a new chapter has been opened, the chapter of scientific study of mind. And in this Freud is to be accepted as a possible Newton who more than any other has established the truth that "the proper study of mankind is man"—and the future study of it the human mind.

FORWARD BLOC NEWS

Frontier Provincial Committee Formed

A Frontier Provincial 'Forward Bloc' was formed yesterday. Khan Ghulam Mohd. Khan, ex-President of the F.P.C.C. was elected President and Mian Akbar Shah, General Secretary of the Provincial 'Forward Bloc.'

Delhi Forward Bloc

A meeting of the New-Delhi Forward Bloc was held on the 22nd September with Lala Shankar Lal in the chair.

A strong provisional Committee was formed with Mr. Benoy Chatterji as organising secretary.

It was resolved to invite Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose shortly to New-Delhi and to present a purse when he comes here.

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PROBLEMS OF RUMANIA

By S. UPADHYAY

Of late Rumania has been the hot-bed of unrest and the sporadic acts of violence are suggestive of conflicting forces at work. Resignation of M. Titulescu was marked by the sudden rise of Fascism and the recent murder of the Prime Minister testifies to the existence of a Fascist organisation backed by Germany. Peasantry forms the bulk of the population and the nature of agrarian problem is extremely complex. Rumania, rightly speaking, is the citadel of Feudalism and its agrarian policy is a sad commentary upon the existing regime. The story of Rumania's agrarian reform is long and varied and it can hardly be said to be progressive. In pre-war days the lot of the landless labourer was sad and the only means of sustenance was the work on the estates of landed aristocracy. The land reform of 1918 was revolutionary and the states were divided and returned to the peasantry. Weighed down by debts, steeped in appalling ignorance, the peasantry could not work out the reform to its advantage. The landed aristocracy was found to be the greatest obstacle to its working and the reform failed to produce its steady influence upon the society. High birth-rate and the primitive law of inheritance led to further fragmentation of the land and brought a fresh crop of difficulties for the peasantry. The sudden fall of agricultural prices and the increase of cost of industrial goods created an unbearable state of things for the peasantry and made the payment of taxes impossible. Land was sold out to the creditors. At present 80 per cent of the total peasantry have less than 5 hectares of land and this has swelled the rank of the unemployed. In Banat area the soil is rich and the peasantry can claim a decent living but Bessarabia is a mocking contrast to Banat where 80 per cent of the peasantry are proletariats.

The land reform was an achievement of the Liberal Party and this party represented the commercial class, small gentry and bourgeoisie. Against the liberals stood the conservatives guarding the interests of the landed aristocracy. The liberals had no sympathy or community

of interests with the peasantry. The land reform was introduced only to outrank the political opponents. The economic policy of the Liberal Government was inspired by the necessity of completing the industrialisation of Rumania at the cost of the peasantry. Export duties upon agricultural products were levied and there was total absence of cheap credit. In 1926 the National party was brought into being and this ended the Liberal regime. Promises of speedy economic reform and representative democracy came to nothing and the world crisis shortened the days of the National Government. In the election of 1933 the Liberals polled the largest number and Liberal Government was re-installed. In succeeding years Rumania witnessed the rise of the "Iron Guards." It was the party of the middle-class intellectuals, university students and the orthodox priests. Nursed on anti-semitism the "Iron Guard" elicited quick response from the commercial section that was jealous of Jewish prosperity. The Rumanian peasantry looked for a revolution that would end the life of poverty and degradation. To them the "Iron Guard" was the symbol of revolution and the hope of new life. The "Iron Guard" revelled in terrorism and proved a menace to the peace of Rumania. Rumania developed friendly attitude towards Germany and German influence in Rumania is evidenced in the trade balance. In 1935 German exports to Rumania amounted to 2543 million lei and this outnumbered other countries. The slow process of German penetration in Rumania might have resulted in the acquisition of minerals. Rumania is rich in salt, copperores, petroleum, natural gas and Hitler needed these.

On his return from London in 1938 King Carol took to totalitarian methods and stamped out the "Iron Guard." The "Iron Guard" became a movement of the discontented intellectuals and the possibility of its developing into a mass movement was annulled. But the question of the peasantry remained unsolved and discontentment was growing. The "Social Service," under the inspiration of professor,

Mahatma Gandhi on Lords' Debate

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement.

"A copy of Reuter's summary of the Lords debate on Indian affairs has been shown to me. Perhaps silence on my part at this juncture would be a distinct disservice both to India and England. I maintain that the Congress is an all-inclusive body. Without offence to anybody it can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half a century, without a rival, the vast masses of India, irrespective of class or creed. It has not a single interest opposed to that of the Mussalmans or that of the people of the states. Recent years have shown unmistakably that the Congress represents beyond doubt the interests of the people of the states. It is that organisation, which has asked for a clear definition of the British intentions. If the British are fighting for the freedom of all, then their representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and by them alone. Surely it is wrong for Lord Zetland to complain as he does, though in gentle terms, that the Congress should at this juncture when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, ask for a clear declaration of British intentions. I suggest that the Congress had done nothing strange or less than honourable in asking for such declaration. Only a free India's help is of value. And, the Congress has every right to know that it can go to the people and tell them that at the end of the war, India's status as an independent country is as much assured as that of Great Britain. As a friend of the British I, therefore, appeal to English statesmen that they will forget the old language and open a chapter for all.

Gusti came to stay. Its scope is wide and includes social, cultural, and political bodies working for the well-being of the peasantry. It is a feeble attempt to ward off the inevitable social revolution. Of economic relief, the Social Service has nothing to offer and only the rich peasantry can be benefited by it. Nothing short of a Social Revolution can solve the problems of Rumania.

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GANDHIJI'S AHIMSA

By "SCRUTINAX"

The strongest psychological appeal of Gandhiji's *ahimsa* is in its claim to an Indian content. From the oldest vedic saints, Buddha, Mahavira and the Vaisnava preachers, non-violent tradition has been an unbroken heritage of the Indian soil. But in two fundamental respects Gandhiji's gospel breaks from the olden varieties. Firstly, it does not thrive on renunciation. Gandhiji's Truth is rarely abstract spiritualism and more often travels in the material region of rights and interests. Secondly, the doctrine has been transferred from the domain of theology and social ethics and tried in regard to the more complicated problems of politics and state. The ideas of raising human struggles even over material issues from a material to a spiritual plane and of non-violent resistance against aggression or for redress are essentially Gandhian and have no precedents whether in India or elsewhere.

By refusing to co-operate with the tyrant, the resister brings suffering on himself until the tyrant is convinced of his wrongs,—this is the logic of *ahimsa*. Unhappily rules of conduct which well serve men, may not serve institutions. The tyrant is not always hit by resistance. He is entrenched within a protective buffer of other elements fitted in an elaborate machinery of exploitation and the shock passes over this outer girdle. The boycott starves the labour of Lancashire before it can touch its phoneholders. When non-realisation of taxes and huge police expenditure necessitates retrenchment, the axe works from the bottom and the upper civil service suffers only a small wage-cut towards the end.

The paradox in the Gandhian brand of *ahimsa* has been exposed by the attitudes of the author on successive political problems. For an Abyssinia or a Zecho-slovakia the best means to resist an aggressor are *ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*, but for England and France these nootrams are not prescribed and their armed invasion is supported "from the purely humanitarian standpoint." In the "priceless Laboratory" of Rajkot bringing external pressure, even the moral pressure of a fast, instead of depen-

ding solely on god, is "an act of pure violence" which wrecks the peoples' movement (Harijan, 24-6-39), but in Bombay with the punitive resources of a provincial Government to back prohibition need not wait till the rich should relent spontaneously and they may be made to undergo "some sacrifice" for the poor.

The riddle would be resolved if it was admitted that circumstances rule the conduct. But the *ahimsa* is not a brood of compulsion,—the weapon not of the weak but of the strong." This central thesis in Gandhiji's politico-ethical blend leads him into a melee of contradictions. In his correspondences with S. J. Bose after Tipuri, he repeatedly emphasised that the country was not ready for a struggle. Starting from this premise the question of supporting or opposing Britain during the war does not arise. Now his *ahimsa* demands suspension of struggle and unconditional support to Britain while she is fighting for a good cause.

Since it is only the resister who suffers, *ahimsa* is acclaimed as the safest method and the surest guarantee of human freedom. "Science of non-violence can alone lead to pure democracy." (Harijan, 15.10.38) Violence is contagious, it recoils, "what is gained by sword will also be lost by sword" (statement 30-8-39). But is suffering a measure of the worth and duration of an achievement? The advocates of violence have passed through a fiery ordeal which has not paid. And the apprehended reactions of a violent movement are really the reactions of a struggle. One eight year boy chooses the Gandhian way to bring his schoolmaster to the path of rectitude. The fitful fasts and mimic *Satyagrahas* have often been a nuisance and evoked devastating condemnation from the prophet himself. For the safety of method and durability of achievement, the crucial tests are discipline and team work,—not violence or non-violence.

The derivative meaning of *ahimsa* is absence of ill-will. It is a restriction on man's free will. The correct action is that which springs from this right and regulated will. Non-injury has no place

in the connotation of *ahimsa* and in its interpretation in the Geeta Gandhiji's *ahimsa* demands goodwill and mental discipline but taboos action too. While in its intellectual and emotional appeal it falls far short of the Geeta, in its collective application it is equally dangerous and capable of abuse.

Pandit Jawaharlal noticed and deplored this fact in his autobiography and Gandhiji himself confessed lately that he was "responsible for cowards hiding under cover of non-violence."

Between these radical and reactionary distortions, the pathetic Mahatma "ploughs a lonely furrow." "A lonely furrow" indeed! For even his closest disciples grope like Alice in his Wonderland. To justify the 'New Technique', Dr. Patabhi has no other language than to commit that his task was to buttress with logic and reason what Gandhiji decided by instinct and that this task demanded unquestioning faith in Gandhism. One feels like living back in the age of Bacon and the schoolmen of the ecclesiastics.

The Left and the socialist believe in the tactic of non-violence, not in the doctrine of *ahimsa*. Violence is discarded so far as it feeds on feverish excitement, spends itself in abortive actions and ends with disruption and a set-back. Non-violence is accepted because it helps the fight on. It is not a condition of fight and hence not destined to be everlasting. Masses groaning under economic deprivation, with whom the recovery of their rights is the rationale of the struggle, cannot be taught to a benign love for the the evil-doer. None the less, they have to be trained to non-violence. That non-violence is now the accepted technique for the freedom's battle is Gandhiji's unique triumph and contribution. It ill serves him and his apostles to fame and fret if in the hand of new convents *ahimsa* has become more flexible and rationalised.

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PLACE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

Dr. J. C. SINHA'S ADDRESS

"The corporate life of our villages which bound up the prosperity of all inhabitants intimately together, has been rudely shaken. The problem of cottage industries is the re-establishment of this corporate life." Thus said Prof. Dr. J. C. Sinha, Senior Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta, in the course of a most illuminating and informative address delivered at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture.

Two types of Cottage Industries

Prof. Sinha began by showing the difference between two types of cottage industries those producing articles of ordinary village consumption, and those producing art-ware and luxury goods. He ascribed the decline of the second mainly to the loss of patronage by the State and the nobility, and to the weakening of the Indian guild system, which had hitherto maintained traditional excellence. Competition with machine-made goods had, in his opinion effected the first, and not so much the second.

Continuing Dr. Sinha said:—"To say that the finest type of Dacca muslins has been killed by my machine competition is as incorrect as to say that the famous Kashmere shawl industry has been ruined by cheap German stuffs or that photography has killed oil-painting." He also pointed out that machine products frequently supplied raw materials to cottage industries e.g. yarns, brass sheets.

History of Cottage Industries

Prof. Sinha traced the history and reviewed the present position of hand-spinning, handloom-weaving silk-weaving and sericultural industries, and gave many interesting facts and important statistics in this connection. He was dubious about the success of hand-spinning, but was of opinion that there was no reason why cotton and silk weaving should not succeed. He showed that these were not entirely killed by misrule and misgovernment after the death of Aurangzeb; the high and arbitrary inland duties, the oppression under the East India Company, 'dadani' system, the heavy

duties on Indian goods exported to Great Britain, the Industrial Revolution in England, the various decrees of Napoleon shutting out Indian products from the European markets, the extension of railways in India permitting entry of cheap foreign goods into the remote interior, and finally the setting up of cotton mills in India itself catering to the special needs and tastes of the home market.

He also elicited the remarkable fact that the 'per capita' consumption of handloom cotton goods had 'increased' from 3.33 yards in 1913-14 to 4.03 yards in 1936-37. Indian mills supplied 4.38 yards and 9.38 yards per head in those two years, the corresponding contributions by foreign countries being 9.78 and 2.13 yards respectively. Thus the progress of Indian mills service has been mainly at the expense of British and Japanese mills, and not so much at the expense of Indian handlooms.

Difficulties and their solution

Prof. Sinha briefly referred to other cottage industries and pointed out the following main difficulties:—(a) insufficient capital and indebtedness of artisans, (b) want of proper facilities for marketing, (c) inefficiency and conservatism of the workers, and (d) want of cheap power. He showed that these difficulties were not insuperable, and suggested co-operation, financial assistance by Government better marketing facilities, spread of industrial and general education, linking up of cottage industries with factories and extension of cheap electrical power to the countryside. He exploded the prevalent notion that cottage industries are necessarily doomed in the present age of machines, and showed that the decline of small industries in Germany and Russia, for instance, was due to causes not present in India. On the contrary, there were in India economic factors such as the urgent necessity for providing spare time occupation to numerous and scattered agriculturists with small and fragmentary holdings,

Working Committee's Statement

SARDAR SARDUL SINGH

On Want Of Lead

"Whenever any important occasion has arisen instead of giving a clear lead to the country the Congress has pleased itself spinning conundrums which may mean anything, everything and nothing". This is how Sardar Sardul Singh Cavceshar, ex-Member of the Congress Working Committee and President of the Punjab 'Forward Bloc' summed up his views on the Working Committee Statement on the War.

He added: "The Communal Award in its hands turned into a proposal which could neither be accepted nor rejected. It was anti-national but in practice could be utilised as forming the basis of national ministries in the provinces. The new provincial constitution was not worthy of any co-operation but it was to be wrecked only by working it as God's blessing. And now the committee's one week's deliberation on the war situation have given us a statement which is none better than Chinese 'chop sui,' hotch-potch of unconscious saintly casuistry, super-Hitlerian studied duplicity and ethereal inanities mixed with Marxian verbosity. The resolution may look very clever and eloquent, but for all practical purposes it gives no lead to the country except telling that you can run as well with the hare as hunt with the hounds."

"The Congress leaders often parade their adherence to the principles of truth and non-violence. Indians naturally expect from them a clear cut reply to the question whether under the present circumstances they should fight for the British. An honest mind shall easily reply one way or the other to such a simple proposition but we are regaled with a crossword puzzle which having as many solutions as the number of people who apply their mind to it, can satisfy nobody."

and social factors such as the 'purdah' system which clearly pointed to the need for developing and extending cottage industries.

He came to the conclusion that such special measures in aid of cottage industries were not to be compared with the administration of oxygen to a dying patient.

BOOK REVIEW

Problems of Democracy in India—By S. Srinivasha Iyengar.

The term "Democracy" has been tortured to yield up a variety of meanings. According to Maine, democracy is just a form of government. Dr. Jenks thinks that it is something more than that, it is an attitude towards life. For Mr. Iyengar it is, as the traditional Greek thoughts indicate, "Sovereignty of the people" (P. 11), but when he talks of "democracy in India" and means thereby what is better known as "provincial autonomy"—that curious creature of the Constitution Act—it becomes obvious that the phrase has been employed a bit loosely. "Sovereignty of the Indian people" he has not meant, for that is *non est*. There can be no democracy in a state of subjection; it is only as a certain attitude of the people towards life that one may legitimately talk of any democracy in India. But this is not Mr. Iyengar's subject of discussion; it is the Constitution Act he discusses. The shadow is not the substance, and labels do not determine the essence of things. We have indeed a caricature of democracy in India in the shape of provincial autonomy, but that is not the real thing.

The ideal of democracy has, according to Mr. Iyengar, emerged "as a vital psychological need of organised mankind." But history tells us that 'bourgeois' democracy—the 'normal' democracy (P. 13) of Mr. Iyengar—had its origin in the needs of the capitalist mode of production and that 'Soviet' democracy has emerged out of the proletarian revolution, and the needs of the socialist mode of production.

In fact, Mr. Iyengar appears nowhere to have analysed things in the light of latest developments in political thought. As a result, he has lost hold on life's realities in most matters, as is evident from his treatment of "the lingering distrust of democracy in states professing them", of the "party system," of the importance of the "racial nexus" and so many other things. Mr. Iyengar has not thought it necessary to explain the distrust of democracy in "the authors of constitutions and leaders of democracies," because with all his learning and acute intellect, he cannot discard that old academic

illusion that the state represents the organised will of the people. But the state does not represent the organised will of the people. *State means class-rule*, and 'bourgeois' democracy implies a certain form of bourgeois class-rule, just as 'Soviet' democracy implies a certain form of proletarian class-rule. The 'people' in bourgeois democracies are allowed to participate in the Government only so long as and to the extent that the vital interests of the ruling class are not seriously jeopardised by the participation. This is why bourgeois leaders and constitution makers betray the distrust of democracy that Mr. Iyengar has rightly noted.

Mr. Iyengar stands very much opposed to parties and is a staunch advocate of some sort of "national government" by which he means, government by persons who would not owe allegiance to, or act under the instructions of, any party. According to him, the party system of government is one of the causes of the collapse of democracy and the rise of fascism. He is, in this connection, all admiration for the National Government of Great Britain, though every student of current history knows that this very 'non-party' government of Great Britain has been responsible for a good number of undemocratic, fascist measures. But here we are discussing Mr. Iyengar's idea of the party system of government and not British politics. Mr. Iyengar has unfortunately nowhere defined a party, though it happens to form an important part of his discussion. This much is however clear that, for him, a party must have no direct reference to class-interests, that in fact, there are no class-contradictions in society. Life teaches us something contrary to Mr. Iyengar's academic view of society. A conservative supporter of bourgeois democracy, he would have any party which is out to seize

power in the state banned, but would very generously allow parties formed for "winning swaraj or complete independence" (Doesn't that mean seizing state-power?) or for "upholding civil liberties" to live. What then all his enthusiasm for non-party government, all his jeremiads about the party-system, and love of democracy, amount to? We are afraid, they amount to: beyond an essentially conservative bourgeois democracy, not a step further must India take. This is an unfortunate conclusion.

Mr. Iyengar is a staunch believer in the political importance of the racial nexus which is, according to him, "a mystic force," "a unifier" of man. "The contemporary resurgence of nationality and race all over the world is due to its inherent strength and to an instinctive appreciation of its values," writes Mr. Iyengar. But we are not aware of any great awakening of 'racial' feelings anywhere save, perhaps, in Hitler's Germany, nor can we agree with him that it is on "the rock" of racial feelings of the German people (P. 79) or their "will" (P. 15) that Hitler has built up his structure. So racial feelings, instead of 'unifying' a people, lead to civil wars?—Spain and China have had civil wars within the last few years and the spectre of civil war haunts every imperialist country, not excluding Germany. We are not inclined, like Mr. Iyengar, to set aside lightly the considered opinion of the 'Scientists and writers' who deride the claims of race as "interested propaganda."

Mr. Iyengar's discussion of "Indian democracy" i. e. provincial autonomy, or of the proposed federal centre, lacks concreteness. The book is written in a brevity of style of which Mr. Iyengar is a master; in its own way it is thoughtful too and therefore deserves study.

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Sd/ Subhas Chandra Bose.

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Letters To The Editor

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

To

The Editor, Forward Bloc

SIR,

War has broken out in Europe and as a consequence of it conflagration may gradually spread throughout the length and breadth of the world which now resounds with danking of swords, the clattering of guns and the boomings of canons. Greed, avarice, passion, land-hunger, capitalistic exploitation and bellicose patriotism are the root causes of war. "Man is himself responsible" it has been well said for his miseries, he cannot protest where protest is necessary."

The dependency of India is undoubtedly one of the contributory causes of war. Though India is a dependent country, yet she will automatically have to figure in the tragic drama of a world conflagration. The late Rev. Sunderland, who was a friend of India, and a staunch supporter of India's freedom, was of opinion that subjugated India is an apple of discord among different nations of the world. A letter written to him by Lala Lajpat Rai also dwells on this very important aspect of the international problem. Here is a relevant extract from that letter. "The problem of India, that is, the problem whether great India is to be free or slave, is not only an important problem to Great Britain, but it is one of the gravest possible concern to the whole World. *It is a question upon which, more perhaps than upon any other whatsoever, the future peace of Asia, Europe and the whole World depends*"

India is such a huge slice of the earth and contains such an immense population, that no person interested in World affairs can ignore its importance. India's human potentialities of all kinds are very great. Commercially it is strategic for nearly half the globe. It is the key to Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the Orient. This is why militarism and imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed. This is why India has inspired Alexanders, Tamerlanes,

Napoleons, Czars and Kaisers with visions of world empire.

India in the future will continue to be an apple of discord among the nations—source of endless plottings, jealousies, intrigues and wars, so long as she remains a subject people, a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety and the only promise of peace and safety for the Orient or for Europe lie in her freedom; in her ceasing to be a power on the chess board of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalistic plottings, and in her power to protect herself, a power which she would abundantly possess, if free. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace to the world, so long as a great nation, located in the very centre of the world as greatest continent and possessing one fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage.

India is wholly for democracy. She has denounced from the core of her heart Italy's aggression and chemical warfare against Ethiopia. She sympathises with China, for Nippon has let loose the blood hounds of war on China, the possessor of a primitive civilization with a pristine glory. The heart of India goes out for the suffering millions of Poland. She heartily desires the triumph of democracy, that is why she wants it for herself.

S. BISWAS.

Dream of the Morrow

SIR,

The war has evidently brought to every paper many epistles from people expressing different views on world situation now and hereafter. Rightly they are all in favour of democracy and condemn Hitlerism. Editorials in papers also give flashing comments in favour of democracy. But is not democracy really a Babel of tongues? It has been described as Government for the people of the people and by the people. But the most serious defect of democracy is that it results in the predominance of the majority; the minority automatically goes by default. There should be some sort of planning for the future for which socialism is absolutely necessary. Only that can usher in true democracy.

My conception of the ideal world is that it will be ruled by the people, with one common thought and objective in view—the welfare and happiness of humanity as a whole. A world with no boundaries and no flags, no race, religious and national classification or snobbery of any kind—a world in which one's country is merely a province, along with all other countries, which are now nations. A world in which the humanity itself is a mighty nation, with its citizens living in harmony. This can only be achieved by an united effort by each and every man on the score of race, religion and colour. That is the world federation of tomorrow. Will the termination of the present war ultimately bring that millenium? Who knows?

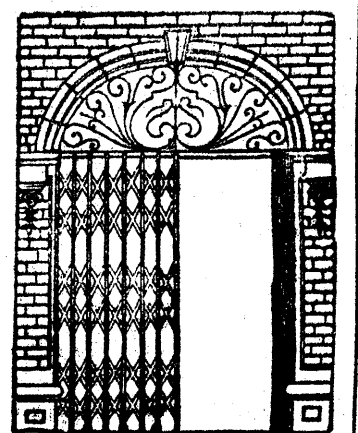
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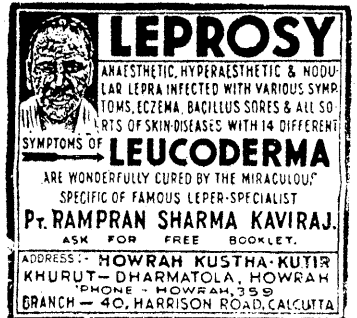
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