Insure with—
INDUSTRIAL
&
PRUDENTIAL
Assurance Co., Ltd.
Calcutta Office—
12, Dalhousie Sq.

FORWARD BLOG

FOLLOW
The World Affairs
on a

PHILCO

World's fastest selling radios Sole Distributors

Radio Supply Store Ltd. 3, Dalhousie Sq. 'Calcutta.

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :-- SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 13

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY NOVEMBER 4, 1939

ONE ANNA

SHILPA PEETH LIMITED

Manufacturers:

BRASS: PAD SPIRIT STOVES
VAPOUR SPIRIT STOVES
KEROSENE TABLE LAMPS
FLEXIBLE BED LAMPS

Durable, Unique and Swadeshi



Specialists in:

SHEET METAL WORKING
DIES OF ALL DESCRIPTION
LET US HAVE YOUR
REQUIREMENTS OR SAMPLES.

Quality, Reliability and Precision

Whole Life Rs. 12/-

-BONUS-

Endowment Rs. 10/-

BHAGYA LAKSHMI

INSURANCE LTD.

OBLIGATIONS OF NEW INSURANCE ACT MET We shall have our own Building soon.

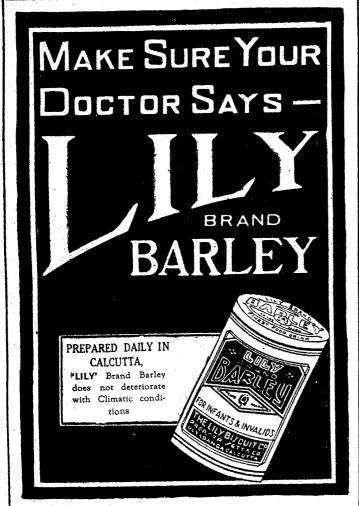
Head Office: -3/1, MANGOE LANE, CALCUTTA.

Phone. Cal. 2748.

LOANS FOR ALL: -with or without Security Repayable by 100 equal monthly instalments and other Banking transactions of all descriptions. Apply to-

ASIATIC BANK LTD., H. O. KARACHI OR 15, Clive St., Calcutta.

FORWARD BLOC: COLLECTED VOLUME: 241





Peoples' Industrial BANK —LOANS— LTD.

ON GOLD, JEWELLERY, INS. POLICY GOVT. PAPER AND BILLS ETC.

31, DHARAMTALA STREET

Phone Cal. 324

FOR SERVICE & SECURITY

EAST BENGAL BANK

ESTABLISHED 1923. LTD.

HEAD OFFICE

102-1, CLIVE ST. CALCUTTA.

Phone Cal-4989

Po. Box No-518 Cal.

Branches at :-

Barisal, Brahmanbaria, Chittagong, Dacca,

Karimganj, Mirkadim, Narayanganj,

Silchar & Sylhet.

Agencies at -

All important Trade Centres of Bengal & Assam.

Managing Director:—

KSHETTER MOHAN ROY, B.L., M.L.C. (Ex.)

HANTLY PALMERS

MACHINE MADE

ARROWROOT

UNTOUCHED BY HAND

BEST FOR

For The Sick and INVALID

CHILDREN

Made in England SOLE DISTRIBUTORS (BENGAL)

ROY MITRA & CO.

20-A, Kali Prasad Chakravarty Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.



PHONE CAL 891.

for Typewriters

Globe Typewriter Co..

10, Clive Row, Calcutta.

HOMOEOPATHIC MEDICINES

DRAM 5 & 6 PICE

American Homeopathic and Biochemic medicines. Sugar of Milk, Globules, Phials, Velvet Corks, Card-board cases, English, Bengali, Hindi Books and all sorts of medical sundries at the cheapest rate.

Hahnneman Thermometer ... -|12|-

B. C. DHAR & BROS., LTD., 81, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA.

FORWARD BLOC: COLLECTED VOLUME: 242

FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4

Looking Back

Last week we tried to do a bit of heart-searching. This week we shall attempt to look back and take stock of the changes on the political chess-board since last year. We shall then endeavour to dive into the future and to comprehend the role we have yet to play.

It will be remembered that at the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Haripura in February, 1938, the most important resolution adopted was that pertaining to the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. The policy enunciated therein was one of uncompromising hostility to the proposed Federation. At that time it was seriously apprehended that the British Government would force Federation down our unwilling throats and the extraordinary interest evinced by H. E. the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in the Federal Scheme lent colour to this apprehension. As the months rolled by, many of us began to feel that the acceptance of ministerial office in the provinces had begun to demoralise a section of Congressmen by engendering a purely constitutionalist mentality in them. Simultaneously, one began to get reports of insidious attempts being made by the agents of the the British Government to canvass support for the Federal Scheme either in its original form or with certain modifications. Consequently, in July 1938, I felt constrained to draw public attention to the danger of a compromise with British Imperialism over that Scheme. I added that I felt so strongly over that issue that if by any chance the Congress by a majority approved of a compromise over the Federal Scheme, I would deem it my duty to resign the Presidentship of the Congress and

initiate a campaign against it. This statement caused annoyance in Gandhian circles—not so much because of my strong views on Federation, but because of the clear hint given therein that a decision by a majority over such an allimportant problem would not necessarily gag the minority or reduce it to inaction. This was perhaps the beginning of the storm that was subsequently to break out. It appeared strange to me that while no annoyance or embarassment was caused Gandhian circles by the utterances of certain Rightist Congressmen openly advocating acceptance of a modified Federal Scheme in defiance of the Congress policy of uncompromising opposition, my statement which was more in line with that policy was regarded with disfavour and annoyance. As a matter of fact, we Leftists could not help noticing that in spite of the clear and unequivocal stand taken by the Congress on the issue of Federation, which was the burning problem of the day, a strenuous campaign against it was never launched by any of the Rightist leaders.

In October, 1938, at a Conference of Congress Ministers of Industries held at Delhi and presided over by myself, it was unanimously decided to appoint a National Planning Committee. Though several prominent members of the Congress Working Committee, including the General Secretary, were present there and no one struck a discordant note, circles in close touch with Mahatma Gandhi disapproved of this step and regarded the National Planning Committee as a menace to the aims and objects of the Village Industries Association which was a creation of Mahatma Gandhi. Some went so far as to opine that the National Planning Committee would undo the lifework of the Mahatma. Another item was thereupon added in the charge-sheet against me.

Since my July pronouncement on Federation the political situation in India and abroad was undergoing a change and many of us began to feel that Federation was no longer an immediate danger for our people. It was quite on the cards that the British Government would in its

own interest shelve Federation for a number of years till the international tension was eased. Thereby the Government would lose nothing. From their standpoint, Provincial autonomy was working satisfactorily and at the Centre, the old autocratic Government was also running smoothly. If the inauguration of Federation meant popular resistance and perhaps a Civil Disobedience Movement at a time when the international horizon was so clouded, the Government would in fact stand to gain by postponing Federation. The problem for India then would be as to what we should do if the postponement did really take place.

I mooted this question publicly in November last year when I toured a part of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Ideclared emphatically that if the British Government chose to shelve the Federal Scheme, we could not postpone the national struggle till the day when Federation would once again become a live issue. We should raise the issue of India's National Demand ourselves—give the British Government time to reply to it—and meanwhile prepare for the eventuality that the Demand may at first be turned down. The mass response to this suggestion was enthusiastic but it did not move the Rightist leaders at all and later on, was even ridiculed by them. Nevertheless, the Bengal Provincial Conference at its annual session at Jalpaiguri in February, 1939, adopted a resolution on these lines and a certain amount of propaganda was carried on with a view to popularising it.

Towards the end of January, 193., the election of the Congress President for the year took place. The decision to offer myself for re-election was an act of daredevilry, the majority of Congressmen being of the view that the chances of success were remote. My justification for standing was the belief that by doing so I would strengthen the anti-Federationist cause, no matter what the result of the contest might There is no doubt that the result while it brought disappointment to the Rightists, sent a thrill of joy and self-confidence to all Leftists in the country. "Federation is now as dead as a door-nail"-was the

universal comment on my reelection. "The work of twenty years has been undone overnight"—was the remark at Wardha.

But the Gandhians* were not to be discomfited so easily. Mahatma Gandhi was stirred to activity, proclaiming to the world (and quite wrongly, in my humble opinion) that Dr. Pattabhi's defeat was his own defeat. The Party machinery set to work with full force and preparations were made for a battle royal at the annual session of the Congress which was to meet at Tripuri in March last.

In my Presidential speech at Tripuri I pleaded for a bold policy including the presentation of India's National Demand to the British Government, fixation of a time-limit of six months for a reply and preparation for all eventualities during the intervening period. My suggestions received scant attention. The question of Swaraj receded to the background and the one thought and endeavour of the Gandhiites was to avenge their defeat at the Presidential election, about which they were optimistic, having won over Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the meantime. They succeeded, but at what cost to the national cause, we can now realise.

After the Tripuri Congress the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta towards the end of April last. The main problem before that Committee was the formation of the Working Committee (or Cabinet) of Congress. As the public already know, when I was not allowed to have a composite Cabinet consisting of both Rightists and Leftists with the inclusion of some fresh blood, I resigned. Till then, the Left-movement in the country was being conducted on the basis of co-operation with the Right. At Calcutta, the latter definitely took the stand that a composite Cabinet was unworkable. and that cooperation between the Left and Right Wings was no longer possible. There were then but two courses open to us-either to surrender to the Right or to

stand on our own legs and organise the Left. I chose the latter course.

But why? It was clear from the correspondence I had with Mahatma Gandhi after the Tripuri Congress that there was no hope of the Right Wing leading a national struggle. Consequently a surrender to the Right Wing meant a surrender to constitutionalism and to compromise with British Imperialism. My final submission to the Mahatma was that if he would stand for a struggle, we would sink our differences and line up behind him. His reply disappointed us and the Forward Bloc had to be launched.

The three-fold task of the Forward Bloc was—(1) Left-consolidation (2) Establishment of real and effective unity within the Congress and (3) Resumption of the National Struggle in the name of the Congress. This three-fold task was popularised by us throughout the country. But we were charged with creating disruption and split. The fact was that the real disruptors were the Rightists who refused to cooperate with the Leftists and thereby forced them to attempt Left-Consolidation in isolation from the Right.

Left-consolidation was the natural antithesis to Right-consolidation which had been going on for the last two years. There was no objection to Right-consolidation and no voice was raised when the Gandhi Seva Sangha was transformed into a political party. But when the Forward Bloc was formed and Left-consolidation was attempted, the cry of disruption and disunity was raised.

According to the Forward Bloc, the existing programme of the Congress in so far as it is beneficial to the national cause, has to be worked with a dynamic spirit. Over and above that, a supplementary programme is needed to prepare the country for all eventualities. And in order to work either programme, a fighting mentality is essentially necessary instead of a constitutionalist mentality. It is one's mentality which supplies the motive-power to all his activities.

Various criticisms have been made against the Forword Bloc and its

programme—some genuine and some malafide. Now, no human institution can claim infallibility, hence, the Forward Bloc cannot be free from shortcomings either. But the point is—Has any better alternative or substitute been suggested whereby we can attain our national objective most speedily and with the minimum sacrifice? If such an alternative be proposed, we shall gladly accept it. After all, the Forward Bloc is for the Cause and not the Cause for the Forward Bloc. But we are afraid no better substitute can be offered.

Looking back on past events, one cannot help observing how different things would have been today if our suggestions of the past had been duly accepted and given effect to. Six months after the Tripuri Congress, war broke out in Europe and India was dragged into it. The whole world had prepared for the crisis which has overtaken us, but not the Indian National Congress. Such incompetent leadership can rarely be found any where in the world.

Even after the outbreak of war, leaders have been cogitating and cogitating. There is hesitation, vacillation and weakness at every step. The resolution of the Haripura and Tripuri Congress have been forgotten. If they had not been, then we would have seen—not hesitation an inaction, but decision and action.

Have we yet to realise that pilgrimages to New Delhi will not bring us to our goal? The key to Swaraj will not be found there but in our own souls.

But if you needs must cogitate, then consider for a moment what the situation would have been today if the legacy of the late Vithalbhai Patel of revered memory had been properly utilised and India had set up unofficial embassies throughout the world. But perhaps to some people, more important than Swaraj is the drive against the Left and the vendetta against certain individuals.

Subhas Chandra Bose.

^{*} The terms Gandhian and Rightist are interchangeable when we talk of Congressmen.

Soviet Diplomacy

That M. Molotov's eagerly awaited speech has been rather vague in its implications, is amply borne out by the fact that it has lent itself to various interpretations according to particular standpoints of the different parties. The British Press has almost with one voice characterised it as a "disappointment for Hitler." Mr. Chamberlain too, in his recent speech in the House of Commons has been constrained to give it the same description. The French Press comments, hitherto available, have practically said ditto to it. On the other hand, the German News Agency states that M. Molotov's speech, instead of damping Germany, "has made an excellent impression in political circles in this country." Where lies the truth in these conflicting views?

It has been well said that there are three sides of a question, instead of two: the two interested parties', and the disinterested observer's. Let us analyse the speech from the third point of view. What are the cardinal points in it? In the first place, according to the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, Russia stands committed to the position of neutrality as long as Germany is participating in war. In the second place, Russia will continue and strengthen its friendly relations with Germany and extend practical co-operation to it. In the third place, there can be no question of restoration of old Poland. And fourthly, (this is the most crucial point) the war is not being waged on "ideological" grounds; as a matter of fact, the motive of Britain and France does not lie in the triumph of any ideology, but in their profoundly material interests as mighty colonial powers. There is, besides, in Molotov's speech a fling at America for getting itself involved in Soviet-Finnish negotiations, inspite of its declared neutrality and an ill-concealed boast that while the United States had withheld independence to Philippines, Russia made Finland free as early as 1917.

It is quite clear from the points mentioned above that Molotov does not share the professed views of the Allies in regard to the aims

of the war. He does not believe that England and France have taken a plunge into it in order to make the world safe for democracy and peace. He seems to be definitely of opinion that British and French imperialism are almost equally hateful and subversive of freedom and peace in the world as Nazi fascism. Break the shell of the both and the essence that will come out will appear as almost identical—the land-grabbing propensity and exploitation of the weaker peoples.

The question that naturally arises in this connection is: if this be the attitude of Russia, then why did it formerly carry on protracted negotiations with Britain and France for building up a popular front against the Axis powers? If Russia is now eager to propup and strengthen Germany, why did its leaders rant and rave against the latter so long? Does not Russia's present conduct afford a glaring instance of inconsistency and opportunism? In the answers to these questions lies the secret of the Soviet's diplomatic game. Russia, as has been noted before, is convinced that both fascism and imperialism are dire evils and should go out so that humanity may be prepared for a healthier order of things. The cumbersome debris must be cleansed in order that the ground may be fit for a better harvest. So instead of taking the field and striking the blow, Russia has chosen to sit on the fence for the present, leaving fascism and imperialism to wear themselves out in a deadly conflict. An isolated and weak Germany would fall an easy prey to the combined strength of the Allies. So Russia is helping it on to stand up as long as both the Allies and Germany are not thoroughly exhausted and finally crumble. That is the crux of Soviet diplomacy; beneath all the vagueness, verbiage and circumlocution in M. Molotov's speech the above interpretationand that only--rings out as unmistakably true.

But Russia is not sitting idle. By resorting to this diplomatic game, it is steadily spreading its influence over wide areas without having to shed as yet a single drop of blood. Part of Poland has already passed under its sphere of influence; it is making a rapid headway in the Baltic and Balkan territories. Russia has not yet found it necessary to take a leap into the fray, but how long will it be able to keep off from it? M. Molotov has not only affirmed that Poland is a closed issue—an echo of Hitler's earlier peroration—but has gone further and with superb cleverness put forth the demand on behalf of Germany that the colonies which the inequitable Versailles had snatched away from it should be restored. But it is inconceivable that France and Britain will give up their status quo until worn out to the point of utter helplessness. Besides, the Allies and America cannot view with equanimity the growing power of Russia in Europe. So the prospect of returning peace seems at present to be remote; on the contrary, there is every chance that the conflagration will grow bigger in magnitude and consequently far more devastating in its effects.

The most important aspect of M. Molotov's speech is that it has pricked the bubble of Allies' lofty professions. It has torn down the veil and laid bare the truth of the situation. His references to Britain and France have been characterised by Mr. Chamberlain as "flight of fancy." "We stand for the cause of peace" the British Premier has repeated, perhaps for the hundredth time "and for the prevention of any sort of development of aggression." But have Britain and France taken off the shackles of bondage from colonies and dependencies? That is the surest way of proving the bonafides of their professions and belieing Molotov's contention. Otherwise, there is no sense in indulging in the complacent glee, which is nothing more than a propagandist pose, that Russia is not prepared to give Germany anything more than mere words. It is clear that a new order for the world, based on complete self-determination of nations and social justice within nations themselves, is in the making. If it is ushered in without much bloodshed, well and good. 'If not, the war is bound to continue in a far bigger and

stiffer from. Studied carefully and deeply, M. Molotov's speech will be found to provide that immensely significant pointer.

Current Comments

Delhi is not Far Away

No, Delhi is no longer far away, whatever the old adage may say. We to-day can train off to Delhi from North and South, East and West-with the help of the conveyances of this machine age. So, there has been another trek to Delhi. And, we are sure, there will be no cause for a 'profound disappointment' later on. Delhi, we shall find, is come closer to Wardha. Words will not be wanting to assuage the bruised hearts and assurances will be voluminous enough to remove all past misgivings. We shall realize that the promised land flowing with milk and honey has been there, always ours, since those August days of 1917; only we, the Lord's hosts, would not unite and march on. And, naturally after the 'difficulties' are fully apprehended, what can we in reason do but to try all formulae for unity as in the Round Table Conference, and sit around the Consultation Committee as those talks fail in all seriousness sharing the grave and mighty responsibility of shaping the British Indian war policy for evolving a 'new world order.' And after the warthe Heaven of Dominion Status, if the key to unity is forged by that time. Meanwhile, when Consultation Committee is assured to be a real thing, and, even the Viceregal Council may accomodate our representatives, what should we in the provinces do? Should we still prolong the period in wilderness and neglect to finish our valuable work of wrecking the constitution there?

Commentaries

Commentaries are more important than texts, Time does not wear off the texts, these are hallowed with commentaries so that the texts become dead. In India, a land of scholasticism, the bhasya is our string point. A Wardha text can therefore never go by itself. Its ostentatious bareness is not allowed even by Wardha to go without a notice; and, then these bhasyas multiply. Thus the Wardha war text—not the one that was to give 'a lead to the world', but the one that expressed

the deep disappointment -has been elucidated with commentaries. The authorised version from Wardha warns against unauthorised action. We must purge our very human heart of all thoughts of violence even in personal activities and then we must purify this organ of popular will, the Congress, with unity and discipline and spinning. If the resolution was expected to lead logically to action, that logic is at fault. We have logic of our own, which upholds unity by denying united leadership, which strengthens discipline by encouraging the Secretary of the organisation to conspire against the President. So, the war resolutions of the vears were not taken notice of by our Sardar. And, as the fundamentals are given the go by, the bhasyas come to the fore. The War is not the war we spoke of: the war is no imperialist war: 'uon-violent co-operation' in a war like this would not compromise the precious virtue, when it is a creed with us, and not a policy or principle. The Wardha interpretation of the resolution is now being circulated throughout the land. Dr. Pattabhi puts his own comment on it—an equally authoritative version— "The Congress is not itching for flight." Surely, surely; though Tripuri talked of a National Demand and promised a fight on the account; though Jawaharlal more than once dangerously thundered it. So, the Wardha text is to be understood, as its spirit goes, to lead logically to perfectly non-violent, united, disciplined, -Inaction?

lute Mill Labour

Five hundred million sandbags have been ordered for by, the British Gevernment through the Government of India. The Indian Jute Mills have known busy days since the war came, and this is the largest of the orders so far placed. Months before that, we know, the mills had been complaining of the dopressing state of the industry and labour trouble. We need not go into that story of the Jute Mills Association now. But, we naturally would inquire what share of the present prosperity would fall to the lot of the workers. From London comes the following bit of information:

"The Jute Trade Board of Great Britain met at Dundee to consider an application for 25 per cent increase in the wages of employees and decided to increase the

rate immediately by 7½ per cent to be followed by an increase of 5 per cent in January, making a total increase of 12½ per cent." The jute mill in Bengal. areas are a "prohibited area" We only know, as an extra-ordinary issue of the Calcutta Gazette on November 2 tells us, that the iute mills are exempted from the provisions of the section 34 of the Factories Act, 1934, and, workers can now work for more than 54 hours in the week. Of course, this does not speak of any advance in the workers' conditions. Trade Union workers are easily turned 'agitators' by the authorities; and, prosecution and prohibition orders are sweeping the areas clean of all such workers. The industry may flourish, but the labour knows hardly any increase in wages or any benefits resulting from it.

"Changing Guards"

The recent reshuffling of the Italian cabinet has according to available information, meant a comparative retirement for two well-known pro-German Fascists. This is not without significance. But the Italian press assures us that the changes, six in number in all, are nothing but an Italian 'Change Guard'. There is certainly truth in it. In dictatorial countries all changes are so. Ministers are mere contrivances. But then a replacement of an instrument is all the more noteworthy as an index to the mind and thought of the man behind the wheel. So, how the Fascist wheel is to turn may naturally be the question that agitates a thousand hearts in Europe, and, many thousand more in the Mediterranean. It is yet uncertain if the Rome-Berlin axis is breaking when Berlin-Moscow axis appears to be not an improbability. As "realists in politics" the Duke can have no point against Russia however, and, no objection even to a Moscow-Berlin-Rome axis. It is certain that the Turkish Pact has not pleased Russia. It has not pleased Italy either, which sees in it a challenge to her two ambitions-a pro-Italian Baltic Bloc and an Italianised Eastern Mediterranean. But the Grecounderstanding-Greece, Turkey, belongs to the British orbit-and these changes in cabinet would signify that Mussolini is wedded to none as yet. He awaits his hour.

GLIMPSES OF MY TOUR (2)

In February, 1938, I had visited Bombay as Congress President. Coming straight from the Haripura Congress, I was given a magnificent reception on my arrival. All sections co-operated in the function and that accounted for the unique demonstration. This time (June, 1939) it was different. I was no longer President. I was touring on behalf of the Forward Bloc and was therefore marked down by the Congress High Command as Rebel No. I. I could not be proclaimed Public Enemy, because Mahatma Gandhi had observed in one of his statements-"After all Subhas Babu is not an enemy of the country.'

How would Bombay—the Gandhian stronghold—welcome such a man? What would happen to the All India Conference of the Forward Bloc which was to meet there on the 22nd and 23rd June? These questions were naturally stirring my mind when Iwas speeding towards the "Gateway of India." But I was optimistic. The

reports from Bombay pointed in that direction. Moreover, the reception I was receiving at the wayside stations, notably at Delhi, Jubbulpore and similar places, enabled me to feel the public pulse. It

was not merely the large crowds at the stations that interested me but the exuberant enthusiasm which them, the expression on their faces, the gleam in their eyes. I was not sailing under false colours. They knew exactly under what auspices I was travelling-but they had nevertheless come and come of their own accord. There was hardly any organisation at my back at the time. But the Forward Bloc was undoubtedly the expression of the time-spirit, it was giving vocal expression to the vague feelings, hopes and aspirations which stirred the masses—so it had captured their imagination spontaneously and to such unprecedented degree.

The reception I received in Bombay on arrival did not come up to last year's level, so far as numbers were concerned. But the enthusiasm was very much greater and altogether spontaneous. The attitude of the Congress organisation was one of non-co-operation and perhaps, to

some extent, of underground hostilitybut that did not have any appreciable effect. The public meeting we had at Azad Maidan was a mammoth one and judging from the applause of the audience, the public were entirely with as. After this big demonstration we had a round of meetings covering every quarter of the city. Many were surprised to find that the meetings in the quarters generally regarded as Gandhian strongholds were attended by large and enthusiastic crowds and it was widely remarked that they were reminiscent of the glorious days of 1930. There was not the slightest doubt that we had captured the imagination of the Bombay public. The Cowasji Jehangir Hall was packed to overflowing by an eager and enthusiastic audience when the All India Conference of the Forward Bloc met there. In fact, loudspeakers had to be fitted on the street to serve the huge crowd who could not find any room inside. The Conference was attended by delegates from all provinces and with their help and co-operation the constitution and the programme of the Bloc were laid down. Till then the Bloc had been a target for cross-fire. The Rightists would condemn it as a revolt against the Congress. Certain Leftists

by any Party or Group to its members to join the Forward Bloc individually. Left-consolidation had therefore to be attempted on the assumption that the existing Parties and Groups would maintain their separate indentity.

That was the next best alternative and no better solution was possible. So the Left-Consolidation Committee was formed. The units comprising it were the Congress Socialist Party, the National Front Group, the Radical League and the newly constituted Forward Bloc. These units would have the same status and the Left-Consolidation Committee would act only when there was unanimous agreement among them.

The device was more effective in practice than it would appear on paper. The Left-Consolidation Committee made its presence felt at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, because there was effective collaboration among all Leftist elements and though they were numerically in a minority, they were able to exert a marked influence on the deliberations of the A. I. C. C. When the A. I. C. C. meeting was over, the L. C. C. met and formulated its future plan of action.

A word about the A. I. C. C. meeting.

Though some resolutions were carried in the teeth of Leftist opposition which was in a minority, the organised Left in the A. I. C. C. made a good impression on the visitors' galleries. Leftist leaders, and

particularly the leaders of the Forward Bloc, were warmly applauded whenever they rose to speak.

After a successful tour in Bombay, I went to Poona. I was not a stranger there and Poona has never been a Gandhian stronghold—consequently I was assured in advance of a warm and enthusiastic response. I met workers from different districts of Maharashtra and addressed a huge meeting in the evening. We were lucky in getting Senapati P. M. Bapat, the renowned leader of Maharashtra, to join the Forward Bloc. After securing his co-operation we were assured of the rapid progress of the Bloc in Maharashtra.

After Maharashtra came Karnatak where I was a perfect stranger. I had no idea as to what was in store for me there. But the actual results surpassed my fondest expecations. And before I left Karnatak a bomb-shell was thrown into Rightist circles with the announcement that the President of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Comittee, Sit. S. K. Hosmani, M. L. A. (Central) had joined the Forward Bloc. But of this, more in my next.

(To be Continued)

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

=:Bu=

(or pseudo-Leftists) would malign it as a Gandhian Party in reality, though not in form. A running criticism was carried on the supposed ground that the Bloc did not stand for a definite policy and programme and that it had become a refuge for opportunists and diverse disgruntled elements. When the constitution and programme of the Forward Bloc were adopted and given wide publicity in the press, much of this propaganda—and particularly that part of it which was bona fide,—was automatically silenced.

The principal problem which we had to tackle in Bombay was the relation of the newly formed Forward Bloc to existing Leftist Parties and Groups. We naturally wanted all Leftists to merge their separate entity in one organisation for the purpose of working an agreed minimum programme. None of the existing Leftist Parties or Groups need be dissolved and they may function for the purpose of working any extra programme. Unfortunately, this was not possible. Partly due to mutual distrust and partly due to other factors, it was not possible to bring about a merger on the basis of an agreed minimum programme. Nor would liberty be given

CHINA FIGHTS IMPERIALIST JAPAN

-By SUDHANSU DAS GUPTA

The History of the C. P. S. U. (B) states: "There are just wars, wars that are not wars' of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yokes of imperialism," and "there are unjust wars, wars of conquest waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations" (Pages 167 and 168).

Such an unjust war is the Japanese war. But by the cunning device of imperialist propaganda the Japanese Sumurai did their utmost to persuade and are still attempting to persuade their own people, the other nations and even the Chinese people that they are fighting for a just cause and their war is a just war. With grand eloquent phrases and sugarcoated words they declare that they are fighting in China for a cultural mission and in order to liberate the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia from "Bolshevism," to "save the peace of the world." A Japanease professor named Chikao Fudsiya declared: "The Japanease want universal peace, but we see that peace is impossible without victory From the standpoint of the Japanease, war is not a path to destruction but the path to peace." But the Japanease propagandists have failed to hoodwink the peace and freedom-loving people of the world. Today the aim of the Japanease war is exposed-Japan wants not only the enslavement and robbery of the Chinese people but to establish her hegemony over the peoples of Asia. Twentieth century Japan is the product of the nineteenth century Europe of colonial exploitation. The Japanease have been the best students of British history. Just as the "New Imperialism" of Lord Salisbury or rather of Joseph Chamberlain had given a new inspiration to the British imperialism during the closing years of the 19th. century, so the "Tanaka Memorandum," the "Tada Manifesto" and the "Kodam Report" have given a sort of new vigour and zeal to the Japanease imperialism. The Mikado's bayonets gleam in the East from Kalgan on the plains of Inner

Mongolia to the shores of the Yellow Sea. To the South, the islanders of Micronesia have heard the booming of Japanease naval guns at target practice. Japanease lifelines have followed the bayonet North and the battleship South. The Tanaka Memorandum (1927) states: "In order to conquer China we must conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we . must first conquer China. If we are able to conquer China, all the other Asiatic countries and the countries of the South Seas will fear us and capitulate before us. The world will then understand that the Eastern Asia is ours.....With all the resources of China at our disposal, we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia-Minor, Central Asia and even Europe. But the first step must be the seizure of control over Manchuria and Mongolia "Today allthe world sees how Japan is actually endeavouring to carry out the Pan-Asian policy of General Tanaka. In addition to the bloody means of violence, Japan has employed all means of deception, of trickery, of espionage, she has ruthlessly violated all hampering treaties and has thrown the Codes of International Law into the Jap Sea.

It is against these plans and methods of Japanease imperialism that the Chinese people is defending itself. The Chinese people is fighting not only to defend its freedom and independence; its fight is also of enormous importance for the defence of vital interests of all other peace and freedom-loving peoples from the clutches of the fascist war-mongers. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people, inspite of the temporary defeat of the cause of peace and national freedom, has rendered incalculable service. The fight of the Chinese people is a still greater aud more important force working in this direction. The Chinese people has become the leader and vanguard of the colonial liberation struggle all over the world. Hence the war waged by the Chinese people is a just war.

The insignificant clash outside the Peiping on July, 1937, gave the needed pretext for setting the Japanease war

machine in motion once again to carry out the blood-and-iron policy of Baron Tanaka. That predatory campaign of the Japanease fascist military clique is still going on and it has involved in war over half a million human beings, the population of China and Japan. At the outset of the war Japan hoped of a short war and rapid victory. But all her hopes have foundered on the rocks of the National United Front of the Chinese people. Faced by the invasion of the Japanease robber armies, faced by the ruin and subjugation of the nation, China nnited. After ten years of (1927-1936) of bitter civil war, the Kuomintang and Kungchantrang (the Chinese Communist Party) joined hands and built up the "Anti-Japanease United National Front" to checkmate the Japanease aggression. On the basis of the anti-Japanease national front, and of the three principles of Sun-Yat Sen, the Kuomintang and the Kungchangtang unite in organising and moblilising the 450 million population for the salvation of the nation and the reconstruction of the country. In this national unity of China the real strength of the Chinese people lies and with this the new weapon of national united front the Chinese people have become able to frustrate the plans of the Japanease robber armies and to force upon the enemy their strategy and tactics of protracted war. Japan was not prepared for an extensive and protracted war. During these two and half-years of the war in China, Japan has exhausted the national wealth created in the last 50 years by the labour of the Japanease people. Japan is spending 70 percent of the national income on the war to-day. It has already used up over two-thirds of its gold reserves. The enoromous and growing war expenditure is covered by increased taxation, rising prices, compulsory war loans, and "voluntary" contributions levied on the people. military control of national economy, and the law on the mobilisation of resources for the war inflict serious losses on the bourgeoisie, especially the lower middle classes, and the industrial undertakings

not working for war requirements. The burdens imposed by the war have the effect of increasing from day to day the anti-war feeling in the Japanease people and army. The soldiers at the fronts are exhausted by the two and half years' war and have lost all hopes of victory. On the otherhand the Jap Communist Party through its underground newspapers "Against the Storm" and "Voice of the People" is carrying intensive anti-war propaganda and has given the call for the overthrow of Japan's Fascist Government. Thus by the Sino-Japanease war Japan is becoming more and more dragged into the "Chinese morass from which it can scarcely emerge without shattering the existing social order in Japan to its foundations."

But China is working for her final victory by forcing upon the enemy its strategy and tactics of the protracted war. At the VI Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in November 1938, Mao Tse Tung emphasised in his description of the anti-Japanease national war that this war would have to run through three strategic stages: "The first stage is that in which one of the fighting parties attacks and the other retreats. The second stage is that in which the forces of both parties are at military deadlock, and both parties evade decisive struggles. And the third stage is that in which the party which was the aggressor in the first stage now retreats, whilst the party which retreated in the first stage now begins the counter offensive.'

The first strategic stage lasted from the beginning of the war until the fall of Canton and Hankow in October, 1938. During this period the Japanease Army advanced and occupied the most important large cities, railways, the former commercial and industrial centres of the country and the Chinese Army was forced to retreat. But this period was also a period of political and military consolidation. In this period (1) the anti-Japanease national front was formed and consolidated on the basis of co-operation of the Kuomintang with the Kungchangtang, (2) unification of the fighting forces of the country was accomplished and the army strengthened by means of modern war equipment, (3) the traitorous and capitulatory elements like Chan Go Tao and Wan Tsin Wei were removed from

the ranks of the commanding staff, (4) the upswing of the mass movement all over the country extended the Partisan War and gave the Partisan movement a political goal and aim. Thus China, inspite of her territorial and economic losses, has entered the second stage of the War, stronger both politically and militarily than she was at the beginning of the War and the present phase of the Chinese War is in its second stage.

The main characteristic of the Second Stage is the military deadlock at the fronts. After having seized Canton and Hankow, the Japanease army found itself in the strange position of having no aims for its further operations. Now the fundamental strategic policy of the Chinese Government and the Chinese Command consists of stopping the offensive of the Japanease army at the front, and developing broad Partisan actions in the rear and the important task of the Chinese people at this juncture are: (1) "to make it imposible for Japan to carry out its political measures in the occupied territory: (2) to make it impossible for it to exploit the natural wealth of China: (3) to frustrate in every way the work of the Japanease lines of communication, the sending of troops and supplies." The VI. Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of China clearly stated; "Our fundamental task...should be to carry on the war of resistance; to hold out through a protracted war; to strengthen and enlarge the anti-Japanease national united front with the aim of overcoming our difficulties, checking the advance of the enemy and preparing our general counteroffensive, in order to drive the Japanease invaders from our territory and achieve the final victory in building up an independent, free and happy new China."

The long-drawn war has already divided China into two parts—the Chinese hinterland consisting mainly of the districts of the North-West and South-West of China and the hinterland of the enemy consisting of those territories occupied by the enemy. This hinterland of the enemy constitutes the basis of the anti-Japanease struggle and the anti-Japanease partisan actions in the rear of the enemy. Politically the Japanease robbers have commenced to establish their hegemony in the occupied districts and towns by organising puppet army and setting up puppet authorities in Nanking, Peiping etc., and lastly to hoodwink the

people they are organising the so-called "Sin -Min-dan" (Party of the new people) in which they are gathering all the disruptive elements. Economically they are now squeezing all the resources and wealth out of the occupied districts, and on the otherhand are endeavouring with every possible means to shake the Chinese economy and finances in order to undermine the material basis of the anti-Japanease struggle. But by the broad guerilla warfare in the enemy's rear the chinese troops are frustrating the plans of the Japanease politicians. Guerilla warfare is the chief method of the anti-Japanease struggle of the Japanease people in the rear of the enemy. Now there arise two questions in the mind of any keen observer of the Sino-Japanese War. Firstly, can the guerilla war in the rear of the enemy be continued, can it develop successfully, can the chief districts, the basis of the anti-Japanease struggle-exist and become stronger? Secondly, when the enemy has seized the large towns and railways, can China, supported by rural districts, continue the anti-Japanease war and gain victory over the enemy

Mao Tse-Tung in his report to the VI Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of China replied to these questions clearly in the affirmative. In support of his thesis he cited three factors:

- (a) "Semi-Colony. In such a nation (as China) although the large city occupies a leading position, it cannot exercise complete control over the villages and their surrounding country because the city is small in comparison with the expanse of country and its numerous villages. By far the greater amount of man power and material strength lies in the vast country, not in the city.
- (b) Largeness of territory. We still have a large country after the loss of a part of our territory. Japan is invading a large country with a relatively small army ,which has already suffered, through our stubborn resistance, many difficulties in being weakened and scattered. This is, however, not the only basis for united resistance. There is no possibility for the enemy to occupy our great bases in the rear, the provinces of Yunan, Kweicho, Szechuan etc. Furthermore, we have extensive guerilla activities covering large areas in North, Central and South China

(Continued on page 16)

Offers all that is best in

LIFE INSURANCE



FOR PARTICULARY APPLY TO:-

LALA SANKERLAL

Managing Director.

Phone :

BIREN BOSE

Manager CALCUTTA BRANCH.

P. 14. BENTINCK STREET.

38/2, Elgin Road,

Calcutta, 12th May, 1939.

I am glad to know that some congress workers whom know personally, with co-operation of well-known Zemindars and Merchants of Midnapur have floated a Cotton Mill under the name and style of "THE MIDNAPUR COTTON MILLS LTD." at 12, Dalhousie Square.

There is plenty of scope in this province for at least a dozen new Cotton Mills. Consequently an enterprise of this sort will fulfil a long-felt want and at the same time help to relieve the present acute unemployment to some extent. I wish this venture all success.

Sd/ Subhas Chandra Bose.



GRAM, "GENTYPART" PHONE, CAL. 3967.

TYPEWRITER SPARE PARTS

We always stock Genuine Spare Parts for all makes of Standard and Portable Typewriters. Prices are very competitive. Please try once before placing order elsewhere.

THE EASTERN TYPEWRITER CO.,

THE EASTERN TYPEWRITER CO.,
Direct Importers.
3/1, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.

INDIAN TEA HOUSE

ALWAYS AT YOUR SERVICE
96 B, Clive St.,) Calcutta.

29, Strand Road.

Phone :-- Cal. 1842,

Sole Prop :-

P. C. SEIN.

A NEW NOVEL

=একদ =

By GOPAL HALDAR

To be had of :--

ORWARD BLOC

49L, Dharmatolla St. Calcutta.

GANDHIAN PERSONALITY

By SHUBHENDU GHOSH

One wonders: Why is Gandhiji so mighty, Gandhiji with all his irrational, old-world ideas? How has he come to be the leader of the gigantic nationalist movement of India?

They say, it is all due to his personality. What is the secret of this personality?

A few facts of his life need be noted in order to understand Gandhiji. Gandhiji was born of Jain parents in a small native state in Western India, and had part of his education in England. In his youth, he imbibed the ideas of the Russian "idiot-saint," Tolstoi, and as a man of action he sought to translate those ideas into realities. He had not indeed a bit of the giant intellect of the master, but he was more self-disciplined. He led with indifferent success the Indian residents of South Africa in their grim struggle for the redress of certain serious grievances. The technique of the combat was a novel one. It was non-violent passive resistance. It suited him superbly, he being a Jain for whom non-violence is a supreme virtue. Besides, it was the only form of 'direct action' practicable in the situation. The fight made Gandhiji's name as a natural leader of men. Next we find him practising Satyagraha in Behar. During the war he helped British Imperialism in every way. When the war ended, India was seething with discontent and the Indian bourgeoisic, who had waxed fat and achieved some sort of class-solidarity during the war, was in sore need of a leader capable of harnessing the revolutionary discontent of the masses in order to wrest-some concessions from British Imperialism, some reforms. Gandhiji was the man. He alone of Indian leaders, big and small, had he necessary equipment. First of all, he had his South African experience of non-violent resistance which "involved tremendous self-sacrifice" on the part of people, but was at the same time innocuous enough to channelise the revolutionary discontent into a movement, which would not be detrimental to the extant "order" of society. Secondly, the semi-feudal conditions of living and the long religious tradition have kept the Indian people, even in this twentieth century, believers in saints and the miracles

they can work. Gandhiji was a saint and therefore was capable of commanding respectful obedience of the vast peasant-masses. Thirdly, Gandhiji's ideas about machineries, about industrialism, were a soothing balm to the bruised heart of peasant India, whose shattered economic life inclined her to look back with longing, lingering eyes to the "Good, old day." Gandhiji was thus the man to capture the imagination and attention of India.

Gandhiji came as a God-send to bourgeois India. Indian bourgeoisie hailed him as a leader because his sainthood, his ideology and his technique of fight, all suited just the sort of struggle they had to wage. Even his irrationality and backward ideas were of great service on occasions. Indian bourgeoisie have stuck to Gandhiji because from long experience they have found him the most reliable person; hey know he alone can betray the cause of the working masses in perfect good faith and with the least damage to his prestige. Gandhiji may be poor so far as intellectual powers go, but his class instinct, his political shrewdness and religious fanaticism have never played false, to the bourgeoisie, I mean.

We have spoken of Gandhiji's religious fanaticism. We mean it. Gandhiji of his own confession holds his creed above the realities of life. There are people who accuse Gandhiji of inconsistencies, but hey are wrong. He is consistent, and perfectly logical. Only his consistency and logic are subservient to his God, from whom he receives his ight and strength. Not given to intellectual questionings, he does not know that, dragged into politics his God is only the expression

of his class-consciousness. It is this ignorance that gives him his strength. Indecision and fanaticism cannot go together. Gandhiji, the believer, the fanatic, is a unique driving force; he can take his decision as no one else can. Gandhiji is not dishonest, because he sincerely believes that he is honest, and for fanatics, that is all that matters.

Gandhiji, without being conscious of it, is a window-dresser of his own personality. As he shares everything with the public, he puts everything in the show case. And a host of enthusiastic admirers boost up this as sainthood on every available occasion. No wonder, therefore, that he has come to be a legendary figure in his life-time. But let those who talk glibly of his bewitching and over-powering personality look into themselves for a while. They will discover the bourgeois essence of their own souls. It is because these gentlemen are themselves bourgeois in their essential being that they are over-mastered by the Mahatma's per-

As an individual, Gandhiji is surely a man very difficult to evaluate. There are some who can equal him in selfdiscipline, courage, intelligence and all that. It is as a social, historical 'personage' that he is what he is, a giant among men. Personality is not something to be found in the individual in isolation it resides in the individual's relations to the socialhistorical situation. Even Gandhiji will figure miserably in any other situation than that in which he was placed-say, among the pragmatic Chinease or among the realistic Frenchmen. We need not therefore make a fetish of personality-Gandhian or any-ian. We hope Satyamurthi & Co., would excuse us for this irreverrent study.

FOR A HUNDRED YEARS AND MORE THE TEA TABLE HAS PROMOTED THE FINER SORT OF SOCIABILITY, WHICH THE BOTTLE HAD THREATENED TO FORBID!

A. TOSH & SONS CALCUTTA & RANGOON

that is why TOSH'S TEA

IS A TIME - HONOURED TRADITION IN EVERY HOME CLUB AND HOTEL.

INDIA: THE TEST QUESTION

-By KINGSLEY MARTIN

A considerable part of the earth's surface has been "blacked out" since war obscured our windows. There lie in these dim regions problems that may confront us, if we ignore them, with a painful surprise. India has sunk below the surface like a torpedoed ship. Some fragments of news have reached us, indeed, which sedulously ignore the main point. Mr. Gandhi has addressed some words of sympathy to the Poles. The Princes have done what is customary in times of crisis: they have offered the Empire their troops and in some cases their personal services. But Mr. Gandhi was far from speaking his whole mind to the Poles. As for the Princes, most of us know better than to mistake their voice for that of the Indian people, with which, indeed, they are at feud. What, in the silence and the darkness, is it thinking? Unless we strain our ears to listen, we may suffer an unpleasant awakening.

It has, in fact, spoken very plainly through the organisation that won a big majority when it last went to the polls in its several provinces. Over the greater part of British India the Congress is in office. In an able and persuasive document its Working Committee has set out its views. Up to a point they are reassuring. Indians share the opinions of all civilised men, who think freely about this crisis. They are opposed to the whole spirit of Fascism: they see in the Nazi variety only "an intensification of the imperialism against which they have always struggled:" they condemn its aggression against Poland. They feel themselves in sympathy with the peoples of the West and do not doubt that they are "genuinely moved by the ideals of saving democracy and freedom." Their governments, however, inspire a feeling of distrust, and the Congress recalls the record of our own in its dealings with previous victims of aggression, nor can it forget the bitter fruit of the last war. In the present emergency the British Government has deliberately ignored Indian opinion, and without its consent declared India a belligerent country, promulgated Emergency Ordinances, passed the India Act Amending Bill and other vital measures circumscribing and limiting the powers and activities of Provincial Governments. Smarting under this experience, the Congress presents to us its sharply defined alternatives.

If the present war is for defending the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies and vested interests, then India can have nothing to do with it. If the issue, however, is democracy and a new world order, then India is intensely interested.

The test for Indians is simple. "Freedom," as they see it, is "indivisible," and "India is the crux of the problem as she is the outstanding example of modern imperialism." There follows the logical challenge:

If Britain fights for democracy then she must necessarily end imperialism, and establish full democracy in India. The manifesto ends with a demand that we shall declare our "war-aims regarding democracy and imperialism and the establishment of a new world order and how these aims will be applied to India now."

This document, by some unfortunate accident, has failed to reach the daily press. It contains no threat, but it is none the less a warning that we shall disregard at our peril. By decisions taken at Whitehall we have thrust India into this war and made her a belligerent. She informs us now that her will is her own: she is not yet our ally: we have still to win her. If we take the appropriate steps, she will fling herself into this war to establish the new democratic world order: if not ---. She leaves us to guess the alternative. Memory may go some way to supply it. The older generation can recall what happened in the last war. With a chivalry that disdained to take advantage of our difficulties, Indians rallied to our flag, not the Princes alone, but the nation. Mr. Gandhi forgot his pacifism and recruited for us, and Indians braved the cold of Flanders and the hit of Mesopotamia. There came by way of response a

generous if vague promise of freedom from the King-Emperor. After long delays it was embodied in the timid, tentative Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, but hard on these came repression, with the Rowlatt Act which fettered the Indian press as never before. An Afghan war shook us on the frontier and compelled us to realise that we had wholly lost the impulse of loyalty and hope that had flamed up in 1914. Punjab was on the verge of open revolt and we met it with coercion that reached its climax in the panic-cruelty of Amritsar. Moslems outraged by the War Settlement, joined hands with Hindoos, and we had to face the first amateur effort at civil disobedience.

On this occasion we have been warned. betimes. We shall recollect if we are wise, that the Indian nation is incomparably more mature than it was a quarter of a century ago, and its Congress movement very much stronger. It is now entrenched as the government of most of provinces. It is no longer and irresponsible Opposition, but a power that rightly feels it has a claim to be consulted. When the danger of war confronted us our rulers perpetrated one of the capital mistakes in our imperial history. They assumed, what they could not take for granted in the case of the Dominions, that we could without their assent drag Indians as automata after us into this war. It prepared them for the ordeal by an Amending Act that restricted and threatened, during the period of emergency, such precarious liberties as they possess. So their Congress replied by a first significant act of non-co-operation: it withdrew its members from the Legislative Assembly. In the face of the world we have now to answer its question. With India as the test, is this a war for democratic freedom, or for empire and the status quo?

Britain cannot blankly reject the demands of Congress nor delay to answer. It is equally clear that mere verbal promises would be unavailing. Fortunately, the unacceptable scheme of Federation has been indefinitely postponed. It is out

(Continued on page 14)

"Call off the Drive Against the Left-wing"

"ADOPT A BOLD AND DYNAMIC POLICY"

SJ. BOSE REPLIES TO GANDHIJI AND RAJENDRAPRASAD

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued the following statement to the Press on October 29, last:—

During the last few days a number of statements and articles of Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent Congress leaders have appeared in the Press which have given rise to acute controversy in certain Congress circles and some of my colleagues have urged me to give expression to my views in connection therewith. It is a most painful thing to engage in a public controversy with prominent Congress leaders, but if controversial statements are made which other Congressmen cannot possibly endorse, then we are left with no choice in the matter

I am grieved to find Mahatma Gandhi remarking in "Harijan" that the refusal by the British Government to fulfil the Congress hope that they would make the expected declaration, is solely due to the weaknesses in the Congress organisations and Congressmen. In my humble opinion, this failure is due largely to bad leadership, both before the outbreak of war and after. May I ask what the Congress leaders were doing when we were crying ourselves hoarse several months ago in our appeal to the Congress to prepare for the coming crisis? To make matters worse for us, Mahatma Gandhi rushed to see the Viceroy without consulting anybody and seriously compromised the position of the Congress and the Indian public by announcing his attitude of unconditional co-operation towards the British Government. It is, to say the least, grossly unfair of him now to turn the tables and throw the responsibility for the failure on Congress organisations and Congressmen. Let Mahatmafi and the other leaders frankly own their responsibility as well as their mistakes of the past and try to mend matters in future.

"Two voices" of Gandhiji

There sanother matter in which it is difficult to understand Mahatma Gandhi. In the article, headed "Causes", in the latest issue to the Harijan, he wrote in one place: "Though nothing is said in the resolution, the control and management of Civil Disobedience has been eft in my hands at the will of the Committee." This would naturally lead one to think that he is now thinking in terms of Civil Disobedience. But in the same issue of the paper he said in another place. "There is no question of Civil Disobedience for there is no atmosphere for it-at any rate there is no question of Civil Disobedience in the aggressive sense as we launched in 1930 and 1932. We might have to offer it if all constructive work was made impossible, that is to say, if grave irritation was given by Government. I fear no such things." Now which of these two voices should be regarded as conveying more accurately the real views of Mahatmaji?

We are now being sermonised from several quarters about the importance of discipline and unity within the Congress. If there is lack of unity to-day, then who is responsible for it? Undoubtedly it is the Congress Working Committee that has lost the confidence of the Left Wing by its erstwhile weak and vacillating policy. The moment the Committee adopts a bold and dynamic policy, all differences will disappear and the Congress will stand united. If the Working Committee really wants unity and discipline, it should take the Left-wing into its confidence about the future programme that is contemplated and call off the drive against the Leftwing. If this is not done, all these appeals will be futile and as already intimated to the Working Committee, we shall follow our own line of action and face the consequences thereof. Surely the Working

Committee cannot expect our loyalty and support if it does not follow to its logical conclusion the decision to renounce Ministerial office in the provinces.

Rajendra Babu's Statement

The instructions issued by President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, have surprised me beyond measure. In one place he directs that prohibitory orders are to be obeyed and that Civil Disobedience in any form should not be resorted to without the special permission of the appropriate sub-committee. He has sought to usurp the authority vested in the Provincial Congress Committees in this behalf and I am sure that Congressmen of my way of thinking will reserve to themselves full liberty of action in such matters. In another place, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said, "That meetings public or private should avoid criticism of the British or those parties in the country that may be opposed to the Congress." How meetings can be held under such conditions passes my comprehension. Such instructions are not only unworkable but also undesirable.

In conclusion, I must say that since we are still not sure if the Working Committee intends adopting a forward policy and programme in future, we cannot find ourselves to follow the official direction. On major questions like War and Peace and Swaraj, people of my way of thinking must retain liberty of action and must think and decide for themselves and agree to follow the Working Committee only when it gives the correct lead. The sooner this realised, the better for all of us.

Phone :- B. B. 3711.

D. RATAN & CO ARTISTS & PHOTOGRAPHERS 22-1, CORNWALLIS STREET, CALCUTTA. (Continued from page 12)

of the question that we should attempt, amid a war in which our existence is at stake, to amend it or reconstruct it. The drafting of constitutions will have to wait for the return of peace. What, then, can we do at once?

The first step is obvious. Among our war-aims, after consulting the recognised leaders of the Indian people we must include, in words acceptable to them, an undertaking to establish their democratic freedom as a nation that controls its own destinies. This must carry with it a pledge to admit them, as we shall admit our allies and the Dominions, as equal partners in the building at the settlement of the new world-order. But all this would be unavailing if in the mean-while we governed India as before, with the inevitable aggravation of wartime restrictions, imposed without her consent or participation. It is both possible and easy, without any constitutional changes whatever, to realise responsible self-government at the centre at once. It is not necessary to bind the Viceroy to bow to the opinion of India's elected representatives: in fact let him do so. It is not necessary to define the status of India's responsible Ministers ; in fact it would suffice to appoint some of them to the Viceroy's Council: when appointed, let him accept their advice. It might be advisable to dissolve the present Assembly and to conduct new elections under the existing provincial franchise, which is relatively democratic. The briefest Amending Act would avail for that purpose. But if we are brave enough in our sincerity to face such an act of courage and faith as this, let us not spoil it by a timid choice of second-rate men. There is one man and only one who could ead India in the new path. Second only to Mr. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru enjoys her trust and respect. In character and intellect he is fitted to take his place in the first rank of statesmen. He is, moreover, a man whose writings exhibit a mind with a wide international outlook. The Congress has, moreover, named him as its leader in this emergency. By making him Premier in fact if not in name, we should not merely win India: we should startle the civilised world into a belief in our sincerity.

India, indeed, is the crux. We are on our trial before the whole civilised world. From Washington to Moscow, every neutral onlooker is asking the question that Indians have posed: is this a war for the imperial status quo or for a new democratic world-order? The same question shapes itself in the mind of the German people. Not to-day, but sone months or years hence, the answer it frames on our record may decide the issue of this war. If we dare give India liberty we shall win the leadership of all free peoples. But if we must meet a rebel India with coercion will anyone in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy.

(THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION)

THE CALCUTTA COMMERCIAL BANK, LTD.

Head Office: -2, CLIVE GHAT STREET, CALCUTTA.

A SCHEDULED BANK

BRANCHES

Bengal:
Mymensingh
Narayanganj
Sirajganj
Kishoreganj

Bengal: Bengal:

Barakar Jamalpur
Barisal Jalpaiguri
Maldah Netrokona
Dacca Tangail

U. P.: Cald Benares Mar Lucknow Kali Bar: Bara

Calcutta: Assam:

Maniktala Sunamganj
Kalighat Karimganj
Baranagore Sylhet
Barabazar

Behar:
Pakur
Sahibganj
Katihar
Patna

Behar:
Bhagalpur
Monghyr
Dumka
Deoghur

Interest on Savings Bank A/c. paid a 3% per annum Withdrawable by Cheques.

Interest of Fixed Deposits paid at the rate of 4 to 6% per annum.

Rs. 600 paid on payment of Rs. 5 per month for 8 years in the Provident Deposit account.

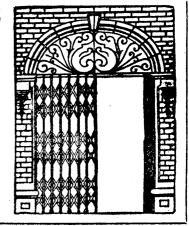
3 Years Cash Certificate for Rs. 100 sold at Rs. 84 (eighty-four).

THE CALCUTTA COLLAPSIBLE GATE CO. LTD.

11-C, LOWER CHITPUR ROAD

PHONE No. CAL. 3972.

The best and original makers of Collapsible gates, Grills, W. I. Railings Etc.



No Remedy is better than

NEUROL

in case of any weakness of brain, nerves and heart. It promptly relieves vertigo, sleeplessness and palpitation of heart and asthma. As it strengthens memory, students and brain workers are greatly benifited by it. There is nothing like neurol to give new energy to both body and mind, Phial Rs 1/12. To be had of DESHBANDHU MEDICAL HALL 128D, Maniktola Road, Calcutta.

For any lass of Insurance—

NEW INDIA ASSURANCE C.O, LTD.

is the concern you should consult because it is India's Largest Composite Insurance Company.

HEAD OFFICE:

CALCUTTA BRANCH:
9, CLIVE STREET.

FORWARD BLOC NEWS

SJ. SUBHAS BOSE Leaving For Sylhet to Organise 'Forward Bloc'

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose will be leaving for Sylhet on the 4th morning by the Chittagong Mail which leaves Sealdah at 7-24 a.m. He will be touring the Surma Valley Districts of Assam Province in connection with the organisation of the Forward Bloc' there.

DALTONGANJ 'FORWARD BLOC'

Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, M. L. A., Organiser, Bihar 'Forword Bloc', re-formed the District Executive as the previous one was unrecognised here to-fore. Pending due election the following executive was provisionally formed.

1. President—Sj. Amiya Kumar Ghosh, Advocate, 2. Vice-President—Sj. Lala Sitaram, Pleader. 3. Secretary—Sj. Ganesh Prasad Kamlapuri, 4. Treasurer—Sj. Byomkesh Dutt, Pleader. 5. Members—Sj. Kunwar Lachimi Prasad Sinha. Sj. Bhanu Pratap, Sj. Manbahal Pandey.

Panditiee addressed a huge meeting of the townsmen in the local Marwari Pustakalaya.

ORISSA "FORWARD BLOC"

Sj. Divakar Pattanaik, member of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee and A. I. C. C. and ex-President of the Ganjam District Board, has been appointed a member of the All-India Working Committee of the "Forward Bloc" as well as Provincial organiser of the "Foward Bloc" for Orissa.

SURMA VALLEY

Sj. Suresh Dev has been authorised to organize the 'Forward Bloc in the Surma Valley.

NOAKHALI 'FORWARD BLOC'

The Noakhali District Forward Bloc was formed provisionally with the following office bearers: President: Sja. Sushila Mitra; Vice President: Sjs Akhil Dutta; Kamini Saha, Prasanna Chakraborty; Secretary: Phani Sen.

HAZARIBAGH 'FORWARD BLOC'

The following executive committee of the 'Bloc' was formed provisionally at Hazaribagh where Mr. Yajee explained the object of the Bloc. President—Mahammed Saleh; Vice-President—Ajit Kumar Nag of Giridih and Prokash Lall; General Secretary—Ram Anugrah Prasad; Joint Secretaries—Degree Ram, Baramohan Mukherji and Sunith Mallik; Treasurer—Haji Munshi Naziruddin; Members—Dr. Tribeni Prasad, Messrs. Karambir Singh and Bajrang-bihari Lal.

KHAGAUL (PATNA)

Mr. B. C. Mitra was elected President and Babu Sant Prasad Sharma, General Secretary of the Khagaul Forward Bloc at a general meeting of the body held on the 20th October last. Babu Ram Lakhan Ram was elected Vice-President, Pandit Ramautar Sharma—Secretary, Babu Hira Lal Parmath—Treasurer and Dr S. S. Ahsan. Dr Ram Lochan, Babu Padumlal, Babu Murli Lal Gupta, Babu Sheo Nandan Prasad and Baba Murli Monohar Lal—Members of the Executive Committee.

Office-Bearers For Shahabad District

At a meeting held at Behar under the presidentship of Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, M.L.A., General Secretary, Bihar Provin-

cial Forward Bloc, the Shahabad District Forward Bloc was formed with the following Congressmen as its officebearers:—

Pandit Ramsubhag Pandey—President; Messrs. Chutur Raj and Ramdaras Pandey—Vice-Presidents; Mr. Jagdish Prasad Singh—General Secretary; Maulvi Hasmat, Mr. Sheopujan Pandey and Mr. Ramkumar Tiwari—Secretaries; Mr. Ganpat Choudhury—Treasurer. The following were included in the Executive Committee: Messrs. Badri Narayan Singh, Ramsinhasan Lal, Suraj Prasad, Musafir Lal, Sheobilas Misra. Sarjoo ojha and Ramchandra Ojha.—U. P.

Forward Bloc Member Gaoled

Kurnool, Oct. 27.

Messrs. Dawood Ali Mirza of the Forward Bloc, Madras and Ahmed Hussain, who were arrested for alleged disobedience of Section 144 served on them, were sentenced to undergo two and half months' imprisonment by the Magistrate of the Banganappalle State.

We have the pleasure to announce:

Mr. KANAILAL GOSWAMI M. L. C.

Zaminder, Chairman Municipality and Local Board Serampore, Vice-Chairman District Board Hoogly etc., has joined in our Board of Directors.

Plants and Machineries have been despatched from abroad. Arrival expected shortly.

Wanted Respectable and influencial Agents to sell the remaining shares of the Company.

India Belting & Cotton Mills Ltd.

14, CLIVE STREET. CALCUTTA.

CHINA FIGHTS IMPERIALIST JAPAN

(Continued from page 9)

so that it is impossible for the enemy to complete his occupation.

(c) China of to-day. If a strong imperialist power had invaded China several decades ago, as Britain invaded India, there would have been no escape from complete subjugation. To-day it is a different matter. China has made marked progress in the development of her political parties, in organising her army, and unifying her people. A progressive china is the basic force that will triumph over the enemy. Japan is on decline. The path of economic and social development of imperialist Japan is drawing towards the end. Japanese capitalism in its development, has created its own gravediggers."

For the Chinese army the second stage is the preparatory stage for the counteroffensive. The chinese people are preparing themselves-military preparations are in full swing in the hinterland. They are moving forward with undaunted energy and dogged determination to drive away the Japanease invaders from the soil of China, and it is sure that victory will be on their side. A year-and-half ago the following estimation of the Chinese struggle was made in the History of the C. P. S. U (B): "The heroic struggle of the Chinese people and their army against the Japanease invaders, the tremendous national revival in China, her huge resources of man-power and territory, and, lastly, the determination of the Chinese National Government to fight the struggle for emancipation to a finish until the invaders are completely driven from Chinese territory, all goes to show beyond doubt that there is no future for the Japanease imperialists in China, and never will be" (Page 333.) And to-day this estimation is going to be proved correct-Imperialist Japan has no future in China.



G. RAY & CO.

INDIA'S

FAMOUS MAKERS

OF

Fire and Burglar-Proof Steel Safes, Chests, Cabinets, Strong Rooms and Gates, Locks and Padlocks of Chests and Almirahs and Jewellery.

We have newly discovered that with the help of Oxygen our Safes cannot be opened.



During the Hindu-Mussalman riots in Calcutta, Cawnpore, Chittagong and Dacca despite all their efforts, Goondas could not break open Almirahs made by us. This is our test as it is guarded with Armour Steel so Dacoits and thieves cannot break it.

Illustrated Catalogue is sent on request.

Office: -70/1, Clive St. Calcutta. Factory: -Ultadanga Main Road, Calcutta. Phone: Cal. 1832.

THE GENUINE INSURANCE CO., LTD.

4, CLIVE GHAT STREET, CALCUTTA.

BONUS

Rs. 15/- on WHOLE LIFE
Rs. 12/- on ENDOWMENT

per thousand per year

Branch Office: 3, JOHNSON ROAD, DACCA.



PUJA CONCESSION!

Superfine Darjeeling Blend

PYRAMID TEA

Only As -/9/- for 1 lb, packet.

On sale from 1st. Oct. to 31st. Oct.





47, RAJAR CHAWK, CALCUTTA.

BOOK REVIEWS

So Became A Minister: By Vijaya Laksmi Pandit, Kitabistan, Allahabad— Re. 1/8.

A poor victim of the society, for ages woman has been a feeble prisoner within precincts of our home and the society has never offered her any scope to creative faculty. The pessimistic philosophy of past had bred an implacable hatred towards woman and in the last century Schopenhauer and Nietzsche propped up this doctrine on the bleak compendium-women are creatures to be kept in subjection and never capable of undertaking any responsibility.' But the end of the last war heralded the beginning of a new civilization in Russia and to-day it is astonishing to find woman sharing equal responsibility with man. Field, factory, and universities are honeycombed with women. It is a bold experiment in history without the disastrous result of women being petrified unfeeling stones. And book under review sums up the spirit of defiance against the corroding social institutes. "Woman, though theoritically now the equal of man in most advanced countries, is regarded in fact as lesser being even by those whose public utterances would make it appear that they had accepted an equal partnership. But advancement of woman can not be kept back in this way. She is now going forward, not because of the courtesy or chivalry of man, but because it is an accepted fact that in her advancement alone lies the future progress of the world."

The question of obtaining equality with man bristles with difficulty and involves a radical change of the society. "If our boys and girls are to grow up into free citizens, the evils that sorround us have to be destroyed. This is more difficult for us because we are living under foreign domination. When liberty is suppressed evil flourishes and much of our degenaration to-day is due to our loss of liberty." The chapter on public speaking is instructive and female aspirants struggling into leadership can read it with benefit. The autobiographical chapters are equally interesting, for these record the evolution of Indian womanhood. Mrs. Pandit has exploded the traditional view about woman and her work as minister is a testimony to administrative efficiency and redounds

to the credit of her sex. Life of ease and isolation Mrs. Pandit abhors and is eager to see her sisters keeping pace with the march of time.

11 5

The Constitutions of All Countries Vol. 1 The British Empire—Published by H. M. Stationery office, 10s. 6d. London.

The book embodies in a single volume the constitutions of all Dominions and India, of the colonies and dependencies and of the Mandated Territories.

But what form the British Empire—the lands and seas? We are ourselves a part of it—and asked to remain so. But do we know even the names of these strange compatriots of ours, and felt what it means for the Britisher, materially and spiritually, to be the masters of these peoples? Here are those countries, the constitutions of which are also dealt in this volume.

1. Canada. 2. Australia. (a) New South Wales. (b) Norfolk Island. (c) Papua. (d) New Guinea, (e) Nauru, 3, New Zealand, (a) Cook Islands. (b) Ross Dependency. (c) Union Islands. (d) Western Samos. 4. South Africa. (a) South West Africa. 5. Ireland (Eire). 6. Newfound land, 7. India, 8. Burma, 9. southern Rhodesia, 10. Aden. 11. Bahamas. 12. Barbados 12. Basutoland, 14. Bechuanaland, 15. Bermuda, 16. British Guiana. 17. British Hondovas. 18. Ceylon Cyprus, 20. Falkland Islands. 21. Fiji. Gambia. 23. Gibraltar. 24. Gold Coast. (a) Ashanti. (b) Northern Territories. (c) Togoland. 25. Honkong. 26. Jamaica. (a) Cayman Islands. (b) Turks and Caicos Islands. 27. Kenya. 28. Leeward Islands. (a) Antigua. (b) Dominica. (c) Mont-serrat. (d) St. Christopher and Nevis. 29. Malay. (a) Straits Settlements. (b) Federated Malay States. 30. Malta. 31. Mauritius. 32. Nigeria. (a) Cameroons 33. Northern Rhodesia. 34. Nyasalaad. 35. Palestine. (a) Transjordan. 36. St. Helena. 37. Seychelles. 38. Sierra Leone. 39. Somaliland 40. Swaziland. 41. Tangauyika Territory. 42. Trinidad and Tobago. 43. Uganda. 44. West Africa. 45. Western Pacific. (a) Gilbert and Ellica Islands, 46. Windward Islands, (a) Grenada. (b) St. Lucia. (c) St. Vincent. 47. Zanzibar.

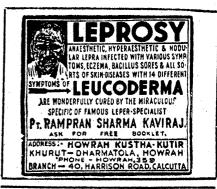
The volume contains the bare Acts, Imperial or otherwise (as in the case of Ireland), Letters Patent and Royal Instructions which, unlike the constitution of Great Britain, form the principal sources of the constitutions of the Empire countries. The absence of any glossary, interpretation or explanation makes the volume far from being a popular one. Nevertheless, it will be an authoritative

work for reference and in that respect it will have an immense value to those who are interested not only in the art of public administration but in the science and the principles of the government as well. The complicated forms of imperialistic control and dominion exercised by Great Britain on such a big number of territories, ranging from countries like India and Australia which are as big as continents to those tiny specks on the seas, such as the Bermudas, no doubt, testify to Britain's statesmanship and ingenuity in the art of government.

The first chapter incorporates enbloc the "Statute of Westminister" of 1931 which is considered by the British Dominions as the great charter of their equal and free constitutional status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Let it might be contended that the Statute derived its validity from an Act of Parliament and, hence, the Dominions were dependent on the Imperial Parliament for their status, the Statute itself provides that it gets its constitutional validity from the fact that the Dominions "have severally requested and consented to the submission of a measure to the Parliament of the U. K. for making such provision." The implications of the Statue are quite clear

The publication of such an omnibus volume has been timely and we shall eagerly await the publication of other volumes.

P. R.



INDIAN POLITICAL SECRET

Wear hand-spun & hand-woven ASSAM SILK ENDI & MUGA that are famous for its durability & efficiency. Please write for particulars & Free price-list to the Manager, Assam Home Industrial Co. P. O. Kamakhya, Gauhati (Assam)

WHOSE UNITY P

By PARIMAL KUMAR ROY

A tragic fate is, probably, reserved for India in her future. We wish it had not been so. But the facts, as is widely known, is, unfortunately, otherwise. The long talked of war is come only to find the people of India unprepared. Why? Wherein lies that unpreparedness? The unpreparedness does not arise from the minority issues. But it arises from the fact that India is faced with the war when there is a reshuffling of power within herself. The Congress, the very vital force of India, is passing through one of those transformations which lead an organism to greater and greater perfection.

The history of the National Congress of the last few years, that is from its famous Lucknow session when Pandit Nehru, as President, for the first time departed from the traditional Gandhian philosophy and policy and gave the official imprimatur to various doctrines of socialism and to all forms of Leftism (no matter that he has retraced his steps now) upto this period, marks a substantial defference from those immediately preceding. The first Civil Disobedience Movement in the early thirties saw the peak of Gandhian leadership. But later movements showed that decline had set in. New faith and new forces, then, began to appear on the scene contesting in everysphere the older ones. Their appearance was hailed by all but those who saw in them the danger of losing their initiative and leadership, and, to a certain extent, also of their interests. The rise of the new forces was welcomed by the masses as they were so many healthy signs of a living organism. But the established ideologies could not view with equanimity the growth of the new rivals and they at once threw the gauntlet. Frightened by this challenge from the High Command some of the leaders of the new faith, laking in self-confidence. surrendered. The natural growth of the new forces suffered a set-back and, probably, would have completely subsided, at least for the time being, but for the firm and unequivocal stand of a relatively small group of tried people headed by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose who clung fast to the new doctrines and who have ever

since been fighting with their very lives against heavy odds. The new forces through their movement in course of time increasingly gained mass and momentum until, finally, they forced their recognition by the powers that be, and the result was that Sj. Subhas Bose was elected President for 1938.

This was undoubtedly a happy turn of affairs and there was a feeling of satisfaction amongst the Left forces at the prospect of a rapprochment with the representatives of older thoughts. But the satisfaction was short-lived. The Rightist leader at Haripura shewed signs of alarm at the rapid growth of forces. Moreover, their hope that the new President would, like his predecessor, completely surrender to them remained unfulfilled. They tried to consolidate their strength for which the first essential was that the highest official of the Congress should be one amongst their own kin.

The controversy over the reelection of Sj. Bose is too familiar to need reptiition here. One thing, however, stands clear. The reelection of Sj. Bose indicated which way the wind flew. The Rightists, we know regained their possition partly at Tripuri, and completely in Calcutta. A large section, which, when allowed free and unfettered expression of their opinion, had supported the candidature of Sj. Bose now, partly under duress and partly due probably to lack of steadiness changed sides.

Per contra the attitude of the Rightist leaders, including Gandhiji, what was the spirit of Sj. Bose? He declared more than once from the press and the platform that it was s victory of his cause and not of his person. What was more important, was his conciliatory attitude to those who opposed him. He went to Gandhiji for the latter's willing co-operation and he also met other leaders with the same objective but received a very cold response from them. His demand for a composite cabinet was highly appropriate under the The international sky circumstances. was overcast with heavy cloud which might at any moment raise the storm-and. hence, it was essential that India must be ready to face that storm unswearvingly. Though Sj. Bose speaks less of barren

internationalism, he was fully apprised of the international situation. He apprehended that the crisis was not far off. With that far-sight he realised the prime need of unity and solidarity in the Congress. A composite cabinet was the best means to ensure that unity. But Gandhiji and his suit did pay scant respect to Sj. Bose's reasoning. Their minds were corrupted by suspicion to-wards the Leftists and they did not welcome the idea of joining hands with the Left forces in their struggle for freedom as they feared that such an alliance would highly strengthen the latter who, in the course of the struggle, might assume a great potency and force them out of the arena. Hence, their persistent and also cosistent demand was a homogenous cabinet. Sj. Bose, being in the know of all things, honourably preferred to retire rather than remain a nominal figurehead of the Congress Executive which, when formed "according to the wishes of Gandhiji," would not be a happy

Thus, division in the Congress was forced by the uncompromising attitude of the Rightists not excluding Pandit Jawaharlal. Gradually, Sj. Subhas Bose and many of the potential leftists have been eliminated by clear manoeuvres from all official connections. Disciplinary actions against prominent Congressmen for sticking to the fundamentals of the Congress policy, demand for explanation and apology have been the order of the day. The oppositon to the official Congress is greatly increasing day by day-and the division between two groups is become more and prominent. It is unfortunate that the Congress High Command do not find the necessity of mending their ways. Faced with the cold attitude of the British Government even in these days, they are speaking of the need of unity and discipline in the Congress. But how can there be unity when an influential section of the Congress is held off as untouchables? It is really an irony of fate that the people who had declined to accept the arms of co-operation held out by Sj. Bose and precipitated a crisis in the Congress organism are now themselves demanding unity from the rank and file. Whose unity is this? Is it the unity of those elements in the Congress excluding the Left forces? Or, is it the unity of all the forces? If the Congress High Command be really willing to achieve unity in the Congress at this critical juncture they must come down from their elevated positions and share heavy responsibility with the Leftists.

Letter To The Editor ROLE OF THE FORWARD BLOC

To

The Editor, Forward Bloc

Sir,—The birth of the Forward Bloc at a time when India is passing through a political crisis is not only a welcome sign, it also reflects the vitality and the consciousness of the nation to the major political problems of the day. At this moment the Bloc stands as a common platform and a stable meeting place for the various political bodies within the Congress that are working for India's political economic and social regeneration.

A critical analysis of the aims and ideals of the Forward Bloc as well as its political programme brings to the foreground the cardinal fact that the Bloc is no sectarian organisation, its outlook is hallowed by a full-blooded idealism which is sadly missing in the parent organisation. It has been declared from many a platform that the membership of this body is open only to the members of the Congress, and there is no denying the fact that as a forward and progressive organistion it draws its sustenance from the Indian National Congress. So the common fallacy sedulously maintained and propagated by interested parties is not only mischievous it has a tendency to mislead the unwary to the belief that the Forward Bloc is an anti-Congress organisation with no other political mission than to feed fat the personal grudge against the Old Guard of the Congress. Nothing can be more absurd and rediculous. The birth of the Forward Bloc is not due to malice or ill-will on the part of its founder; on the contray, its emergence as a political body is the result of persistent demand from millions who became restive at the dangerous drift of the Congress towards constitutionalism. For the last five years mass opinion formed itself, it fretted and foamed for the first time in 1937 when the Congress yoked itself to the provincial part of the administrative machinery and finally it burst into a cataclysm during the presidential election in January last.

It can hardly be denied that the Bloc has approached the major political problems of India from a realistic point of view. So it has proposed solutions which are eminently practical, free from religious and philosophical considerations. For recent political history of India bears out the fact that too much emphasis on religious and philosophical issues can only turn away the masses from the living political realities. A man in the street has no fascination for such shadowy entities as "inner light", "new light" etc. These only muddle things and lead nowhere. It is the practicability and the comprehensibility of a political programme that appeal to the masses-for masses on the last analysis will be found to be the real vanguard of a dynamic political movement. Unfortunately the recent activities of the Indian National Congress under Gandhian leadership betrays a systematic attempt to neglect the stark realities of the situation. It is dangerous to conduct a mass movement from the olympic height of spirituality which is beyond the reach and comprchension of the struggling masses. In a future mass movement it should be the first and forcmost duty of its leader to stear clear of spiritual shoals and quick sands that have a tendency to retard the wheels of national progress.

In this connection the attitude of the Forward Bloc torwards war will serve as an eye-opener to those who still fondle with the idea that it has no definite role to perform. The vaguely non-committed attitude of the Working Committee towards the war stands in sharp contrast with the bold and practical programme of the Forward Bloc declared from various platforms

by its illustrious leader. The issue of war alone should convince the critics that the political programme of the Forward Bloc is not prompted by any sense of opportunism and defeatism.

It is the considered belief of a large section of people to-day that the Indian National Congress will have to undergo a national democratic revolution. The bourgeois democratic revolution is still to take place in India. The social changes brought about by it are necessary for the progress and prosperity of the society as a whole. All the social groups excepting the feudal aristocracy and those linked up with it by ties of interest, are vitally interested in this revolution. Being, for the period, culturally the most advanced class, and directly concerned with the social transformation, the urban middle class will normally become the intellectual leaders of the revolution. Now the Indian National Congress as a powerful democratic organisation has a very definite role to play in that upheaval. At the present moment as a progressive political organisation, the Congress wields enormous influence over the masses and during the last two years its activities have been greatly influenced by socialistic ideas that are gradually gaining ground in the country, But the present leadership of the Congress finds itself sadly out of tune with them. It has been abundantly clear that it is opposed to their infiltration in the Congress. Now the mission of the Forward Bloc is to mobilise the restless left forces in the country under its banner and to accelerate the national democratic revolution which is yet to take place.

It will carry the forward banner in the struggle to usher in that transformation, Here-in lies the importance and the justification of the Forward Bloc. Rightly has it been said that it has come to fulfil a historical necessity.

D. M. Mazumder

Directed By Sir P. C. Roy

THE

THE BENGAL SALT CO., LTD.

5, Clive Ghat Street, Calcutta.

"Bengal Salt" has captured the Calcutta market.
Share selling closes by Dec. 1939.

Apply for prospectus with share application form.

NATH BANK

LIMITED.

Head Office: - CALCUTTA.

PHONE: CAL. 3253 (3 lines).

BRANCHES ALL OVER

BENGAL, BEHAR, U. P., DELHI & AS'SAM.
ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

Mr. K. N. DALAL — Managing Director.

WRITE-CALL OR PHONE

Indian Ferro Concrete Co.

For "IFCCO" BIG ROOFING TILES

The Most Scientific & Economic Tiles For Roofing

NO TEE—NO CENTERING— NO CEILING PLASTER

NO CEILING PLASTER
Recommended by eminent

Engineers. Tosted by Govt.

Also R. C. Door & Window

Frames & R. C. Beams

FOR PERMANENCY, ECONOMY & BEAUTY.

18, Raja Woodmunt Street, Calcutta Phone Cal. 1946.

BHOLA NATH GHOSE'S

HISTORICAL DRAMA

বাকারাও

Pub :-D. M. LIBRARY.

Calcutta Cancer Institute

All kinds of Cancer, Tumour and Sarcoma are very successfully treated here. Many have been radically cured. Apply for free literature to the principal, Rajvaidya Probhakar Chattopadhy, M.A. 172, Bowbazer St, Calcutta.

Phone 4039 B. B.

DESHA-GAURAB SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AT ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S SAKTI OUSHADHALAYA DACCA.

"I visited the Sakti Oushadhalaya Dacca, to-day and was very kindly shown round the premises. Indegenous medicines are prepared here on a large scale and in accordance with Ayurvedic principles. The institution reflects great credit on Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarty, whose enterprise has brought Ayurvedic medicines within the reach of the poor. I wish all success to the institution which he has built up after so much enterprise and hard labour for a long period. The success of Sakti Oushadhalaya, Dacca, means the popularity of Ayurveda throughout the country and this in its turn means the relief of suffering humanity."

Props:—Mathuramohan, Lalmohan, and Phanindramohan Mukhopadhyay Chakravarty

Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.
Dacca, 6-6-1939.

D. N. BOSE'S HOSIERY FACTORY



GANJEES
BEST BY ALL TESTS.
36/1A, SARKAR LANE,

CALCUTTA.

PHONE: B. B. 2165.



Branches: -- Chandpur • Puranbazar • Bajapti • Baburhat • Matlabgunj • Sonapur (Noakhali) • Taltala • Lohajong • Kidderpur • Gardenreach •

CALCUTTA MINERL SUPPLY CO., LTD.

31, JACKSON LANE, CALCUTTA.

Telegram I—CHINAMATI,

Telephone i-Office 1397 B. B. Works 1592 B. B. Residence 4627 B. B.

Dealers in Indian Minerals and Mineral Products also Raw materials for Soap.

Manufacturers of silicate Soda, Plaster of Paris, Soft Soap and Talc Powder.

FOR RATES AND PARTICULARS ENQUIRE OF

H. DUTT & Co.-Mg. Agents.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BIJANENDU BHOWMICK AT POPULAR PRINTING WORKS, 47, MADHU ROY LANE, CALCUTTA.