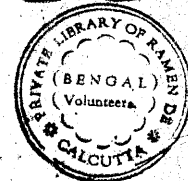


Our Working Committee

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE



VOL. I. No. 17

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY DECEMBER 2, 1939

ONE ANNA



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Sd/ Keshabchandra Chakrabarty.

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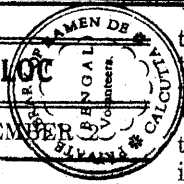
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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939



Our Working Committee

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc met at Calcutta on the 24th November and the following days. Representatives of other Leftist organisations like the All-India Kishan Sabha and the National Front Group attended on invitation and their presence and advice were exceedingly helpful. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati who is a host in himself, besides being the General Secretary of the All-India Kishan Sabha, and who is a tower of strength to the Left Movement in India was good enough to visit Calcutta twice within a fortnight—his second visit being on the occasion of the meeting of our All-India Working Committee. The Committee did a great deal of hard thinking and heart-searching and passed sixteen resolutions on questions of varying importance. These resolutions have already appeared in the daily press but they are also published in one lot in this issue.

The main resolution deals with the present situation in India. It examines in great detail the stand taken by the Congress Working Committee with regard to the major questions of War Policy and India's National Demand and adversely criticises that Committee on some points. This resolution deserves the attention of the public. The central point in it is that the position and stand of the Congress Working Committee have not yet been clarified with the result that the people at large are left in considerable doubt. Some of the utterances and statements of members of that Committee as also of Mahatma Gandhi create the impression that they mean a fight. Others create a contrary impression—as, for instance, the remark of Mahatmaji to the effect that he will resist Civil Disobedience if started and of Sjt. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, to the effect that the Congress Ministers are on a three months' holiday. Over and above

these remarks, news trickle in from time to time which tend to confirm the impression that the Congress Working Committee will not ultimately show fight. For instance, it is reported from Bihar that the Advisers who are carrying on the administration since the recent ministerial resignations, have in some cases been ordering that files are to be put up before the Congress Ministers when they come back to office.

The Forward Bloc has made it clear more than once that in the event of the Congress Working Committee not giving the lead expected of it, it will endeavour to do so—though the best thing would undoubtedly be for the official call to go forth in the name of the Congress. The point at issue now is as to what the C.W.C. will ultimately decide. There should be no room for complaint that it was prepared to give the call and that somebody else butted in. So far, the C.W.C. has been asking others to wait and to give it a chance to satisfy the public demand. But there should be a limit to our patience. Consequently, the sooner the C.W.C. comes to a decision, one way or the other, and announces it, the better for everybody concerned.

As in many other cases, double-faced propaganda is now being conducted against us by our political opponents. We are being condemned for threatening to act independently of the C.W.C. and of Mahatma Gandhi. We are at the same time being adversely criticised for not declaring war on the British Government. Members of the C.W.C. are reported to have openly challenged us in public meetings to go ahead and launch a struggle. Either attack leaves us unaffected, for we have to determine the course of action that would be most conducive to our national welfare, regardless of the smiles or frowns of our critics.

The declared attitude of the Forward Bloc should not be construed as a threat or a challenge to the C. W. C.—for it is not so. That is why it has also been repeatedly stated that the most desirable thing would be for the C. W. C. to move forward and have an undivided

Congress behind itself. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that our attitude has had and will have a steadying effect on the C.W.C. Who can now tell what the C.W.C. would have decided after the outbreak of war in September or whether the Congress Ministries would have resigned by now, but for the bold stand taken by the Leftists on the issues of War policy and National Demand?

The resolution on the International situation is also important since it defines clearly our attitude towards recent world developments. It is not generally recognised that the countries primarily responsible for the mess that we now see in Europe are Great Britain and France. Both these countries have encouraged Fascism in various forms out of an implacable hatred for Soviet Russia and have sought to eliminate the latter from European Politics. Further, Great Britain is responsible for undermining and ultimately breaking the elaborate systems of alliances which France, largely through M. Laval's efforts, built up on the Continent with a view to encircling Germany. After France was thereby reduced to impotence, she naturally threw herself into the arms of Britain. In consequence thereof, Europe outside Russia, Germany and Italy, is today being governed by British Foreign Policy. Russia had consistently and tenaciously endeavoured to secure an understanding with Great Britain and France and also with Poland. It was only after she was convinced of the utter hopelessness of this effort, that she decided to enter into a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. The statements on Foreign Policy made in recent months by M. Molotov on behalf of the Soviet Government are remarkable for their clarity and transparent lucidity and should serve as an example to all Foreign Ministers.

The recent arrest of Pandit V. D. Tripathi, Secretary of the All India Committee and President of the Provincial Committee of the Forward Bloc is extremely significant. It has brought into prominence before the public eye what we had already known before—viz, that the repressive policy against the

Forward Bloc is in full swing. To use a rather unhappy but very effective expression, Tripathiji is the uncrowned king of his own district of Unao in U. P. Besides his position in the Forward Bloc, he is the Chairman of the Unao Municipality, Member of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, member of the Executive Council of the Provincial Congress Committee, of the All India Congress Committee and of the War Council of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee. The arrest of a leader of such outstanding position carries its own moral.

The other resolutions passed by the A. I. W. C. of the Forward Bloc will show that we are now under cross-fire. There is governmental repression on the one hand and unmitigated vendetta of the Congress High Command on the other. At the moment, the latter is causing more harassment than the former. But we shall survive both.

The resolution on the Bengal Political prisoners was a timely one. It made it clear that the Forward Bloc stood by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in its pledge to the Political Prisoners. There is no room for apprehension that that pledge will not be redeemed. Whether as a separate issue or as an integral part of larger All-India issues, the Bengal P.C.C. will fight for the cause of the Political Prisoners and in this task it will have the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the Forward Bloc.

The resolutions dealing with Muslims under different heads also deserve attention and perusal and particularly of Muslims themselves. They clearly illustrate our manner of approach to the Hindu-Muslim problem. A special resolution on the Majlis-i-Ahrar was absolutely necessary, because the Ahrars have not unfortunately received as much attention so far as they should really deserve.

In conclusion, let it be noted from now by all concerned that the next Independence Day on the 26th. January, 1940, will have special significance. Our Working Committee has referred to this matter as well.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Congress and Ministries

The withdrawal of the Congress ministries was announced with a flourish of trumpets. The Indian press gave the news under the banner headlines. The platform rang with cheers for the Congress. The Rightist leaders averred that it was a heroic act of self-sacrifice. The Rightist rank and file welcomed it as a great gesture of something more heroic to come. The anti-British foreign press blessed it as meaning an act of defiance. It was certainly received in the country as a matter of great moment, an earnest of developments that should determine the course of the Indian struggle for independence. Really, it raised expectations in the country. The resignation of the Congress Ministries, read in the context in which it was done, should be a matter of significance. It should mean, first and foremost, disapproval of Britain's war and peace aims, disapproval of British policy regarding India, a definite and well-planned stage in the preparation for India's struggle for freedom. It should mean all this, provided however it was sincere.

The policy of masterly inactivity that is being followed by the Congress High Command after the withdrawal of the Congress Ministries has belied the expectations that it raised in the minds of unsophisticated people. We are told that the role of the Congress at present is to sulk in a wise passivity. We are only "non-co-operating" and non-co-operation is to be clearly and consciously distinguished from civil disobedience. The speeches and writings of the Rightist leaders are a diligent exercise in moderation, and the people are being told not to do or say things that may be calculated to grate upon the ears of the British authority in India or in any way to embarrass it. The discontent that is said to be divine in a subject race is being deliberately smothered. On the contrary, all idea of direct action, all idea of something more significant to follow the resignation is being zealously discounted. Sufficient hint has been given by some of the Rightist leaders and by many of the ex-Ministers that a come-

back is within the range of probability. A distinguished Madras Minister is said to have stated in a public meeting that the resignations meant only a "holiday". Mr. Satyamurti of course can afford to be more outspoken. He has not only regretted the absence of the Congress Ministers but would fain see them back in their places in the secretariats. In the North-West Frontier province, in U. P., in Bihar, stories are current to the effect that the Congress Ministries are soon staging a come-back. The statement issued to the press by T. Prakasam of Madras clearly shows that the withdrawal of the Congress Ministries was not a very heroic affair at all and is not related to the struggle for Indian freedom. It was a virtue of necessity. Immediately after the outbreak of war in Europe, the permanent officials began functioning independently of the Ministries and without reference to them. The Congress has only saved itself from the odium of bad and unpleasant actions by ordering the withdrawal.

For the Indian people the resignation of the Congress Ministries can have meaning only if it is followed to its logical conclusion. Nowhere in the history of the world has any independence movement thrived on inaction. Passivity, wise or otherwise, is no policy. In a supreme moment of Indian history, the Congress leadership is showing a woeful confusion of mind. It is time the rank and file of the Congress were alive to the dangers of passivity, and freed themselves from illusions.

Britain's Aims

In two of his recent speeches Mr. Chamberlain has proclaimed the war aims and the peace aims of Britain. The second speech may be said to be supplementary and, to a certain extent, explanatory to the first. The speeches may have been a disappointment to the credulous and unthinking, but to the discerning they have been nothing more than a fun. Destruction of Hitlerism (mind, not of Hitler!) is the war aim of Britain and the Premier's hope is that "if the German people could be convinced

that their aggressive spirit was as bad for themselves as for the rest of the world, they would abandon it." It seems that Mahatma Gandhi has not preached his doctrine so long quite in vain, for it has, after all, touched the heart of the British Lion. But the Lion cannot become a lamb all at once. So follows the rider, "If we could secure that they did abandon it without bloodshed, so much the better, *but abandoned it must be.*" (Italics ours.) Here again is the roar of the Lion! If the enemy cannot be changed, he must be destroyed. For what? Now comes an enunciation of Britain's noble peace aims. "Our desire would be to establish a new Europe not in the sense of re-drawing the map according to the ideas of the victors, but a Europe with a new spirit in which the nations of Europe would approach their difficulties with goodwill and mutual tolerance."

From the declaration we are assured that Europe will have an end of its troubles after the war. Peace will descend on it like a gentle rain from Heaven and everything will be all right. But the question remained, what about the two continents, called Asia and Africa? The Premier has supplied the answer in his second speech. "I feel that Europe is the key to the situation and if Europe can be settled, the rest of the world would not prove so difficult a problem." The implication is quite clear. If the nations of Europe can square up accounts among themselves, the rest of the task will be very easy of accomplishment. It is needless to point out that it is nothing else than the old imperialist slogan—the whiteman is to carry the "burden" of the black for all time to come. In other words, the imperialist *status quo* is to be maintained for good, at least as long as possible.

It is good that the Premier has himself pricked the bubble. The vaguely tall professions of the British statesmen (including Mr. Chamberlain himself) about the establishment of democracy and peace after the war have now been proved to be nothing more than mere words. Not that India had any illusions about Britain's war aims; at least the awakened, alert and sensible

sections among the Indians knew as much from the very beginning. To them Mr. Chamberlain's speeches have been no revelation, either sad or pleasant. They are sure about the destiny of their motherland and they are determined to achieve it. They know that there is a higher Dispensation than that of the British, French or German. They have a clear and unfailing vision of the same. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches have only tickled them to abundant fun. The British Premier wants to destroy Hitlerism. But imperialist interests have so dulled his wits that it has evidently failed him that by doing away with Hitlerism in one country, he will virtually be helping to keep it alive in others. For whatever the garb, are not fascism and imperialism twins in spirit?

CURRENT COMMENTS

Finis ?

By the time it is in print, the fate of Finland will be decided. Would it be an epitaph that will be written in smoking ruins of Helsinki? Or, would it be a prologue to a new Finnish regime of the Finnish people rising out of those ashes? To a great extent—almost solely—that depends on the wish of Moscow today. Much is not known of the land of lakes and mists. It still remains to be learnt why this State stood out against Moscow and refused to settle the outstanding questions. Was its independence really imperilled by the Moscow terms? Was it safe in those pre-September days when for years Finland challenged the Soviet neighbour and set up all military projects that were a threat to Leningrad? Are then safety of Finland and the safety of Leningrad two irreconcilable things? We refuse to believe in such alternatives. The safety and interest at any rate of the two peoples, we know, can be well reconciled and happy harmony made to prevail though their Governments may find that impossible. The latest declaration of M. Molotov is this that the Soviet is not out to crush Finland, but only to remove

M. Erkkö and other "war-mongers" who control the destiny of Finland. Certainly the voice of M. Erkkö in the face of the developing crisis during the whole month surprised, and even amazed all. Was he acting up to the cue supplied from across the seas by some great Powers? He should have in that case known the fate of Col. Beck and Mosciski. The fall of Poland revealed why these ruling men refused Soviet's hand of friendship. Behind the deliberate challenge of M. Erkkö may now be detected a similar sectional basis of interest rather than the noble resolve to defend the Finnish fatherland. In that case, removal of M. Erkkö and his conferees would not disturb Finnish life. Or, if a more popular regime comes up, Finnish life would know only a change for the better. That at the moment appears to be the aim of Moscow—only as a preparation for Finland for finally merging as an autonomous unit in U.S.S.R. At any rate, in Finland it is not the Finnish Government alone who are on trial—the Soviet too as the liberator of the oppressed masses is on its trial. Finland will know no *finis* as yet.

Nazi-imitators

"Hitler's declaration of war had come as a god-send to the present Government in Bengal," said S. J. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on Wednesday (Nov. 29) at the Bengal Assembly in supporting the adjournment motion to censure suppression of public opinion in the province. Indeed, to Herr Hitler must go the hearty thanks of our Bengal ministers though they have to call him names in order to prove that they hate Hitlerism like their masters, the Europeans, who keep them in the Bengal saddle. But imitation is the sincerest form of compliment that Huq ministry pays to the German Fuehrer. They do not like public meetings; they do not want public demonstrations. But, no this is not correct. The Nazi Fuehrer replaces public meetings and free expression of opinion by Nazi meetings in the public and widest publication of Nazi opinion. This is the right Fuehrer technique. In Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin also

bans only public meetings and expression of opinion but his men can hold anything in the public and broad-cast Nazimuddin-politics in any language they like. And Sir Nazimuddin is a totalitarian too: he would not stand any nonsense like Congress propaganda for democracy and independence that for release of political prisoners, or that of the Kisan Sabha for the peasants, or that of the Trade Unions for jute workers or that of the Hindu reaction which under the Hindu Sabha banner tries to reach the Hindu ears. In Bengal there is no room for any other school of thought but that of the Moslem League. Or should we, considering that the Bengal ministers prove their independence of that body by setting at naught the League plea for civil liberties, call it European-Muslim League? So, *Euro-Muslim Totalitarianism* must rule Bengal on all fronts. Mr. Dutt Majumdar argued that even the I. C. S. which succeeded Congress ministers did not take recourse to the measures that the Bengal Ministry launched within a week of the war. But I. C. S. are only bureaucratic whereas our ministers are totalitarian. They are at war—not with Hitler, but like Hitler, for totalitarianism against democratic rights of the people.

Undermining.

We knew, it was coming. The war is on,—and so, the Bengal Government must put under restraints all dangerous people. The Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code do their work. But they are become so much a part of our life and the daily routine of the Huq regime, that 'war-atmosphere' will simply pale into dullness if we still rely on them solely. So, if it is "All Quiet on the Western Front,"

if Britain knows hardly any necessity of banning all processions, meetings, etc., and, if there the Dora of the times cannot show practically any victims, the war on this Eastern Front in Bengal must not be allowed by Huq ministry to grow so drab. It is raised, and raised with fury, on the people of Bengal. Long distance bombarding of Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq from outside Bengal was faithfully supported by the local action here. Bengal is safe—from all public life. But mine-layers also must prove their worth. So, the secret service get their victims. From Chittagong comes the news of the arrest and internment of Kirti Majumder and Jamini Sen, two workers on the peasant front. We expect the mine-laying and mine warfare to claim more victims. But Sir Nazimuddin as an old veteran of the last Andersonian era must have known that such devices only drive the popular movement underground, they cannot undermine it. If the Indian movement dies, it will die of the poison gas of its own manufacture or of internal poisoning. It is not the Bengal Government, but we ourselves, who can undermine our endeavours to shape our own destiny. The purpose of Imperialist repression of our national aspirations is best furthered by the suppression of the same from the Top.

They Sigh and Pine

Yes, there is now no room for doubt that the Congress Ministers have been bursting for return to the *guddees* from which a cruel call from Wardha has drafted them away. In this respect, the ever vociferous Mr. Satyamurti has played the Jacob to the clever Mr. Rajagopalchariar, the Esau. The ex-Premier of Madras has also

been racking his brains to find out some means to end the present impasse. After him has come Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, the ex-Premier of Bihar. He has begun to sigh quite audibly and pine at the separation from the members of the Police and Civil Service. In a recent speech he is reported to have "paid credit to their spirit of service and loyalty" and to have further remarked that "the pangs of separation swayed both sides at the time of the parting on October 31 last." But let not our Ministers wither too much; the days of their re-union with soul-partners are not far off. For although the Government have "banged the door", is not the Working Committee bent on knocking it again and again with pathetic perseverance? Such ardent efforts are never destined to fail.

The caravan will Pass on

To the few righteous, but ineffective voices in Britain, Prof Harold Laski has now added his. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* he has pleaded with his characteristic zeal for the liquidation of imperialism so far as India is concerned. The reasons adduced by him are firstly, that an "impressive" section of opinion in America has already become suspicious about Britain's War aims; and secondly, the working-class opinion in Britain has been roused to "wide-spread hostility" by the present attitude of the British Government. Prof Laski has drawn a lurid picture of the "disaster" that will overtake Britain in case she does not grant India the right of self-determination. But he may rest assured that the ruling classes in his own country will never be scared by it. They have their *lathis*, jails, soldiers, arms and ammunition to deal with any situation that may crop up. Laskis, Attles and others may cry themselves hoarse, but the imperial caravan will pass on as usual.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

WANTED A RIGHT OUT LOOK

—By AMITA ROY

The Calcutta branch of the All India Women's Conference held its annual session the other day. The most remarkable thing in the whole show was the address of its president, Begum Hamid Ali, who entered an emphatic plea for the abolition of separate electorates and the evolution of a composite nationhood. The demand coming from a *Muslim lady, specially of her standing*, must have assumed an added grace and importance. But speaking frankly, except the president and her address, the whole show was utterly common place, stereotyped, even dull. The attendance was poor on the first day and naturally poorer on the second; enthusiasm was at a low ebb; and looked at from a right angle of vision, the resolutions adopted must be characterised as hopelessly inadequate in importance. If conferences of this nature are taken to be the measure of success that women's movement in India has been able to score as yet, the impartial verdict is bound to be that it has been muddled by the absence of any healthy outlook. There is no well-marked destination where the movement is to go; the steps are slow, timid, possibly ill directed too; to put bluntly, the whole affair appears to be bereft of much redeeming possibility.

Let us look at our problem straight and clear. We, the women folk of India, have our own problems some what distinct from men's, but it will not do to forget the all important fact that we form an organic part of the broad Indian nation. We, the awakened womanhood, shall have to put in our share in tackling the national problems; and what problem is greater for India to-day than the problem of national bondage? Once the country becomes free, the woman's question will be automatically solved in the course of carrying out an enlightened plan of national reconstruction. We have before our very eyes the inspiring example of Turkey. The womanhood of that country sank to the lowest depths of ignorance and superstition.

But after coming to power Kemal Ataturk was able, in the course of only a

few years, to bring about an all-round regeneration in its condition with the result that the woman of Turkey have been able today to walk hand-to-hand with their enlightened sisters of the West. This broad truth has to be realised that without a national State national progress is almost an impossibility and the woman's question too, taken comprehensively, can not be solved before freedom of the country is achieved.

Having looked at the woman's problem from this standpoint, the resolutions that were adopted by the Calcutta Conference appeared to me to be of paltry importance, almost meaningless. Do not such matters as the appointment of inspectresses for girls' hostels, protection of women's associations (with the help of policemen's) improvement of girls' dietry etc, pale into very shade before the paramount question of attaining national freedom? Are not these things ridiculously insignificant? Let me not be misunderstood; I think I have not been unreasonably critical about the conference. I realise that the small reforms that these resolutions have aimed at, will mean some good to women at large. But what contend is that, they will come along naturally in the sweep of changes that a drive at comprehensive national reconstruction will bring in its trail; or what is more likely, their necessity will automatically disappear at that time.

The conference has also passed resolutions regarding the various social and legal disabilities from which the womanhood of India suffers at present and has urged their removal by legislation. Of course, these disabilities are extremely galling, almost crushing in their effects. But without wide-spread education among women—education that will rescue them from the shackles of superstition and ignorance—mere legislation has not the ghost of a chance to succeed. A few laws in the nature contemplated have already been enacted. But they have been honoured more in breach or in callous indifference to them than in faithful observance. There is nothing to wonder at in it. With

minds fettered with ignorance and prejudices, the women of villages and even of muffed towns have naturally come to look on them as dangerous social innovations. It is needless to say that the city-bred, enlightened women, who form an insignificant minority of the total womanhood of the country, have hardly any necessity for such legislations because they are in no way the victims of inhuman social rigours. To import education among the teeming multitudes of women is a stupendous task which the State alone can undertake. But to hope for it from the present Government is a veritable mid-summer night's dream, specially in view of the fact that after 150 years' administration, it has not been able to educate even 10 p.c. of the menfolk of the country.

What is, therefore, urgently called for is a right perspective about our problem which is the problem for the whole of our country. Happily, it is not altogether about today. Had it been so, then hundreds of women would not have taken a plunge into the national movement and braved all sorts of hardships. They alone may be said to have the right vision about the future of their country and that of its womanhood. All other voices but theirs are but tinkling cymbals. They have hardly any chance of reaching the heart of Indian woman at large.

INDIAN POLITICAL SECRET

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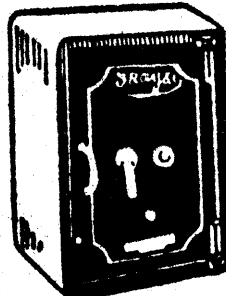


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All-India Forward Bloc Working Committee

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CALCUTTA SITTING



Resolution on the present situation

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc notes with utter disappointment the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee in its last session at Allahabad.

The Congress Working Committee is fully conscious of the character of the present war and refers to it in its latest resolution at Allahabad in the following words: "The present war like the World War of 1914-18 is being carried on for imperialist ends, and British Imperialism is to remain entrenched in India." It should be clear from this as to what the War aims of the British Government are in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee. The resolution of the Hari-pura Congress has given a clear direction as to how Congress men should act in such circumstances and there is, therefore, no conceivable ground for delay in implementing that resolution. Consequently, it is surprising that in the resolution mentioned above, the Congress Working Committee goes on to remark that "the Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honourable settlement, even though the British Government has banged the door in the face of the Congress." Such an attitude is derogatory to the dignity of the Indian nation and this Committee, therefore, completely dissociates itself from it.

In the view of this Committee the tactics of a national struggle demanded that the Congress Ministers should have given effect to the Hari-pura Congress resolution while remaining in office and should have faced dismissal in consequence thereof. The deliberate avoidance on their part of a policy of militant obstruction, their keen desire to keep up friendly relations with the Governor and services, their paying handsome tributes to the Governors and the services subsequent to their resignation—have not helped to create the atmosphere that is so much needed to-day

but have rather created the impression that they do not desire to follow up this step to its logical conclusion. Nevertheless, this Committee welcomes the resignation of Congress ministers as a step in the right direction. It is, however, to be regretted that while no further advance has been made subsequent to resignation the Congress Working Committee has been continuing its drive against the Leftists in the name of unity, discipline and purification and has thereby been weakening the Congress, the greatest national revolutionary organisation and the common front of the Indian people against Imperialism.

While the whole country has been expecting a bold lead from the Congress Working Committee ever since the beginning of September, a new and a third argument, in addition to the old ones of corruption and violence in the Congress, is being urged by Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders in defence of the Rightist policy of refusing to launch a struggle. This argument is to the effect that a national struggle will be resisted by the Muslims, with the result that communal riots will take place. This argument is futile and and fatuous.

Not only is there no apprehension of any communal trouble obstructing a mass struggle for freedom, but such an allegation also amounts to an unwarranted slur on patriotic Muslims. Even if stray riots occur, as happened at Dacca and Chittagong and some other places in 1930 and 1931 at the instigation of the enemies of Indian freedom they cannot afford to serve as a pretext for shirking a courageous and straightforward policy. The Committee is inclined to hold that what is really responsible for holding back the Congress Working Committee is the apprehension that if a struggle is launched, the leadership may pass into the hands of more militant and progressive groups, or parties genuinely representative of the masses who will not compromise on the issue of Indian Independence.

The Committee is pained beyond measure to read some of the recent

utterances and writings of Mahatma Gandhi particularly his remark that he would resist Civil Disobedience. But this attitude, however, regrettable cannot deflect this Committee from the path of duty in the cause of the nation. There is no doubt that if the Mahatma adopts the suicidal course of resisting a national struggle, he will be strengthening the hands of British Imperialism. The Committee hopes that he will yet reconsider what he has stated in this connection and that if he is not in a position to give the lead himself, he will at least give his support to all those who may be prepared to go forward.

It is now the duty of the Congress Working Committee not to leave the country in doubt any longer but to declare clearly and unambiguously whether the resignation of Congress Ministries will be followed to its logical conclusion and if so, when and in what manner. This will clarify the present position and enable those people to act who are determined to go forward if the Congress Working Committee fails the country in this hour of supreme crisis.

The Committee authorises the President to take necessary steps and give necessary directions as soon as the decision of the Congress Working Committee is known and if necessary to convene a meeting of the Committee or of the presidium for the purpose not later than the end of December at the outside.

International situation

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc has given anxious thought to the present international situation and to the causes thereof. It is constrained to come to the conclusion that the responsibility for the present chaos devolves primarily on Great Britain and France. The iniquities perpetrated by these powers through the Treaty of Versailles constitute the root causes of the conflagration that has now engulfed Europe.

The appearance of Fascism in Europe in various forms as a sequel to the Treaty

of Versailles was indirectly encouraged by the Western Powers, and particularly by Great Britain, largely owing to a hatred for Soviet Russia and its principles and policy. The Munich Pact in September 1938, was also largely inspired by this hatred for Soviet Russia. In addition to this, Great Britain and another motive behind her foreign policy viz., to weaken French hegemony in Europe.

After the rise of the Nazis to power in Germany a frantic attempt was made by the French Government to build up a system of alliances in Europe with a view to encircling Germany. It was the British Government that was primarily responsible for breaking the Franco-Italian Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact and thereby reducing France to impotence so that she may be forced to throw herself into the arms of Great Britain. The result today is that outside Soviet Russia Germany and Italy, Europe is dominated by British foreign policy.

The Committee notes that the Soviet Government which has consistently worked for peace and has sought the help of Great Britain and France in this task has always been treated with scant courtesy and consideration by the latter. The League of Nations which had been built up with the object of maintaining peace through a system of collective security has been sabotaged by the Big Powers and particularly by Great Britain and France as a consequence of which it is now virtually dead. Further, it was largely due to the instigation of Great Britain and France that Poland did not enter into an alliance with Soviet Russia which she should have done in her own interest and for which the U. S. S. R. was so anxious. The last attempt by Soviet Russia to come to an understanding with the Western Powers as against Germany was made before the outbreak of the present war, but as has been revealed by the Soviet Prime Minister, M. Molotov, these powers were then playing a game of duplicity with the Soviet Union, as the result of which the latter felt itself in a state of isolation.

In these circumstances, the Committee can very well understand the motive behind the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact and the action of the Soviet Government in marching into Poland after the defeat and flight of the Polish Govern-

ment. Subsequent events have demonstrated that the policy and action of the Soviet Government have served to resist the further aggression both of Western Imperialism and German Fascism. Incidentally the Soviet Government have been able to introduce a new socio-economic order based on justice in the Russian-speaking part of Poland liberated by the Red Army. In conclusion, the Committee welcomes the recent declaration of Soviet foreign policy by Prime Minister M. Molotov on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution which has served to expose the hollow pretensions of the Imperialist and Fascist belligerent powers.

Bengal Political Prisoners

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc has read with deep disappointment and regret the belated pronouncement of the Bengal Ministry regarding the political prisoners and the nation-wide demand for their release. That 87 political prisoners who have already spent long years in confinement should still be languishing in prison two

and a half years after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy is a slur on the Ministry of the province. The Committee notes that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee stands by its pledge to do everything possible, including recourse to satyagraha should the need arise, in order to secure their release. This Committee approves of the resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. on this subject on the 30th October last wherein it declared *inter alia* that since the outbreak of war, the problem of the release of political prisoners had become a part of the larger problems connected with war policy and the national demand for Purna Swaraj. In the view of this Committee, too, the solution of the latter problems will automatically bring about the solution of the former and it would therefore be natural and proper to concentrate all attention and energy on the solution of the problems relating to war policy and the demand for Swaraj. This Committee notes with regret the dual propaganda carried on simultaneously by its political opponents with a view to discrediting

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it in the eyes of the public. It is propagated on the one hand that no Congressman should defy the Congress Working Committee or Mahatma Gandhi by striking out a line for himself. On the other hand, the Leftists are adversely criticised for not going forward to launch a struggle on their own. To remove all possible misunderstanding, it would be desirable for Bengal Congressmen to make it clear once again that they will in any case redeem their pledge to the political prisoners either as an integral part of the All-India issues or as a separate issue. The Committee assures Bengal Congressmen of its whole-hearted sympathy and support in this task.

GOVERNMENTAL REPRESSION

The All India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc condemns the Governmental repression that has been accentuated in different parts of the country since the outbreak of war in September and which has been directed solely against anti-Imperialists of various persuasions. The Committee also notes with strong disapproval the further aggravation of governmental repression in U. P., Andhra, Tamil Nad and other provinces since the resignation of Congress ministries.

It congratulates Pandit Jadunandan Sharma of Bihar and S. Manmatha Nath Gupta and S. Ramdularey Trivedi of U. P. and other members of the Forward Bloc on their recent arrest and incarceration. The Committee desires to remind the British Government that such a policy of repression ill becomes a Government that is supposed to advocate the cause of democracy and freedom in the world.

The Committee draws the attention of the All India Muslim League to the policy and activities of the Governments of the Punjab and Bengal that are under its influence and control. It is a matter of deep regret, the Committee feels that since the inception of the war, in these two provinces arrest and persecution and curtailment of civil liberties have been much more widespread and drastic than in provinces administered by Congress ministries. It is noteworthy that the Punjab Government, that is supposed to look after the interests of the Muslims, has made no discrimination between Hindu and Muslim anti-Imperialists as is evident from the treatment accorded to the Majlis-i-Ahrrar during the last two months.

The Committee emphatically condemns that the Bengal Government for the regime it has introduced since the outbreak of war, where under public meetings have been banned all over the province, the Press Ordinance has been applied in a drastic and rigorous manner and arrest and persecution have been increased as also the harassment of political workers of all Leftist parties and groups. This regime amounts in effect to a complete denial of civil liberty and the responsibility, for it rests primarily and directly on a Government that is controlled by

the All-India Muslim League and indirectly on the British Government that professes to be champion of democracy and freedom.

MUSLIMS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The Committee registers its strong protest at the unfair allegation made by Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders to the effect that Indian Muslims will resist a national struggle for freedom, with the result that communal riots will occur. The Committee considers that such an accusation is altogether unfounded and that no freedom-loving Muslim can possibly tolerate it and the Committee has no doubt that Indian Muslims will emphatically repudiate this baseless and unwarranted slur. It is confident that poor and exploited Muslims, who recognise no sin so heinous as slavery and whose passion for freedom is transparently clear, will come forward in their thousands and tens of thousands to join the national struggle for Independence.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc records its intense appreciation of the progress of the Forward Bloc in the North-West Frontier Province. The wonderful response of our Muslim brethren in that province to the call of the Forward Bloc has greatly heartened and convinced the Committee that the great Mussalman community will not lag behind in the onward march to freedom. The Committee notes with satisfaction the success of the Provincial Conference of the Forward Bloc in the N. W. F. P. It congratulates Hakim Abdul

Gant of Rawalpindi, one of the comrades who contributed to the success of the Conference, on his arrest as a sequel to that Conference.

The Committee notes with indignation and sorrow the persecution of Kisans in that province at the hands of the Khans and extends to the Kisans its sincere sympathy and support in their heroic resistance to such persecution.

The attention of the Committee has been drawn to the ban placed by the Congress Working Committee upon Congressmen organising or joining a volunteer corps apart from the Khudai Khidmatgars. This is an unjust restriction placed upon the legitimate liberties of Congressmen and is detrimental to the progress of the freedom movement. Such a ban is unheard of in the history of the Congress and is prejudicial to preparations for coming eventualities. Consequently this Committee does not feel itself bound to conform to such a decision and directs the Provincial Committee of the Bloc to continue its work of organising a volunteer corps.

MAJLIS-I-AHRAR

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc warmly congratulates the Majlis-i-Ahrrar on its fearless and patriotic activities since the beginning of September, which had led to the arrest and imprisonment of several hundred of its members. It is a matter for supreme gratification that the Majlis-i-Ahrrar has not been a prey to vacillation of any sort and has from the very outset given a bold lead to the country. The activities of the Majlis, besides upholding the

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prestige of the Indian nation, have incidentally given the lie direct to the propaganda carried on by a section of our countrymen, including Rightist leaders of the Congress, to the effect that the Muslims of India are or will be opposed to the national struggle for India's Independence.

BELUCHISTAN

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc sends its cordial greetings to the people of Beluchistan and assures them of its wholehearted sympathy and support in their heroic struggle for political and social progress. In particular the Committee expresses its firm conviction that the people of Beluchistan are entitled to the same political status as the rest of India. The Committee condemns the Government of Beluchistan for the arrest of Khan Abus Samad Khan, President of Anjuman-e-Vatan and Editor 'Istaqlal', a gallant worker in the cause of civil liberty and national freedom. It conveys its sympathy and support to him in the trials and tribulations that may be in store for him and his comrades and hopes that despite such obstacles, the freedom movement in Beluchistan will go on with unabated vigour.

INDIAN STATES

It has been repeatedly proclaimed from the platform of the Congress that India is one and indivisible and that the goal of Independence envisaged by the Congress is as much for the people of British India as for their brethren in the Indian States. In the fitness of things and in keeping with the declared objective, the Congress ought to have shown greater sympathy and solicitude for the people of the States in their struggle for civil liberty and responsible Government and the A.I.C.C. office should have opened a separate State's department in exclusive charge of the State's people's affairs. Nevertheless the Committee notes with satisfaction that Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders were taking more and more interest in the freedom movement in the States to the advantage and benefit of the latter,—until unfortunately the new technique was promulgated by the Mahatma. The Committee regrets that since then Congress support to the States people's struggle has visibly slackened with the result that a certain amount of demoralisation has crept into the ranks of the heroic fighters in the States.

The Forward Bloc has not so far undertaken an appreciable organisational work among the States' people owing to its pre-occupation in British India which has naturally increased since the onslaught on the Left began. Nevertheless the Forward Bloc has spontaneously attracted a great deal of sympathy and support from the States' people and the members of the Bloc have consistently taken a great deal of interest in States' people's movement. In consequence the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc feels that the time is ripe for taking definite and active steps in an organisational direction. To this end, a Conference should be held about the middle of December to which people interested in the States' people's movement should be invited and

definite measure should be taken for inaugurating the Forward Bloc organisation among the people of the States. The General Secretary is authorised to take necessary steps to convene this Conference the venue of which will be announced later.

The Committee condemns the Governments of Travancore and Mysore States for the campaign of severe repression launched by them since the outbreak of war, resulting in the incarceration of hundreds of patriotic fighters.

It congratulates the people of these States on the fearless stand that they have taken and expresses its solidarity with them in their struggle for responsible Government. The Committee hopes and trusts that their example will serve as an inspiration to the people of other States.

INDIAN SEAMEN

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc expresses its grave concern at the news of Indian seamen being killed as a result of British ships sunk by enemy submarines during the course of the present war between England and France on the one hand and Germany on the other. The Committee also condemns the action of the British Government in arresting Indian seamen at Rangoon, Liverpool and other places owing to their demand for increased wages and better conditions of service owing to war emergency as well as for compensation in the event of being killed. This action is all the more reprehensible because of the invidious distinction made by the British Government and by British Companies between British

and Indian seamen particularly at a time when British Government claims to have gone to war in the cause of democracy and freedom. This Committee fully supports the demand of Indian seamen for increased wages and better conditions of service and for compensation in the event of death or injury. The Committee condemns the Government of India for its failure to protect and safeguard the interests of Indian seamen who are on duty in different parts of the world.

JUTE MILL WORKERS

The Committee congratulates the Jute Mill Workers in and near Calcutta and Howrah on their recent efforts to better their conditions of service but while appreciating the increase of 10 per cent in wages conceded by the employers the Committee is of opinion that in view of phenomenal profits now being made by them and the increase in the cost of living, the workers are entitled to higher wages as well as to a war bonus. The committee requests the owners of these Jute Mills to come forward with a generous gesture in this direction. In the event of their declining to do so the Committee assures the workers of its full sympathy and support in any legitimate effort that they may put forward for the fulfilment of their just demands.

DISPUTE IN CENTRAL PROVINCES

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc has given earnest consideration to the situation that has arisen in the Central Provinces in connection with the allegation made

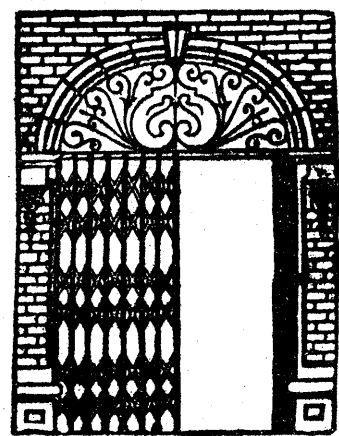
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against a Congress Minister by some Congress M. L. A. s. In the view of this Committee, the procedure adopted by the Congress Working Committee and their handling of the situation are open to serious objection. Without going into the merits of the dispute, the Committee holds that the demand of the complainants for an independent tribunal was perfectly legitimate and was wrongly rejected particularly when this was the procedure adopted by the Congress Working Committee in the case of another Congress Minister in the same province some months ago. The manner and spirit in which the entire question was decided by the Congress Working Committee is not likely to inspire general confidence.

The Committee further opines that after having given a decision, the Congress Working Committee should have dropped the matter once for all. It was grossly unfair to humiliate the complainants by demanding an apology from them. The Committee considers that the Congress Working Committee was wrong in pursuing the matter further and taking "disciplinary action" against those complainants who refused to apologize out of a sense of self-respect, feeling that judgment had been delivered and sentence awarded without a proper inquiry into their complaint by an independent tribunal. This action will be deemed all the more indefensible if the press report be true that the Minister concerned dropped on his own initiative the demand for an apology. The punishment meted out to some of the complainants including their expulsion from the primary membership of the Congress is vindictive and taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, this Committee is inclined to hold that the attitude of the Congress Working Committee in the matter was all though coloured by their prejudice against the complainants owing to their political views.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE AND FORWARD BLOC

It has been reported by the members and supporters of the Forward Bloc in several provinces that the Congress Working Committee and its agents have been pursuing a vindictive policy against them. In particular in the Frontier Province an attempt was made to exclude or expel the Forward Bloc members from the Congress organisation. Though this has been dropped for the present, the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee gives rise to the apprehension that individual members of the Forward Bloc may be expelled from the Congress on flimsy grounds. The order of the Congress Working Committee banning the formation of any other Volunteer Corps besides the Khudai Khidmatgar is aimed directly at the Forward Bloc.

In the case of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee an attempt was made by the Congress Working Committee to dislodge the office-bearers who are members or supporters of the Forward Bloc. The order of the C.W.C. in this connection set aside the previous order of the then Congress President S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose, but the former did not have the courtesy to refer

to him before upsetting a decision announced by him in his official capacity. It is however gratifying to note that the new elections have not disturbed the existing composition of the Delhi P. C. C.

The full wrath of the Congress Working Committee is in evidence in Bengal. The President, Babu Rajendra Prasad has himself taken over the Bengal portfolio from the A.I.C.C. office with the result that sometimes contradictory instructions are issued by the President and General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. Any complaint against the B. P. C. C. however trivial from any part of Bengal is immediately taken up by the President and the B. P. C. C. is summoned to the dock. Interference in the affairs of the B. P. C. C. has been going on in every conceivable matter and the whole object seems to be to humiliate the B. P. C. C. in the eyes of the public.

The above instances though by no means exhaustive will suffice to demonstrate the attitude and policy of the Congress Working Committee and its agents vis-a-vis the Forward Bloc. This Committee apprehends that this attitude and policy will continue and therefore calls upon members of the Bloc all over the country to put up with this persecution with calmness and fortitude, firm in the belief that it enjoys the confidence of the masses.

It is painful to note that while the members of the Congress Working Committee go on appealing for unity and discipline, they themselves pursue a policy which leads to disunity and disruption in the ranks of the Congress. Though the whole world including India is now passing through an unprecedented crisis, the Congress Working Committee is still considering what disciplinary action should be taken in connection with the demonstrations held by the Leftists on the 9th of July last.

ARREST OF PANDIT V. D. TRIPATHI

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc congratulates Pandit V. D. Tripathi, M. L. A., Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, President of the Provincial Committee of the Bloc, member of the A. I. C. C., of the Executive Committee of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee and of the War Council of the United Provinces P. C. C. and Chairman of the Unao Municipality, on his arrest under sections 124A and 153A, I. P. C., in the prosecution of his legitimate activities immediately after the resignation of the Congress Ministry in the United Provinces. The Committee realises that "this arrest will be followed by the arrest and persecution of comrades of the Forward Bloc and of other anti-imperialist organisations in different parts of the country and calls upon them to be prepared for such developments.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

In view of the present situation in India and abroad and in view of impending developments, the celebration of Independence Day on the 26th January, 1940, will have an added value and significance. The Committee calls upon the people of this country to make adequate preparations from now for a proper observance of that Day throughout the country including the Indian States.

Change in Constitution

In view of the drive against the Forward Bloc carried on by the Congress Working Committee which has led to the expulsion of Forward Bloc members from the Congress, it is necessary to modify the Constitution of the Forward Bloc relating to the conditions and qualifications of membership. It is hereby resolved that, in future those Congressmen who lose their membership of the Congress owing to political reasons will nevertheless continue to be members of the Forward Bloc. Cases of such expelled Congressmen continuing to be members of the Forward Bloc should be reported to the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc by the organisations concerned.

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OPENING CEREMONY OF NEW OFFICE OF "FORWARD BLOC"

"If the Mahatma and the Congress Working Committee fail to rise to the occasion, we of the "Forward Bloc" will endeavour to do our duty to the country with all our strength along the road to freedom," said S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the new office of the "Forward Bloc" at the Indian Association Hall at 62, Bowbazar Street on Saturday evening. A large and distinguished gathering was present.

The Provincial Office of the Forward Bloc, the headquarter of the All-India Forward Bloc and the office of the weekly paper "Forward Bloc" will be located in the new premises.

Extending a hearty welcome to the members of the Forward Bloc who had come from different provinces, S. J. Bose said that besides members of the Forward Bloc, representatives of other Leftist organisations were also present on the occasion.

Referring to the meeting of the Working Committee of the Forward Bloc now being held in Calcutta, S. J. Bose said that they of the Left had decided that the resignation of the Congress Ministries must be carried to its logical conclusion. If the Congress Working Committee gave a proper lead to the whole country, the better; otherwise they, the leftists, would come forward to shoulder the responsibilities.

Continuing S. J. Bose said that they were not in the confidence of the Congress High Command and as such they were not in a position to predict what the Congress Working Committee would be doing in such a critical time. It would be hoping against hope if after having marked the attitude of the Congress Working Committee, as revealed in the resolutions adopted by them, they thought that the Congress Working Committee would be able to give a correct lead to the country

at this juncture of supreme importance to the nation.

Lala Sankar Lal, General Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, who opened the new offices, joined issue with Gandhiji when he said that in case a struggle was launched there was the chance of Hindu-Muslim riot. The speaker said that there had been no riot on political issues; the riots that had taken place had been communal riots on religious grounds. It was a slur on the fair name of Islam to suggest that the Mussalmans would stand in the way of India attaining freedom. This was all absurd talk.

The speaker further said that the attainment of freedom of the country was the only religion of the members of the Forward Bloc. The members of the Forward Bloc were as good Congressmen, if not better than those of the party now in power in the Congress. He claimed that they were the right type of Congressmen and asserted that quite a large number of Congressmen now in the helm of Congress affairs represented vested interests but their days were numbered.

Concluding he remarked that Forward Bloc took its stand on a firm footing and it had come to stay. The Bloc would make it impossible for others to continue in this moribund fashion. He asked all to remember that the Motherland was far bigger than anybody else, however, great he might be.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, who spoke next hoped that the Congress Working Committee would utilise the present international situation to the benefit of the nation. He felt that the present-day leaders of the Congress were incapable of thinking in terms of any new policy without Gandhiji's leadership. He was sorry to find divisions among the Leftists even in the matter of approach to the present situation.

With a fearless patriot like S. J. Bose as their leader, the speaker hoped that Forward Bloc would give a real and timely lead to the country.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A. (Central) remarked that by freedom of the country he meant complete transference of power to the masses themselves. Unless the peasants and Kisans were given freedom in political, social and economic matters the country had not the slightest chance of making headway along the path of liberty.

Mr. H. V. Kamath, Organising Secretary of the Forward Bloc, sarcastically remarked that waiting on the Viceregal lodge stair case would not bring salvation of the country. All freedom-loving men would simply run away at the idea of waiting at the door-way of the Viceregal House when the door was banged. The futility of the Charka on the one hand and the Harijan on the other, the speaker said, had been thoroughly exposed.

S. J. M. Annapurniah, Mian Akbar Shah, and S. J. Kishori Prasanna Sinha, Secretary of the Bihar Socialist Party, also addressed the gathering.

Among those present were S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, M.L.A. (Central), Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, S. J. Rajendra Chandra Dev, and more than three hundred distinguished members and guests.

S. J. Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Secretary of the Bengal Branch of the 'Forward Bloc', was at Home to the guests.

S. J. SENAPATI BAPAT

On Tour in Maharashtra.

S. J. Senapati Bapat, president of the Maharashtra Forward Bloc, along with S. J. Bhuskuti travelled widely throughout the province, addressing no less than 27 public meetings. They carried on an intensive propaganda from village to village in favour of the programme and policy of the Forward Bloc. Everywhere public, mostly peasants, flocked in thousands to hear them. Great enthusiasm prevailed. The present inactivity of the Congress Working Committee was severely criticised everywhere.

ON THE EVE OF STARTING NATIONAL INDUSTRIES

IT is a general custom in India that in any technical institution, factories, in any of their departments, the head must be a foreigner, no question whether he is an expert or not. And his assistants and lower assistants are Indians, though in a majority of cases they are much more qualified than their bosses. In a word, no Indians are allowed to take the initiative or administer the industrial institutions and factories, whether Government or private. In a majority of cases these foreign senior officers, taking the advantage of their superior position in a very shrewd and tactful way, learn from their subordinates things which they pass as their own.

In this way natives of India scarcely get any opportunity to show their abilities to the public and thus to develop faith in themselves. On the contrary, the foreigners enjoy all the reputation and acquire experience. This centuries-old practice together with unemployment, has demoralized our educated mass and the result is that neither industrialists nor politicians have any confidence in the ability of our own experts. In reality this should not be the case. How to remove this curse from the brow of our innocent engineers and technicians?

The way is simple, definite and concrete. To start industries, both key and subsidiary, and technical institutions recruiting our own people, taking help from a few foreign experts only in technique and guiding our young experts but never for independent construction, designing or creating. If work is started on this principle, then within five years we shall see the renaissance of our young technical and industrial generation who will create new technical appliances and Industrial methods—construct huge machineries and plants of any description needed for the country and exactly suitable for her. To train young people, sending them to foreign countries on a planned basis is a very old and effective method no doubt, but considering the present

international situation it is better and far less expensive for the country to invite several foreign experts on contract basis here than to send thousands abroad.

Here in India we find a good number of foreign experts engaged in different Indian industrial concerns and technical institutions apart from independent foreign industrial organizations and factories. The main object of these foreign experts is to run the machineries bought from abroad and finally to teach some Indians to run the same, i.e. to shut their eyes exactly as the owner of a village oil-mill shuts the eyes of his bullocks to work smoothly. The factory owner is concerned only with his factory and making some money out of it. He is not interested in Indian nationalism or industrialization of the country. He is simply a shop-keeper, as if automatically he gets the products from the plant ready for the market. In any trouble he calls the agents of the foreign company who repairs

person or factory, but for the country, for the nation as a whole. One foreign specialist can be invited by the Government on contract basis so that he may serve the country in a particular sphere according to the direction of the Government or the owner of the factory. He is not to sit in a place with a particular person, his services should be utilized by different organisations and in that case the foreign expert also can obtain a big salary and much honour and respect. He may also have the satisfaction of doing some service to the country that has invited him. This is the way how Soviet Russia utilized the services of foreign experts.

On principle no foreigner should be allowed to be the manager or head of any department. Foreign experts must work under the control of our own organizer, no matter whether he is a technician or not. We must start several courses for training industrial organizers who will utilize the foreign experts.

It is not very difficult to choose proper experts if we appoint them on contract on the following terms:—(1) Definite speciality, (2) Definite period of service, in default of which he is liable to leave the

country on his own account.

To speak frankly, so far a great number of foreign experts have been invited both by Government and by private owners, but none of them tutored one single Indian in the proper sense of the term except how to run the foreign machineries and become a good canvasser of the same.

There appears to be a second method of training our young men, supported by many of our generous countrymen. This is simply to send them abroad, or, even to arrange with some of the foreign manufacturers who sell their goods to India, so that those manufacturers will train young Indians.

None likes to cut the branch of a tree on which he is standing. Of course, it is not natural to believe that these foreign

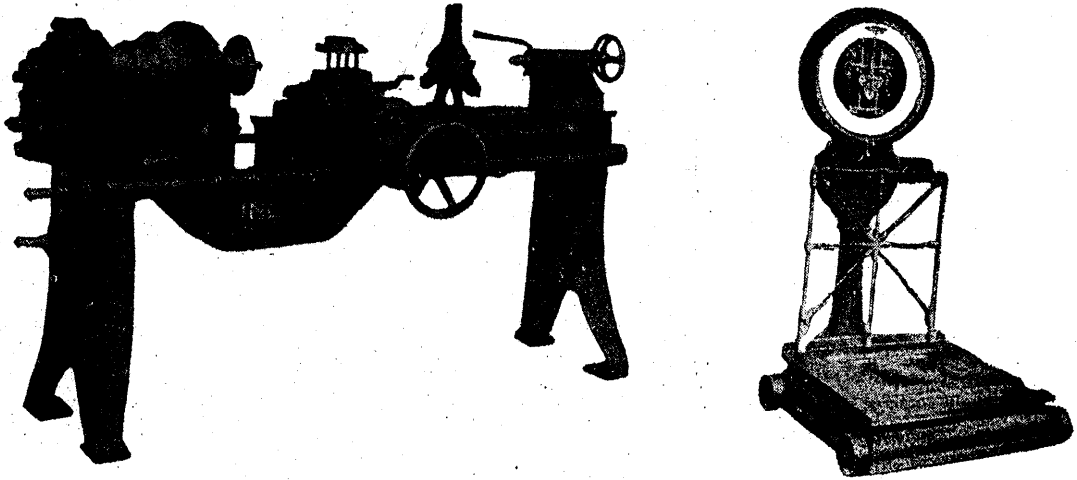
(Continued on page 18)

By **A. K. SHAHA**, M.Sc. (Hon.) U.S.S.R.,
Member, National Planning Committee

the plant or a particular machine or change a part taking an exorbitant price for the same. The owner is not to worry about the expenses because he is at full liberty to exploit his workers and also the peasants who supply him with raw materials. Sometimes foreign experts work permanently in Indian firms and in that case they are generally bosses. Their function is to guide the owner as to how to manage the work and they themselves exploit the highly educated Indians who are subordinates to them.

To raise the standard of living and culture of a country, this kind of individual, haphazard, shop-keeper's mentality can be of no avail. It is necessary to look at the matter from wide perspective. Foreign experts and foreign machineries should be welcome, not for a particular

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BOOK REVIEWS

The life of James Ramsay Macdonald
By Lord Elton, Collins, 18s. London.

The Tragedy of Ramsay Macdonald
By L. M. Weir, Secker and Warburg, 15s. London.

Born of poor parents in a village of Scotland Ramsay Macdonald made his way to greatness unaided by any adventurous means and came to be regarded people's man. In the early days of British Labour Movement he stood against the stone wall of authoritarianism and embodied the hopes and aspirations of the working class. But the end of his career is sad and he passed a way in the depths of despair. Nowhere in modern Europe can such a tragic figure be found. Gross social injustice was revolting to Macdonald and he stood for a better order on ocasi-
onistic basis. He was no believer in class struggle and hence his theory of gradual realisation of Socialism. His Socialism was not based upon the study of the historical evolution of the society with the various classes and had closer affinity with liberalism now a *passé* creed. Macdonald gave life and red blood to the Labour Party and set it battling against the forces of reaction in the Parliament. But the last war brought in a crop of controversy about the active participation in the war by the workers and socialist opinion was found divided. Macdonald disowned his early views and his pacifist attitude changed to one of active support. He stood in sharp contrast to Keir Hardie, Handerson and others whose pacifism was well defined. These pacifists were savagely criticised by the revolutionary socialists of the continent and on the termination of the war were banded together into a reactionary body--the Second International. The election of 1923 brought the Labour Party into the lime light. Of 615 members in the Parliament the Labour Party commanded 192. Events were moving swiftly and a vote of no-confidence was tabled against the Baldwin ministry and it escaped by 72. Baldwin resigned and Macdonald formed the first Labour cabinet. The most outstanding event of the period is the Campbell case. The Labour government had ordered the prosecution of Mr. Campbell, Editor of the *Worker's Weekly*, for the publication of a letter addressed to the fighting forces

of the crown, calculated to undermine discipline and create disaffection. This act of Macdonald angered his party members and the prosecution was dropped. This occasioned a heated debate in the Commons and the Labour government was outvoted. Then came the historical general strike in England. Macdonald championed the cause of the workers though he had repeatedly criticised any form of sympathetic strike.

Premiership had brought him on the 'apex' of achievement; the more he enjoyed its sunny sublimity the less he desired to return to the dust and heat of the valley'. Macdonald was waiting to get in and the chance came in 1929. Macdonald was no longer a social democrat respecting the rights and liberties of the people and unhesitatingly took to totalitarian methods in the colony. The Indian police unearthed a big conspiracy against the Crown and Trade Union workers from different parts of the land were hurried to Meerut. The Meerut trial dragged on for years. The Labour premier did hardly think of any *ethical* responsibility towards the accused and was shamed into silence by his opponents. Macdonald's relation with India was long and intimate. He twice visited India and his *Awakening of India* is a strong plea for granting dominion status to the people. Macdonald was roped in by the Tory and had lost his old colleagues. His Government resigned in 1931 and National Government was again formed with Macdonald at the top. This *volte face* of Macdonald was explained very ably by Prof. Laski :-

He decided to throw in his lot with the men who have always been the historic enemy of the working class of this country. To lead them to victory there was no expedient to which he did not stoop; to continue in power there is no abandonment of principle he has not been prepared to make. He tells us with emphasis that the present is no time for resumption of the party struggle. But every step he takes, every policy he approves, are simply the characteristic step and policy of a Tory party flushed with a victory built upon calculated distortions, to which he has lent himself.

In June, 1935 Macdonald resigned the premiership. In the election of November, 1935, Macdonald was defeated and was returned in the by-election for Scottish Universities. He died in 1937.

Lord Elton's book is written in the form of personal appreciation and extends upto the war period only. His picture of Macdonald's private life is charming. Weir has written a critical estimate of Macdonald's life and every chapter is packed with valuable informations. Students of politics would do well to read these books.

(BENGALI)

Rabindra Sahityer Parichaya By Sachin Sen. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

The book under review, as the title implies, is one more attempt in studying the literature of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore. But the study does not cover the entire field of Tagore's manifold creations; in that sense the title of the book may appear as a misnomer. The author has primarily dealt with the poetry of Tagore and incidentally, in a scrappy manner, touched on his novels and two of his dramas.

In the first place, it has to be noted that the book is not a *criticism* of Tagore's literature in it is accepted sense--it is rather a *critical appreciation* of the same. The author here has not sought merely to dissect the immeasurably rich, deep and subtle essence of Tagore's literature and thus let a good deal of it slip through his fingers; he has rather approached it in a deeply appreciative, almost a worshipful spirit. He has tried to break through the shell and reach the core of Tagore's literary personality as revealed through the different creations of the poet in the various stages of his life--a task in which the author may be said to have succeeded quite admirably. Thus, to put the whole thing very briefly, penetration and unfoldment may be rightly characterised as the keynotes of the book. Beginning from his early poetic period when Tagore lay under the influence of poet Biharilal, the author has dealt successively under different headings, with the infinite variety of the poet's creations, his universal outlook, attitude towards Nature, Love, Life and Death, his conception of Finite and Infinite (Soul and Over-Soulin Emerson's language), *Elan Vital*, patriotism and one or two other relevant subjects.

(Continued on Page 19)

ON THE EVE OF STARTING NATIONAL INDUSTRIES

(Continued from page 15)

manufacturers will be willing to spoil their future prospects by disclosing their trade secrets. The real and effective method of training our young people is to have it done here both by our and foreign experts and then to send some of them to different foreign countries according to the speciality of that country to perfect their knowledge. For example, to send some to Sweden to perfect their knowledge of hydroelectric power station building, some to Russia to learn furnace building industry, to America to learn motorcar building, etc., etc.

In conclusion, it remains however to say that before starting national industries it is necessary to give serious thought to the following three subjects, the details of which are briefly put in the charts below.

- A. The creation of industries.
- B. The creation of industrial organizers.
- C. The creation of the cadres, and industrial-minded Nation.

A. CREATION OF INDUSTRIES.

1. Methods to be applied to select industries.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) Survey of National Resources. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fuels. 2. Raw materials. |
| (b) Techno-Economical Survey of Industries. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Studies of different industries review of world literature. 2. Study of present market. |

2. Methods and policies to be adopted to start new industries.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| (a) Finance. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Industrial loan, specially by small amounts from the masses. 2. Govt. subsidy to private owners, with composition profit. |
| (b) Equipments. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To project, construct and build here. 2. To purchase one unit, change, improve & build others here. |
| (c) Experts. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Employ our own. 2. Invite Indians engaged abroad specially in U.S.S.R. 3. Invite foreigners on contract basis. |

B. TRAINING OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISERS.

1. Political trainings.
 - (a) International situation.
 - (b) Imperialism, Fascism, and Socialism.
2. Methods of utilising the services of foreign experts as well as of our own.
 - (a) Foreign experts should help in projecting, constructing and in the practical field.
 - (b) Our physicists, chemists and mathematicians in the theories of industrial processes.
 - (c) Improving qualifications of young experts on the basis of social services and self-promises.
3. Methods of organisation of labour and discipline.
 - (a) Technical minimum knowledge. Modern machines, control and measuring instruments.
 - (b) The knowledge of piece-work conveyor method, social services etc., in exploiting labour.
4. Experience in foreign industrial organisations.

C. CREATION OF INDUSTRIAL-MINDED NATION AND CADRES.

1. Reformation of the present educational system.
 - (a) Diff. Tech. Inst. should be under the respective ministers.

{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Technical Colleges. 2. Technical Schools. 3. Workers Faculty.
---	--
 - (b) System of units ft. lb. should be changed to metre, Kilogram, centigrade.
 - (c) Text-book should be of practical nature. Translation from Russian advisable.
2. Technical propaganda.
 - (a) Department of Inventions.
 - (b) Technical newspapers, advertisements etc.
3. Starting National Model Factory.
 - (a) To create pioneers of industry.
 - (b) To manufacture machine making machinery.
 - (c) To recruit self-sacrificing volunteers.
4. Organisation of social services in every sphere of life.
 - (a) In introducing techniqued industry to the masses.
 - (b) In obtaining educational degrees, diplomas etc.
 - (c) Physical work in the form of public service.

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BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 17)

Everyone of these topics might have lent itself to abstract philosophical dissertations. At least one or two of his predecessors in this line have treaded that way and have served out volumes of smoke to those who looked for light in them. But the present author has fortunately avoided that pitfall. His function here has been to enjoy his heart's fill Tagore's literature and to share the readers along with him in the way of enjoyment. His brief, suggestive (sometimes even epigrammatic) and glowing style has helped him in it. We have therefore, no hesitation in welcoming this publication as a valuable addition to the critical literature on Tagore. The book will, we are fully confident, amply repay perusal. Print and get up have been an additional attraction of the book.

Detenu—By Amalendu Das Gupta. Published by the Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Price—

The book under review, the autobiography of a released detenu, may also be regarded as a biography of detenus in general. For, the autobiographer's experiences, almost wholly drawn from prison life, are identical with those of other detenus—only uttered in the first person singular. But in all matters of art mere experience is nothing. It is yours and mine and his and has been slave to thousands. Only when the first person singular, possessed of the divine spark of genius, intervenes, it makes all the difference. Only the individual, when it has acquired a personality, can use with advantage the lumpy, jumbled materials at the general command. The present author's success is there. He has seen things with his own eyes, felt them on his own pulse and drawn conclusions that are absolutely characteristic. His book is therefore, a character. There is in it a lot of interesting stories and fine kit-kat sketches apparently inconsequent, but on a deeper scrutiny they are found to be woven around the central ego of the author. But there is nothing offensive about his egoism. Cut off in his youth from the wide outside life, the author was forced to turn to himself for joy and sorrow. The strictly circumscribed limits of jail life hardly offered human nature's daily food. Bounded in a nutshell, therefore, his mind had to count itself king of infinite spiritual space. And when a sensitive youngman does that, the result can well be foreseen. One becomes an introvert, tormented with obstinate questionings and out of the stirred mind rise strange jewels of thought and phrase. To describe the author's style the reviewer can do no better than use the famous words of Lord Amiens to the banished Duke.

"Happy is your Grace
That can translate the stubbornness of
fortune
Into so quiet and sweet a style."

G. P. G.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

It is hereby notified for information to all concerned that the office of the Forward Bloc has been removed to 62, Bowbazar St. (second floor) CALCUTTA from the 1st December. All communications intended for the Forward Bloc should henceforth be sent to the new address.

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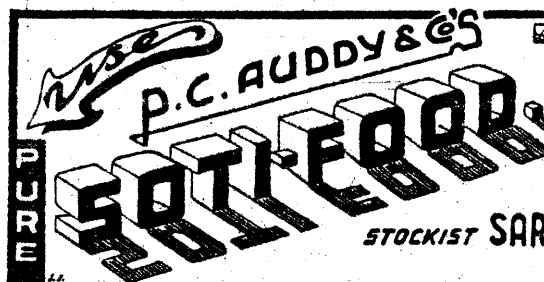
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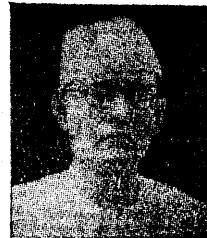
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