

*At it again*

# FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 18

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ONE ANNA

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By Swami Sahajanand Saraswati

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Etc.

Etc.



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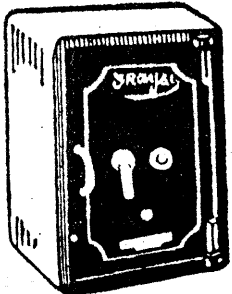
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## FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9

*At it again*

After a temporary lapse from its customary role, the "Friend of India" has once again appeared in its true colours. During a temporary lapse, it shows balance, dignity and sense of proportion in dealing with affairs both internal and external. But when it comes back to its own, it appears as rabid as a mad dog. In one matter, however, the "Friend of India" has been consistent throughout viz., its deep dislike and hatred for the present writer. Unlike most Britons, it cannot stand straight-forwardness in politics, but fancies those who can cringe and fawn.

One can only hope that the "Friend of India" does not really reflect the mind of Britons in India—whether official or non-official. For if it does, then one must indeed have a poor opinion of them. It is difficult to conceive that they are so erratic and eccentric, changing their views as quickly as a political weather-cock. For months, our "Friend" had been advocating a liberal and progressive policy with regard to India. But on the eve of the Viceregal statement in October, it suddenly assumed a die-hard complexion. Subsequent thereto, it has been blowing hot and cold alternately.

In foreign affairs, the "Friend of India" was, prior to the war, remarkably well-informed, though its foreign policy might not have met with approval in all quarters. In the old days it was anti-Soviet

to the core. But the rise of the Nazis to power served to blunt the edge of its hatred for Russia and things Russian. A soft corner for the U.S.S.R. gradually became noticeable and the wrath of the paper was directed against Nazi Germany. This tendency persisted even after the outbreak of war in Europe and the absorption of Eastern Poland in the U.S.S.R. But since hostilities broke out between Finland and Soviet Russia, our "Friend" has gone off its head and its writings have been more like the raving of a lunatic than the arguments of intelligent and responsible journalism. Owing perhaps to this stroke of lunacy it has drifted along the path of dishonest journalism. When the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc was holding its deliberations in Calcutta on the 24th November and the following days, all the papers published its resolutions and also reprinted the editorials of "Forward Bloc", our official organ, but the "Friend of India" did not. Nevertheless, on the 4th December, it commented editorially on the above in the course of a very significant article under the caption "You have been warned."

That the "Friend of India"—has always had a specially soft corner for us—who in India does not know? And this affection deepened since it had to appear and answer before a Court of Law. But in spite of all this, should there be no honesty in journalism? In the old days, Indian nationalists who had to be denounced used to be painted red as agents of Moscow. Communism was the bogey that had to be raised every now and then and the picture of Red gold flowing into India then used to

be dangled before the public eye. After some time the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis supplanted Moscow and Russia became respectable for a while. Whether it was Soviet association with Geneva or Stalinite repudiation of Trotsky or superior hatred for Berlin on the Friend's part that accounted for this respectability, one does not know. But it was amusing to notice our "Friend" fraternising with Moscow in order to spite Berlin. It was no longer dangerous for an Indian nationalist to be called a friend of Moscow. To have any sympathy for the Nazis or for the partners of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis constituted the real danger. To our "Friend's" eyes, the flow of Red gold into India ceased—and henceforth it was the Axis gold that began to poison Indian nationalists. Certain sentences in the writer's book, "The Indian Struggle 1920-1934", taken out of their context, proved handy and a series of denunciatory articles appeared in the columns of the "Statesman." This tirade was reminiscent of a similar campaign directed against the writer about eight years ago, preparatory to his incarceration without trial under Regulation III of 1811.

After a short lull the attack has started again, the spearhead being its leader of the 4th December. There is, however, one difficulty before our "Friend" on this occasion. What is the scare it is to raise? Moscow or Terrorism or Berlin Revolution or What? To solve this obvious difficulty, the Frankenstein it is trying to create is the Hitler-Stalin combination. And to prepare the necessary background for the panic it has to rouse in this country, it has made a medley of all possible bogeys in

two articles on "Communism in India" in its issues of the 6th and 7th December. In this motly crowd the villain of the piece is no longer Hitler—it is now Stalin.

Perhaps there is one piece of miscalculation on the part of our "Friend." The Indian public are no longer as unsophisticated as they were some years ago. They can now see through the "Friend of India's" game and through the elaborate official propaganda conducted in its columns. We would, however, like to know if this is cricket as generally understood.

Coming events cast their shadows before. So do these articles. We know what is coming, but we are not disturbed. Everything has its price, so has Liberty. We have to pay the price of Liberty, but it is as well for Britishers to remember that browbeating and bullying—with or without gloves—will no longer do. It is a changed India that we live in.

And the Europe that India faces today is also a changed Europe.

*Sir Stafford Cripps*

### British Statesmanship on Trial

Sir Stafford Cripps has, it appears, come with a hopeful message for India. Of course, he is visiting this country in a private capacity and the opinions he airs are only his own. What concerns India are not his views of the difficult situation that confronts Indo-British relations today, valuable though they undoubtedly are. It is rather his impressions about the present attitude of the ruling classes in Britain towards India that interest us most profoundly. "There

is a distinct change" Sir Stafford has said, "even on the part of Conservatives with regard to India and nobody wants to alienate the sympathies of the country. A movement is rapidly gaining ground in England in favour of India and some are making very careful investigations in this direction." The news is certainly assuring if true, but we have our doubts as to how far this study of the Conservative British mind is real, and how far of it is mere wishful thinking.

The picture, as we visualise it, does not appear to us to be as bright as Sir Stafford would make us believe. An Attlee, a Cripps or a Laski may afford to be generous. But those who stand at the centre of the stage, those who are guiding or misguiding the destinies of Britain today, have remained either discreetly silent or vague and halting in their utterances regarding India. Neither the pressure of Liberal opinion in England nor the scorching gibe of Hitler has been able to induce Mr. Chamberlain to comprehend India, Egypt and other dependencies and protectorates in the dreamt-of Federation of free nations which, we are told, will be born on the termination of the present war. Lord Halifax, quite true to the team to which he belongs, has also been talking of "International peace" but he is too careful to mention if his international scheme counts India as a constituent unit in it. By nations they evidently mean only Whites and the Darks are to remain tied to their dark destiny for all time to come. That is the plan of the British Statesmen and we have as yet found nothing in their numerous pronouncements that may change our belief in any way.

The truth of the matter is that

England has now found itself between the horns of a grave dilemma. No amount of solemn declarations will convince the world that after the most callous sacrifice of Czecho-Slovakia, Abyssinia and Austria, it was merely at the spur of a democratic conscience that Britain was driven to take the field against Nazi Germany. But the rabid aggressiveness of Hitler was fast developing into a serious challenge to the *status quo* of Europe. It had got to be resisted. So Britain had to raise the cry of democracy and future world peace in order to plump for the support and co-operation of enlightened world opinion and build up a bulwark against Nazi aggressiveness. Now she has been caught into the snare of her own rash professions for, their carrying out into practice would mean the disintegration of her own vast Empire. The other day Prof. Harold Laski disclosed in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian* that an "impressive" section of American opinion has already been worked up to bitter indignation against British policy regarding India. America possibly does not stand alone in this respect, people in other countries too, must have felt like that. This is discomfiting, if not dangerous to Britain. So she has been forced by circumstances to have recourse to evasions, subterfuges and falsehoods. She has to save her face and save her Empire, too. So far as India is concerned, there is the excuse of the problem of minorities to set up as a bar to the recognition of the right of national self-determination. In a quite convenient moment the British Government has almost begun to burst for its solicitude for the minorities; and naturally with every additional

expression of the same Mr. Jinnah has begun to shriek louder and louder. The broad historical truth has been forgotten that there have been minorities, even dissenting, in almost all countries and they have nowhere constituted an insuperable barrier to the attainment of national freedom. This is a problem for India herself to solve and once the right of self-determination is recognised, it will automatically resolve itself. Let not Britain, in her overflowing benevolence, worry too much about it.

As for India, her stand is firm and clear. She has spoken out her mind in unequivocal language. Nothing short of complete independence will satisfy her. Does Sir Stafford Cripps believe that Britain will rise to the height of statesmanship and satisfy India's national demand? Let us wait and see. For the moment we cannot persuade ourselves to a sense of elation at what Sir Stafford has said.

### The Bogey Bgain

"They would come, they would come," in the last quarter of the nineteenth century our fathers were silenced with the spectre of a Czar who would swoop down through the Himalayan Passes into our planes, like some Timur or Scythian Terror. So, they were to sleep in the secure arms of British imperialism. Japan struck the death blow to the Czar myth. Then was discovered the Lenin legend. We knew little of Bolshevism but were kept in constant terror of the Bolshevik bogey during the years of post-war ferment when diarchy was the panacea. Then, Russia failed—failed our masters as a

bogey. As the War came, the fog descended again—this time on the soul of the British imperialists themselves. If only the Soviet could be netted on their side—But then, the Soviet was, in the last analysis, the Enemy.—Indian journalists were warned by their mentors that they must not question the *bona fide* of Stalin when he appeared in Poland. For he had a 'community of interest' with Britain! Now, Finland has helped to revive the old bogey. Perhaps Indian publicists are again to be warned now why they do not question the *bona fide* of the Soviet still.

We were Nazi creatures during the last three months if we asked for our right of self-determination. We are Bolshevik conspirators today, when we refuse to forego that inalienable right. Tomorrow we shall prove to be the agents of the Martian imperialists who are designing to destroy the civilization of this globe, and, incidentally, *Pax Britannica* in India. Our metamorphosis in the imperialist press amazes ourselves, but would not insult the intelligence of its readers. They can even now chalk out the paths that lead from Moscow to Delhi. They would tomorrow point out the inter-spatial batteries set up by those conquering Martians against the Himalayan ramparts. And we are to live in constant tension of the attack from across the Himalays of the Marxians or the Martians, and seek, therefore, our salvation in slavery to God's good Englishmen. According to their conception, we cannot yearn for or strive for anything but slavery. If British chains go, Bolshevik chains are to fetter us. The psychology of the slave-drivers is only the complement of the slave-psychology. The bogey they

create out of their imperialist interests they come themselves to believe in out of an inertia of soul. But a people endeavouring to free itself has vision enough to see that freedom does not mean changing masters, and has courage enough to think that in the world of today freedom is not to be postponed by the raising of any bogey.

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### Not A Nazi Story

Old gods never die, so say our anthropologists. In Bengal the old regime never ends. The political prisoners are meant to be a reminder that the early thirties of the century must not be a past chapter in the late thirties or for that matter in the early forties. Sir Nazimuddin is there to spell out the syllables with the same accents that he has learnt in his unbroken period of tutelege at the bureaucratic school. So, detention without trial has re-appeared, and our Elysian immortals reign and rule as of old. Nothing new is learnt, nothing old unlearnt. In the pages of a contemporary we read the account of torture in the police lock-up practised on S. Nripendra Chakraborty, an Assistant Editor of the Ananda Bazar Patrika, and Secretary, Bengal Congress Socialist Party, who was recently arrested under the Defence of India Act. India was defended *valiantly*, we see, by the Bengal police. We need not go into the horrid details. If only the proper names are changed these would pass for an account of Hitler horror, a Nazi story, and not of Huq regime. It is to be expected that the

Presidency Magistrate will not allow things to rest there, and make a thorough inquiry into the complaints. That dark and shameful deeds are perpetrated on the arrested men in the I. B. and S. B. custody is a bye-word in Bengal. During the 1930-35 period there were complaints which were simply disposed of by Government denials. We know the value of these denials; and we wish our people would believe them. But something more than denials, more than departmental enquiries, more than the old, old 'vigorous repudiations' in the legislatures by the old, old students of the bureaucratic language is necessary if the people of Bengal are to be disabused of such ideas about their great public servants—the secret police who serve them so secretly. Let there be an inquiry, a public inquiry and a judicial inquiry into the complaints of S. J. Chakraborty if the people of Bengal are to be convinced that Nazi means are not true of Bengal police.

#### The Friend's Favours

The Friend of India, we mean *The Statesman*, has of late become notorious for its quick change of heroes. Till the other day, not quite long ago, it went in ecstasies over Pandit Jawaharlal. But evidently the Allahabad hero has now lost his lustre in the eyes of his Chowringhee admirer; and if it now picks him up now and then, it is only to have a thrust, fling or cavil at him. Then again, till recently Gandhiji was a Mahatma to our "Friend" and his name and news figured in very bold types over its pages; but after the last two Working Committee meetings the Mahatma has dropped into a simple Mr., his stature has shrunk, and he has now been shoved into

a corner in the back pages. Mr. Jinnah is its hero today and any mischievous nonsense that he utters is given a splash. But suppose Mr. Jinnah strikes up a settlement with the Congress—this is merely a supposition—and presents an united front against British Imperialism, the fate that will be ordained for him by the Chowringhee dispenser of graces can be well imagined without much difficulty. Possibly it will then go a-hunting for other heroes and boost up some convenient members of the Princely Order. The "friendliness" of *The Statesman* has once more been established by its game of idol-making and idol-breaking. It has a lesson which does not call for further elucidation.

#### "Damaging Disclosures"

In our last issue we made a brief side-way reference to the speech delivered recently by Mr. T. Prakasam, the ex-Minister of Madras. Now through the columns of a Delhi Weekly, a fuller report of the same has been made available to us. The journal has published it under the catching headline "Damaging Disclosures." The title, it goes without saying, has been quite apt, for, after so many months' chuckling eulogies of the fruits of Autonomy, we are now told by one who had the privilege (or misfortune?) of working inside the machine that they were no better than Dead Sea apples. We make no apology for quoting a few extracts from the speech. "When war broke out in Europe," said the disillusioned Minister, "officers were recalled and ordinances promulgated without the knowledge of the Cabinet. Officers who had gone on leave preparatory to retirement, were called back to service and the Government did not know

anything about it. In the Revenue Department, of which I was the head, officers came back and took charge without my knowledge and carried on the business." And again, "The rule was laid down that the Secretary should decide which of the files should be disposed of by himself and which others by the Ministers. In short, under that rule, it was not the Ministers who governed but the Secretaries. It was revolting for the Congress Ministers to work under such a system." But still they have not only worked under such a system, but have often sung hellulejahs about it. Specially the Services have been praised for their unstinted co-operation with the Ministries. What have Messrs. Rajagopalchariar and Sri Krishna Sinha to say about these shocking revelations? Whom are we to believe, them or Mr. Prakasam?

#### The Modern Review

With its December Number, *The Modern Review* completes its thirty-third year, and, we add our hearty felicitations to the hundreds of such good wishes that must go from all quarters of India to its veteran editor, S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee. These thirty-three years the world has seen the close of an epoch; it is just now in the pangs of a new birth. India too, along with other countries, has witnessed the rebirth of mighty movements in these years. The play and interplay of these national and international forces on the Indian plane,—and on our globe,—have been presented to many of us by the *Modern Review* during these thirty-three years in true colours while the eminent editor has always struck the balance with an enviable detachment and undaunted courage. More than many 'nation-builders', he has thus helped to build the Indian nation and *The Modern Review* has been a source of light to Indians of modern times—Indians of the critical times as they are.

## THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LIBERALISM \*

The liberal, like the Bourbon, learns nothing and forgets nothing. This is the thought that comes to one's mind when reading Dr. Benes' latest book, a collection of his lectures on democracy at Chicago University last spring.

Dr. Benes is a remarkable man. With his master the late Thomas Masaryk, he was the symbolic representative of Czecho-Slovakia to the world. He fought and worked for Czech independence. For twenty years he sat, devotedly, at the helm of the Czecho-Slovak ship of state. In October last year, he took his leave of his people, not because he wanted to, but because of three separate ultimatums sent to him by today's great champions of "democracy"—Chamberlain and Daladier—ultimatums which wanted him to clear out and his liberal-democratic state to be smashed at the behest of Nazi Germany.

Benes was kicked out; free Czecho-Slovakia which had been for years and years his absorption by day and dream by night, was wiped off the map before the ink on the signatures of his "democratic" friend guaranteeing the new "racial" boundaries, was hardly dry. With the blessings of those very persons who have the impudence today of posing as the defenders of democracy, British Finance Capital entered into negotiations with its Nazi counterparts for plans of economic co-operation—at Dusseldorf and in the capitals of the miserable little dummy "republics" of South America. Benes went into exile—but it was not so unpleasant, for England and the United States of America were his "spiritual home". And at Chicago, he prated, in very nearly the old manner, on democracy; he had learnt nothing from his experiences and he had forgotten nothing of his prejudices.

For, what were his experiences on the eve of the cynical amputation of Czecho-Slovakia, with a view, no doubt, to a speedy strangulation as well?

Benes himself has been constrained to admit that the only Power that was ready, without reserve, to come to the

assistance of his people was the Soviet Union. G. E. R. Gedye, most reputable of international journalists in his "Fallen Bastions," has given a clear account of the unexceptionable Soviet attitude in this matter. A Czech scholar, Dr. Hubert Ripka, who has been and remains a close political collaborator of Benes, has recently published a highly informative book, "Munich—Before and After" (Gollancz, 15/-) and fully corroborates Gedye's narrative. Throughout the crisis of September-October last year, the Soviets never for a moment left Czecho-Slovakia in doubt that she would fulfil her obligations under the Pact of Mutual Assistance which had been signed on May 16, 1935. The Soviets were even willing to assist stricken Czecho-Slovakia, if France did not ask the Soviets to come to its assistance, because it did not want to make it possible for Germany to declare a "crusade against Bolshevism" for above all, it did not wish to alienate its

these sacrifices under pressure of the decisions at Munich, accepted, because the four Great Powers at Munich signed an obligation to guarantee the new state... The guarantee, of course, was thrown to the winds, and Benes, true to the liberal tradition, rushed to find the ironic consolations of philosophy: "The man who in modern history has been taken as a symbol of brute force, Napoleon, has declared: 'There are in the world two powers—the sword and the spirit. The spirit has always vanquished the sword. In this statement I agree with the words of Napoleon.'"

He very well may; he has made his choice, he can only find a refuge in wish-fulfilment.

His lectures on democracy at Chicago are an illustration of this wish-fulfilling tendency. Like the true-begotten liberal, the Man in White, he shows not the slightest rancour towards those friends of his who conspired at Munich to kill the state which had put its pathetic faith in the "democracies" of Western Europe. He is, no doubt, the embodiment of the spirit of non-violence. Not even the rankest treachery towards its own professed

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*By* Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee

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friends in Britain and France who were much less anti-Nazi than anti-Bolshevik.

Benes preferred the friendship of the Western "democracies" and paid the price for his choice. On March 18, 1939, at the University of Chicago, he made a pathetic appeal to the American people when the remnant of the Czech state was absorbed into Hitler-land, with his friends in Britain and France looking on. "Five months ago" he said "during the so-called September crisis, the Czecho-Slovak nation was asked to make sacrifice of territory, and pressure was put upon my people not to fight for their freedom, integrity and independence, in order to save the world from war. The appeal was made to that little people to sacrifice themselves for the peace of the world. That little people did it, and that little people received the promise of the integrity of the remnant of its national territory and of the security of its national state. That little people, having made

principles makes him suspect capitalist—"democracy" of the class bias which is bound, inevitably, to drive it into the arms of reaction. He does not accept the conception of the class struggle; presumably he expects the betrayals and iniquities implicit in the present system to vanish as a result of "a democratic harmonisation between the classes." He pleads, not with the diabolical cunning of our present-day champions of "democracy," but with the pathetic faith of the incorrigible liberal, for "a deeper and more perfect democracy which I will call humanitarian democracy."

Let us wait, then, for the sublime Monday morning when we shall wake to watch with proper solemnity the ushering in of "humanitarian democracy." The snag is, however, that history, "a cruel goddess" as she has been described, may not wait, that believers in "humanitarian democracy"—the liberals and social democrats in every country—may find themselves ranked behind the loud voiced upholders of "democracy" today and led, inexorably, to the crassest form of class tyranny.

\* Democracy Today and Tomorrow By Edward Benes (Macmillan, 7-6)



## FINLAND—PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

—By Benoy Ghose

A study of Finland in retrospect would reveal a host of facts which can be marshalled in defence of that Finland which is taking shape today, a democratic republic with M. Kutussinen, the ex-secretary of the comintern, as Premier. Finland was invaded by Russia in 1808, after being united with Sweden for 600 years, and was incorporated into the Russian empire as a Grand Duchy with its own constitution. During the 19th century there was a gradual growth of Finnish nationalism, but the Swedish Finlanders dominated the internal government of the country. The first opportunity for a forward move towards national independence in Finland came with the revolutionary risings in Russia. As a result of one of the few general strikes in history, Finland secured a semi-democratic constitution in 1906 with a single Parliament elected by proportional representation. Finnish Diet resembled a democratic Parliament. In 1917, with the outbreak of the Russian Revolution the Finnish Diet declared Finland an independent country and the Communists almost immediately declared a Socialist Workers' Republic. But the Finnish middle-class organised against the Communists and aided by Germany, Finland's General Mannerheim succeeded in crushing the revolutionary movement. The civil war lasted only a few months. A new Diet was elected. The Social Democrats, who were in a majority in the Finnish Diet, pledged themselves to constitutional action and drove the communists out. The Communists, being thus ruthlessly expelled, was forced to form a separate party, with Kuussinen as their leader.

The Diet adopted the constitution of 1905 with slight modifications. A good deal of power was given to the President, and it was, in fact, a sort of dictatorship. The middle-class parties held sway in the Diet till 1930, and the fear of Russia and of communism among them had never abated. The White organisation of the middle-class had been in existence as a Civic Guard, which had always regarded the communists as mischievous revolutionaries. In 1930 there was an outbreak of Fascist activity and the communists

were attacked on the false plea of a *coup*, ruthlessly tortured, beaten, and thrown out of the boundary into Russia. This brutality of communist repression has its parallel only in Nazi Germany and in the colonial countries. The Government disbanded the Communist Party. Things cooled down under a most reactionary right-wing Government.

At the election of 1936 a Government was formed by the coalition of the Socialists, Agriculturists, and Liberals. The cabinet consisted of a Liberal Prime Minister, another Liberal, five Socialists, and five Agriculturists. The Government was in office till the other day. It is, however, difficult to conclude anything by these labels, Liberal, Socialist, etc. The strong man of the cabinet is thus the so-called Socialist leader, Tanner, only a moderate politician. Like all moderates he and his Government have the phobia of anti-Bolshevism. Even today the communists are in prison. They are rotting behind the prison bars not for any crime of treason to the state, as the Rightists would plead, but simply because they are communists. There is also the *Nazi Party*, which includes fourteen influential members of the Diet, and in November 1938 the Coalition Government declared that under the Act of 1930 this party ought to be suppressed as a party inimical to the interest of the state. Forty out of 200 members of the Diet voted against the suppression. But in spite of that the Law Courts of Finland held that the vote was out of order. And all the time we should remember, Finland's independence was threatened really by Hitler and the Nazis. The democratic devotee Sir, E. D. Simon in his recently published book *The Smaller Democracies* says: This action on the part of the Government shows their desire to preserve democracy *even by drastic steps* (Italics ours). We can well understand, and every man with a grain of political sense can, where is the key to the so-called democratic government of Finland. The world has a bitter experience of the preservation of Democracy *by drastic steps* in Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan, even in Great Britain and France. It has not yet understood why the French Premier

hounded out the communists from one corner of France to the other, even before the War was come. So, the gloss of Democracy can glitter but it fails to attract us, as Tanner's Finland does.

During these years, Finland's trade with America and Britain has become a great factor in its life. British and American capital has come to have important interests in the country. Moreover, the Tanner Government is dominated by Swedish Finlanders, and the members of the *Nazy Party*. Not for nothing therefore, is there now a cry for mobilisation in Sweden and consternation in Britain and America. The Nazis may constitute a minority in the Diet but that does not count in a *Democracy* which can be preserved *by drastic steps* and where the *Judiciary* can ride roughshod over the *Legislature*. These Swedish Finlanders and Nazis include the rich and powerful industrialists of Finland. They ignominiously abused their power in the past. No Legislation has ever been passed by the Diet against these Swedish Finlanders and Nazis. On the other hand attempts have been made to absorb them as an integral part of a united nation. The type of Democracy which Finland can boast of and other can prattle about is thus not unlike that democracy which Britain has given to India.

These are the reasons why the Soviet Union has progged herself in the Finnish dispute. Rather, Russia has been forced to do so. The struggles and sufferings of the Finnish people and their liberators, the communists, are chronicled in red letters in the history of Finland. Finland cannot be proselytised overnight into Sovietism. Still it shall have to struggle and the struggle has begun. A treaty of mutual assistance has been signed between the Soviet and the Kuussinen government. The treaty is to run for 25 years. The Kuussinen government is neither a "Bogus" government established pro tempore, nor it is the protege of Moscow. If it is a government of the people, for the people and by the people then Finnish democracy will not profligate to vice and barbarism but will arise anew with peace and freedom for all.



# The Eastern Front

( By our China Correspondent )

[ Letters from Our China Correspondent will appear from time to time in our paper and we believe our readers will find them interesting and informative. ED. F. B. ]

## Nov. 25. America can halt Japan easily

America can stop brutal Japan easily by applying economic sanctions, editorially declared the *Ta Kung Pao*, a leading Chinese daily in Chungking. Japan gets over 90 per cent of her scrap iron imports and over 60 per cent of her petroleum from the United States. If America should place an embargo on these exports, Japan would be like a baby prematurely weaned from mother's milk.

Japan's greatest weakness lies in her infant industries. She cannot manufacture complex machines, for the supply of which she has to depend on the United States. The following figures were quoted by the journal :

Japan's imports of motor cars and parts in 1938 : from America U. S. \$ 12, 050, 536, (64.67 per cent) ; from Germany, U. S. \$ 5, 559, 810, (29.83 per cent) ; from Italy, U. S. \$ 1,000,810, (5.37 per cent) and from France, U. S. \$ 24,953, (13 per cent). Japan's imports of machinery for productive purposes during the same year were : from America, U. S. \$ 24, 454, 707, (67.09 per cent) ; from Germany, U. S. \$ 9, 698, 037, (26.61 per cent) ; from the British Empire, U. S. \$ 1, 516,555, (4.16 per cent) and from Switzerland, U. S. \$ 779, 228, (2.14 per cent).

Meanwhile, Japan's imports of internal combustion machines also for 1938 were : from Germany, U. S. \$ 679, 173, (40.94 per cent) ; from America, U. S. \$ 542, 637, (32.71 per cent) ; and from Switzerland, U. S. \$ 437, 065, (26.35 per cent). The figures which the Chinese daily gave for Japan's imports of airplanes and parts were for 1937, distributed as follows : from America, U. S. \$ 17, 454, 477, (76.92 per cent) ; from Germany, U. S. \$ 5, 200, 434, (22.92 per cent) ; from France, U. S. \$ 25, 960, (11 per cent) and from Italy, U. S. \$ 11, 784, (.05 per cent).

It is obvious that Japan derives the overwhelming portion of her imports of complicated machines from the United States and Germany, and only a small quota of these imports from great Britain,

France, Italy and Switzerland. Now Germany is at war with Great Britain and France, naturally none of them has anything to spare for Japan. In other words, the United States is the only country which is still in a position to export.

In America's exports to Japan for 1938 were listed 1,633 motor cars worth U. S. \$ 695,517, and 5,802 military trucks worth U. S. \$ 2,091,237, automobile parts worth 3,624,222 and 7,899 automobile engines worth U. S. \$ 959,461 and other necessary parts worth U. S. \$ 2,772,007. If America should decide to ban the exports of airplanes, military trucks and other important military supplies to Japan next year, the latter will find it difficult to carry on her war of aggression in China, it is pointed out.

At the beginning of the editorial, the Chinese paper mentioned the United Press dispatch from Washington on November 5, indicating State Department officials think that the Administration will ask Congress in January to write Mr. Cordell Hull's "moral embargo" against Japan into a statute, empowering the President to place embargo on petroleum, scrap iron, copper as well as airplanes. Also quoted was Senator Key Pittman's prediction on November 7 that the January session of the United States Congress will authorize economic pressure against Japan in order to halt the anti-American actions in the Japanese-occupied areas in China.

The *Ta Kung Pao* concluded that the United States has serious intentions to declare an embargo on the shipment of vital war supplies and raw materials to Japan as soon as the Japanese-American trade treaty of 1911 expires on January 26, 1940.

## Scientific Rations for the Chinese Army

Chinese food experts in Chengtu laboratories emerged from their experiments with the cheerful news that they have worked out several recipes for the preparation of army rations. In the form of biscuits, the rations are made of corn,

wheat, and other cereals, beans, and sweet potatoes. They are not only cheap, light and nutritious but can be easily preserved too. As such they are considered most suitable for soldiers who often remain at the front for long hours, during which they have to suffer hunger.

Professor King Kwei-tse of the National Szechwan University, leader in the research, revealed five different preparations. No. 1 ration is composed of 40 per cent sweet potato, 20 per cent bean and 40 per cent wheat. No. 2 consists of 40 per cent corn, 20 per cent bean, and 40 per cent wheat. No. 3 contains 80 per cent corn and 20 per cent wheat. No. 4 is of pure corn, while No. 5 ration is an admixture of 40 per cent wheat bran, 20 per cent bean and 40 per cent wheat.

Among the five rations, No. 2 tastes best. Nos. 1 and 5 taste rather good, No. 3 is not so good. The No. 2 has a higher food value too. The analysis of its contents is as follows : 9.11 per cent water, 11.36 per cent protein, 25.42 per cent fat, 58 per cent carbohydrates and sugar, .05 per cent iron, 4.46 per cent calcium, 1.12 per cent sodium, and 4.94 per cent phosphorus.

Results of studies show that every catty or 500 grams of food prepared according to the second recipe contains 2536.6 calories, enough to meet the physical requirements of a city dweller for 24 hours. In the case of a soldier in frontline service, he will need from one and a half catties to two catties a day. In other words, because of physical exertion, he requires from 3800 to 5000 calories a day.

The cost per catty in the laboratories is about 25 cents. In actual production on a more or less large scale, the cost has dropped to around 20 per cents. The only possible drawback is its size. The solution offered is to prepare it in powder form. Its weight remains the same, but it takes less space. It does not have to be cooked again. A little hot water will reduce the food into pastry which can be easily devoured during any short lull at the front.

Professor King said that he has already submitted his recipes to the Ministry of War. If the recipes are popularized, the unique sight of Chinese troops marching to the front with pots and pans will become something of the past.

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# Mussolini's Dilemma

—By S. N. SWAMY

What shall the Italians do in the present war between Germany and the Allies is the most perplexing problem to Signor Mussolini, the Italian Fascist Dictator, as well as to the people of the world. Whether Italy can remain neutral for long or not is too premature to say now. Italy has already been bitterly disappointed with her partnership with Germany and all her imperialist aspirations have suffered a serious set-back. By his non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia, Herr Hitler has left his Axis partner Sgr. Mussolini in the lurch and the anti-Comintern pact has become a dead letter. What more shocking event can there be to Sgr. Mussolini when M. Stalin, the arch-enemy of Fascism, joined hands with his hitherto friend, Herr Hitler? Sgr. Mussolini's hopes were frustrated by the natural results of the non-aggression pact of Germany with Russia.

Though Herr Hitler has fallen an unfortunate victim to M. Stalin, it seems as if the Italian Dictator is more chagrined than Hitler. Sgr. Mussolini cannot bear to see with his greedy eyes the cessation of better half of Poland by Herr Hitler to M. Stalin. Sgr. Mussolini is pained and really unnerved to watch the capitulation of Herr Hitler of his claims in the Baltic States to Soviet Russia. Moreover Russia has come to the borders of Hungary and Rumania. Soviet Russia is slowly but surely spreading her influence upon the Balkan States and this is really having disheartening reactions in Italy. In this connection it is interesting to note the recent statement of Sgr. Gayda in which he has accused the Soviet Union as opportunist and as making ideological, territorial and political capital out of the present situation.

It is also interesting to quote as a sort of warning from a Rome radio, dated the 18th November, that Italy will resist any attempt at introducing communism in the Balkans as she did in Spain. Should such an attempt be made it would be met with immediate Italian reaction no less determined than Italy's action in Spain, says the recent Rome reports.

As regards Italy's relations with Germany it is not at all favourable and satisfactory to Italy. Germany has already suffered a lot by her non-aggression pact with Russia and any attempt at this stage of war on the part of Herr Hitler to placate the Italian ambitions will be detrimental to Germany and, what more, will be prejudicial to her relations with Soviet Russia. Germany is actually indebted to Russia. So, as the matter stands Italy cannot expect any gain by joining hands with Germany.

Then comes Italy's influence on the Balkan States. Italy wants to have a predominant voice in the Balkan States, but the present circumstances coupled with the internal agitations among the impoverished peasantry in the States, are turning in favour of Soviet Russia.

Mussolini had, and still has, the ambition of turning Mediterranean into Italian Lake. Turkey is also hatching the same ambition. Geographically, Turkey is enjoying a unique position. She has traditional and mutual trade relations and other connections with the Allies and also with Soviet Russia.

Therefore, Turkey also wants to enjoy a predominant role in the Mediterranean and as it is, she cannot give up her present claims and do anything which may hamper the interests of other countries and herself. Thus there remains a natural rivalry between Italy and Turkey.

The possibility of an alliance between Italy, Great Britain and France is also rather remote, if not impossible. Italy has got many grievances against France. Italy wants Corsica, Tunis etc., and France has already refused to accept that claim. In fact, France cannot.

Britain also will be failing in her duty if she does not ask Italy to cede Albania and Abyssinia, which were conquered and annexed by Italy recently, against the will of the Allies. The Allies must prove to the world that they really stand for the principles of Democracy and Peace they profess. So Italy cannot make good friends with the Allies and at the same time fulfil her ambitions. She will rather be a loser by joining hands with the

Allies. Further she will be courting the enmity of Germany which course also she cannot decide so rashly.

As regards Italy's internal position, she is economically a very poor country. Her resources are limited. Italy, like Germany, is depending on other countries for her raw materials. Italy has already poured her resources in the Abyssinia war which is still an unsuccessful accomplishment. Italy also lent a helping hand to General Franco. All this has reduced Italy to a miserable state from which she will require a very long time to recover.

Italy's national income is not at all appreciable and it will be a difficult task for Italy, in case she is involved in a war, to carry out the same to a successful end. Internally, the peasants, labourers and other lower middle-class people are seeking the earliest opportunity to free themselves from the Fascist yoke. Geographically Italy with her long coastal line is easily vulnerable to sea and air attacks.

The foregoing facts clearly reveal that Sgr. Mussolini, the Italian Fascist Dictator, is placed on the horns of a dilemma. We are anxiously awaiting his decision and the future course of Italian foreign policy.

*A Letter to the Public*

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## AN UNORTHODOX POT POURI

By Herezo

That august body, the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, or rather some part of it, has been much exercised over air-raid precautions. A.R.P. against whom? The Germans have not a base near enough even to attack England in an effective manner. The chances of having an air base within range of Calcutta are remote. Why, even in Bombay, though the siren screams a warning every Monday morning at 9 P.M. nobody pays any attention to it. There they have lowered the lights on the streets and parks to half strength, painted the tops of lights black, painted tramway windows, and motor headlights blue and so on, but the citizens of that Port, find that these precautions against air raids are really nothing more than encouragement to goondas, thieves and other ghouls of the night, and so they have now to detail policemen for G.R.P. Goonda Raid Precaution. They had Black out of practice, which proved to be a Black out Paradise or all doubtful characters. Now the chances of an air raid on Calcutta are so remote, that when one talks of precautions against them, one wonders "who benefits?" Of course in this great city of disinterested and philanthropic politicians, where every body is for all and nobody for himself, such questions do not arise—except, perhaps, may be, in some cases not yet discovered, or not officially recognised. Are there any vested interests so unpatriotic that may be suspected? *Chhee-Chhee-toba-toba*, such things do not happen in Calcutta! They work on a higher plane of superior interests—still who benefits? Let us forget such things.

It was surprising to learn that automatic telephones were not introduced into Calcutta because of terrorists. Now much can be said about the backwardness of telephone connections in Calcutta. But the reason of "terrorists" is arresting. First of all, it means an open confession that telephone wires are tapped, in short, advantage is taken of overhearing private telephone conversations. The thirst of knowledge of our government is remarkable and their desire to keep in close touch with the population. Students should emulate it and also that wonderful body,

the High Command, and some political leaders. Out of evil cometh forth good. Of course there are some persons of perverted intellect who would call this pure and simple "espionage" and such other things, but then they cannot understand benevolent and high motives. So much the worse for them? Terrorists are impossible people and must be eliminated from our social, political and every other system. That stands to reason. An American senator lately propounded the question, "are terrorists bad people in a good government or good people in a bad government?" Most terrorists in every country belong to the so-called intelligentsia. Then the educated people of good families are either bad, or their education makes them mental perverts, or the government is bad. Now that is just the trouble, the people in the opposing camps have contradictory ideas. We are trying our hardest to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity, now it would appear that if a Terrorist-Government unity were brought about, it would be more to the point. In fact, to express it in London Cockney, 'ang the 'indu-musline hunity" straighten out this unity and the rest follows. But it is dangerous to speak of terrorists. There are terrorists in both camps—legal and illegal terrorists. Let it go at that, but think about it, for terrorism of every sort must go before there is peace in the country.

The characteristic of the last decade or so has been terrorism, there was Abyssinia followed by the Japanese horror in China, then came Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and now the floating magnetic mines let loose by Nazis. But while terrorism was increasing in the rest of the world it was decreasing in India—not because the terrorists had become good or the government less bad; but because there was a promise of better things to be hoped for in a Congress regime, however shadowy or unsubstantial. But after the outbreak of the European war, this hope is slowly waning and one does not know from which camp terrorism will be again let loose in India.

The weekly reports of the war given

in the House of Commons generally makes very pleasant readings. One feels such a glow of pride when one learns that three aeroplanes chased fourteen German bombers, brought down six, disabled some more and put the rest to a homeward flight. How happy one feels to learn that all the three British planes returned home to invisibility after their short exposure. Again, we read of German companies raiding advanced French positions in no-man's land forced to retreat ingloriously by the dreadful accuracy of French fire, leaving on the field a large number of dead and dying Germans. Again we learn of British battleships going down fighting gloriously and gallantly against great odds. Weekly we are buoyed up with hope and confidence that the Allies will win without a doubt. Inspiring reading! One never expected so much from Chamberlain, though we all know Winston Churchill was a most cheerful and convincing reporter, well qualified for the staff of the most sensational, yellow "rag" ever published, more distinguished for its graphic optimism than for its accuracy. But Chamberlain, the sober! Who would have thought he had it in him! Before the war is over we expect him to rival Lloyd George, the most cheerful, optimistic, eminent—well, let us say, "propagandist" who inspired the maximum of hope and trust with the minimum of truth. However, Chamberlain is getting good practice, and when he once gets into stride, we may expect great stuff from him, which will fill us with pious pride in the goodness, gallantry, and glory of the Allies and the horribleness of the savage enemy. The Romans were indeed wise when they coined that little phrase "*cum grano salis*"—with a grain of salt.

That holds good even when one hears certain speeches from high quarters in the legislatures and assemblies in this country of shadowy self-government and democracy. We had some good examples last week. No, it is left to the imagination and analytical power of readers, to find the percentage effects and to distinguish between truth and imagination, between good and bad logic. Now Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee said quite a lot, and the opposite side replied also with a considerable volume of words. As an exercise, just analyse them carefully, paying a good deal of critical attention to

(Continued on Page 14)

## "Non-violence" Annotated

By NESTOR

The term "Non-Violence" with all its implications is synonymous with "Gandhism." Gandhism is essentially a religious philosophy. To quote Gandhiji: "My patriotism is subservient to religion." A member of Gandhiji's contemplated "Peace Brigade" must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it, he will not have the courage to die without anger, without fear, and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God. It is evident from this statement that Gandhism is metaphysicotheo-logical causerie. It is all God from beginning to end. It has nothing to do with reason. It abhors reason. To Gandhiji reasoning is a plain repugnancy. Gandhism has no use for knowledge gained through intellectual process. And we are perfectly aware that human conduct becomes anti-social and immoral by being the servitor of "absolute" standards. These "absolute" standards do not submit to reason and cannot be tested with reference to their capacity to achieve the maximum amount of social welfare. Metaphysical rumblings are relevant in a conception of welfare which is individual. Gandhism starts from the "Individual" and proclaims that the whole harmony of the world resides in the "Individual." We are reminded of the "Dialogue of D'Alembert and Diderot" and of "the insane piano," which is the only existing piano in the world. But we live in a world where a social conception of welfare is what we essentially need. Gandhism detests that conception. Metaphysical speculation and theological dogma constitute the core of Gandhism.

Gandhism is asceticism. An ascetic seeks his salvation in isolation. Asceticism has, indeed, nothing to do with normal religion. Even a mystic like Havelock Ellis tells us in his essay, "The Art of Religion," that asceticism is, at the best, "the outcome of a set of philosophical dogmas concerning the relationship of the

body to the soul and the existence of a transcendental spiritual world. That is philosophy, of a sort, not religion." So, Gandhism is not religion. To call Gandhism "Religion" is to confuse "Religion" with "Theology." Religion is an impulse, Gandhism is a creed. The impulse of Religion is a natural manifestation, as free as the sunlight, as glorious as the rising of the sun and as soothing as the unfolding of a flower. It is not the inmanifest sign that has been branded by super-natural force and shackled for ever to a fossilised theological creed.

Gandhism is a revised edition of Hinduism or Vedantism, that is, it is "Spiritual Imperialism." To quote Gandhiji: "My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism." Vivekananda too regarded Hinduism as a noble work of art woven around the profoundest truths of Hinduism, and held that it must be kept free from Western influence. He wanted to conquer the world with India's spirituality with the messages of the great sages of India. Spirituality must conquer the West. In his lectures "From Colombo to Almora," Swami Vivekananda said: "We must go out, we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy. There is no other alternative, we must do it or die ..... The only condition of national life, more vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought." This is spiritual imperialism. So, when

Gandhiji seeks the salvation of the world through non-violence (which he believes to be the root of Hinduism), he is not in search for something new, but he is re-treading a much-trodden path. Gandhism is spiritual imperialism, galvanised by the ethical and metaphysical dogmas of "Truth" and "Non-Violence." When Gandhiji pleads for the passive resistance of the Czechs against the Fascist aggression, when he appeals to the Fascist war-mongers for disarmament, for rekindling the light of the soul, he seeks to dominate the world with his philosophy of non-violence which, as has already been shown, is spiritual imperialism. Naturally, when Gandhiji comes in touch with the hard realities of everyday politics, this "Spiritual imperialism" is transferred from the subjective to the objective world, where he becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a Cleon of imperialism.

"Truth" is an expression of Gandhiji's "inner voice." To him Satyagraha is a process of purification. "Pecuniary ambition and passive resistance cannot well go together." This is a glorification of the negation, a romance of transcendentalism. The *Satyagrahi* starts with "I desire nothing" and that leads him safely to the other world. We wish bonvoyage to his romantic and glorious journey. Surely we are not going to accompany him. We, as men, cannot separate "Life" from "Material things that live." We cannot separate "Consciousness" from the material being of which we are all conscious, and above all, we cannot separate "thought" from "the act of thinking a material act." So, Gandhism is really a sort of anathema to us.

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## AN UNORTHODOX POT POURI

(Continued from page 12)

the replies, after that decide the quantity of salt to be taken to swallow them. The human mind is blessed with a large quantity of credulity and a small quantity of logic; and were this not so, politicians would find a speedy elimination and even the High Command with its head and super-head would sink into obscurity and oblivion. It is a blessing, other-wise there would have been no place for such great men as Titak, Motilal Nehru, our Deshbandhu Das, and our Subhas Babu. These men possess a Mental X-ray Eye which sees the solid skeleton of truth through all its camouflage and verbiage. These men are not hypnotised by rhetoric or misled by fine-sounding phrases which dilute truth into homeopathic doses. These men see the truth and expose it to public view, and the magnetism of truth expressed in sincerity attracts the nation to them, raising them even above supermen.

What has become of the much proclaimed Congress non-co-operation? The days are passing and one has almost forgotten that such a proclamation was made. The High Command is still marking time. It makes one curious to learn just what this non-co-operation is. Does it mean taking up office again to implement non-co-operation from inside? There is no doubt that the combined brain of the High Command is most ingenious. They require only time to think out some new way. Have we not seen how they took office to destroy the constitution, and even succeeded in using the worst of the ordinances, gagging the Press, in making *lathi* charges, imprisoning picketers and so on in the process of annihilating the constitution from within? One cannot but help admiring the wonderful ingenuity especially of that logical genius of the South, fitly leader of the politicians in that region and who distinguished himself by his virulent attack on our Subhas Babu and thus disgraced himself in the eyes of all thinking men. With intense curiosity we await the next move from Wardha which will be probably as inactive as the British expeditionary force is invisible at the Western Front.

In the meantime the non-Congress Ministers are getting on like a house on fire, and they are preparing for a sure defeat at the next elections, if they are conducted honestly. Of course, things are so uncertain at present while the High Command is "marking time" that it is difficult to say whether that defeat will involve a victory for the Congress or the Forward Bloc, which has a larger amount of truth and sincerity in its treasury than the debased coin of our country. The commercial magnates of the world recognise that with enough money for advertisement and propaganda the most useless things can be sold; even so in politics money can buy an overwhelming support—but trite though the saying, truth must prevail.

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# THE ALARUM IS RUNG

COMS. MUZAFFAR AHMAD & SOMNATH LAHIRI REPLY TO *THE STATESMAN*

*The Statesman* has published two inspired articles on communism in India by a correspondent and has editorially commented on them on the 6th instant.

Both the articles and the editorial are political blackmail of the meanest type. But if they had been simply this we would have paid no heed to them. The workers in the Indian national movement as well as the Indian people are sufficiently aware of the true colour of this notorious "*Friend of India*" to submit to its blackmail. Indeed, an attempt by *The Statesman* to slander the communist or any other section of the nationalist movement in India would rather make the people believe that the communists or the other slandered parties are really successfully championing the cause of the people to merit this attention from *The Statesman*—the watchdog of the European vested interests in India.

## Past Exploits of *The Statesman*

But this campaign started by *The Statesman* against the communist and other left sections of the national movement fills us with a grave foreboding. We are reminded of the past exploits of *The Statesman*. In 1934, *The Statesman* published a similar "sensational" article from a person who similarly hid his identity under the title of "a correspondent" on the doings of the Communist Party of India. Within a few weeks the Government of India declared the Communist Party of India illegal. The police began a mad hunt for communists and persecution in the form of prosecution, arrest, detention and internment without trial of anyone who was suspected to be a communist, became the order of the day.

With the working of provincial autonomy, persecutions like detention without trial had ceased. But again towards the end of October, 1938, the Associated Chamber of Commerce, the central organisation of British capital in India and master of many a statesman started a campaign of slander against the communist and the labour movement and *The Statesman*, true to its traditions of faithful service to British capital in India, boosted up the campaign. Simultaneously we found a wave of intense repression unleashed against the labour movement in Bengal.

## A Conspiracy for Repression

We feel that the recent articles in *The Statesman* are the expressions of a similar well-planned conspiracy. We are afraid that the articles are meant deliberately to prepare the ground for a ruthless offensive—not only against the communists but against every section of the national movement that stands today for an uncompromising struggle for freedom. Therefore, it is necessary to warn the people.

Leaving aside the malicious slanders and the quotations from spurious documents invented by the sordid imagination of *The Statesman's* correspondent, the central theme of the articles and the editorial seems to be the great discovery that the Communist Party of India, the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc, the All India Kisan Sabha, the Students Federation—in short, all the left-wing organisations in the country are working for "the immediate" awakening of active opposition to all measures for the furtherance of British war aims, coupled with the more distant objective of the overthrow of British rule in India and the complete severance of British connexion."

According to *The Statesman* this sort of activity is treachery to the country. Assuming that the correspondent's exposition of the activities of the left organisations is correct, can any one see in it anything opposed to the declared aims of the Congress and the Indian nation? The Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Viceregal statement about Britain's war aims and her attitude towards the question of Indian freedom emphatically declares: "In the circumstances it (the Working Committee) can not possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee calls upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations."

Obviously the activities of the Left would be the logical working out of the first step taken by the Working Committee. How does the omniscient *Statesman* then separate the aims of the leftist from the aims of the Congress as a whole?

## Political Blackmail

It does so by means of the most unscrupulous political blackmail. It tries to cajole the Right-wing leaders by singing praises of their constitutionalist weaknesses and to isolate the communist and other leftists from the Congress by telling the Right-wing leaders that the leftists are persons who would use the Congress for getting a "foreign" (meaning Russian) government in India. It writes editorially that at this time when the Congress leaders "would fain make use of the great opportunities for constructive work for the country which have since opened up, still more violent men arise and seek to get the organisation under their control. But whereas formerly constitutionalist and direct actionists had the same goal in view, national self-government, the communists today are working for a foreign government and would welcome in the enemy from the North." And in the second editorial the editor denounces every Congressman who wants independence by saying that the phrase "free India" is meant to cover "Russian slavery." The correspondent also insinuates that the communists want to direct the Congress movement immediately into a movement for the confiscation of private property.

## Attempt To Split the Congress

Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the nationalist movement in India knows how patently false these statements are. The communists disdain to conceal their views and ideas. From the press and the platform they have declared time and again their loyalty to the country's great national organisation, the Indian National Congress. They have declared that the achievement of the Congress objective, namely the freedom of the country from foreign domination is their immediate objective too. The bogey of confiscation of private property has been raised by *The Statesman* to split the national movement by isolating the Communists and other leftists from the Congress.

But the leftists and the communists need have no fear on this score. By hard day-to-day toil in strengthening the Congress in the very thick of the Congress struggle against imperialism,

they are every day demonstrating in actual practice that they want to be the best and the most disciplined soldiers of the Congress struggle. The correspondent of *The Statesman* wonders how the small number of communists could make their influence felt in so many organisations. Obviously it is not *The Statesman's* way of telling lies and invoking repression against the aspirations of the people. The communists have fearlessly championed the cause of the people; they have suffered with them from inside the rank of the people, struggled along with them for giving a shape to their boldest aspirations, have endeared themselves to the masses by being in the very thick of every struggle the masses are waging today for bread, freedom and peace. That is the secret of their growing success. Accustomed as *The Statesman* is to using the bullying and blackmailing tactics in politics, this is naturally an anathema to it—but not so to the people.

The correspondent of *The Statesman* who is also a bit more clever than the editor quotes a statement from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to show that he also disapproves of the Congressmen who would utilize the Congress and at the same time try to break through it in directions which are opposed to Congress policy.

The correspondent would have done well to remember that the Congress is not the personal property of Nehru or Patel or Bose or the communists. It is the nation's own organisation and every section of the nation, be it a person or a group of persons, have a right to try to move the whole organisation and through it the whole nation to the path it thinks best suited to achieve the nation's objective. The ultimate choice remains with the nation itself and every section is free to work daily for bringing the nation round to its own course of action.

#### Nehru—A Russian Agent

But the game of the correspondent is given away by the Editor. In a second editorial printed on the same day the editor of *The Statesman* commenting on the remarks made by Pandit Nehru about the incompetence of the I.C.S. officers writes: "The Pandit...went on to say that in a free India such an incompetent and inefficient Service which worked in a stereotyped way would have to be abolished...The more we hear about 'Free India' from some people the more we suspect that the phrase is meant to cover Russian slavery."

Here Nehru too is classed with those who would "welcome the enemy from the North" and therefore he is a traitor to the country of which *The Statesman* is the friend!

*God save India from such friends!*

## FORWARD BLOC NEWS

### STAND BY HARIPURA AND TRIPURI RESOLUTIONS

#### St. Kamath's Speech at Patna

PATNA.

Trenchant criticism of the Congress High Command's attitude towards the present war was made by Mr. H. V. Kamath, Organising Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc at a public meeting held on December in the Anjuman Islami Hall, Patna, Swami Sahajanand presiding.

At this critical juncture, he said, they must be guided by the Haripura resolution on war and the Tripuri resolution on national demands. He accused the Congress High Command of slackening the pace of nationalist movement. If any disciplinary action ought to be taken, he said, it should be against the members of the Congress Working Committee who were acting against the Haripura and Tripuri resolutions. He ridiculed the Congress Ministers who were, he said, feeling pangs of separation and were thinking of taking three months' rest after the resignation.

It was unfortunate, he continued, that Mahatma Gandhi was talking in terms of paradoxes at this hour. His contention and apprehension about starting a direct action were without any basis.

#### COMMITTEE TO BE FORMED

#### FORWARD BLOC LEADERS AT DEOGHAR

After organising the Santhal Parganas District Forward Bloc at Dumka Mr. H. V. Kamath with Messrs. Silvadra Zaji, Lambodar Mukherjee and Pandit Sarvananda Misra, Secretary S. P. District F. B. had a very busy programme at Deoghar.

A very successful meeting was held at the Baidya Nath Temple Compound Messrs. Kamath and Zaji explained the necessity of joining the Forward Bloc and explained the present political situation of the country. Their speeches were highly appreciated by the local public and it was decided to form the Sub-divisional Forward Bloc Committee.

It is also learnt that S. Subhas Ch. Bose, President Forward Bloc, is expected to visit the place very soon.

## 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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## BOOK REVIEWS

**A Digest of Japanese War Conduct.**  
Compiled By Shusi Hsu, Kelly & Walsh  
Ltd, Shanghai.

For three years the Sino-Japanese war has been going on and the Chinese people though unequipped with modern weapons of warfare, have risen superior to the highly mechanised forces of Japan. Teeming millions of China are united and their heroic resistance has compelled the admiration of the civilized world. But of the Japanese method of warfare and consequent atrocities perpetrated on the soil of China, little is known. The present book gives an idea of things on the war front and reveals Japanese atrocity in all its horror. The book is a partial reprint from the Chinese Year Book (1938-39) and foreign readers would find it useful. It is based upon press reports and has little of comment. Japanese atrocities are too numerous to be listed and the book is sure to impress the enormity of Japanese crime. Japan has adopted the most primitive method of looting, rape and murder. The newly conquered area is ravaged by Japanese soldiers. Sex-crime bulks large and other figures are staggering. Japan has systematically drugged China and drained away the wealth of the land. During the last three years the traffic of drugs has grown to a considerable extent and Tientstin Japanese concession has become the heroin capital of the world. The heroin traffic is solely controlled by Chen syndicate and Sun syndicate. An ordinary package of heroin containing 700 grams costs \$350 (Chinese dollar) in Tientstin and is sold for \$500 in America. Crimes linked up with drug-traffic are mounting and the book contains a lively picture of the heveoc dose by drug traffic. The organised drugging of China is an act of barbarity and forfeits Japan's claim to being the saviour of the oriental civilisation.

The book is highly informative and is sure to be widely appreciated by foreign students of Eastern affairs. The publishers would do well to continue this series of publication.

## BENGALI

**Bolshevik Partier Itihash**—By Abdul Halim. Published by—Agranee Book Club, 7B, Jugipara Bye Lane, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-0-0.

Today Soviet Russia figures prominent in world politics and a detailed history of the machinery that has brought into existence a new social order would be welcomed by the students of history. History of the Russian Communist Party is long and complicated and for an ordinary reader it is difficult to read the true meaning of the departures and the differences in the process of its developmet. Com. Halim has executed the difficult task with marked ability and to the Bengali readers the book is really an arsenal of informations. The role of the party and other basic questions are discussed lucidly. Recent imprisonment of the author has disabled him from using the materials of the latest official history of the Russian Communist Party. But the author's analysis, it should be mentioned, does not differ from the official history. The Agranee Book Club should be congratulated on bringing out valuable political literature at a nominal price and it deserves the whole-hearted sympathy of Bengali readers.

**Sreshtha Kavita**—Edited by Ramapati Basu.

It is a collection of few poems published during the year 1938 and the Editor claims that these are best poems and 'progressive' poems of the year. The word "progressive" has too much been profaned recently by our many young literary urchins and the introduction of the book under review can be cited as an example. The only poems worth-mentioning in the book are those of Premendra Mitra, Sudhindra Nath Dutt, Arunkumar Mitra and Subhas Mukhopadhyay—which are really good poems, though not the poets' best. Premendra Mitra, the only poet of modern age in Bengal imbued with its spirit, should have been more amply represented and the poems of Arunkumar Mitra and Subhas Mukhopadhyay, who have a distinct voice of their own among the younger ones, should have been more cautiously selected. With the exception of these four poems, the entire collection is faulty, and is vitiated with the perverse taste of the Editor. With such a scanty idea of what poetry is, it would have been better if the Editor had not endeavoured to project his fantasy of how poetry should be written and what is good poetry. And the book as an anthology of modern Bengali poetry may be an honest attempt, but never a successful achievement.

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## Letters To The Editor

# TREADING ON A PERILOUS PATH

To

*The Editor, Forward Bloc*

SIR,

Notwithstanding the acceptance by the Governments of both the United Provinces and Bihar, of the sliding scale in fixing up the minimum price of cane and despite the abnormal rise in the price of sugar reaching Rs. 13/- a maund and showing yet an upward tendency, the minimum price for cane remains the same as was fixed in the beginning of November at annas eight and pies nine per maund when sugar was selling some where near Rs. 11/- per maund. In accordance with the accepted sliding scale the cane price now ought to be above eleven annas a maund and it was naturally expected that the Government notification in this respect would do it for the fortnight beginning from the 1st. of December. But nothing of the sort has happened and the same initial price has been repeated. So the sliding scale adopted by the Congress Ministry has *de facto* been given the go-by by the present Government and to that extent the agitation and the cry raised by the vested interests has succeeded. The plea of the sugar Syndicate and its advocates that the price of sugar is soaring alarmingly high because of the costliness of some chemicals used in its preparation and hence there is no profiteering, should deceive none. As late as the last summer they sold sugar at the rate of Rs. 14/- or so per maund when there was no war and therefore, there can be no question of the dearth of this requisite chemical at present. But the Government, I am afraid, is taking shelter behind that baseless plea and allowing a free scope of profiteering to the sugar concerns. It is bound to prove perilous, I am sure, to all concerned, even the Government not excepted. Fattest possible dividends sought to be granted to the share-holders of the sugar mills and the resultant prosperity thereof at the cost of both the growers and the consumers, is a crime which no Government and no society should tolerate for a single moment.

The cry of these mills and their supporters, that the regional prices for sugar canes, instead of sliding-scale ones, should be fixed by the Government, is again motivated by blind and mean self-interest. Hence it can hoodwink none. When there is no protection granted by Government to the helpless sugar industry on a regional basis, how can it be expected that the same protection will be extended to the helpless cane-growers on a regional basis? There may be a considerable difference in the percentage of sucrose between the different varieties of cane. But such a thing in respect of the same cane having been produced in various regions of Bihar and U. P. has not been proved as yet and if there may be any, it is almost negligible. But there is a marked difference of profit accordingly as the mills are located, because of the transport facilities and nearness of the markets. No body dare deny it. It is, therefore, but meet and proper for the Sugar Syndicate, representing as they do the interests of all the sugar mills, to press first of all for the regional protection being granted to the sugar industry and not the uniform rate of the same to all the mills, whether located in adverse areas or otherwise. Thus, bare justice will be meted out to all the mills. Will the Syndicate take courage in both hands and do it? I hope not. In that case its own existence is bound to be threatened as then it will be a house divided against itself. I, therefore, say again that to raise the question of the regional prices for cane is to tread on a perilous path.

Then comes the bogey of the sugar cane pests alluded to in a previous statement of mine. This is the most clever move on the part of the sugar mills. This is a double-edged weapon. On the one hand, it is intended to deprive the Kisans of their legitimate cane price in view of the abnormal rise in the sugar prices and in this it has already succeeded as indicated above. Unless there is a raging and tearing campaign to force the hands of the Government to increase the price of cane, there is no hope for the growers to get

their due. But the sugar interests are not satisfied only by making the Government agree apparently not to raise the prices of cane in proportion as the sugar prices rise. They are now, on the other hand, determined to prevail upon the Government even to reduce the prevailing price as is clear from the reports of their meetings and deputation and the market-forecasts. I am afraid, unless they fully succeed in dealing not only a double blow to the Kisans, but also a fatal one to the consumers, they will not know rest. So it is time that all the growers and consumers and their well-wishers unite and call a halt to these pernicious moves of the sugar factories. Nothing short of an irresistible counter-move is a bare necessity and exigency of the hour and that alone will save them.

But let me tell the Syndicate plainly that by resorting to such tricks and devices they are again treading on a perilous path. Suppose they succeed and cane price goes considerably down. What will result then? The growers will be extremely disappointed and also their well-wishers, with the clear result that they will be in no mood to co-operate with the mills and the Government in eradicating the diseased canes and planting disease-free ones instead. Why should they do so? Where is the incentive to do so? Why should they take extra trouble and expense for no gain of theirs? And what will be the ultimate result? The industry will die its natural death. I, therefore, warn the Government and the mills lest they repent in future.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati

## Is it true that the Nation is not Ready ?

SIR,

Now-a-days everyone asks whether any movement is going to be started by the Congress. One who asks the question is a man ready to receive answer and laugh. If the answer, on the other hand, is given that Mahatmaj says that the nation is not ready, the second question comes, is it true?

Whether the nation is ready or not is to be decided by Mahatmaj himself.

Once at Wardha Shri Shardulsing Kaveshwar said in a public meeting that at the time of the last C. D. Movement, all the members of the Working Committee opined that the nation was not ready and that they must find out by having tours whether that was correct or not. Mahatmaji bluntly replied that men might come or not but he would go alone. The movement was started. That time Mahatmaji never cared what people thought about it. Even at the time of launching non-cooperation, Gandhiji never cared for the opinion of the masses. But at this juncture why Mahatmaji is harping again and again on the same thing, viz, that the nation is not ready for a struggle?

I have thought over this matter and have been able to find out the following reasons:—

1. The acceptance of offices and working of the constitution have broken the morale of Congressmen. The members, instead of wrecking the constitution, have become slaves to it. They have forgotten the object with which they started. On the other hand, selfishness, corruption and nepotism have vitiated them. The voters complained against them and even in the public meetings they were scolded and censured. Verily, the Ministries have dragged down the prestige of the Congress to a very low level.

2. By purging out some of the most outstanding and trusted leaders and workers, the Congress has become a suspect to the general people of the country.

3. The Old Guard is always extolled while the infusion of new blood is scrupulously discountenanced by the High Command.

4. Non-Congressmen and anti-Congressmen have been raised high to the offices in the provinces, especially those who fought against the Congress at the time of elections.

5. Mahatmaji has hardly any confidence in the public and the public have replied him in the same manner. The notorious "Pant resolution" of Tripuri may be cited as an illustration.

The reasons may be multiplied but I stop here. Mahatmaji has realised all these things and that is why he is not ready to start a movement. But how can he avoid reaping what he has sown?

It is also true that Mahatmaji cannot leave his followers and at the same time, he cannot go after honest and sincere workers belonging to other groups and ideologies. Those who preach his ideology have to be hugged, no matter whether they are honest, corrupted or spoiled.

The Ministers are eager to get back to their offices. The spirit of fight is sadly

lacking in his close followers. So in these circumstances, Mahatmaji has no other alternative but to say that the nation is not ready. But it is not true. The people whom Mahatmaji has in view is not the whole nation.

Nagpur

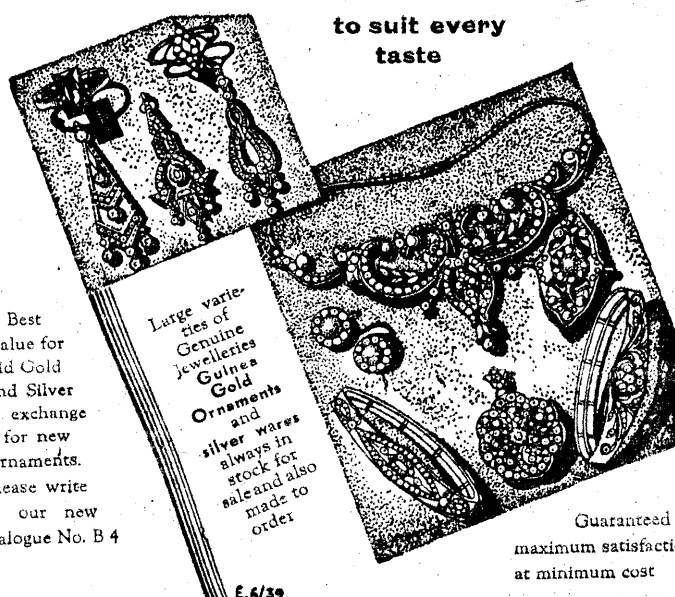
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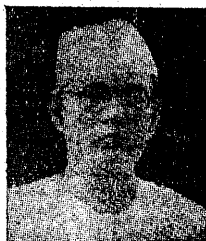
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