

# FORWARD BLOC

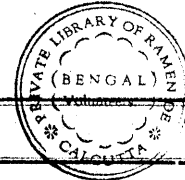
A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 20

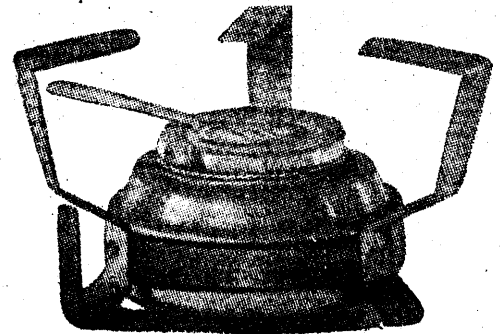
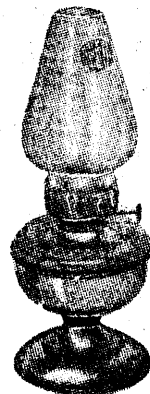
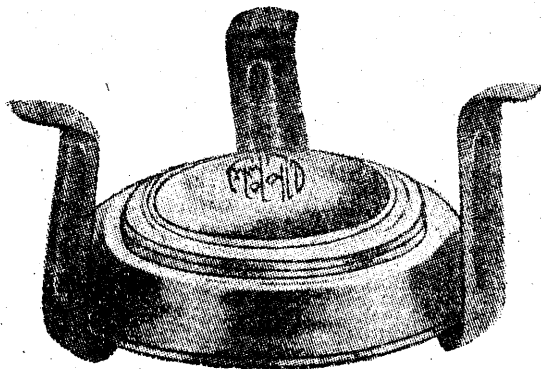
CALCUTTA, SATURDAY DECEMBER 23, 1939

ONE ANNA



## 'ECONOMIC FREEDOM'

BRASS  
TABLE LAMPS  
SPIRIT STOVES



*Madras Distributors—*  
**BENGAL  
ELECTRICALS  
CO.**

**SHILPA-PEETH LIMITED.**  
**ALAM BAZAR, CALCUTTA.**

*Bombay Distributors—*  
**V. PRABHA & CO.**  
*Rangoon Distributors—*  
**H. HIRJI & CO.**

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

(Including Postage)

**FOREIGN**  
Annual 12s. 6d.

**BURMA**  
Single Copy 6 Pice

**INLAND**  
Annual Rs. 4.-  
Half-yearly Rs. 2.-  
Quarterly Re. 1.-

Gram :—Aryoplans.

Phone :—Cal. 1048.

1049.

**WAR BOOM**it is TIME to  
get rich

from

**'SHARE MARKET'**

with a nominal

capital to start with.

ASK FOR 'SHARE MARKET REPORT'

Specimen copy free on request.

Please apply to :

**Messrs. BENGAL SHARE DEALERS' SYNDICATE**

3 and 4, Hare Street, Calcutta.

**ASTROLOGER**  
WONDERFUL

Consult the Greatest Astrologer and Palmist in India **Jyotish-Shiromani Prof R. C. Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnaba, M.R.A.S. (London)**, of Continental fame, President, All India Astrological and Astronomical Society (Estd. 1906) who is highly honoured and praised by the All-India Pandit Mahamandali and by the High Court Judges, D. Magistrates, Native Chiefs, Ministers, Commissioner of Dn., Nawabs etc., with other noble personages of India and abroad—to solve any problem of your life. Health, Wealth, Love, Marriage, Important events, Lucky Days, Litigations, Lottery, Speculations etc. Free prospectus on request.

ANNUAL LIFE READING (Monthly information) Rs. 4. Details Rs.

**WONDERFUL TALISMAN (DHANADA)**—Wearer is sure to acquire immense wealth, high fame, good health, son, success in undertakings, prosperity in service and business, etc., Rs. 7-10. Special giving immediate effects Rs. 29-11

**BASIKARAN TALISMAN**—Wearer of this will acquire the unique power of bringing any desired person under control or subjection Rs. 4-9 Special Rs. 34-2.

N. B. : If fails money refunded guaranteed.

Head Office :—105, Grey St, (F. B.) Calcutta.

Branch Office 47, Dharamtola St., Calcutta.

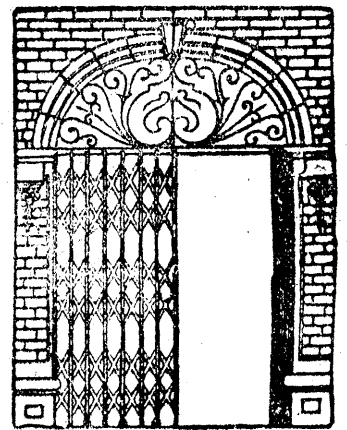
Phones B.B. 3685 & Cal. 5742.

**THE CALCUTTA COLLAPSIBLE  
GATE CO. LTD.**

11-C, LOWER CHITPUR ROAD

PHONE NO. CAL. 3972.

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



**P.C. AUDDY & CO'S**  
**SOTI-FOOD**  
IS THE ONLY  
BODY BUILDER  
FOR INFANTS.

STOCKIST **SARBAMANGALA BHANDER**

47, RAJAR CHAWK, CALCUTTA.



## FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23

*The Correct Line*

In life and particularly in politics, there is nothing so harmful or dangerous as an attitude of indecision. This is more so when indecision masquerades in a borrowed mantle. Let us consider the attitude of the Congress Working Committee since September last. Mahatma Gandhi's initial stand on War-policy was perfectly intelligible, though it was not in consonance with public opinion in the country. He advised unconditional co-operation with the British Government on the question of war, but this was in direct opposition to repeated resolution of the Congress and particularly of the Haripura Congress of 1938. The Congress Working Committee, which invariably follows the lead of the Mahatma, did not venture to do so in the present crisis. Instead, it passed a lengthy finely-worded resolution which gave the man in the street the impression that the Congress was on the war-path, but which in reality camouflaged a mind that was altogether undecided about the future. On one pretext or other, the Committee has been putting off its final decision from meeting to meeting. The first time it postponed a decision, namely in September, it sought to ascertain from the British Government their war-aims as well as their policy regarding India. But after the Viceroy's reply which was nothing less than a slap on the face of the Congress Working Committee, there has been no valid excuse for indecision or procrastination.

Several leaders of the Gandhian Party, headed by the ex-Premier

of Madras, expressed their profound disappointment at the Viceregal pronouncement. Their deep disappointment presupposed a hopeful outlook at the start, but we wonder what had led them to expect anything else from the Government. We, on our part, had correctly predicted what was coming; consequently neither surprise nor disappointment overtook us when the reply of the British Government became known.

Smarting under an unexpected blow, the Congress Working Committee promptly decided to direct the Congress Cabinets in the provinces to resign. In the prevailing atmosphere the decision was good so far as it went, but it was not in keeping with what we regard as sound tactics. Instead of throwing up the sponge, the Congress Ministers should have stuck to their posts, should have gone on implementing the Congress programme and should have invited dismissal while discharging their legitimate duties. If this policy had been followed, then by the time the last Ministry was dismissed, public feeling would have reached the boiling-point.

Nevertheless, we welcomed the resignation of the Congress Cabinets, hoping that it would prove to be the first step in a forward policy. In *'Real Politik'*, there can be no such thing as marking-time. One has to move either forward or backward. Consequently, we hoped that once the Ministries were out of our way, the pressure from below would force the Congress Working Committee into a bold and dynamic policy.

The mass-pressure is there all right, but the Committee, including our erstwhile Leftist leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has, under the Mahatma's leadership, succeeded in resisting it so far. The Committee

today has no existence of its own—it is but the shadow of Mahatma Gandhi in whose favour it has voluntarily abdicated. But Mahatma Gandhi is no longer the dictator of the Indian National Congress. He is the dictator only of the Right-Wing of that great institution and of some erstwhile Leftist leaders—for the Left-Wing will most definitely not take order from him blindly.

To examine how the Congress Working Committee has so far succeeded in resisting mass pressure would be indeed an interesting study. Having suspended the fight with Imperialism, it has been conducting a ruthless and continuous drive against the Left and particularly against the Forward Bloc. This serves to divert public attention from the path and the duty that lie ahead of us. To bewilder the public and thereafter scare it away from the path of struggle, bogeys have been created from time to time. Before the war, we were told that a forward move was impossible, because there was corruption within the Congress and because a forward move, when launched, would lead to an outbreak of violence. Since September last, they have had a brain-wave and we are now told that if the Congress starts a 'Satyagraha' Campaign, Hindu-Muslim riots will inevitably follow. We are awaiting the invention of fresh argument for desisting from a dynamic policy. The tragedy that has overtaken the upper ranks of Congress leadership is due primarily to demoralisation that followed in the wake of office-acceptance. This demoralisation was altogether unexpected. Who had ever expected that even those who have fought for years for India's freedom and who have braved the rigours of prison-life would thus

fail us in the most fateful hour of our history?

While carrying on the drive against the Left and inventing bogeys of the above sort, the Congress Working Committee has not failed to keep up appearances. Leftist phraseology it has never stinted and hopes are consistently held out that the Congress will soon be on the move. Reports that we are receiving from several provinces and particularly from ex-Ministerial circles belie such hopes. On all sides there are whispers that the Congress Cabinets will stage a come-back and that negotiations are going on behind the scenes for that purpose. It is a hard thing to make the allegation—but we are reluctantly compelled to do so—that the Congress Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi are today out of touch with radical and progressive elements in the country.

The tension and the struggle between the Right and the Left in this country are important and interesting as an historical phenomenon. Lust for power has seized the upper ranks of our leadership—not the power that follows from Independence, but such power as will come through a compromise with Imperialism. Consequently, the Right-Wing will not shrink from a compromise when the opportunity appears, but will not think of an understanding with the Left, in spite of a national crisis which demands national unity. This is 'Macht-Politik' or 'Power-Politics' at its worst. We have no doubt that behind the facade of a party-struggle within the Congress, there is in reality a class-struggle going on all the time.

The latest stunt which has been devised to stave off a struggle and which may in time prove to be the greatest fraud perpetrated on the

Indian people by their own leaders, is the proposal of a Constituent Assembly under the aegis of an Imperialist Government. We have made some serious study of History and Politics and in our view, a Constituent Assembly, if it is not a misnomer, can come into existence only after the seizure of power. If, for instance the Congress and the British Government are engaged in a struggle over the Indian problem, the Congress will first have to come out victorious and from a provisional Government to take over power. Only such a Provisional National Government can summon a Constituent Assembly for framing a detailed Constitution for India. The Assembly that is now being proposed by the Congress Working Committee may be a glorified All-Parties Conference, but it is certainly not a Constituent Assembly. It will meet with the fate of the Irish Convention which was the creature of Mr. Lloyd George. The Indian people should have nothing to do with such an Assembly the only purpose of which would be to side-track us from our principal task, as the Harijan Movement did in 1932 and 1933.

Our own path is clear. We are now passing through the anti-imperialist phase of our movement. We have to rally all uncompromisingly anti-imperialist elements for the next move. The problem today is not merely to force the hands of the Congress Working Committee. That we must do. But even if we succeed therein, with Mahatma Gandhi at our helm, there will always be the danger of another Chauri-Chaura, or another Harijan Movement or another Gandhi-Irwin Pact. For that danger we must prepare in advance, so that we may be able to meet it successfully when the time comes.

Let the Congress Working Committee have the leadership of the nation for all time—we have no objection to that. But a leader must lead. We still hope against hope that the Committee will soon make a move. But if they do not, then we must act. We are confident that the masses will follow, no matter who gives the lead.

When Imperialism is ended, the Socialist phase of our movement will commence. Those who win power must undertake the task of post-struggle reconstruction.

*Sukhan Chandraborn*

### No Whittling Down The Demand.

The *Manchester Guardian* has given out in one of its recent leaders that the Congress is inclined to accept a reasonable basis for negotiation for a final Indian settlement. The article has been based on reports cabled from India by the *Reuter*. A few days ago, it was published in the newspapers that Mr. Jayakar, equipped with his past experiences in this line, was coming down to India to act as a mediator between Wardha and Whitehall. Mr. Jayakar's mission, coupled with the *Manchester Guardian's* editorial, have naturally given rise to various speculations. The Working Committee is at present in session; and though it is displaying an unholy zeal in rushing through lesser matters in a manner that carries its own commentary with it, it has not as yet come to any decision regarding the all-important question of National Demand and its immediate fulfilment. Perhaps it is waiting for another call from Delhi;

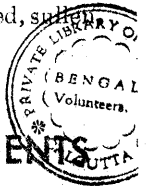
perhaps this time too, it will decide to remain indecisive.

In the meantime, Lord Linlithgow, after a fairly long spell of silence, opened his lips the other day at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. To characterise his peroration on this occasion as disappointing, is saying much less than what is appropriate for it. It is the same old imperialist song to which we have become thoroughly used. It has not even the redeeming grace of any novelty in language. The same cautious, halting and miserly tone characterises it from beginning to end. The same old imperialist game of divide and rule has cast its vicious shadow on it. His Excellency has regretted the constitutional deadlocks that have resulted from the withdrawal of Congress Ministries. He has showered encomiums on the Governments of Bengal and the Punjab, and has not even withheld his blessings from the newly-formed Saadullah Ministry that has stepped into the vacancy created by the resignation of the Bardoli Cabinet. He has grieved copiously over the fact that the repeated declarations of the British statesmen in regard to their war aims have not gone home to political India. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's recent speech in the Bengal Assembly is an admirable reply to this part of Lord Linlithgow's utterance. In the last Great War too, Britain indulged in the same sort of exuberance in her professions; and how they were carried out into practice on the termination of the War is a matter of history to-day. Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said in one of his press interviews that in spite of best intentions, the present pre-occupations with the War are only preventing Britain from coming to an immediate settlement with India.

With all respects for Sir Stafford, we cannot but accept this explanation with a grain of salt. If Britain is really bent on striking up an honourable settlement with India, the War cannot have stood in her way of doing so. A simple declaration accepting India's right to self-determination may do. As regards the form of constitution that India will choose for herself, well, that is for her to decide. Britain has only to accept that decision.

Frankly speaking, we cannot disabuse our mind of the apprehension that the National Demand is going to undergo much watering down—an apprehension that the present attitude of the Working Committee is bound to give rise to. Freedom can be nothing but freedom, not a whit less than what it is. Any dilution will spoil its very substance. In the age of the stories that have been cropping up at present that the Congress intends to arrive at a compromise with the Government, it behoves the Working Committee to re-iterate once more the National Demand and declare that it stands firm by it; that not a iota less will satisfy India. Lord Linlithgow has put in a full-throated plea for India's co-operation in the War. But the nation, disillusioned by its past experiences, can hardly agree to throw in its weight on the side of Britain when her professed war aims have been put to the test and found wanting in sincerity and substance. India, as *The New Statesman and Nation* remarked sometime ago, is a test case. By granting her the right of self-determination, Britain can win a moral victory and reduce Hitler to insignificance by enlisting the overwhelming support of the enlightened world opinion on her side. In the meantime the Punjab

Assembly has passed a resolution offering unconditional support to Britain; the Bengal Assembly too, has followed suit. Let not these puny performances delude the Government into the belief that the people of India stand at its back in the present crisis. Let those who like, barter away the birth-right of the nation for a mess of pottage. They are a mere handful of the country. The heart of the Indian masses is sound. They know what they want, and are determined to achieve it. If the Working Committee cannot give a suitable lead to them, there are others in the country who will not fail them in the present hour. They are now vibrating with a new life and will stoutly resist any effort, open or subterranean, to a prolongation of their bondage, under whatever specious name and plea that may be. Let the Government and others who are concerned in the matter, read the signs of times aright. A free India will surely contribute her mite to bring in a new era of real democracy and peace in the world to-morrow. But an India in chains is bound to remain discontented, sullied, fermented, if not revolting.



## CURRENT COMMENTS

### Bengal Congress

The Congress Working Committee has passed its judgment upon the B. P. C. C. in the grand Inquisition manner. The B.P.C.C. executive, in essential matters, have been superseded, and their powers have been vested upon an *ad hoc* committee which is altogether a packed and partisan body. The High Command must have all their own way—and will brook no opposition. The voice of protest must be hushed. Criticism must be

suppressed. And they must keep themselves safe in power by suppressing and superseding whoever and whatever stands on their way.

### Huq Has Not Backed Out

Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, is not a man to be beaten, at least in words. Some time ago he afforded us great relief by declaring that he had backed out of the controversy in which he had been engaged with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru over the alleged injustices done to the Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. Now he has again turned back and roared in characteristic vein that he has not left the ring. Mr. Huq has published the first instalment of his "charge-sheet" against the Congress Ministries and it is yet unknown how many instalments he has still in reserve. But in the absence of a thorough scrutiny by an impartial body the "charges" can hardly be taken as anything more than a tissue of interested assumptions. Mr. Huq has fallen foul of Pandit Nehru because he has disapproved of the idea of a Royal Commission to investigate into League allegations. It is useless to remind him and Mr. Jinnah that no self-respecting Indian in his senses can accept this proposal. The League stalwarts may construe this as shirking an enquiry, but the verdict of the country at large is bound to be otherwise. One thing is particularly surprising about the matter: wrongs done to the minorities in the Congress-governed provinces could not certainly have escaped the notice of the Governors. But why have they chosen to keep mum so long? *The Statesman*, if we remember aright, characterised before some of the charges of the League as fantastic. But now it is maintaining a studied reticence. This conspiracy of silence is not without its signi-

ficance and it is needless to offer comments on it.

### A Peep Into The League Affairs

Sir Sikander suddenly disappeared from Lahore without giving any notice even to his Private Secretary and naturally there cropped up speculations about his destination and the object of his visit. Now the news has reached us that he has safely arrived in Bombay. Sir Sikander has affirmed that no political significance is to be attached to his present visit. But since he differs from Mr. Jinnah on almost all the vital issues that now confront the League, and since he will have a talk with the latter "on the recent development in the country with particular reference to the communal problem," it is difficult to dismiss his visit to Bombay as a mere courtesy call and his talk mere *tete-a-tete* round a tea-table. Has he inwardly realised that Mr. Jinnah's leadership of the League is doing untold harm to the Mussalmans of India and therefore, a squaring up of accounts with him has become sorely necessary at present? His Highness the Aga Khan is believed to be coming to India very soon. Will he and Sir Sikander combine together to knock down Mr. Jinnah from the League *quidde*? Even if that turn out to be true, will that improve the prospects of a League-Congress *entente*? Sir Sikander has already committed himself to a definite position in regard to the War and his Highness the Aga Khan is not likely to differ from him much in this respect. The Congress stand, on the other hand, is as poles asunder from it. How can these two opposites be made to meet?

### "Common Sense At Discount."

In opening the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition at Con-

gress House, Madras, Sir Mirza Ismail deprecated "the undue emphasis which we in India are apt to lay on our religious and cultural differences." Sentiment is allowed to play too large a part, while commonsense is at a discount. Sir Mirza Ismail distrusts politics, for "politics divide," and his solvent is economic enterprise. "Large scale industries, cottage industries and all kinds of industries in which people of different castes and creeds can be associated for their mutual gain" will, it is trusted, bring about a fusion of diverse groups. This also is his programme for the attainment of Swaraj, that is, the kind of Swaraj which he can contemplate. Gandhiji has sent his message to this Exhibition, and the message is characteristic of Gandhiji. It is as un-political as the message of Sir Mirza Ismail. "I believe," this is the credo of Gandhiji, "we can surely spin our way to Swaraj through Charkha." Spin our way to Swaraj! For aught we know, our great-grand parents span, and span, and did nothing else. A Hundred years ago, India did not import only a few bales of cotton goods. India span. And India was not free. She span herself into a pathetic, placid contentment—and was bemused into unconsciousness of the political yoke.

**MITRA MOOKHERJEE & CO**  
**JEWELLERS & BANKERS.**  
 35, ASHUTOSH MUKHERJEE RD.  
 BHOWANIPUR

To be shortly out

*Mind Behind the Prison-bar Speaks*

সুখর বন্দী

BY

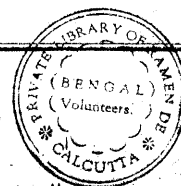
**Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit-Roy**

To be had of:—

**FORWARD BLOC OFFICE**

62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

# Failure of Gandhian Tactics



In his quiet, unostentatious manner Gandhiji has announced in the "Harijan" that the management and control of Civil Disobedience has been entrusted by the Working Committee to his charge. The announcement, if it means anything, it means that the British Government need not fear any Civil Disobedience on a mass scale in India in the near future.

Mahatmaji has declared more than once that necessary atmosphere for Civil Disobedience does not exist in India today and, though in other matters he is so optimistic, he does not see here any bright prospects. Some of us blame Gandhiji for making such a declaration at such a juncture. But this is due to our ignorance. Since Chauri Chaura tragedy Gandhiji has never whole-heartedly supported Civil Disobedience on a mass scale, and what Gandhiji says today so loudly is only a repetition of what he has been thinking and believing for the last fifteen years or so.

Bugbear of violence has all these years been on Gandhiji's brain; it has completely driven out of him all hopes of a mass resistance to British Imperialism. If we could once realise that Mahatmaji has lost all confidence in Indian masses as regards their capacity for non-violence as he understands it, it would not be difficult to understand his position and acquit him of all blame for inaction or delay.

Satyagrahi, according to Mahatmaji, has to be non-violent and truthful not only in action but also in words and thought. If there could be such a Satyagrahi, voluntary suffering, according to Gandhiji, is bound to melt the heart even of the hardest opponent. A lion would be calmed of his ferocity and humbly lick the feet of a cow if she could willingly thrust her head in the jaws of the hungry animal. But with taint of violence in his heart, even a Mahatma could not persuade his own erratic son to the path of righteousness. Indians do not believe in gospel of this sort of non-violence. Hence they are, according to Mahatmaji, unfit for offering Civil Disobedience

The success of the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 is generally attributed to Mahatmaic principles. But a little careful analysis of the true position would show that the movement succeeded, not because of Mahatmaji's guidance or support, but inspite of his indifference or opposition to it.

In 1930, terrorism from Indian youngmen on the one side and violence on the part of the government on the other, prompted Mahatmaji's "inner voice" to offer Satyagraha; thus he thought he could defeat both the violent parties in one shot. It may sound curious that the same atmosphere of violence that compelled Mahatmaji to start Civil Disobedience in 1930, now forces him to go against it; but that is another story and is not relevant to the point at issue; it may be due to the unfortunate high blood pressure, or due to old age as Mahatmaji once wrote in his characteristic modest manner. Yes, in 1930 Mahatmaji

measures. Mahatmaji, as was natural according to the principles, he believed in, would not agree to this proposal. But finally an agreement was reached that as long as Mahatmaji was outside the jail, none else should offer Civil Disobedience except Mahatmaji and the chosen band of his immediate disciples. But when he was placed behind the prison bars, and his conscience could feel at peace for not being responsible for what was to go on outside in the country, the Working Committee could run the movement as best as it desired.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was thus brought about not because Gandhiji and a dozen of his disciples were imprisoned for pinching salt off Dandi, but because the Working Committee under guidance of Moti Lalji could send about a lac of the Indians, men and women, to the jails, paralyse British trade and upset all orderly government in the country. All these men and women in 1930 were as far away from Gandhiji's ideal of a Satyagrahi as is the man in the street today.

Again when two years later the movement had to be re-started, Gandhiji stopped it all of a sudden because one

By **SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR**

felt an inner urge to give fight to the British. But he did not want to take the masses with him in that fight. He felt that he, with a handful of Sabarmati Ashramites, was strong enough to give battle to the whole might of the British, and bring them down on their knees. A pinch of salt stolen at Dandi could successfully work the miracle.

The then Working Committee of the Congress, specially its leader Pandit Moti Lal, had no such hopes of the success of such a heroic and desperate step. They thought that for the success of the campaign mass movement was necessary, and that the success lay not so much in the power of Mahatmaji's disciples to melt the heart of their opponents by voluntary suffering, as in the power of the people to injure the trade and other interests of the foreign government by boycott of its goods and by paralysing it through non-payment of taxes and other similar embarrassing

of his trusted disciples was perhaps found receiving secretly newspapers, in jail. Moti Lalji was dead, but his brilliant son wrote a nasty letter to Mahatmaji for such Quixotic ideas lubricating Mahatmaji's passage out of the Congress for all times to come. Jawaharlalji's autobiography only gives a very mild paraphrase of what he felt at the time for Gandhiji's conception of a Civil Resister and Civil Disobedience. The letter he wrote to Mahatmaji used more vigorous language than Mahatmaji was accustomed to receive even from hostile quarters.

There should, therefore, be no surprise, if Gandhiji today does not think that the country is fit for offering Civil Disobedience on a mass scale. But the surprise is how the Congress Working Committee which ought to know all these facts, should entrust the management and control of the future campaign to Gandhiji's sacred hands. When Gandhiji in his saintly manner offered to help unconditionally



British Imperialism against Aryan Nazism, the Working Committee boldly gave him a cold shoulder, and left him in the minority of one. Later Pandit Jawahar Lal openly repudiated in the A.I.C.C. meeting at Wardha, Mahatmaj's oft-repeated assertion that the country was not prepared or fit for offering a fight to the British Imperialism. But Mahatmaj's magic personality seems to have re-hypnotised the recalcitrant committee. The Committee has appointed him as dictator to do a thing which he has absolutely no mind to do. This is his latest note on the point:—

"There is no question of Civil Disobedience for there is no atmosphere for it—at any rate there is no question of Civil Disobedience in the aggressive sense as we launched in 1930 and 1932. We might have to offer it if all constructive work was made impossible, that is to say, if grave irritation was given by Government. I fear no such thing."

Gandhiji is quite right. Government is not going to interfere with our spinning, or even with our pious efforts to open temple door for the Harijans or close liquor doors against the poor. The fate of Civil Disobedience is thus safely sealed. At the worst, Gandhiji may go on hunger strike as he did in Rajkot; and most probably with the same success as his new technique has achieved there according to the recent gushing testimony of Mr. Dhebar of the local Parjmandal. His lands have been confiscated and whatever little was allowed to the Parjmandal by the previous rule has unceremoniously been withdrawn by Shri Virawalla.

What are then the Indian masses who are thirsting for the independence of their country to do? Should they sit quiet with folded hands till the spinning wheel works out the millenium which is to follow Mahatmaj's constructive programme? One may have then to wait for centuries and still find one's position none better than today. Indians have shown the greatest possible respect for Gandhiji. They have followed him like the sheep knowing not what he says and what he means. His saintly life and whole-hearted and selfless devotion to the cause of Indian uplift has justifiably earned him that position. But Indians, as a nation, have never believed in the gospel of non-violence in the sense Gandhiji wanted them to do. Even some of his best

followers have adopted non-violence as a policy, as a means, and not as an end as Gandhiji's religion requires.

All sensible Indians realise that violent means needed to destroy the British domination are not available to them. At the same time they have realized that non-co-operation, boycott, strikes and Civil resistance on a mass scale are effective enough to compel the British Government to yield to the demand of Indians for complete Independence. Indo-British relations are of such a nature that the British can rule profitably in India only when Indians themselves be prepared to co-operate with them in such a rule and when that rule can be carried on in a peaceful and orderly manner. When there is no peace or order in the country and when people do not co-operate with the Government, foreign domination is not worth one month's purchase for the British. Indians can thus regain their freedom without in any way building on the generosity or prospective tender-heartedness of British Imperialism. Imperialism, Nazism, Fascism are systems; and systems have no hearts to listen to appeals and melt before the self-imposed sufferings of their victims. Systems can be upset only by cutting at their roots, by making ineffective the sources from which they derive strength.

What are then, the Indians to do? Such a crisis as faces the world today is not of every-day's occurrence. If Indians do not make a proper use of it, they may not get such an opportunity again for another fifty years.

Gandhiji still expects reason and persuasion to win; friendly negotiations are his chief weapon. Gandhiji could succeed immensely if he were dealing with saints like himself. But in politics saintliness does not go very far. It is not reason and persuasion that prevail in such dealings, but sanctions, physical or economic, lying behind these dealings. Gandhiji does not believe in the use of force of the kind. It is due to this that on all important occasions, he has failed to carry his point. Gandhi-Irwin Pact, atmosphere for which was created by the sacrifices of thousands of Indians, failed ignominiously, because Gandhiji believed that those with whom he was dealing were prompted by the same religious principles as guided him in his daily life. Same was the cause of

his failure at the Round Table Conference, and even so recently as at Rajkot or in his talks with Mr. Jinnah. We cannot, therefore, expect better results from him in his peregrinations round Delhi.

It is, therefore, necessary that Congressmen should bring down Indian politics to the level of common sense. High-sounding aims and principles should be brought down to the level of practical politics. Religious fanaticism and mystic superstition have their own use in certain specified spheres, but in politics we should deal only with realities.

To ask the British to declare their war aims in terms of Gandhian philosophy, is to make a fool of ourselves in the eyes of all practical men. Every one knows what are British aims and what are German aims in this war. Both are fighting for hegemony in Europe. To think that the promise of Congress help can spiritualise European politics is to show our ignorance of European history and European politics. We cannot thus deceive others; we can play hide and seek only with ourselves when we think that our interference in this war will usher a new world order or give birth to a new heaven and a new earth.

Why then do not openly and honestly declare that European situation creates a special opportunity for Indians to demand, and if necessary, to fight for their independence? We are accused by British politicians of trying to bargain at a time when they are not quite free to deal with us in the manner as they would like us to be dealt with when they are not occupied as at present. Why should not we frankly reply that it is no sin in politics, or even in daily business, to try to strike a bargain at an opportune moment? Such bargaining is neither immoral nor un-precedented. Not only European history, even ancient Indian history mentions of many a such bargain with approval.

It is necessary for the Congress to declare unequivocally its own war aims whatever others may say or think about it. We want complete independence, and must have it at any cost. We have the country behind us in this demand. The resolutions recently passed by the Provincial Legislatures clearly show this. Even according to the British conception of a constitutional demand, such a demand is irresistible. Congress has a right to



declare Indian independence without any reasonable objection from any side.

The All India Congress Committee is our national Parliament; and it should function as such. The British have conceded Indians the power of vote; that vote has enthroned the All India Congress Committee in the position of the National Assembly. It has every moral and political justification to take over the Government of the country in its own hands. If we seriously work in that direction, no one can reasonably object to that position. But the world is not ruled by reason; opposition, therefore, is bound to come from more than one side.

No taxation without representation, is an old and well-established principle. Even the new Constitution imposed on us by the British, upholds this principle. If national demands are opposed by any one, we can press it to success by refusing to pay any taxes but to our own legally constituted representatives; boycott, non-co-operation, strikes and civil resistance on a national scale is bound to take us to our goal successfully.

It is objected that if the Congress starts fight, Moslems would side with the Government and fight against the Congress. Gandhiji's fears in this connection are so strong that he calls Civil Disobedience under such circumstances as Criminal Disobedience. It is true that the Moslem League leaders are not satisfied with the Congress in the way their claims to represent Moslem interests in the Provincial legislatures have been ignored by the Congress Ministries. But it is a libel on the Moslem community to say that when Congress starts fight for India's freedom, they would fight the Congress or even obstruct its progress. Gandhiji perhaps does not know that more than seventy per cent of the persons so far arrested under Defence of India Act are Moslems.

Gandhiji accuses Congress men of impatience. This charge is not correct. Important Congressmen like Subhas Bose, the twice elected president of the Congress, have been pressing for action long before the war. Same has been the attitude of the Congress Socialist Party. They have waited all these months to see how the High Command carried the people forward. Gandhiji has been made dictator, but he, with his usual frankness, says that the country is not prepared for a fight,

and that he could lead the country in the field only if certain conditions were fulfilled. It is also known that we cannot meet his wishes satisfactorily as regards the fulfilment of those conditions in the near future, because what we have not been able to accomplish during the last twenty years, is not possible to be done within the next few months. If people then plead for action as against the present prospective inaction of the leaders at such a rare opportunity as the European War affords, to accuse them of impatience is nothing but to confuse the real issue. Not only, as the Persian proverb says, one has only to strike his own head with a blow that becomes available after the fight, there is absolutely no hope of Gandhiji doing anything on a mass scale at all, because, as the past history shows, there is

no hope of the conditions he has laid down being fulfilled within a reasonable time limit.

The attitude of the Congress cannot be defended by charging ones critics of impatience or of being deficient in this or that virtue. An effective General never quarrels with the soldiers at his disposal. He knows their strength as well as their weaknesses, and sets task before them according to their inclination and capacity. To do otherwise means ruin and disaster. It is a pity that such simple truths are not seen clearly by brains confused by self-spun superstitious and metaphysical cobwebs. The time spirit demands that we should break through such illusions, assert our independence unequivocally, and march towards the goal with courage and determination. Success is sure.

**INDIA ASSOCIATED BANK LTD**  
 12, CIVIL STREET, CALCUTTA  
**ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED**

Branches:—Chandpur • Purnabazar • Bajpatti • Baburhat • Matlabgunj •  
 Sonapur (Noakhali) • Taltala • Lohajong • Kidderpur • Gardenreach •

**GENUINE JEWELLERIES**

Guinea-Gold Ornaments  
 to suit every  
 taste

Best value for old Gold and Silver in exchange for new ornaments. Please write or our new catalogue No. B 4

Large varieties of Genuine Jewelleries in Gold Ornaments and silver wares always in stock for sale and also made to order

Guaranteed maximum satisfaction at minimum cost

**M.B. SIRKAR & SONS**  
 SON & GRANDSONS OF LATE B SIRKAR  
 MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS  
 174, 174 1/2, ROWRAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA

# "RING OUT THE OLD ... .."

By BEJON SEN

The month of January is again almost upon us—a new year will be opening only a week hence. Innumerable voices will then mutter, "ring out the old and ring in the new". Wistful regrets, yearning hopes and earnest resolves. The departing year was possibly a dark year for many—one that marked the dashing of many hopes and breaking of many hearts. Death indeed took a heavy toll and left many a bosom empty. Disease and disaster too. On the other hand, for some it might be a period of success, for a few even beyond expectations. After all, who can deny that the great God Chance plays a chequered game with human lives? One of its timely and fateful strokes and man's calculations are turned awry. He simply looks agape in wonder at the immensity and inscrutability of the scheme of human existence. Thus one more year is about to flow into the limbo of the Past leaving but memories behind it. Another year is about to dawn.

On the threshold of the new year many will take the inaudible resolve of starting life with a clean slate. Many whose past has been a chronicle of blasting disappointments in spite of their best efforts, will certainly pray to Providence for better days ahead. I have a shrewd suspicion that even the professed agnostics or the sceptics will not be able to shake off this temporary weakness. Of the various anthropological theories about the origin of God, the one that is fairly plausible is that it arose out of a sense of fear about the final destiny of man. It is said that even such a hard-boiled rationalist as John Stuart Mill was so shaken with fears at the time of death that he had to blurt out some words of prayer to God for the redemption of his soul. Death is the mightiest event of life, for it means the end of earthly existence. But a man who has put forth the best energies throughout life only to meet with dismal reverses, is also liable to be overtaken by apprehensions about his future and drop occasionally into a prayerful mood, specially at the approach of a new year.

But the question remains, is it at all possible for anybody to break completely

away from the past and start life with a clean slate? There is a wilderness of criss-cross writing on it—can it be blotted out easily? The past hovers over us with its expansive wings, it haunts every moment of the present. How can we fly off from it? Maeterlink in a series of brilliant essays entitled *The Buried Temple* has shown how the past lies deeply imbedded in one's subconscious and is therefore outside the reach of the most strenuous exercise of his will. Even granting for the sake of argument that it is possible, how can he himself change the environment to which he is in veritable bondage and which has such a large share in his making? That can only be done by rousing the collective social conscience which must necessarily be a slow, lingering process. Breaking into a completely new channel in the middle of his life—well, that appears almost to be an impossible proposition.

Still man lives on hope and his very existence becomes a deadweight to him when its last taper goes out. So when he passes a mile-stone in his brief span of three score and ten, he renews his vow of shaking off lethargy, rectifying past errors and reconstructing his life on a

better footing. The ceremonial festivities that attend the new year are meant only to celebrate the hopes which spring afresh in his bosom on that auspicious day. The occasion exalts him into a mood of glowing idealism and induces him to make some very tall vows for the guidance of his future life. Alas! how often they have been made with as much gusto and broken after the ceremonial fervour has cooled down! The mind of man occasionally shoots up to the sky forgetting for the moment the hard earth that is his habitual home. The eternal conflict that ensues and the ultimate discomfiture of man's idealism on the hard rock of reality is the greatest tragedy of human life. So, instead of being a festive occasion, the New Year's Day should call forth the most rigorous heart-searching, an attitude of unsparing scrutiny about one's past—and necessarily about his future. But that will make an utterly melancholy tale, killing all hope and joy in him. The new year may at least give him a sorely needed, though temporary relief from the tyranny of reality. So now it is necessary to wish a happy new year to all, only as a concession to their frailty, if not for anything else.

## INDIAN TEA HOUSE

ALWAYS AT YOUR SERVICE

96 B, Clive St.,

Calcutta.

29, Strand Road.

Phone :— Cal. 1842.

Sole Prop :—

P. C. SEIN.

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

**A. TOSH & SONS**

**CALCUTTA & RANGOON**

*that is why*  
**TOSH'S**  
**TEA**

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

## A BROAD STRATEGIC SURVEY OF THE WAR

By B. G. HAFIZ

With a fortitude no less heroic than that of Leonidas and "the three hundred of Thermopylae", against the desperate odds of mechanical warfare, the Poles continued their resistance until, like the Spartans, they were stabbed by treachery from the rear. Thus the Western Democracies shed their tears on the grave of Pilsudski's regime. They bewailed the failure of Pilsudski to carry to the finish a torch that five generations had handed on. The Teuton and the Muscovite were labelled in the same pack as the "most inveterate enemies in Europe." Geography then stood on the way of Great Britain and France, we are told, to oppose the overrunning of Poland. But we know that history settled down peacefully in the Sovietisation of Eastern Poland. Today, in the remote Arctic region, Mannerheim, against the most unfavourable weather, without any comparable equipment to oppose the overwhelmingly superior Red Army, is holding "the pass for civilisation", maybe with a valour no less heroic than that of Leonidas. But again history is settling down there in the Soviet control of the harbour of Petsamo and the Baltic and in the establishment of the People's Republic in Finland, against the snarls of the owners of Nickel Mines and their Agents. Perhaps, History will be settling down in this way taking advantage of the ugly Geography of Europe. History hardly pays any heed to the ethereal ideals. Instead, it threads along the uneven way of hard everyday realities. So, it is better that from the Olympian heights of verbal idealism we should descend upon this earth and try to understand how History is likely to be shaped in course of the War.

Now that the Nazi plans of driving to the East and the North-East have been frustrated by Soviet Russia, we shall have to consider a feature of German doctrine: envelopment of the opposing flank or flanks. This involves the violation of neutral territory, Belgium. It is, of course, true that the occupation of Belgium itself would provide Germany with invaluable advanced air bases from which to attack Great Britain and with subma-

rine bases, particularly for vessels of the small, short-range type. But the lightning theory of reaching Paris through the heart of Belgium in course of a few weeks is not so easy a task today as it seemed once. The invasion of Belgium would not open a road into Northern France to the same extent as in 1914, because the French defences have been continued along the frontier of Belgium. These defences are not as strong as the original Maginot Line. But the Belgian Army also is decidedly better trained and equipped than was the case in 1914. The gap between the Ardennes and the Dutch frontier, through which the German army then streamed, is now very strongly and scientifically fortified, while in the Ardennes themselves defences have been constructed. Here, it must be noted, that the violation of Belgian neutrality involves the violation of Dutch neutrality too. Because when Graf Schlieffen schemed the invasion of France through Belgium, he considered that the gateway between the Ardennes and the Dutch frontier was narrow. So his plan was that the German Armies wheeling into France should widen this gateway by marching through Dutch Limburg. His successor, Helmuth von Moltke, cut out this part of the Schlieffen plan. But that does not mean that the plan is dead. That is the reason why Belgium must reckon on the possible violation of Dutch neutrality, and be anxious for her northern frontier, especially because Dutch defences and Dutch military training cannot be equally ranked with her.

Switzerland stands on the other flank. The possibility of German forces penetrating that country in order to launch a surprise offensive towards Lyons, was a constant anxiety of the Entente States in the last War. Switzerland is, however, better equipped today. Difficulties of an opposed advance through her passes and valleys are immense. On the whole it is likely that the Germans will rather recall more what are popularly supposed to have been Graf Schlieffen's dying words: "Make the right flank strong." So, we can leave aside for the moment the possibility of German penetration through

Switzerland, especially because Germany shall have to watch carefully the Italian frontier.

Next comes the plan of *Drang Nach Osten* or Germany's drive to the South-East. This immediately gives rise to a host of possible eventualities. This means the crossing of the Hungarian frontier and penetration into the Balkans. We have heard that Czecho-slovakia is already humming with discontent and the Balkan States have come to realise the truth of time-tested adage: "United we stand, divided we fall," before the Germans. Balkan Diplomats are working hard for the building up of a "Super-Balkania" or a Balkan Confederation to save themselves from the German menace and to oppose the dynamic drive of Germany toward the Dardanelles. Turkey has got her own interests in the Balkans which she cannot ignore and most probably, willy-nilly she shall have to declare war against Germany in favour of the Allies. Italian interests are now definitely cutting across German aims in the Balkans, especially in Hungary. So, the decision of Italy may also be surprising. Russia also cannot watch with absolute unconcern the expansion of Nazism in the Balkans and she may well decide to cross the Rumanian frontier. And now that the Soviet-Turkish negotiations over the question of closing the Black Sea to British warships and preventing Britain from cutting "oil highway" from the Caucasus oil fields and Baku, have been shelved, the British and French would be able to carry out their pledges to assist the Rumanians if they are victims of war. Then Britain will have no other alternative but to declare war against Russia which also may simultaneously result in the German-Soviet Military Alliance. Will America keep up her neutrality still then? No. The shell of American neutrality will burst out as it did in the last war. America will plunge into the European whirlpool.

This is, in short, a survey of the possible strategic moves of the war. Here we have broadly shown how the Nations can move across the European chessboard in course of war. We have not considered another side, and the most important one, the interior. This is a war at the end of which there will be neither victorious nor vanquished Nations. This is a war in which new nations will arise and the fate of which will be decided from within by the people, not from without, by ugly geographical frontiers. History will settle down in most of the belligerent countries as it is doing in Eastern Poland and Finland.

## FORWARD BLOC NEWS

### MYMENSINGH DISTRICT FORWARD BLOC

#### Opening Ceremony

The opening ceremony of the Mymensingh District Forward Bloc was held on the 3rd. December 1939. Sj. Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit-Roy hoisted the National Flag and delivered a speech explaining the historic growth, development and the prospect of the Forward Bloc. Sj. Nikunja Lal Sen, Ast. Secretary, Dacca Forward Bloc and Moulana Altaf Hussain Vice-President Mymensingh District Forward Bloc also delivered speeches.

### MYMENSINGH FORWARD BLOC Provisional Committee Formed

The following resolutions were passed unanimously in a meeting of the local members of the Forward Bloc, Mymensingh under the Presidentship of Sj. Sashi Mohan Aich :—

Resolved that the Mymensingh District Forward Bloc be provisionally formed pending official recognition by the B.P.F.B. with the following office bearers and executive members: President—Dr. Pravat Chandra Sen M. A., Vice-Presidents—(1) Sj. Moulana Altaf Hussain, (2) Sj. Aswini Kumar Chakravarty, Secretary Sj. Jyotish Chandra Joarder, (Executive member, B. P.C. C.) Ast. Secy.—Sj. Ramapati Nath B. L., Treasurer Sj. Sashimohan Aich, Auditor—Dr. Mehira Ranjan Motayet.

#### Other Executive members—

1. Sj. Manmatha Nath Ghose, Pleader  
2. Sj. Anil Chandra Chakravorty, 3. Dr. Mahendra Chandra Aich, 4. Sj. Charu Chandra Joarder B. L., 5. Dr. Purna Chandra Sarker, 6. Sj. Makhan Lal Chakravorty, 7. Moulana Huzibar Rahman, 8. Sj. Sasanka Bhusan Gupta, 9. Sj. Durga Kishor Das Gupta, 10. Sj. Upendra Kishor Roy, 11. Sj. Sailendra Nath Mazumder.

### KERALA PROVINCIAL FORWARD BLOC

#### Efforts for formation of Taluk and Ward Committees

A General meeting of the Kerala Provincial Forward Bloc was held a few days ago in the Committee Office under the presidency of Mr. Mohamed Abdu-rahman M. L. A.

It was decided that the jurisdiction of K. P. C. F. B. shall extend to the following places viz. Travancore, Cochin, Malabar including Kasarcode Taluk and Gudalur Taluk. There shall be Taluk and Town organisations under the Central Committee. Taluk Committees should be elected from village committees and ward committees.

Resolutions expressing dissatisfaction at the declarations and speeches of the Secretary of State for India, British Prime Minister and the Viceroy with regard to the war aims of Britain and their applicability to India, welcoming the decision of the Working Committee about the resignation of the Congress Ministries and congratulating them on their bold stand were passed.

Another resolution requesting the A. I. C. C. and Gandhiji to elucidate and announce unequivocally the next step, was passed. The Committee in another resolution welcomed the political awakening in the Native States and entered its emphatic protest against the suppression of even elementary civil liberties and repression on political workers in the States of Travancore and Mysore and expressed solidarity with them in their fight for freedom. The Committee welcomed the decision of the A. I. C. F. B. to convene Peoples' conference to be held on December 15 and hoped it would give a new lead and inspiration to the States.

### RANCHI DISTRICT FORWARD BLOC Provisional Committee Formed

A Provisional Committee of Ranchi District Forward Bloc has been formed. The Members of the Committee are :

Mr. N. K. Chowdhury Bar-at-law  
Municipal Commissioner—President.  
Ramlal Mahato, Member District Board  
— Vice-President.  
Amulya Ch. Mitra,—General Secretary.  
Dineshwari Prasad and Krishtodas  
Halder—Asst. Secretaries.  
Anath Bandhu Sen, Pleader—Treasurer.

#### Executive Members :

Ram Kanai Kundu, Bramhachari Gobinda Deo, Khaza Basiruddin, Municipal Commissioner, Susanta Kumar Bose, Chandra Sekhar Sen Gupta, Balkrishna Chowdhury, Lakshmi Narayan Singh.

### SENAPATI BAPAT ON TOUR

#### Enthusiastic support for Forward Bloc

Senapati Bapat, President, Maharashtra Forward Bloc and Com. V. M. Bhaskute, Secretary, have been on tour in Ahmadnagar district from the 9th. instant. Several meetings have already been held in different places. Some days ago they toured East Khandesh and Nasik districts and addressed about sixty meetings there. Mr. Guruji of East Khandesh and Swami Viswananji of Nasik lent their whole-hearted co-operation to Senapati Bapat during his tours. The attitude of neutrality adopted by the Congress High Command came in for severe criticism from the speakers. Senapati Bapat emphasised that if the High Command lagged behind in this crisis, the Forward Bloc would step forward and do its duty to the country. The message went home to the masses, who have evidently sickened over the passivity of the present Congress leadership. The response that the masses have been according to the appeal of Senapati Bapat is very much encouraging.

### Sj. SUBHAS BOSE'S BIHAR TOUR To Attend Kisan Conferences

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the All-India Forward Bloc is arriving at Samastipore on December 24 to open the Kisan Conference at Hajpur (Darbhanga) at 12 a.m. and address a public meeting at Samastipore the same day.

On December 25 he will open the Lakhisarai Kisan Conference at 11 a.m. and address public meetings at Jamalpore and Monghyr at 2 and 4 p.m. respectively.

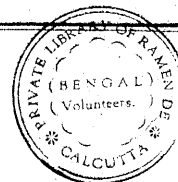
Elaborate arrangements are being made to accord him a warm reception. He will be accompanied by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha and Pandit Sheel Bhadra Yajee, General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Forward Bloc in his tour in those places.

Phone :—B. B. 3711.

**D. RATAN & CO.**  
ARTISTS & PHOTOGRAPHERS  
22-1, CORNWALLIS STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

# POLAND IN THE MAKING

By S. PROSAD



For long the world was fed on the lying propaganda and the people were kept in blank ignorance about the real state of things in Poland. Class interest clouded the real issue and Soviet Russia's endeavour to create socialist society was confused with imperialist expansion. The sudden collapse of the old regime shocked the guardians of democracy in the West and frantic efforts were made to keep the staggering government on its legs. The old regime could hardly claim to be popular and was really the citadel of reaction backed by the landed aristocracy. It was indifferent to the problems and difficulties of the masses and did never attempt to introduce any radical measure of economic relief. And the few words of Lloyd George on the old regime should merit close attention :

It is a notorious fact that the Polish peasantry is living in great poverty owing to the operation of the feudal system in Europe. That aristocracy has been practically in power for years. All the promises of concessions made from time to time to the peasants have been thwarted by its influence on Polish Government. That is why the advancing Russian troops are being hailed by the peasants as deliverers.

The defeat of the Polish Army was indicative of the lack of mass support for the Government. The war ended the totalitarian regime and a new social order based upon equality has been brought into being. People's abhorance of the old regime was deep-seated and an examination of their life and condition would reveal its true character. Social structure of Poland was peculiar, it was an amalgam of feudo-capitalism. Land system was primitive and the peasantry was made to work on the estates of landlords. The best land was owned by the gentry and the peasant was reduced to non-entity. And their life was made all the more unhappy by the introduction of 'land allotments'. The best land was given away to the gentry and the peasants were starved. Eleven million souls of Ukrain and Byelo-Russia were the victims of feudal oppression. These people, according to a later official version, were pushed 'beyond the bonds of human existence'. The Polish landlords possessed

about 80 per cent of land in Byelo-Russia. 65 per cent of the population remained unemployed through the greater part of the year. And in autumn last famine was found stalking over the Polish villages and the people were made to live on a mixture made from the weeds of trees. Of the amenities of life they have nothing. Sugar is a rarity in Polish village and a small per cent of the peasants are found shod. Salt is a luxury with the peasants and a liquid from the trees is stored up for use.

Existence of landed aristocracy has proved to be a heavy drain on the resources of the poor peasants and the acts of savagery committed by them are too numerous to be listed. In 1933 there was a peasant rebellion in Galicia. The Warsaw Institute of Social Economy conducted a survey of peasant life and discovered startling facts. And the reactions of a noted Polish author to this ghastly picture are worth reproducing :

To describe the conditions of the people one must not use a pen but a fist, one must not express grievances but damnation, one must speak in the language of blood and steel.

Even the *Times* had lamented the sad plight of the Polish peasants and commented upon the origin of the troubles in a leader on the defeat of the Polish army :

The agrarian question was a burning one and the Poles have failed to solve it. One great obstacle was that Polish domination was mainly based on the ownership of big landed estates. The relations between the village and manor house were tense, even before the last war. And they have become much tenser during the last twenty years.

The discontented peasantry was banded into a revolutionary body and the basic demands were reiterated in the peasant conference : *For the first time in Polish history the peasants are united, but they have no influence in state affairs. We will never give up the fight for the recovery of our political rights.*

The wars of Spain and China have exploded the belief in the theory of lightning war. And the people's war, though ill-manned, cannot terminate so abruptly. The defeat of the Polish army was due more to the want of popular support and it can rightly be called a moral collapse. The Polish government banked upon the

support of the landed aristocracy and the militarists and was completely isolated from the masses. Colonel Beck's unwillingness to line up with Soviet Russia in the event of German invasion had left his country to the mercy of western democracies. A well known publicist has examined the causes of Polish defeat in a recent article :

Had a National Unity Government been formed six months back, Polish resistance would have been much more effective. But the authoritarian regime refused to widen its basis, it tried to govern on Fascist and Nazi lines.

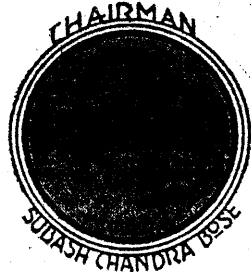
This is an illuminating explanation of the Polish tragedy. On the 17th September a historic announcement was made by Molotov. The Polish government had fled and the whole of Poland would have been preyed upon by Germany but for the speedy action of Soviet Russia. Soviet Government considered it their sacred duty to stretch out a helping hand to the Byelo-Russian brothers and helped them out of war. The Red Army marched into Poland and its presence was marked by intense activities. The notable achievements are the liquidation of *anded aristocracy and capitalism*. New Soviet has been formed in Ukrain and Byelo-Russia and the work of collectivisation is going on in right earnest. The people have been freed from feudal tyranny and the villages are humming with human voices. In Poland the unkind critics of Soviet may discover the realisation of expansionist ambition but it is far from the truth. The people of Poland had desired the end of the old regime :

We admire the democracy existing in the Soviet Union. We are certain that the Red Army together with the great Soviet people, will render us fraternal aid in building up in our territories a life just as happy and cultured as that led by the friendly family of the many people's of the U. S. S. R.

Can this act of Russia be termed "imperialistic joke"? The world can no longer be deluded into the false myth since Russia stands for the liberation of oppressed humanity. Its respect for human values and culture are too well-known to need any repetition. In Poland the philosophy of Marx is found blooming into action. But the process of its realisation cannot be easy, for the old world is leagued against it.

*Offers all that is best in*

**LIFE INSURANCE**



*Insure* WITH  
*our*  
REPRESENT

**TROPICAL**  
INSURANCE CO., LIMITED.

FOR PARTICULARS APPLY TO:-

|   |                              |                                     |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <p><b>LALA SANKERLAL</b><br/>Managing Director.</p> | <p>Phone :<br/>Cal. 3409</p> | <p>Manager<br/>CALCUTTA BRANCH.</p> |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

P. 14, BENTINCK STREET.

**NATH BANK**

LIMITED.

Head Office :—CALCUTTA.

PHONE : CAL. 3253 (lines).

**BRANCHES ALL OVER**

BENGAL, BEHAR, U. P., DELHI & ASSAM.

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

Mr. K. N. DALAL — Managing Director.

Gram. "Gentypart" Phone. Cal. 3967.

**TYPEWRITER SPARE PARTS**

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

**THE EASTERN TYPEWRITER CO.,**

Direct Importers.

3/1 Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.



**PUJA CONCESSION !**

Superfine Darjeeling Blend

**PYRAMID TEA**

Only As. -12/- for 1 lb. packet.

**IMPERIAL TEA**

BEST INDIAN TEA

74-1, CLIVE ST. CAL.

**Modern Homeopathic College**

(GOVT. REGISTERED)

SHORT COURSE OF STUDY FOR INTELLIGENT STUDENTS

Write For Particulars to the Principal—Dr. J.M. Mitter, B.A., M.D., (U.S.A) 190, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Ph. B. B. 5639



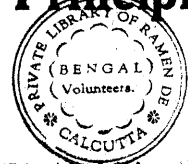
PHONE CAL. 591

of Typewriters  
**Globe Typewriter Co.,**

10, Clive Row, Calcutta.

# INDIA AND THE PRESENT WAR

## A Vigorous Plea For Recognition Of The Principles Of Freedom And Democracy



### MR. SARAT CH. BOSE'S SPEECH IN ASSEMBLY

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose : Mr. Speaker, I rise to move the amendment that stands in my name. I move that paragraph 1 of the resolution which has just now been placed before the House by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be amended as follows :—

"The words 'imperialistic and' be inserted between the words 'by' and 'totalitarian' in lines 2 and 3 ;

the words 'and outside' be inserted between the words 'in' and 'Europe' in line 3 ;

the words 'British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the' in lines 4-6 be deleted ;

the words 'oppressed and' be substituted for the word 'smaller' in line 6 ;

the words 'dictator ridden' in lines 7-8 be deleted ; and lastly,

the words 'and independence' be added after the word 'integrity' in line 9."

I think it will be useful if I were to read my whole amendment to paragraph 1 of the resolution. Paragraph 1 of the resolution as amended by me reads as follows :—

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by imperialistic and totalitarian Government in and outside Europe, and declares its complete sympathy with the oppressed and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity and independence."

Then, Sir, I move that for paragraph 2 and 3 of the resolution of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, the following paragraphs be substituted :—

"This Assembly, however, regrets that the British Government have made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India and have further in complete disregard of Indian opinion passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments.

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government should convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately applied to India and her policy be guided by her people : and that it should be recognised as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken insofar as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India."

Sir, these are the amendments which I desire to place before the House. At the outset I would like to explain to the House the reasons why I have sought to introduce the word 'imperialistic' in addition to the word 'totalitarian.' Sir, we are at one with the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in his abhorrence of the oppressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Government. But I was somewhat surprised that he should have omitted the word 'imperialistic.' If I may quote the words of a very distinguished Irishman, "that blessed word 'Empire' bears so paradoxical a resemblance to

the word 'charity' ! For if charity begins at home, Empire begins in other man's homes, and both may cover a multitude of sins." Sir, we in India are determined that India and Indians must be much more to us, must mean much more to us than the Empire. (Hear, hear, from Congress Benches). We want to protect and to beautify our own homes ; we want to make the lives of our fellow-Indians worthliving. And we are determined, whatever the temptation may be, not to choose even temporarily the vocation of an enterprising burglar, and enter other men's homes. Sir, Imperialism, even more than totalitarianism has darkened the prospects of human freedom in all parts of this world of ours. ('Hear, hear', from the Opposition Benches). Imperialism, I confess, is comparatively ancient and seems to have lost some of its virility for the moment. Totalitarianism is comparatively modern. Totalitarians have all the zeal and the energy of new converts. But that is no reason why we should forget the wrong inflicted on the world by Imperialists and Imperialism. Imperialism and totalitarianism are allies and if I may use the colloquial expression, handmaids of Capitalism. Both have wrought havoc so far as the world's freedom is concerned, and so far as India and Indians are concerned. There is for us no choice between the two. If we hate totalitarianism, we hate imperialism more. We cannot forget that the wrongs done to India, the wrongs done to Ireland, the wrongs done to South Africa, the wrongs done to America, the wrongs that were in the past done to Canada and Australia, were inflicted by Imperialists and Imperialism.

Sir, I cannot prevail upon myself to



hurry over these great considerations. It is good for us to understand what was done by Imperialists and Imperialism between the years 1914 and 1918 and in that connection I propose to give the House a short enumeration of the false propoganda that was carried on in this world of ours by Imperialists and Imperialism,—false propoganda both in the matter of atrocity stories and in the matter of war aims. May I, Sir, remind the House of the oft-quoted sentence, which contains living truth in it, that "when war is declared, truth is the first casualty"? And in this connection, may I remind the House of what John Bright said on a memorable occasion—I do not remember for the moment, Sir, whether he said it on the floor of the House of Commons or in a public speech outside the House—but his words are still ringing in my ears, though you and I had not the good fortune of listening to him? He said, "You will find wars are supported by a class of arguments which after the war is over the people find were arguments they should never have listened to." Let me come to more modern times. Only the other day Mr. Stanley Baldwin said, "In the arena of international rivalry and conflict men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen."

Sir, I was recently reading a book entitled "Falsehood in War Time" by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., now Lord Ponsonby. A passage from his book will bear repetition in this connexion. Arthur Ponsonby has said in that book, "there must have been more deliberate lying in the world from 1914 to 1918 than in any other period in the world's history. In war time, failure to lie is negligence, the doubting of a lie is a misdemeanour, the declaration of the truth is a crime."

Now Sir, may I with your leave give a short resume of the different falsehoods both as regards war stories and as regards war aims which were given circulation, not accidentally but deliberately, by the highest of men during the period from 1914 to 1918? We heard often and often in the year of grace 1914 that the invasion of Belgium was the cause of the last great war, but history now records after the lapse of only about two decades that Great Britain's prompt entry into the European war in 1914 was necessitated by her commitment to France, a commitment not known

to the British people, a commitment, will you believe me, not known to the British Parliament, a commitment—and does it not sound stranger still—which was not known even to all the members of the British Cabinet. More than this, its existence was denied time and again by responsible Cabinet Ministers on the floor of the House of Commons in the year 1914. But how binding the engagement or the commitment was soon made clear in spite of deliberate denials and subterfuges. In the year 1919, on July the 5th, Marshal Joffre, in giving evidence before a Paris Commission said, "A military convention existed with England which could not be divulged as it bore a secret character. We relied upon six English divisions and upon the assistance of the Belgians." It was somewhat later that Lord Loreburn, an ex-Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, said in his book, "How the War Came," that "the concealment from the Cabinet was protracted and must have been deliberate." I am quoting these extracts from the Works of well known men in order that the House may be in a position to assess the declared war aims at their proper value, so that this House may take lessons from the past in order to judge correctly in the future." About four years after the declaration of war, namely, on July 18th, 1918, Mr. Bonar Law said in the House of Commons, "It has been said and I think it is very likely true (mark the words, Sir) that if Germany had known for certain that Great Britain would have taken part in the war, the war would never have occurred." What becomes of that propoganda that because of Germany's invasion of Belgium the war started?

Then, Sir, coming to the next item of false propoganda, namely, that the murder at Serajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the consequent Austrian ultimatum were the real causes of the war, I shall say that it is abundantly clear now in the light of subsequent disclosures that those were only the occasion and not the real causes of the war. It was—if I may borrow an expression, as far as I remember, used by the Earl of Rosebery—it was the match which set fire to the well-planned and well-stored powder magazine. Mr. Lloyd George said as early as the 21st September 1914, in justification of the declaration of war by Great Britain that "the Serbian

Government had nothing to do with it," that is to say, the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. But the startling revelation was soon to come regarding the complicity of the Serbian Government in the crime, and that revelation was made in the year of grace 1924. It was discovered and it was made clear to the whole world, not a corner of Serbia or Austria, that the whole Serbian Cabinet knew of the plot sometime before the murder took place. The previous denial of the Serbian Government of knowledge of the plot is now classed by modern historians as a "Serbian lie." Had the truth been known in July 1914, the opinion of the British people with regard to the Austrian ultimatum would have been very different from what it was.

Now, Sir, may I give you another instance of false propoganda? It was said, as I have just now said, that the German invasion of Belgium was the cause of the war. Whatever may have been said at that time, history now records that the German invasion of Belgium was certainly not one of the causes of the war. It was undoubtedly

## FREE

**SAMPLE—OF**  
**LEUCODERMA**  
 DIVINE EXTERNAL MEDICINE  
 Tried on Thousands of Patients  
 & Proved Successful.  
 Send As. -/12/- for Postage only.  
**KAVIRAJ S. P. SHARMA**  
 P.O. HOWRAH, (Bengal)

For **ECONOMY** **USE**  
**COMFORT & DURABILITY**

**BHARAT HOSIERY**  
 FACTORY'S  
 Vests, Banians & Underwears

A PURE  WANTED  
 SWADESHI CAPABLE  
 PRODUCT AGENTS.

Office—9, SITARAM GHOSH ST., CALCUTTA.

one of the first consequences of the war, but not one of the causes. And that verdict has come not from a person who was not in the know, not from an enemy of Great Britain or of France, but from one of the French Generals, General Percin, the well-known Radical non-Catholic French General said in the year 1925—and I am indebted to the "Manchester Guardian" of January 27th, 1925, for this information—General Percin said that "the violation of Belgium neutrality had for many years been an integral part of the war plans of the French General Staff and even of the French Government." Sir, the next false propaganda during the Great War was the accusation against Germany of sole responsibility. Sir, that accusation many members of this House, and particularly my honourable and learned friend, Mr. Goswami, will remember, was the basis of the activity of Lord Northcliffe, who was in charge of war propaganda at the British Official Propaganda Department at Crewe House. We find not very much later Sir Campbell Stuart writing in his book "Secrets of Crewe House" that "the Allies must never be tired of insisting that they were the victims of deliberate aggression." Sir, the warning was sounded by Lord Rosebery—and I still remember the elegant sentences he gave expression to regarding himself in one of his speeches. Referring to himself, the noble Lord said, "Do not consider my utterances to be the croakings of a retired raven on a withered branch." Lord Rosebery said as early as August 1914, that "it was really a spark in the midst of the great powder magazine which the nations of Europe have been building up for the last twenty or thirty years." What remains of the accusation of the sole responsibility of Germany for the Great War of 1914? A disinterested observer and judge, President Wilson said on September 5, 1919, with reference to Germany's sole responsibility, "Is there any man or woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war lies in the modern world's industrial and commercial rivalry?" And, may I add, Sir, Imperialistic rivalry in the matter of domination over weaker and smaller nations? Sir, the truth had eventually to be told even by Mr. Lloyd George than whom no one worked harder for the

successful prosecution of the War. He said on December 23rd, 1920, "The more one reads the more one realises that no one at the head of affairs quite meant war at that stage." And Monsieur Raymond Poincare said in 1925, "I do not claim that Austria or Germany in the first place had a conscious thought-out intention of provoking a general war." Sir, that accusation was definitely abandoned when we come to the Locarno Pact of 1925—a pact which was drawn up between Germany, France and Great Britain. And I think I am right in saying that there is not the faintest echo of that accusation in the Locarno Pact; on the contrary, words quite contrary to that accusation were used on that occasion. The above quotations will, I hope, suffice to show and to prove beyond demonstration that the sole culpability of the enemy is, as has always been, a war time myth. I am taking this opportunity of reminding the House of these different observations regarding the Great War of 1914 because it is necessary for us at the present moment not to rush into forming a judgment. It is necessary for us to wait and see who is responsible, really responsible, for the war which has started.

Sir, I will not take up the time of the House by going into details so far as stories of war atrocities are concerned. I shall just enumerate a few of them, which were circulated in order to keep up the war fever—stories such as the passage of Russian troops through Great Britain to the Western Front, the mutilated nurse, the activities of the criminal Kaiser and so on and so forth. May I pause here for one moment and tell the House that it was Lord Grey—if my recollection serves me right, he it was who declared war in 1914 on behalf of the British Government—it was Lord Grey who in his book "Twenty-five Years" at page 25, volume II, said, "If matters had rested with him, (the so-called criminal Kaiser) there would have been no European War arising out of the Austro-Serbian dispute." Now, Sir, let me remind the House of some other atrocity stories which were circulated deliberately by the British Official Propaganda Department at Crewe House, namely, about the Belgian baby without heads and the destruction of the Louvain altar-piece by the Germans. Pausing

there for one moment, may I remind the House of what the "New Statesman" said on April 12, 1924? It said, "the picture is still in existence at Louvain perfectly intact"—the picture which was supposed to have been destroyed by the Germans was perfectly intact—and the Germans were not its destroyers but its preservers. A German Officer saved it from the flames and gave it to the Burgomaster."

Then coming to the false propaganda by means of which recruiting was commenced and continued, the recruiting propaganda was started with the false slogan that the phrase "contemptible little army" has been used by the German Kaiser with reference to the British Expeditionary force in an order supposed to have been issued by him from German headquarters at Aix La Chapelle on August 19, 1914. A British General of the name of Sir F. Maurice declared in 1925 that it was a pure myth and fabrication, that the German headquarters was

### Indian Political Secret

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

### CENTRAL CALCUTTA BOARDING

(Est'd. 1916)  
30, Sitaram Ghosh St., 2, Naren Sen Square.  
Unique of its kind; medium or good association. Excellent dishes, electric all throughout.  
Charges Suit all Pockets. Prop. A. BHADURI

### BHOLA NATH GHOSE'S

HISTORICAL DRAMA

বাক্যরাও

PUB.—D. M. LIBRARY.

### JAKSHMARI or T. B. CURE.

An infallible remedy for Tuberculosis of all kinds. Thousands have been cured. Descriptive literature free on application to **RAJVAIDYA AYURVEDA BHABAN** 172, Bowbazar St., Calcutta. Phone 4039 B.B.

never at Aix La Chapelle and that no such order or anything like it was ever issued. Then we come to the atrocity stories of the Baby of Courbeck Loo, of crucified Canadians, of little Alf's stamp collection containing underneath the stamps the words "They have torn out my tongue, I could not put it in the letter," "they have cut off both my feet so that I cannot escape," of the Tattooed English prisoners supposed to have been tattooed with the German eagle, cobra and other devices. Sir, the last and the most revolting of all the war stories was the story of the Corpse factory—one of the most revolting lies ever invented by any man. It was started in 1917, and was not finally disposed of till the year 1925. It was, as history now records, the invention of an English Officer, Brigadier-General Charteris, who himself said later in a spirit of bravado at the time of dining at a Club—and that was in the year 1925—that in order to support that story what purported to be the diary of a German soldier was forged in his office. Sir, we are indebted to the "Times" in its issue of October 22, 1925, for the unmasking of that lie. There was a deliberate and continued attempt to avoid making a complete denial and it was left finally to Sir Austin Chamberlain to nail the lie finally to the counter. Then, Sir, coming nearer home we come to the false propaganda regarding Turkey and Constantinople—the evasions and concealments regarding the fate of Constantinople. Members could not have forgotten the solemn declaration regarding Constantinople made by Sir Edward Grey in Parliament in 1916. But historical records now show that about a year before that, namely, on the 7th March 1915, the then Russian Foreign Minister M. Sazonov had telegraphed to the Russian Ambassador in London—I am quoting the words of that telegraphic communication—"Will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Russian Imperial Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople in accordance with Russian desires." But that was not all. It was followed on December 2nd, 1916, by a statement by a Russian Minister of the name of M. Trepoff in the Russian Duma, in the course of which he declared that "an agreement which we concluded in 1915 with Great Britain and France, and to which Italy had adhered, established in the most definite fashion the right of Russia to the Straits and Constantinople." Sir, I will not take up any more of the time of the House by repeating the false and atrocity stories which were given circulation at that time. Their number was legion.

(To be Continued)

No Remedy is better than

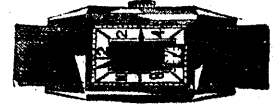
## NEUROL

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

## GOOD NEWS

Guaranteed Reliability at Minimum Cost.

West Watch "RUSTAM"



FULLY GUARANTEED 5 YEARS  
TIME COMMANDS BUSINESS.

"RUSTAM" Commands Time.

"RUSTAM" new calibre.

Chromium case (B) 3/12

" (A) 4/8 R. D.

Ever bright Steel or French gold 6/8

4. K. T. Rolled gold 9 Jewels 10/8

All Lever Movement. 40 hours action Western Pattern.

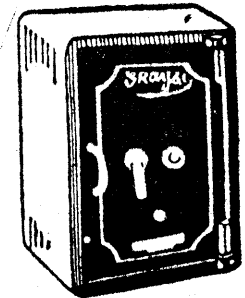
WEST WATCH AGENCY C. M. G.  
4-B, Mechubazer Street, Calcutta.

## G. RAY & CO.

INDIA'S  
FAMOUS MAKERS

OF

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



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

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

Illustrated Catalogue is sent on request.

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

Use BENGAL DRUG & CHEMICAL'S

Perfumed TIL OIL, COCOANUT & CASTOROIL

136, BENARES RD. SALKIA, HOWRAH

For any class of Insurance—

## NEW INDIA ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

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

HEAD OFFICE :  
BOMBAY.

CALCUTTA BRANCH :  
9, CLIVE STREET.

## Letter The Editor Princes and the Constituent Assembly

To

*The Editor, Forward Bloc*

SIR,

The proposed constituent Assembly as a first step towards India's independence is now the burning topic of the day. The demand of the Congress High Command for a declaration of Britain's war aims and their application in regard to India is gradually receding in the background. Though the High Command has left the door ajar for a peaceful settlement of India's future, Imperialistic Britain has cruelly canged it on their very face. Still the Working Committee of the Congress is knocking the door again and again with pathetic perseverance in the hope that the present impasse would be ended by peaceful negotiations.

Now they have pressed the demand of a Constituent Assembly. Without the inclusion of the States' representatives to the Assembly, how can it be called a representative body of India governing the destinies of about 40 millions? Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier of Madras is reported to have said at Bombay that the inclusion of States' representations in the Constituent Assembly is *probable*. But he holds the opinion that since the Princes are connected in many ways with the Paramount Power, their cases can only be solved by the British Government themselves. He has further opined that the Princes who have granted responsible Government in their States could anyhow be represented in the Constituent Assembly. The case of other States, he says, might be left to go to the board.

But one thing must be considered in this connection. It is true that these autocratic rulers are bound by treaties with the Paramount Power; but in the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, "all treaties should be capable of termination by either party giving a reasonable notice." He adds that the theory of perpetual treaties is baseless and if the British Government decide in favour of a United India, it

should declare the withdrawal of Paramountcy from the States.

Further, when one comes to the question of responsible Government created in some Native States, he can hardly avoid the conclusion that it is as yet merely a shadow and no substance. It is true that some constitutional changes in the name of responsible Government have been effected in some States. But every one in and out of the States very well knows how hollow the reforms are. Their real character has been thoroughly scrutinised and exposed. The so-called reforms have been merely a sop—they have not pushed forward the progress of the States in a substantial way.

In some States even elementary civil liberties have not been granted. Again in other undeveloped States the word responsible Government is Greek to the people. In States like Travancore the very word responsible Government is enough to set the ruling authorities on fire. Repression is immediately let loose. In short, the curtailment of civil liberties,

suppression of labour and Kisan movements, repression on political workers, press ordinances, unbearable taxations and punishments, intolerable eccentricities of the rulers etc. are some of the awful features prevailing in the administration of the autocratic States and these have unbearably stiffened after the outbreak of the war.

In such circumstances, if the irresponsible States are represented in the Constituent Assembly without their position being decided upon, then their representatives would be bound to maintain the interests of the feudal Princes and thereby effect the perpetuation of British Imperialism to the bitter end. The conclusion thereof is, that until and unless full responsible Government is created in the Native States, there is no use representing them in the Constituent Assembly. But without the representation of these States, which number more than six hundred, no Constituent Assembly can be called a representative body of India and no substantial good will come out of such an Assembly. It will end in the same way as Provincial Autonomy in British India.

Calicut

C. R. Kunhunni

17th Decemba

ESTB : 1913

### INDUSTRIAL & PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Moderate Premiums, High Bonuses, and all up-to-date privileges.

Total Business in force nearly 5½ Crores.

Calcutta Office : 12, DALHOUSIE SQUARE.

### THE BANGASRI COTTON MILLS Ltd.

A SPINNING & WEAVING MILL WITH THE VERY BEST UP-TO-DATE MACHINERIES.

Founded by : **ACHARYA SIR P. C. RAY.**

Insist On Its Excellent Products Already in

**GREAT DEMAND.**

Mills :—

SODEPUR (24-Perganas)  
E. B. Ry.

Secretaries & Agents :—


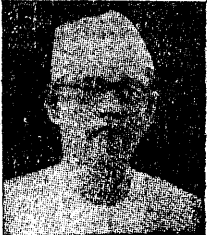
SHAHA CHAUDHURI & Co. Ltd.,  
4, Clive Ghat St., Calcutta.

DESHA-GAURAB

**Subhas Chandra Bose**

at

**ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S  
SAKTI OUSHADHALAYA  
DACCA.**

—\*—

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

Props:—Mathuramohan, Lalmoohan, and  
Phanindramohan Mukhopadhyay Chakravarty } Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.  
Dacca, 6-6-1939.

**THE CALCUTTA COMMERCIAL BANK, LTD.**

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

**A SCHEDULED BANK**

BRANCHES

|             |            |                    |            |            |           |           |            |
|-------------|------------|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Bengal:     | Bengal:    | Bengal:            | U. P.:     | Calcutta:  | Assam:    | Behar:    | Behar:     |
| Mymensingh  | Barakar    | Jamalpur           | Benares    | Maniktala  | Sunamganj | Pakur     | Bhagalpur  |
| Narayanganj | Barisal    | Jalpaiguri         | Lucknow    | Kalighat   | Karimganj | Sahibganj | Monghyr    |
| Sirajganj   | Maldah     | Netrokona          | Baranagore | Baranagore | Sylhet    | Katihar   | Dumka      |
| Kishoreganj | Dacca      | Tangail            | Barabazar  | Barabazar  | Shillong  | Patna     | Deoghur    |
| Mohanganj   | Chittagong | Chaukbazar (Dacca) |            |            | Silchar   | Raxauli   | Lakhisarai |

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

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

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

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

Why Worry!!

**DESHABANDHU'S UNIQUE ASSURANCE CO., LIMITED**

Offers all that are best in Insurance.

100 families saved from ruin and starvation in 1938.

Claims paid in 1938 exceed Rs. 1,00,000.

For particulars apply to:—UNIQUE ASSURANCE COMPANY LTD.  
Estd. 1912.  
1A, VANSITTART ROW, CALCUTTA.

**CALCUTTA MINERAL SUPPLY CO., LTD.**

31, JACKSON LANE, CALCUTTA.

Telegram —CHINAMATI, Calcutta.

Telephone —Office 1397 B. B.  
Works 1592 B. B.  
Residence 4627 B. B.

Dealers in Indian Minerals and Mineral Products also Raw materials for Soap.  
Manufacturers of silicate Soda, Plaster of Paris, Soft Soap and Talc Powder.

FOR RATES AND PARTICULARS ENQUIRE OF  
**H. DUTT & Co.—Mg. Agents.**

**HERNIA**

Wonderful remedy by outward application. Thousands benefited without operation. Apply for testimonials and directions:—H. C. ROY, specialist in Hernia, Divine Treatment Hall, 118, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

When Nature is Lax Try —




**LAXIL**

A pleasantly flavoured Laxative Tablet in Chocolate base that restores regularity without discomfort and gives certain relief.



**BENGAL CHEMICAL CALCUTTA BOMBAY**

**EARN Rs. 300/-**



Very fine, durable, accurate time keeper, sqr. size 5 years guaranteed lever wrist watch, sold by other for Rs. 10-0-0 but we offer 3-8-0 only postage and packing -0-10-0 free for three at a time.

**WATSON & Co.**  
21-A, CANNING STREET, CALCUTTA.