

# FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor : SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

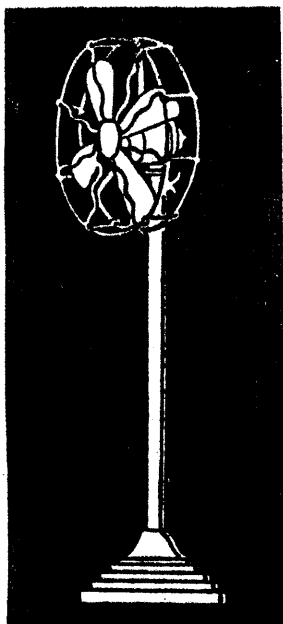
VOL I. No. 36

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1940

ONE ANNA



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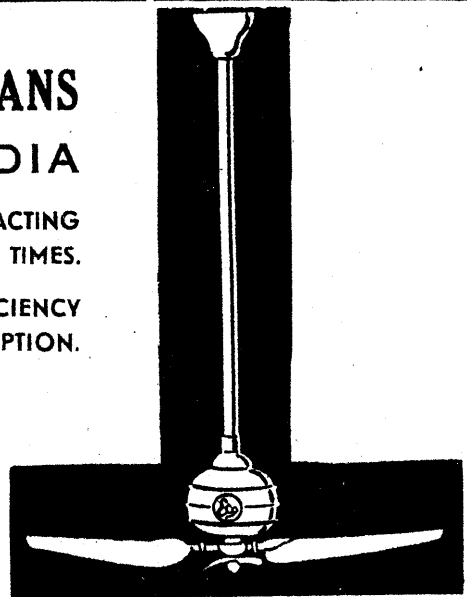
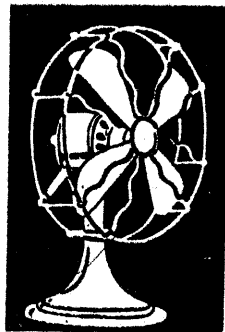


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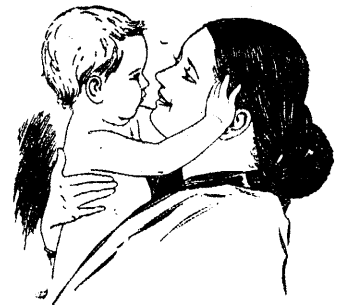
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## FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, APRIL 13

*The Caravan Marches*

The political stalemate is now broken. The call of Ramgarh has borne fruit. The bugle that was sounded there was echoed and re-echoed all over the land and from the living hearts of the people has come the response. During the last week, one has been thrilled to read the papers from day to day. No longer are we merely criticising and cogitating. No longer are we engaged in endless controversy and in hair-splitting arguments on Local Struggle vs. National Struggle. We are on the march. Annapurnaiah in Andhra, Senapati Bapat and ex-Civilian Kamath in Bombay, Kisan leader Bhuskute in Maharashtra, Professor Ranga in Madras, Ashrafuddin Chowdhury and Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Secretary of the Bengal Congress and of the Bengal Forward Bloc respectively and a host of comrades—belonging mostly to the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha—are now in prison. They have gone forth first and theirs is the glory. All honour to them.

The problem now is—what are we to do? In 1930, when India was in the throes of a revolution, a body of croakers, then regarded as ultra-leftists, stood aloof from the movement and refused to join it, on the ground that Congressmen were counter-revolutionaries. To call those men and women counter-revolutionaries who were defying alien 'law and order', braving the rigours of prison-life and facing the baton-charges of the police was a bit too much for even the gullible Indian. The movement grew from strength to strength and

inspired the teeming millions of this country and the ultra-leftists were left high and dry and completely isolated from the revolutionary masses.

Today, the same ultra-leftists are in a similar situation. Like truly doctrinaire politicians and bookish revolutionaries, they are standing aloof from the struggle that has begun. By this policy, they will hurt nobody but themselves. The caravan will march on, despite their indifference and possible obstruction. This is the time for action—not for wordy warfare or hair-splitting over the meaning of words.

Reports that have reached us from different parts of the country go to show that everywhere our functions have been an unqualified success. In some places, Gandhites joined hands with Congress Socialists and 'National Fronters' in order to frustrate our work, but they met with miserable failure. There can be no doubt today that the masses are with us.

Is it not an irony of fate that the National Front Group are not coming forward to join the National Struggle? They could at least have come forward to intensify the local struggles and extend their scope, leaving it to others—to the Kisan Sabha and the Forward Bloc, to wit—to work as they liked. But their present policy appears to be almost like a 'dog in the manger' policy. They will neither join the struggle themselves, nor permit others to do so. In 1930, those who had gone in for a national struggle were condemned as counter-revolutionaries: today they are being condemned as disruptors of unity. The ultra-leftists have yet to learn that that unity is real and is worth having which leads to action and struggle. Unity which paralyses action is meaningless and

ineffective and can be described as the unity of the graveyard.

As the hours roll by, excitement and inspiration are on the increase. As if to help us in our mission, the Government struck on the first day and again on the last. The more they strike and the harder they strike, the stronger will be the reaction and the greater the response. The day has gone by when people would be cowed down by repression.

As we march on, many others have to follow, though rather tardily. The Rightists are setting up Satyagraha Committees, War Councils and the like and the leaders are parading in shirts and shorts. This is all to the good. But how long will this prelude last? When will the real drama begin? If only it had begun at Ramgarh, we would have been behind the Rightists and not ahead of them. But destiny has forced us to act as the spearhead of the struggle and as the vanguard of the national army. This is a role which will do honour to anybody and no sacrifice is too great that may be necessary in order to fulfil it.

Let the drums beat and the bugles be blown. Let youthful hearts pulsate with life and the blood dance with joy. The hour of deliverance is at hand—we have only to do our duty and to pay the price. India has arisen from her age-long slumber, reborn and rejuvenated. Her sons and daughters are going forth to fight the battle Royal. Let all join in sympathy and help.

The supreme test is taking place now. The chaff is separating from the grain, the Rightists from the Leftists. Out of this ordeal, Leftism will emerge triumphant. The overthrow of Rightism will mean the defeat of Moderatism, Reaction and Compromise. And when Leftism emerges triumphant, no power on earth can deny India any longer her birthright of liberty.

*Subhas Chandra Bose*

## A Word about Germany

It seems that in modern warfare speed and mobility are exceedingly important factors. There is an old saying—"Well begun is half done." One should, in these days modify it and say—"Quick begun is half done" Germany has been practising this teaching with scrupulousness and precision. Whether in the military occupation of the Rhinehand, or in the annexation of Czechoslovakia or in the invasion of Poland or in the latest inroad into Scandinavia, she has always acted with lightning rapidity. By attacking suddenly the enemy's nerve-centres she has tried to overwhelm or paralyse him before he could realise what had happened. Such swooping tactics presuppose careful planning over a long period and adequate preparation in accordance with it. Nazi Germany has been a past master in this art of detailed planning and careful preparation.

Besides detailed planning and adequate preparation, energy and vigour are needed to fulfil a particular programme according to a time-table. All these qualities the Nazis certainly possess. Owing to their speed and mobility they have invariably caught the enemy napping and overpowered him without much difficulty.

The ease with which Czechoslovakia was overpowered and annexed by Germany came as a surprise to many. The conquest of Poland within three weeks was a still greater surprise, because Poland was reputed to have a powerful army with the necessary modern equipment and the Poles were known to be fearless fighters.

The annexation of Czechoslovakia was necessary on strategic grounds in view of the coming attack on

Poland. The annexation of Poland, or at least of the Polish Corridor, was necessary in order to link up East Prussia with the main portion of Germany. The annexation of Austria, of Danzig, of Memelland—one can understand and account for on grounds of race and nationality among other reasons. But what about poor Scandinavia?

The small Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Norway never constituted a menace to powerful Germany. Why, then, did the latter violate their territorial integrity? The ostensible ground is that Great Britain had laid mines in Norwegian waters Germany acted in retaliation.

But this answer is not an adequate one. If Britain was responsible for laying mines in Norwegian waters, Germany should have struck hard at her in retaliation. Why did she strike at Denmark and Norway instead.

The reason is that Germany had grounds for believing that Great Britain was planning to occupy Denmark and Norway—just as she had occupied Salonika in Greece during the Great War. So Germany forestalled her enemy and herself occupied the two Scandinavian countries. Because of greater speed and mobility, German could do that in advance of Britain. The occupation of Denmark was like a picnic and that of Norway was like a cake-walk. With careful planning and preparation all this could be accomplished with lightning speed.

The occupation by Britain of the Faroe Island which belonged to Denmark, shows that German anticipation of the British occupation of Denmark and Norway was not ill-founded.

Both Denmark and Norway can now be used as a jumping-off ground for a future attack on the

British Navy, as also on the British territory.

Germany may be a Fascist or an Imperialist, ruthless or cruel, but one cannot help admiring these qualities of hers—how she plans in advance, prepares accordingly, works according to a time-table and strikes with lightning speed. Could not these qualities be utilised for promoting a nobler cause?

*Sutan Chandrasekhar*

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### A Martyr

The students of Naryanganj (Subdivision of Dacca District, Bengal) recently met in a Convention. Political differences arose in the meeting and there was disturbance and rowdiness. It is reported that some "goondas" made themselves busy in the melee and some students were attacked in the course of the proceedings. Among those who were assaulted and injured was Si. Jyotirmoy Bhowmik, an enthusiastic member of the Forward Bloc. The injuries proved to be fatal and Sj. Jyotirmoy Bhowmik succumbed soon after. From the reports that are available it appears that at the Narayanganj Convention, a dispute arose between the supporters of the Forward Bloc on the one side and those of the National Front Group on the other which led to a physical dash. Apart from the question as to who was legally responsible for the heinous crime, it is not difficult to determine as to who was or were morally responsible for it.

But the Forward Bloc is not interested in the least in avenging the murder. That is not consonant with our creed or with our outlook on life. We are content to suffer and also to immolate ourselves

whenever and wherever necessary—for we believe that vicarious suffering is never fruitless. The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church. The blood of Jyotirmoy will undoubtedly prove to be the most potent inspiration for the Forward Bloc in future and for all time to come. We are proud of him. Every Forward Bloc-er is proud of him. We bow down before his sacred memory and we resolve to enshrine him in our hearts. *Long live the martyr Jyotirmoy Bhowmic!*

### Vagaries of Saadullah Ministry

As an adept in the art of dissimulation Sir. Md. Saadullah can hardly be dwarfed and he has fashioned the Government in the manner best suited to serve the interests of his foreign masters and patrons. On several occasions he fooled the people of the province and had to be thrust out but he waited and waited and at last succeeded in returning to his accustomed saddle. Instead of pouring out wealth into the cottage homes of the province he has made inroads upon the civic life of the province and in his fanatical zeal he out-bids the totalitarian. Assam, though differently circumstanced from the rest of India, has a record of gallant fight in the C. D. Movement and the no-tax campaign of Bhanubil unfolds the story of the brave Manipuris who had bared their breast to the bayonets of the British soldiers. Of all these Sir Muhammad is fully aware and the prohibition of meetings and demonstrations on Independence Day in Sylhet was calculated to bottle up the movement of National liberation. Is this not the acme of gullibility? But better late than never. It is all to the good that the Premier has, after all, made a pathetic confession of his folly and has offered to withdraw prosecution

orders against those arrested in connexion with Independence Day.

But the latest report from Sylhet confirms the news that S<sup>r</sup> Biresh Chandra Misra and Satyabrata Datta and nine others of Habiganj are called upon to stand the trial. An agent of Imperialism, Sir Muhammad covets the ministerial job and pleases his master by hounding out the undesirables. The People of Assam must exert a vigilant scrutiny upon the Ministry and its policy which if not arrested may bring the province to ignominy and disrepute.

### Whither Indian Liberals?

Indian liberalism, though buried in the sweet limbo of oblivion, has startled us by its pointed criticism of both Congress and the League activities. Indian Liberals nursed on English Liberalism, now a *passé* creed, have advocated the theory of gradual evolution and they dream of earthly paradise within the orbit of the British Raj. The Indian Liberal Party composed of the commercial magnates and leisured lawyers has been hanging upon India like a dead weight and its professed abhorrence of direct action for achieving freedom brings out its reactionary character. We are at one with the Liberals on the question of parcelling out India on a communal basis but the prospect of civil Disobedience as the only alternative to foil the game has unnerved them. Let the Liberal Pundits take a lesson from history. European Liberalism has degenerated into Reaction and its possibility as a form of social philosophy is exhausted. India has fought, all through the centuries, the battle of freedom that cost her dear and the most glorious chapter of her history is still to be written. Problems and dangers that encompass our country make men and women of this generation glad and at this hour we rejoice at the responsibilities with which time has honoured us and we are proud of being guardians of the country in an age when she is in the throes of a new order. We ask the Liberals to bury the defeatist doctrine a thousand fathoms deep and march with the times.

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# FORWARD BLOC MEN ARRESTED

Bengal Volunteers

## CALCUTTA ROUND-UP: RAIDS AT DACCA

### Sj. Satya Ranjan Bakshi In Custody

#### ACTION UNDER DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

A round-up of Left-wing Congressmen in Calcutta was carried out by the police on Saturday and following extensive searches conducted at about twenty places in different parts of the city in the small hours of the morning. Eleven prominent Left-wing Congress workers were taken into custody under the Defence of India Act. Most of the arrested persons were members of the Forward Bloc.

The following eleven persons were arrested :

- ① Sj. Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Secretary, Bengal Branch of the All-India Forward Bloc. (B.V.)
- ② Dr. Bhupal Bose, ex-Andaman prisoner. (B.V.)
- ③ Sj. Hemchandra Ghosh, ex-detenu. (B.V.)
- ④ Sj. Parimal Ray. (B.V.)
- ⑤ Sj. Bhupendra Rakhit-Roy, ex-State Prisoner. (B.V.)
- ⑥ Sj. Niranjib Roy. (B.V.)
- ⑦ Sj. Kshitiprasanna Sen, ex-detenu, Member, Forward Bloc. (B.V.)
- ⑧ Sj. Moni Roy, Manager, Weekly 'Forward Bloc'. (B.V.)
- ⑨ Sj. Monoranjan Sen Gupta. (B.V.)
- ⑩ Sj. Bhupati Mondal. (B.V.)
- ⑪ Sj. Bimal Nandi. (B.V.)

Among the places searched were the office of the Forward Bloc and the residence of Miss Ujjala Majumder, an ex-convict in the Lebong shooting case. (B.V.)

⑫ Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nundy, pleader and organiser of the District Forward Bloc (B.V.)  
 ⑬ Mr. Nikunja Sen, General Secretary (B.V.)  
 ⑭ Mr. Amal Chandra Nundy and ⑮ Mr. Kshitindra Ray, all ex-detenus and members of the Bloc, were arrested last night under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act. (B.V.)

The police searched their respective houses as well as the Forward Bloc Office.

⑯ Mr. Anil Sen who was arrested in the Forward Bloc Office yesterday morning, has been home-interned under Section 26 of the Defence of India Act. (B.V.)

#### DEFENCE ACT BAN

##### 'Forward Bloc' Workers' Movement Restricted

● Mr. Madhusudan Bhattacharya of Raizdia under the jurisdiction of the Sirajdikhan Thana in Vikramour, who is a member of the Forward Bloc was brought to-day to Dacca where an order requiring him to appear at the Sirajdikhan Thana daily and restricting his movements within home boundaries was served upon him. Dacca, Apl. 13.

#### SJ. ASHUTOSH MAITY

##### Comilla Forward Bloc Member Arrested

● Sj. Ashutosh Maity, a prominent member of the District Forward Bloc was arrested this afternoon as a sequel to an alleged anti-war speech that he delivered in a public meeting yesterday. The arrest was made under the Defence of India Act. Comilla, Apl. 13.

#### "CALL OF THE NATION"

##### Forward Bloc Pamphlet Seized By Police

● The police carried out a raid on a press at Lucknow and, it is stated, recovered a proof copy of a pamphlet entitled "Call of the Nation" distributed by the Forward Bloc. Lucknow, Apl. 12.

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# DRACONIAN ORDER OF BENGAL GOVERNMENT

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## BENGAL PRESS GAGGED

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### NATIONAL WEEK PROGRAMME NOT TO BE PRINTED

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The following is the text of the order :—

Government of Bengal, Home Department Political (Press).

Order to all Printers, Publishers and Editors in Bengal.

No. 2097P.—5th April 1940.—In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to prohibit absolutely the printing or publishing within the Province of Bengal of :—

- (1) any document containing a reference by way of statement, advertisement, notice, news, comment or otherwise to—
- (a) the whole or any part of any programme for the so-called "NATIONAL WEEK, 1940", issued by or on behalf of the (suspended) BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE or ANY BODY AFFILIATED THERETO or CONNECTED THEREWITH. or Mr. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE and SWAMI SAHAJANANDA or either of them or ANY ORGANISATION WITH WHICH THEY ARE OR EITHER OF THEM IS CONNECTED, or any programme identical with, or based on, or substantially similar to, or reproducing part or the whole of, any such programme ; and
- (b) any procession, meeting, assembly or demonstration held, speech delivered, or thing done or omitted to be done in connection or in accordance with or for the furtherance of any programme referred to in sub-clause (a) or part of such programme ; and
- (2) any document containing a reference by way of comment to this order.

By order of the Governor,

**H. J. TWYNAM**

Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

By T. K. Majumdar

## RUSSIAN BOGEY-AN ANALYSIS

The traditional bear that walks like a man has been the Bug Bear of Western world ever since Peter the Great made his peaceful penetration to the Baltic and the Straits of the Black Sea. Despite the fact that the imperialist expansion of the Tsar has been a thing of the past, brought about by the Great Russian Revolution, the bogey has not lost its terror. There are still countries which seem to believe that the U. S. S. R. is bent upon resuming the so-called expansion plan formulated by the Tsar. Imperialist Moscow which was described as "the third Rome" has gone down with the Tsar. This is a self-evident truth which requires no discussion for obvious reason. Be this as it may, there are people who seem to believe that the Tsarist Imperialism has arisen Phoenix-like as the Third International, aspiring and endeavouring to unite and to bring under its sceptre not only the slavie races inhabiting Eastern Europe, but aiming, through the proletarian world struggle, to assemble all nations under the red banner. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the realistic value of this ambitious policy which is denounced by states whose ideologies appear to Communism as Red Imperialism. They appear to consider it much more dangerously than the White Imperialism of the Tsars or the Black Imperialism represented by Fascism.

### Wrong Generalization

The stock argument advanced by the fascist and the so-called democratic governments is that since the Tsarist foreign policy has been expansionist and imperialistic, the Soviet Union must be an exponent of that policy. This kind of conclusion is due to fundamentally incorrect generalization. For, foreign policy of a state is a function of its home policy; the former is subservient to the latter. It will be worth one's while to note that all the foreign wars of the last century can be clearly understood by applying this principle. The truth is that when capitalist development of nations reached the point when it needed sources for raw materials and

markets for its surplus goods, and in pursuit of these, nations flew at each other's throat, each driven by the needs of its own national Capitalism, wars were inevitable. Thus it will be seen that Soviet diplomacy is not a continuity of the Tsarist expansionist imperialism re-appearing in a new garb. Proletariats all over the world keenly watched the grim struggle out of which Soviet Russia emerged triumphant. It has been admitted on all hands that theirs was a colossal experiment which has admirably stood the test of time. "Even when one thinks a view unsound or a scheme unworkable," says Viscount Bryce in "Modern Democracies," "one must regard all honest efforts, to improve this unsatisfactory world with a sympathy which recognizes how many things need to be changed, and how many doctrines once held irrefragable need to be modified in the light of supervenient facts." This is true no less of Communist experiments than of any other.

### Cause of Enmity

The question is: What is the cause of the traditional enmity between Britain and Russia? To understand this it is necessary to turn to the history of the Anglo-Russian relations. We know it for certain that a century ago the storm-centre of Anglo-Russian rivalry were Central Asia, the Balkans and the Near East. And it goes without saying that the Tsarist Imperialism was constrained to fight for the Straits and Constantinople. Naturally, Britain wanted to bottle up the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, thereby giving support to keep intact the then disintegrating Turkish Empire. The upshot was the Crimean War. Britain fought this war to fail the schemes of Tsarist Russia in her expansion towards the Mediterranean. The climax was reached when the Turks were defeated in 1877 and the Tsar's army was about to enter the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

At this stage pressure was brought to bear upon Russia to keep out of Turkey, on the other hand Tsarist Imperialism set its heart upon the Straits without possess-

ing which it could not feel secure in the event of an aggression. The strategic importance of the strip of water could not be neglected. For Cremea with its long Coast line could be easily bombarded by a hostile fleet gaining access to the Straits. There was another reason why Russia attached too much significance to the Straits. The Russian wheat export was threatened when the Straits were closed in time of war. And Britain did not relish the idea of tolerating Russia in the Mediterranean, lest she should endanger the Suez Canal and her interests in the Near East and India.

### Metamorphosis

This situation, intriguing as it is, changed radically with Russia becoming an ally of Great Britain during the Great War. To counter-act German Imperialist designs in the Near East, Britain had to give up her traditional resistance against the partition of Turkey. I am inclined to quote a passage from a British Foreign Office note addressed to the Russian diplomat, which will throw a flood of light on the subject. "That this assent involves a complete reversal of the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, and is in direct contradiction to the opinions and sentiments which at one time were universally held in England and which by no means died out." The contemporary diplomatic history records the fact that Sir Edward Grey worked for certain concessions in the interests of his Moslem Policy which aimed at neutralization of the Straits to merchant ships. Besides, he emphasised the need for making Moslem holy places and Arabia independent states. It had been further stipulated that the neutral zone in Persia was to be converted into a British Zone. The French were not idle at the time the diplomatic game was being played as they insted to be compensated by the annexation of Syria including the region adjacent to the Gulf of Alexandretta and Silicia as far as the Taurus mountains. Moreover, Sir Edward desired that, since the Allies had sworn to fight against imperialism, and for the security of democracy, "it is most desirable that the understanding now arrived at between the Russian, French and British Governments, should remain secret."

### Pact Annulled

But the Bolsheviks as soon as they came to power began to act in conformity with their anti-imperialist principles. "Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Moslem" said a proclamation dated Dec. 7, 1918, signed by Lenin and Stalin. The U. S. S. R. renounced all the Tsarist claims on Turkish territory and went as

(Continued on page 10)



# COUNTRY-WIDE REPRESSION

## ARRESTS UNDER DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

Bombay, Apl. 8.

*Senapati Bapat* was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment by the Third Presidency Magistrate to-day for having defied the Bombay Government's order prohibiting his entry into Bombay.

Mr. P. M. Bapat (59), known as Senapati Bapat, was the chief of the Maharashtra Forward Bloc. Mr. Bapat was charged with having committed a breach of an order served on him under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting his entry into Bombay.

### Pleaded Guilty

Mr. Bapat, who was not defended, declined offers made by two Counsels to appear for him. He pleaded guilty.

Accepting the accused's plea, Mr. Oscar Brown, the Magistrate, sentenced him to three month's rigorous imprisonment.

### Mr. Kamath In Court

*Mr. H. V. Kamath* and eleven others who were arrested on Saturday evening and subsequently released on bail, as a sequel to the disturbances that occurred at the Forward Bloc meeting at Chappatty, were placed before Mr. D. S. Babrekar, Presidency Magistrate, at Girgaum Police Court.

The arrested men were alleged to have committed offences of being members of an unlawful assembly, voluntarily hurt, rioting and preventing police from discharging their duties.

The police applied for time and the Magistrate postponed the case to April 22.

### MR. ANNAPURNIAH TAKEN INTO CUSTODY

#### Restrictions And Bans On Several Others

*Mr. Annapurniah*, member, Executive Committee, All-India Forward Bloc, was arrested on April 7 at 9 p. m. at Shradhanand Ghat, Madras, under section 26 (2) Defence of India Act. He was removed later on to the Vellore Central Jail by the night passenger train.

A Vellore message says: Two socialists, *Messrs. Velu Goundan* and *Ramakrishnan* were arrested on Saturday night

at Katpadi under the Defence of India Rules and sent to Tiruputtur to be produced before the joint magistrate.

*Mr. Garapati Satyanarayana*, Secretary, West Godavari Dist. Congress Socialist Party and President of the Ellore Jute Labourers' Union, who was served with an order on Saturday under the Defence of India Rules directing him to leave Ellore within 24 hours and to stay in his village till the order was cancelled, has, it is learnt left for his village. Government was pleased to sanction Rs. 10 per mens to him some long as his movements were restricted to his village.

### Bengal

Advices received at Madaripur from Faridpur state that the bail of *Sj. Anukul Chatterjee*, who was arrested at Madaripur, in January last under Section 38 of the Defence of India Rules and who was ordered to surrender at Faridpur on March 27, has been cancelled and he has been lodged in jail custody. *Sj. Chatterjee* has also been arrested under Section 56 of the Defence Rules for addressing the Faridpur District Congress Workers' Conference held here on March 25. So far five persons have been arrested in connection with the Conference.

A prohibitory order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. was promulgated at Sherpur Town on Friday by beat of drums for a period of seven days from the 6th to 13th April banning all meetings, processions, and assemblies without previous sanction of the District Magistrate.

### Order On Socialist

*Mr. P. Rammurthi*, a Madras Congress Socialist, was served with an order of the Madras Government under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules directing him to reside in his village of Veppathur in Tanjore District, Madras, and to abstain from making any public speeches until the order was rescinded. He has been directed to leave Bombay within 24 hours.

### Madaripur Search

The D. I. B. police with the help of the local police searched on Saturday

morning the three presses of Madaripur. It is reported that the police seized one "forma" of a notice from Santi Press.

### Arrests At Pabna

*S. Samarendranath Roy*, Vice-president, Pabna District Students' Federation, *Sj. Manimohan Lahiry* of Lahiri Mohanpur and *Sj. Bhupatinath Dey*, ex-Detenu were arrested at Pabna on the 4th April under Rule 39 (b) of Defence of India Act and Section 18 of Emergency Press Act of 1931. They were released on bail.

### Arrest At Khulna

The first 'Dictator' of Khulna Congress Council of Action, has been arrested under the Defence of India Act. The Congress House and the houses of two Congress workers are reported to have been searched by the police.

### Dinajpur Warning

Warning notices under the Defence of India Act issued by the District Magistrate of Dinajpur are reported to have been served upon *Comrades Arun Banerjee* and *Kalipada Das*, ex-Detenus and Kisan workers of the district. They have been asked not to incite peasants of the district to do illegal acts and spread disaffection amongst His Majesty's subjects.

### Berhampore Arrests

*Comrades Sabita Sekhar Roy Chowdhury* and *Narendra Biswas*, Kisan workers, were arrested on Sunday morning at Berhampur (Bengal), it is reported, under the Defence of India Act.

*Comrade Sabita Sekhar* had been in detention for more than five years in various camps.

### Jharia Ban

Jharia, April 7.

Taking out of processions in Jharia without permission has been prohibited for a period of three months by an order issued by the local authorities under section 30 of the Police Act.

### Khulna Congressman Sentenced To One Year's R. I.

Apl. 8.

*Sj. Kishori Moman Chatterjee*, first dictator, Khulna War Council who was arrested yesterday was produced before *Mr. Kumar Adhikram Mazumder*, Sub-divisional Magistrate to-day. The accused was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Act. *Sj. Chatterjee* has been placed as division two prisoner.

**Serampore Worker Arrested**

*Sj. Subodh Kumar Bhattacharya*, a Congress worker of Serampore, was arrested by the police, under the Defence of India Rules, while addressing a public meeting on the 6th April last. He was released on bail.

Jalpaiguri, April 7.

*Sj. Prafulla Chandra Tripathi*, a prominent Congress worker of the District has been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 in default to undergo imprisonment for a further term of 3 months under the Defence of India Ordinance.

**Bombay**

*Miss Godavare Gokhale*, a member of the Servants of India Society and a member of the Council of Action of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress was arrested on Sunday morning under the Defence of India Rules and taken to Poona. An order, it is stated, was served on her restricting her movements in Poona and prohibiting her from taking part in public meetings.

**Bihar.**

*Sj. Chandrama Singh*, ex-political prisoner and a labour worker at Jharia was served with an externment order by the Bihar Government, it is understood, on the night of April 5, prohibiting his entry into Chota Nagpur division. The order is believed to be a sequel to the recent activities of *Sj. Chandrama Singh* which are considered prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war.

**U. P.**

Three arrests were made at Allahabad on Sunday evening for disobeying an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. when the organisers of a meeting in Muhammad Ali Park took out a procession after the meeting without taking the necessary license as required by the order which was promulgated by the District Magistrate a few days ago during the recent communal class in the city.

Five persons were arrested on Sunday evening for attempting to hoist the Congress flag over the Allahabad city Katwali.

**THE RIGHTISTS' BUGABOO**

**No Invitation To Kisan Leaders!**

**More Light on Ramgarh Raja's Party**

Hazaribagh, Apl. 6.

It is learnt on good authority that the Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh had expressed the wish to invite the leaders of the Anti-Compromise Conference at Kisan Nagar and also the Government officials to the party he gave at Mazhapuri on March 20 last after the Congress session had concluded. But Dr. Rajendra Prasad who agreed to officials being invited, betrayed a feeling against invitation being extended to the leaders camping at Kisan Nagar.

This fact which has just been brought to light has caused considerable resentment here.

**RUSSIAN BOGEY, AN ANALYSIS**

(Cont. from page 8)

far as to return almost all the previously annexed Turkish state. But this was not the policy of Great Britain and some of her allies. As a matter of fact they desired to have the Straits opened to their fleet in order to be able to strike at the U. S. S. R. when necessary. Lord Curzon at the Lausanne Conference admitted that the respective policies of Europe and Russia have now been reversed. The reason for this is not far to seek. It would not be far wrong to say that sentiment had the better of his judgement. The diplomats of Western Europe could not reconcile themselves to the pacific designs of Socialist Russia. British diplomacy desired to eject the the Turks from Europe, drive them into the interior of Asia, away from any influence in European affairs.

The table was turned as the ambition was frustrated by the smashing offensive of Kemal Pasha who emerged victorious with the aid of the Bolsheviks. The significance of the diplomatic game could not be underestimated. This was in Lausanne in 1922-23, when Chicherin the astute foreign secretary of the U.S.S.R.,

showed his superiority over the supremely able British statesmen.

**World Domination**

It is interesting to note that Lord Curzon and the British Imperialism that he so ably represented believed, to use his own words, that "without India the British Empire could not exist. The possession of India is the inalienable badge of sovereignty in the Eastern Hemisphere." According to him the Central Asian countries bordering on India resembled a chess-board, upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world. These opinions realistic as they appeared, were equally shared by the Tsarist Russia. Their reasoning that the stronger Russia was in Central Asia the weaker would become British Rule in India. Thus it will be seen why so much importance is attached to the Russian Bogey. There are many who fear or seem to fear that even now Communist Russia will seek to exploit the weakness of other countries to her political advantage. But their fear, I am inclined to believe, is largely of one's creation, and the rumours of imaginary campaigns of Russia in Near East and India are really unadulterated nonsense.

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## FROM A MUSLIM WORKER TO MR. JINNAH A LETTER (5)

[The writer of this letter is a retired Muslim I. E. S. Four letters of the writer appeared in these columns before. For patent reasons we cannot publish his name :—E.D. F. B.]

Dear Mr. Leader,

Please excuse my addressing you again so soon. My only reason is that as an humble admirer I must make haste to pay homage to the consummate skill with which you conducted the orchestra at the grand annual mela of the Muslim League.

It was indeed a great mela. Nawabs, rajas, landlords, knights, khanbahadurs, and other natural leaders of the community who do not concern themselves with the sordid business of earning their living, and sight-seers who could afford to take the journey to Lahore had come from every nook and corner of the country. And the sensation-hunters of Lahore had also mustered strong. People to whom every figure above ten is innumerable and above hundred infinite suggest that lacs of people had assembled on each day of the mela. The amount of gate money realised, however, is said to indicate that the maximum attendance did not exceed 25 thousand. Nevertheless, it was a large gathering. You were, however, mistaken when you stated that the crowd might have been larger, if the khaksar tragedy had not cold-douched the people's enthusiasm. On the contrary, was largely the agitated Muslims of Lahore who in their credulity believed that the all-powerful Muslim League would pronounce its judgement on the tragedy and bring the culprits to book, that swelled the attendance.

I am, of course, very proud of the admirable sentiments you expressed in connection with this sad incident. I couldn't restrain my tears when you said that when you heard of the tragedy, you felt that your life was shortened by 10 years. What a noble sentiment. Truly worthy of a great leader. I, however, wonder how great men can precisely estimate the number of days, months, or years that are knocked off from their invaluable lives especially by the sufferings of others. Mysterious, indeed are the ways of the great. In any case, a reduction of, God forbid, even ten days in your most precious life would be the

greatest calamity that could befall our great nation. I mean the Muslim nation not the Indian nation. It is indeed befitting that you should express your concern at any event over which the Muslim emotionalists are momentarily agitated. But please do not take anything to heart. For after all—as you perhaps do not know millions and millions of these wretched Muslims die every year from privation and hunger, and it is of absolutely no account if a score or two more occasionally die from bullets and bayonets.

I, of course, very much admire your inestimable composure and mental equilibrium as well as that of the lesser leaders, to which you so touchingly alluded. You observed: "While our blood was boiling and thirty Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm." And the wonder is that you did keep calm. Nay, you did something still more wonderful. You showed remarkable resignation and self-denial in going through all the unavoidable festivities included in the League's programme, such as the Punjab Premier's garden party, Mian Bashir Ahmed's and K. B. Sayad Maratab Ali Shah's sumptuous lunches, and several private dinners which are not mentioned in the papers.

To return to the mela. As I have said, it was verily a great mela. I happened to see the Congress Annual mela also. That too was a great show. But there were characteristic differences between the Congress mela and your mela. The Congress mela was a veritable *kumb mela* where crowds of devotees had gathered to get the *darshan* of their *guru* and to hear his divine voice. The whole atmosphere was permeated with the spirit of worship. In the temple itself (the *pandal*) the *Guru* and his chief disciples squatted on a raised platform and the crowd of worshippers, irrespective of rank or riches, sat on the floor. Even the ex-ministers were seated with their hands folded on bare mats on the damp floor. It was essentially a religious gathering and was fairly impressive except for the

incongruous presence of a large *Charkha* at the back of the platform. Your assembly, on the other hand, was the *darbar* of the grand *moghul*. There was the raised platform with carpets and chairs adorned by the Muslim nobility of India. Immediately in front of the *dais* there were seats for the smaller aristocracy. Then more chairs at the back for the middle class. And last of all mother earth for the common herd. There was, however, one essential feature in common between your *darbar* and the Congress pseudo-monastic gathering. And that is that both were redolent of the past. Only you were perhaps a little nearer the present. For while you would like to revive the empire of the *Moghals*, Leader of the Congress would not be satisfied with anything less ancient than the *Ram-Raj* of the age *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.

I, of course, share your disappointment that there could be no procession. Every great leader must have a triumphal procession. This is perhaps the only thing he gets out of his leadership. And then the Punjab Muslims were eager to show what, paupers though they be, they can do in that line. There would have been elephants, and camels, and horses, chariots verily right royal pageant—such as the Punjab had never seen before. The Reception Committee's chief grievance against the *Khaksars* is that they got themselves killed at the wrong moment and thus deprived their community of the unique chance of demonstrating its greatness as organiser of pageants.

Mr. Leader, I bow to your greatness again and again. You are truly great; greater than even illustrious Leader of the Congress. The latter is trying to create just one independent India by means of the invincible *Charkha*, while you propose to establish half a dozen autonomous Muslim states by the sheer force of wishful thinking. Your partition theory is, indeed, a master-piece of political foresight. It is an unconscious—all political thinking in India today is

mostly instinctive and unconscious—though futile attempt to save a decadent Muslim feudalism from the irresistible onslaught of a progressive capitalism as from the still more irrepressible upsurge of a rising socialism.

This, however, being the main theme of your orchestral performance, I shall venture to express my workman's views on it later. Meanwhile with your permission I shall make a few observations on some of the minor tunes played at this historic fair of the League.

There is first of all—though chronologically it came towards the close of the session—the resolution relating to the Khaksars. It was met that the League, following the time honoured practice, should have placed on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic death of a number of Khaksars. Let us hope that the souls of the dead will rejoice and their survivors be consoled by this very properly worded memorial of grief and sympathy for the dead and the living. The demand for the appointment of an independent and impartial Committee of enquiry, especially after the Government had already announced its intention to appoint such a Committee, is also quite proper. But the most stirring thing in connection with this resolution was your speech in which you assured the audience that “whether it be the Government of the Punjab or the Government of India, whether it be the Punjab Ministry or whether it be the Punjab Premier you will not care for any one until you have got justice.” This was really grand—though a little inclined towards gradiloquent. The sceptics would perhaps detect a similitude between this assurance and the one given in connection with the late lamented Shahidgang mosque. But in reality there is none. For then you said, “I promise” and now you say, “I assure.” And while promises, in the modern world, are meant to be broken, an assurance, like, Life assurance, Fire assurance, etc, seems to have a legal sanction behind it. Therefore there can be little doubt, that justice will be done; though it is a pity that the dead are beyond justice. Perhaps the Muslim Government of the Punjab might be moved to grant subsistence allowances to the survivors of the dead, I mean of the police and well as of the Khaksars.

## FORWARD BLOC NEWS

### ANDHRA FORWARD BLOC FORGING AHEAD

(From a Correspondent) 30th March

The North Vizag District Forward Bloc was formed at Palasa recently at a meeting of the members of the Bloc. Mr. M. Annapurniah, member, All India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc and President, Andhra Forward Bloc, presided over the same. About forty active workers in the district attended the meeting. Mr. Annapurniah explained the objective and role of the Forward Bloc in the coming struggle. A strong executive committee was formed with Mr. G. V. Ramanamurti as President and Mr. Abdur Rahiman Khan as General Secretary.

### ANDHRA KISAN SABHA

The annual meeting of the Andhra Provincial Kisan Sabha met at Palasa on the 25th night, (March) under the Presidentship of Mr. P. Syam Sundararo. M. L. A. New office-bearers for the year were elected. Sjt. Syam Sundarao was unanimously elected President, and Mr. K. S. N. Murti, as Vice-President. There was a keen contest for the general secretaryship between however C. Baluraddi (Forward Bloc) and comrade V. Sivalinga Prasad (communist of the National Front group) in which the Forward Blocist was returned by a small

majority. Mr. G. Latchanna another prominent member of the Forward Bloc was unanimously declared elected as Joint Secretary. A majority of members elected to the executive are members and supporters of the Bloc. This is the first open clash between the Forward Bloc and the National Front group and indicates which way the wind blows.

### PREPARING FOR STRUGGLE

The Andhra Forward Bloc Executive met at Palasa on the 26th and 27th March under the presidency of Mr. M. Annapurniah, and approved of the resolution of the Anti-compromise Conference on the National struggle and called upon Mr. Annapurniah its President, to bring into existence a council of action, to implement the said resolution in Andhrades.

### YET ANOTHER SOCIALIST RESIGNS

The Congress Socialist Party in Andhra, as everywhere else, is rapidly collapsing. In the course of the last one month, two prominent socialists have resigned from Andhra and now comes the news of the resignation of Mr. P. Lakshmiapati Sasti, Secretary of the Maselipetam Town Socialist Party. The resignation was tendered as a protest against the stand taken by the socialist at Ramgarh.

The only difficulty is that it will create a bad-precedent and feudal governments, intrinsically conservative as they are, must naturally be afraid of creating precedents.

Speaking of the Khaksars, the question is now generally asked, what do the Khaksars stand for? What are the aims and objects of the organisation? The Khaksars themselves do not seem to know what they want. But there is little doubt that in the mind of the leader the movement is essentially the practical counterpart of the Muslim League. The League only theorises about Muslim raj, and the Khaksars are apparently trying to lay the foundations of a primitive form of Muslim military dictatorship in the Punjab and elsewhere. And it is obvious that a military dictatorship is the only alternative to democracy which the Muslim League has definitely and unequivocally declared as unsuitable for India.

Another important resolution was the one relating to Palestine; In this you have reiterated “our great concern at the British Government's delay in coming to a settlement with the Palestine Arabs.” This resolution, although a stale one, shows how deeply the zealous but helpless Muslims of India feel for the comparatively free and independent Muslims of other countries. And the unique

beauty of this noble sentiment lies in the fact that it is not even mildly reciprocated by the thankless recipients of our fraternal though impotent sympathy. On the contrary, authentic reports from the Muslim world indicate that the Indian Muslim is thoroughly despised by his Muslim brethren outside India, for the distinguished part he is playing in his country's fight for freedom. This only shows how ungrateful and thoroughly unislamic the Muslim outside India is. Nevertheless the Indian Musalman who is today the only standard-bearer of Pan-Islamism left in the world cannot allow himself to be influenced by the unislamic attitude of the non-Indian Muslims but must persevere in the difficult and thankless task of rousing and preparing himself and his brother-Muslims outside India for reviving Muslim feudalism throughout the world.

This brings me to the principal resolution which is going to be a landmark—the world history is so rapidly changing that one does not know if this great landmark will last till the next session of the League in the political history of Muslim India. This, with your permission, I shall comment on in my next letter.

Yours Sincerely,  
A Muslim Worker,

By Benoy Ghose

## IN DEFENCE OF OPTIMISM

While human bodies are roaming in the graves called trenches, it is but natural that the traumatised human mind will be wandering in a suffocating atmosphere of death and destruction and life would be meditating upon death. From the imperialist peace of Versailles to the rise of ideological gangsterism in Germany one can trace as in a lunatic asylum the cracks of the modern mind, the shedding of civilised shibboleths, and the disastrous blooming of a growing neurosis into a full-fledged psychosis. Out of the conflict between the Conscious and the Unconscious, the latter emerges triumphant. Civilisation, that is, control by critical consciousness, has sunk into the dark, unfathomed caves of barbarism, that is, regression to the primitive Unconscious. Intellectual perversion is the counter-part of ideological gangsterism, that is, fascism and imperialism. This perversion characterises Bourgeois culture today.

"There is no substituting anything else for life. After Life there is only Death...It is the dregs of the great cities, the genuine mob, the underworld in every sense, which everywhere constitute the opposition to the great and noble world and unite in their hatred of it: political and literary Bohemia, wastrel nobility, ship-wrecked academicians, adventurers and speculators, criminals and prostitutes, loiterers and feeble-minded, mixed with a few pathetic enthusiasts for some abstract ideal." Thus spouts out Oswald Spengler in his *The Hour of Decision*. "And this, thought I, 'is the reality of democracy; this is the proletariat of dear old Marx in being. This is the real people. This seething multitude of vague uncritical brains is the stuff that the old dogmatist counted upon for his dictatorship of proletariat, to direct the novel and complex organisation of a better world.' The thought suddenly made me laugh aloud." Thus comments the big intellectual Devil of England, Mr. H. G. Wells, on the "stupid" loyalty and pleasure of the workers on Armistice Day, in his *Experiment in Autobiography*. These intellectual perverts are so much addicted to sociologically insane thinking, that they cannot but become mad

counter-revolutionists. In the works of James Joyce, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, the dominant note is the repulsiveness of human flesh. Man is so nervously repulsive to man, so screamingly, nerve-rackingly repulsive! Man just *smells*, offensively, not to be born. The human stink! The horror of Death!

These are the themes which haunt the bourgeois writers today, and poison the bourgeois culture. And these themes are most fittingly couched in chunks of words being banged together like a pound of pluck on a butcher's block. "There it is," say these writers, "like it or leave it" We prefer to leave it, in no fear of the butcher's jeer that we have not attained the education needed to appreciate the raw deal in their art. We admit that the society has become unstable; worse, we do live in times as deadly imperilled by a general defilement of culture as any recorded; but it is surely not an unknown, unanticipated, unconquerable monster sprawling athwart our way. What is truly reassuring today is that serious artists and writers continue to make brave imaginative experiments. It means a purposeful endeavour towards artistic integration in a period of complete social disintegration. It is the sign of a coming regeneration of society, the beginning of a real civilisation.

This is our belief, and here we are as poles apart from those who sing pæns of decadence and hold brief for it. Our eyes are fixed upon the ambrosial fronts of this Age, not upon its rearward baldness. This belief is our precious heritage of the Past, and we cling to it. We have learnt to respect belief, and not to immerse in destructive element or to blink at the void. The dialectical philosophy of life, society, civilisation and culture, teaches us this valuable lesson, and we cannot afford to unlearn it.

The rise of Fascism in Europe is not the triumph, but the last flicker of life of Capitalism. We adhere to this belief more stubbornly because we symbolise the victory of the Bulgarian communist in Leipzig Court, the complete annihilation of the saboteurs and wreckers of socialism

in Moscow, as the triumph of rising Socialism over decaying Capitalism.

Therefore, Milton's impassioned cry: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties," is as timely now as when it was first uttered in the youth of Bourgeois civilisation, because Socialism is the conscience of the world today. We rebel against the system of capitalism which is thoroughly innocuous from top to bottom. And if we are asked: "For whom do we write?"—we would answer with the splendid words of Romain Rolland: "For those who are the vanguard of the marching army, for those who are waging the great international battle, victory in which should ensure the establishment of the human community without frontiers and without classes. Communism is today the world wide party of social action which, without compromise, is carrying the flag and making its way, with a considered and courageous logic, toward the conquest of high mountain lands. The rest of the army will follow—we, the writers, we summon the laggards to hurry up."

We will not rest, because the marching column never halts.

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Book Reviews

—By A. C. N. NAMBIAR (Paris)

**THE FAR EASTERN STRUGGLE**

**China In Peace And War.** By Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Hurst and Blackett: London. 16s.

**Japan's Economic Offensive In China.** By Lowe Chuan-Hua (Allen and Unwin: 7s. 6d.

**China Fights For Freedom.** By Dr. A. L. Strong. Lindsay Drummond London. 5s.

The sharp turn in events in Europe has somewhat diminished attention to the Far Eastern struggle or the War between Japan and China. While this is understandable, there is no overlooking that, the fight in the Far East constitutes one of the biggest issues of this period. Its course is suited to exercise a very profound impression upon the drift of world affairs in the era before.

The world today in a way is a much smaller unit that it was before. The last twenty years have made a tremendous difference in the matter. Transport developments and other improvements in methods of communications have considerably contributed to this. And in the period ahead, this process of a narrowing down of universe, is bound to mark greater and quicker progress. Temporary checks there may be. But in fundamental directions, here as in various other matters, it is difficult to put back or arrest the clock long.

One result, possibly the biggest, of a trend referred to above, is an extension of inter-dependence of events in wide and distant regions. Close observation will reveal events in Europe today as influenced by those in the Far East to a degree greater than generally recognized. Much the same is true of an influence of events in Europe upon those in the Far East. A line between Manchuria and Munich in other words, is straighter and more definite than usually visualized. And there are other such lines. It is well to devote added attention to such connections and links of association.

The moves that are taking place in the Far East result from or follow a flux that commenced a good while back. Today they have reached a stage of considerably increased importance. Both

Japan and China stand at very critical periods of their history. China, perhaps, even more than Japan. A fate that will be hers will determine not only the lot of her own, but beyond, will assert a weight of great determining value on the balance in the East. The last is a circumstance of enormous importance. Particularly so to a country like India.

There is need for India directing keen care and attention to the fate of China. It should not be clouded by mistaken sentiments or short-sighted calculations. The dominant aspects of the Chinese struggle today are: an awakened spirit in China; a keen drive of Japan to secure a firm grip over China; and a spirited fight for their freedom kept by the Chinese in the face of hard odds.

The first of these, the story of an awakening of China, is eloquently conveyed in the book "China In Peace And War" by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, needs no special introduction. The book is a collection of her speeches and letters, letters to various friends and organizations, particularly in America. They cover a fairly extended period. And they help one to estimate the character and strength of the awakening today in China. China in the past has no doubt missed opportunities suited to have made her stronger. But this does not minimise the extent and vigour of an awakening that has come about. Mistakes of a past, indeed at times, can be helpful in leading to initiation of strong and sound course, if proper conclusions are drawn. "Knowledge is difficult, action is easy" says Sun Yat Sen—a dictum that he has elaborated at some length in his book "Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary." Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's speeches and letters bearing on a period and dealing with a state after the commencement of hostilities in China are particularly interesting. They reveal deep fervour, impressive tenacity and admirable confidence. They express noble sentiments in language dignified and eloquent. She records hopes and expectation. Her declarations make moving and educative reading. Some of her reckonings might

appear as unwarranted. This however, does not deter the soundness of a general outlook. One feels like reproducing whole statements.

Lowe Chuan-Hua is an eminent Chinese research scholar, writer and economist. In his book "Japan's Economic Offensive In China" he deals principally with the goal of Japanese drive against China, with emphasis, as the title indicates, on its economic aspect. This he does with a wealth of facts and figures well presented. His account stresses the thorough-going nature of the scheme desired to be advanced by Japan in China with a discussion of its international background and implications. Japan, one is told and shown, desires to gain not only political power and economic grip, but also a spiritual or intellectual hold in regard to China. Expansionist drive with a totalitarian conception implies a new technique. This is an aspect demanding particular care. Lowe Chuan-Hua's book is very helpful for an understanding of it.

The story of China's actual campaign in meeting a terrific onslaught is stirringly told by Dr A.L. Strong in her book "China Fights For Freedom." This book, however, is not limited to an account of a fight, though this alone would make it worth reading. The volume, as a matter of fact deals with many other issues of prime significance, such as, the way an united national consciousness is sustained and developed and how internal reforms of different nature are carried out. Then China today is both conducting a struggle and carrying forward a great plan of reconstruction. Dr Strong supplies an extremely interesting description of the womens' movement in China. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek has written a small note—published in this book—congratulating the writer for the book and wishing it success. At certain places in the book, one notes, Dr Strong has criticised a policy pursued for a while by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. Probably drawback of a line adopted by him in regard to certain issues in period is

(Continued on page 16)

# PROVINCIAL GOVT. BAN ON THE PRESS

## ADJOURNMENT MOTION IN BENGAL ASSEMBLY

The Congress Party's adjournment motion to discuss the action of Government in issuing an order under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting absolutely the printing or publication within the province of Bengal of reports of the activities of the "suspended" Bengal Provincial Congress Committee or of S. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajananda in connection with the "National Week" celebrations was rejected by the Bengal Legislative Assembly on Tuesday evening by 104 to 78 votes after a debate lasting nearly two hours.

In moving the adjournment motion Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu placed the text of the Government order before the House and pointed out that the order did not prohibit the holding of meeting for the purpose of propagating the ideas and opinions of individuals and organisations mentioned in the order. Processions meetings assemblies were allowed; people might gather in their thousands in public meetings to listen to the speeches of S. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajananda. What was prohibited was the publication of reports of the activities of the individuals and organisations mentioned in the order. He took it that Bengal Government did not find anything objectionable in the activities of these individuals and organisations which required a ban on their activities. It was a most strange procedure, Mr. Basu proceeded, that Bengal Government had taken on this occasion. The speaker did not know what led the Bengal Government or what right they had under the Defence of India Rules not to prohibit meetings, processions or assemblies but only to prohibit the publication of the reports thereof. "I am a newspaper reader; I may not go to these meetings but I have every right to know what is happening in those meetings under the aegis of the Bengal Government", remarked Mr. Basu. In accordance with the programme which was published on the 5th of April last meetings had as a matter of fact been held in different parts of the city and of this province,—meetings

attended by thousands and thousands of people who clung to the speeches delivered there for hours together. Government did not object to the holding of these meeting; Government did not object to those people who had the good fortune of attending these meetings being "polluted" by the propagation of ideas opinions there. It was only the publication of reports of those meetings that was banned. It was indeed a strange and queer decision that Government had taken.

Mr. Basu referred to the last paragraph of the order and remarked that the order had been so framed that it might be construed to prohibit newspaper publication of the report of the proceedings of the debate and he would invite the Home Minister to place before the House the government point of view in the matter.

In conclusion Mr. Basu remarked that however much attempts might be made to stifle the propagation of ideas, if there was any life, any spirit in those ideas, they would take wings and reach the farthest corner of the country. He might tell the Government that the two groups in the Congress would one day shake hands and if the Government was seeking to flicker the flames of differences in the Congress, that would not redound to the credit of the Government.

### Reasons Behind The Order

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal (Congress) remarked that by promulgating this order Government had only out-heroded Herod. Even in the provinces where there were Congress Governments previously and where there were now 'irresponsible' Governments, they had the decency not to go to the length that this 'responsible, popular' Government had gone. He might tell the Government that this order of the Government would go down to posterity as the blackest spot in the administration of the present Government. The speaker said that it appeared to him that there were two reasons for issuing this order. Firstly, the Government sought by this order to

create a sort of division in the ranks of the Bengal Congress and secondly the Government was trying to stifle public opinion which was steadily gathering round S. Subhas Chandra Bose, a hallowed figure in Indian politics.

Kazi Emdadul Huq (Krishak Proja) remarked that the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was not banned, the Moslem League under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah was not banned, the organisation under the leadership of Mr. M. N. Roy was not banned; the Ad Hoc Committee was not banned. Why should they put a ban on the propagation of ideas of S. Subhas Chandra Bose? S. Bose should be permitted like other political leaders to place his views before the public so that the people might judge for them-selves as to whose leadership they should follow.

### S. Sarat Bose's Speech

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Opposition, said that if he rose to speak on this adjournment motion it was not because he felt that he could say anything which would add to the force or the beauty of the speech delivered by the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party. If Mr. Bose rose to speak on this motion, it was because he felt that it was his duty as the Leader of the Opposition to enter a protest,—an emphatic protest against this encroachment on the fundamental rights of the people, this attempt at suppression of the civil liberties of the people, and he desired to address the House in a few homily words in order to make the House realise that this encroachment, however innocent it might appear on the surface, had far reaching effects and if pushed to its logical conclusion it would mean the utter denial of the rights and civil liberties of the subject.

Proceeding Mr. Bose invited attention of the House to the first clause of the Government order and he would ask the Home Minister to state before the House the difference between the programme of the official Congress and that of the so-called suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in connection

(Continued on page 17)

## BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 14)

recognized by Chiang Kai-Shek. Anyway it is reflective of a good and broad spirit in Madame Chiang Kai-Shek to recommend a volume which also has criticisms against Chiang Kai-Shek. Dr Strong gives a forceful account of the struggle in China. An account that will surprise and startle. Apparently an opposition that Japan faces is stronger than what sources in Toki had calculated. Moral factor, one learns, can assume under conditions weight of great significance. Tokio has not achieved by military means its aims, though different conquests have been made. Now an attempt is being made to try another means. Tokio is seen as concentrating on setting up a Chinese Government in Nanking, subservient to Japan, hoping this as fitted to prove aidful to realise the aim of Japan. Wang Ching Wei has been favoured as the head of such a Government. But Nanking today does not mean China. And a report of the "United Press" announced few days back:— "Wang Ching Wei has arrived in Nanking where he will have conferences with high Japanese officials. He left Shanghai for Nanking escorted by five Japanese cannon boats and surrounded by armed guards. Throughout the whole journey he did not show himself on the deck even once Chiang Kai-Shek has declined to treat with a Japanese sponsored Government. Diplomatic turns of the future and reactions of currents from outside constitute forces to be reckoned. Meanwhile the struggle goes on. The course of this struggle forms the central theme of Dr Strong's vigorously written volume. "China Fights For Freedom" is a striking account of a striking development or developments.

## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

**Determinism?**—By Jyotish Chandra Joardar, M.Sc. Published from the National Literature Emporium, 62, Bow bazar Street, by M. K. Roy. Price annas four only.

The brochure deals with the present condition of the so called doctrine of *Dependence* known as *Determinism* from the scientific point of view. The author "has represented the modern scientific results fairly accurately and impartially."

"Both in nature and in society there exists objectively (i.e. regardless of whether we wish it or not, whether we are conscious of it or not) a law of nature that is Causal in character." Science was being interpreted in terms of this cause and effect theory. The mechanistic view of considering the whole material world as a vast machine was in favour.

Modern science permits a certain margin of error. The Quantum theory, the theory of Relativity and Wave Mechanics have totally changed the entire outlook and line of approach and Indeterminism or the doctrine of the unconditioned independent will has been recognised to explain physical phenomena. We are bewildered by the strange behaviour of electrons and protons and the corpuscular and wave views of light. "The puzzling situation naturally demands the establishment of one view to the exclusion of the other; as anything to be a particle and the wave at the same time seems simply impossible, yet that is what the physical observations force upon us."

The author again refers Dirac, who told in 1930, "when an observation is made on any atomic system that has been prepared in a given way and is thus in a given state, the result will not in general be determinate, i.e., if the experiment is repeated several times under identical conditions several different results may be obtained. If the experiment is repeated a large number of times it will be found that each particular result will be obtained at a definite fraction of the total number of time, so that one can say, there is a definite probability of its being obtained any time the experiment is performed."... The author has shortly but clearly discussed all the steps which led science to "the waves of probability" and finally asks, with the same devotion of the seeker of knowledge — Is science going idealistic?...

The old science which so long nourished the materialistic philosophy becomes hostile to it with the greater depths of human knowledge. And the author rightly avers, "From the labyrinth of the physical world one fact (almost a truism) stands out clear that *Determinism* does rest on its last legs. Along with

things observable there are things which must remain for ever unobservable. And 'restless man' after a 'restless universe' is foreordained"!

In his concluding lines, Mr. Joardar thus expresses the Real Man in his eternal quest after knowledge (which was revealed to his mind during those years behind the prison-bars)—"The scientists' urge to investigate, like the faith of the devout or the inspiration of the artist, is an expression of mankind's longing for something fixed, something at rest in the universal whirl: God, Beauty, Truth."

The importance of the booklet consists in its lucid style. The reader will find it a delight to go through it. Within a very short compass the author has given us the modern scientific result in a language which is popular but bold. We commend the brochure to all appreciative readers quite unreservedly.

The price of the book is moderately cheap. The get-up and printing is quite nice.

## SOCIALISM

**Dialectical Materialism**—By V. Adoratsky. National Book Agency, 72, Harrison Road. Ten Annas.

Dialectical Materialism is the philosophy and method of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, an instrument for the study and *transformation* of everything that exists. It is the living soul of Marxism, its fundamental theoretical root, and is indispensable for the study of Nature and of Society, for the theoretical struggle and practical leadership of the proletariat in the task of changing the world. The *basic* features of dialectical materialism are that it does not tolerate the use of stereotyped and ready-made schemes but demands the profound study of concrete circumstances, the precise formulation of the process of development, as also revolutionary action. Dialectical Materialism is thus the only scientific and creative philosophy for the modern world awaiting a most thorough-going revolution.

The treatise under review comes from the pen of an eminent Marxist and has been widely appreciated. It is a scholarly and at the same time popular presentation of by no means easy an subject.

The National Book Agency has done the English-reading public in India an inestimable service by this timely reprint of the English Edition of so valuable a treatise not available in Indian market



## PROVINCIAL GOVT, BAN ON THE PRESS

### Adjournment Motion in Bengal Assembly

(Continued from page 15)

with the National Week celebrations. It was up to the Home Minister to tell the House that was the difference between the programmes of the two bodies and to satisfy the House that the programme of the latter body was contrary to law. If the programme of the latter body was contrary to law could the speaker ask the Home Minister to state to the House why he did not go the length of banning public meetings convened by the so-called suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. If the programme of the latter body was legal and the speaker assumed that it was legal because the Government had not issued any orders for the suppression of these meetings, what justification was there for suppressing the views expressed in those public assemblies. If it was illegal what on earth was the reason for not banning the meetings, assemblies and processions convened on behalf of that body.

The Home Minister who, Mr. Bose took it, was primarily responsible for the promulgation of this order, has described it as the so-called National Week. The speaker did not understand what the Home Minister meant by saying the so-called National Week. The National Week celebrations were organised both by the official Congress and by the so-called suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and if there was any difference between the programmes of these two bodies and if the programme of the latter body was considered to be illegal, then why the Government did not take courage in both hands and ban meetings, processions or assemblies convened by the latter body. If the Government had not the courage to do that, the speaker would conclude and he would ask the House and the wider public outside to conclude that there was no legal or moral justification for the promulgation of an order of this order? Meetings, processions or assemblies organised on behalf of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose or Swami Sahajananda had not been banned; thirty, forty, fifty, sixty thousand people had been attending these meetings in Calcutta and the people were allowed to listen to those speeches, listen to the invocation of their views and the

message of these leaders was wafted across the wind and the water to different parts of the province but according to the Home Minister what was good for Calcutta was not good for the rest of the province. While people in Calcutta would be allowed to be present at these meetings and listen to those speeches, people in other parts of the province would be denied the privilege of reading the reports of those speeches. What was the justification for making this differentiation between people of Calcutta and the people of the rest of the province.

#### Last Clause Of Order

Referring of the last clause in the Government order Mr. Bose remarked that the clear implication of that Clause was that the publication in newspapers of the report of the proceedings of this debate which must necessarily contain comments on the order, was to be banned. He would ask the Government what was the justification for the promulgation of an order of this nature banning reports of the proceedings of the legislature?

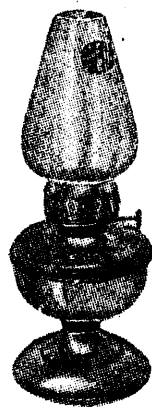
"I should have thought", proceeded Mr. Bose, that some cogent reasons would have been put forward by the Government in a press communique in justification of this order, an order which I can describe, I think, as an instance of panic on the part of the Government but I would like to tell the Government that panic on the part of the Government is not going to be followed by panic on the part of the people and if they thought

that the effect of the order would be that celebrations of the National Week will be stopped, they are much mistaken". The order was very flattering of course to the followers of Mr. Subhas Bose among whom the speaker claimed himself to be one who found that they had been singled out for this mark of favour from the Government. It was not a question of one individual here and one individual there; it was a question of the rights and liberties of the people and in the name of the rights and liberties of the people and on behalf of the Opposition he had to enter again his most emphatic protest against this order. If the Government persevered in this "mistaken and foolish" policy, the Government would soon find that the little credit that they might have earned during the last three years or more would vanish not only in the eyes of the people of this province but also in the eyes of the whole civilised world. He would like to say that the responsibility for advising the Governor to promulgate this order was entirely of the Home Minister and of his colleagues.

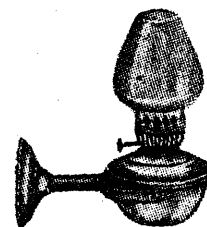
#### National Week Observance

So far as the celebrations of the National Week were concerned, the publication of report thereof might be banned but Mr. Bose might tell the Home Minister that the National Week had been celebrated by the people of this country ever since the massacre at Jalinwalabagh with almost religious fervour and it would continue to be celebrated in spite of the orders of the Bengal Government with equal, if not more, religious fervour until freedom was achieved.

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## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

### GANDHISM, NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM

To

*The Editor, Forward Bloc*

SIR,

It is a fashion with some Left politicians to confuse the Gandhian creed with that of the Nationalists' in order to label the latter as the Gandhists. These Dialecticians emphasise that the Left Nationalists do not believe in an ideology different from that of the Gandhians. By their unscrupulous criticism, they exhibit an utter ignorance of the history of the Nationalist movement in India and of the fundamentals underlying the Gandhian and the Nationalist creeds. Perhaps, they aspire to win some followers from the Leftist ranks as a result of their misleading propaganda; but they really play the Gandhian's game and help to enhance the latter's prestige. They cause a great harm to the Left movement.

Gandhism is not nationalism though it has emerged out of the exploitation of the nationalist sentiments of the politically innocent Indian masses. The creed of Gandhism attempts to change the enemy's heart with a religious ideology, while nationalism stands for applying pressure through the instrumentality of a political programme. To suggest that the latter school of thought has no philosophy of its own is an unpatriotic crime. Gandhism and Nationalism are two distinct ideologies, between which very little is common.

It can be definitely said that a large majority of those who participated in the various C. D. movement did so out of the nationalist impulse that had been created in them by the objective factors and in consequence of the labour of Lokmanya Tilak of revered memory, of a large number of the Bengal Leaders and of many other nationalists throughout the length and breadth of India. While fighting for their motherland, they resisted Gandhism. Many political workers joined the struggle without the knowledge that a creed derogatory to the principles of nationalism was sought to be imposed on the masses. Some of the eminent Indian leaders, who participated in the Civil Disobedience movement, including the late lamented Desh Bandhu C. R. Das and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, never accepted the implications underlying Gandhism. The great Desh Bandhu remained a staunch nationalist till his last day. And Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is till today a veteran leftist and is the leader of the radical nationalist and socialist forces in India.

The Civil Disobedience movements were the Gandhian experiments for the Gandhist, but they were the Nationalist campaigns so far as the Nationalist work-

ers were concerned. The Nationalists could not allow the country to be used as a theological laboratory. The consequence is that the Gandhians want to impose an increasing number of rigid conditions for their laboratory work. On the other hand, the genuine nationalist in alliance with the genuine socialists visualise the development of the Civil Disobedience movement into mass action, linking the Nationalist movement with day to day local struggles.

And this conflict between the "Gandhists" on the one side and the Nationalist-cum-Socialist alliance on the other side was inevitable. But it is most unfortunate that the Gandhists should have precipitated it so soon. For the Congress unity, it is imperative, that the Gandhians must not take undue advantage of their positions of power in the Indian National Congress. They should let this fighting organisation to function properly. They must not try to stamp the Congress with their own "ism".

From all that has been said above, it must not be informed, that the Nationalist and the Socialist creeds signify the same ideology. Socialism is decidedly something more than Nationalism. To quote from a well known book, "Socialism is the movement of the masses

against the vested interests of a selected few and is the economic philosophy of the semi-starving millions".

But in a subject nation, there can be only one type of Nationalism, and that is the Left Nationalism. It should also be recognised that there are many Left Nationalists who visualise the construction of society with the assistance of the Socialist thought in a free country. The Socialists have proved themselves to be the supporters of the Left Nationalist movement in the subject countries. This demonstrates that the Unity of the Socialists and the Left Nationalists is not in contradiction of their respective philosophies.

This is not all. The Unity of the Socialists and the Left Nationalists is possible both in the economic and the political spheres of life. This is established by the working of the Kisan Sabhas which are primarily economic institutions, and by the record of the Forward Bloc which is a political organisation. The Forward Bloc as well as the Kisan movement can claim a large number of the Socialist and the Left Nationalist adherents. And both of them have proved their effectiveness.

Dehra Dun

SHIV CHANDRA KANWAR

April 6, 1940

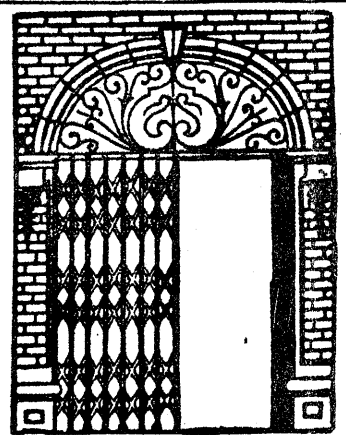
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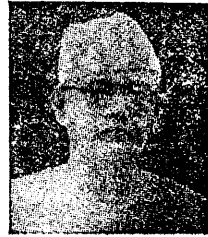
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