

Swamiji's Message

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

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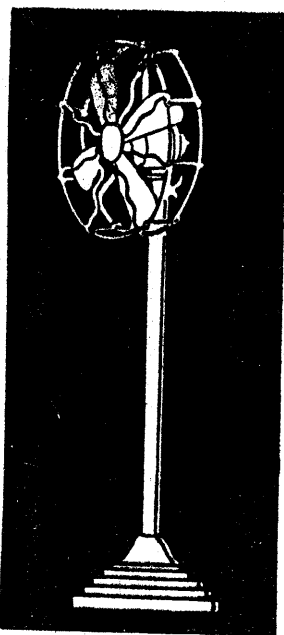
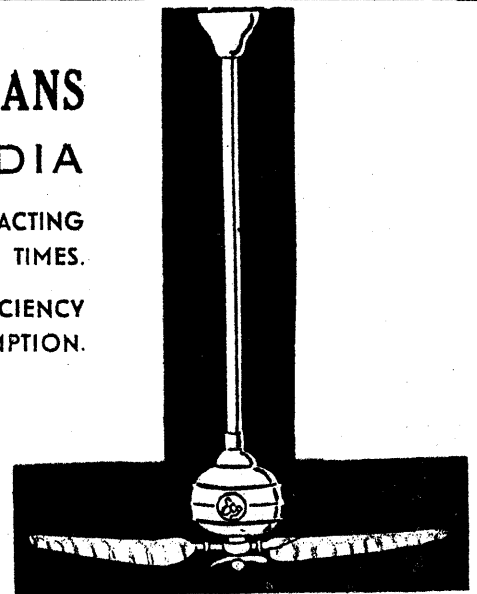
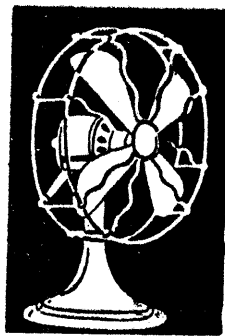


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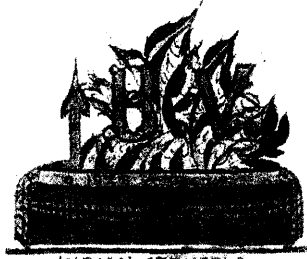
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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, APRIL 20

Swamiji's Message

The British Government, like any other Imperialist Government, are unsparing, ruthless and determined. They do not hesitate to strike whenever that is deemed necessary and they seldom respect persons. The tallest in the land have therefore to suffer when they happen to incur the wrath of the powers that be.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati is, in this land of ours, a name to conjure with. The undisputed leader of the peasant movement in India, he is today the idol of the masses and the hero of millions. It was indeed a rare fortune to get him as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh. For the Forward Bloc it was a privilege and an honour to get him as one of the foremost leaders of the Left Movement and as a friend, philosopher and guide of the Forward Bloc itself. As a matter of fact, following Swamiji's lead, a large number of front-rank leaders of the Peasant Movement have been intimately associated with the Forward Bloc.

The Sword of Democles at last fell on Swamiji and he was arrested this morning at Patna under the Defence of India Act. Yesterday he was in Calcutta and we spent long hours in conversation with him. Little did we know at the time that the warrant for his arrest was waiting for him at Patna. He left Calcutta last night and this morning at Patna he was placed in custody.

Before he left Calcutta, we issued a joint statement under

our signatures appealing for a proper observance of May Day throughout the country. That statement will be found in this issue.

On hearing of his arrest, we immediately decided to observe the 28th April as an All-India Swami Sahajanand Day for the purpose of protesting against his incarceration. We earnestly hope that that day will be observed in such a manner as to give a fitting reply to the British Government.

We congratulate Swamiji on the signal honour he has won through his arrest and incarceration. In fact, one feels like envying him for being able to force the government to take action against him.

Swamiji's arrest is to be welcomed. It will inspire millions to break the stalemate and take a plunge. One can no longer continue sitting on the fence. The time for action has come and we must act.

Swamiji has disappeared behind the bars, but he has left behind a legacy. We have to learn from him the lesson of his life—the lesson of service and sacrifice, of sound political instinct, of radicalism and dynamic socialism. He is essentially a man of action and when arrested, he appealed to his countrymen not to delay and procrastinate—but to act at once.

Swamiji's arrest is nothing less than a challenge to New India. That challenge we have now to take up. Let this British Government see and note that the country stands solidly behind him.

With the sacred resolve "Give me Liberty or give me Death," let us continue our march with redoubled vigour and renewed determination. All obstacles will then disappear and freedom will dawn on this benighted land.

Satyanand Saraswati

WHERE IT MAY END

After a fairly long spell of silence Lord Zetland opened his lips on Thursday last in the House of Lords to make a statement about the present attitude of the Government in regard to the constitutional stalemate in India. There can be no denying the fact that this announcement by the Secretary of State for India was being eagerly awaited by large sections of our countrymen who had still remained under the fond illusion that a 'settlement' was not yet beyond the pale of practical politics. To them the latest utterance of Lord Zetland must have come as a rude disappointment. Clothed in time-worn diplomatic shibboleths, the speech envisaged not the slightest departure from the traditional British policy towards India. The arguments—so called only by courtesy and convention—that have been adduced by his Lordship have been scrutinised, scathed and exploded so often that further comments on them at this stage seem hardly necessary. Suffice it to say that the speech has left matters where they had been before; nay, by coming so late it has served only to worsen them. We can leave his Lordship at that.

Looking to the other side of the picture we can quite anticipate how the Working Committee of the Congress will respond to the speech. They have waited long for a favourable gesture from the Government, which, unfortunately, has not come as yet. We are not in the confidence of the High Command. We are not privileged to be acquainted with the inner workings of their mind. It is difficult to say if hope still flickers there which is cleverly sought t

be concealed beneath a bushel of brave words. We, however, think that after the latest pronouncement from the Government side, the Congress has been tight-cornered to a position from which further pursuance of the shameful course of capitulation for a 'settlement' seems very difficult, if not well-nigh impossible. The Congress High Command have been practically hustled to a position of ever-widening non-co-operation with the Government from which some sort of a fight is only a step further. The truth of our observation is amply borne out by the resolution of the Working Committee which has called upon the Congress Committees in the country to turn themselves into Satyagraha Committees.

We may take it that as things stand at present, the High Command will have no other alternative but to start some sort of a fight, at least to keep up their face. The question that comes next is, what form will this fight take? Will it comprehend all the fighting forces in the country, organised and drilled to undertake a large non-violent offensive on the citadel of the enemy? That possibility can be ruled out at the first count. Mahatma Gandhi has said and the Working Committee resolution has reiterated that only those who will fully satisfy Gandhiji's fond fads, guised as conditions for Satyagraha, will have the unique privilege of being included in his brigade. That his contemplated struggle will not be a large mass struggle is further corroborated by the recent observation of his trusted lieutenant, Rajagopalchariar, who said that a large civil disobedience movement is something "like a wider magazine." The conclusion, therefore, becomes irresistible that

Gandhiji may launch his campaign with a handful of his trusted followers and he will see to it that it does not spread to the masses. It will be foolish to exaggerate the pressure of such a movement on the Government for whom it will not be very difficult to make a short shrift of it. In short, the whole thing will prove utterly ineffective for the purpose it will profess to have in view. As a conceivable alternative, Mahatmaji may undertake a fast, either singly or with a few of his followers. Apart from his peculiar fondness for this measure, there are precedents, the latest of which is Rajkot, to embolden him to this step. But the issue of Rajkot, or similar others, are not in any way comparable to the immeasurably bigger one relating to the attainment of Swaraj by India. It will indeed be a miracle even for the Mahatma if he can thaw the heart of the British Lion by his vow of self-immolation and persuade it to concede India's national demand. It may, at most, be moved to make one more offer, not substantially different from the present one, and the sentimental appeal that the Mahatma's supreme self-sacrifice will send forth over the whole of the country, may coax and coerce the Leftists to fall in line behind him. As a result, some sort of 'settlement' on behalf of the whole Congress may be struck up with the Government. Here is a possible contingency which may not turn out to be absolutely imaginary. We call upon all genuine Leftists in the country to think over it. Again, as the last alternative, which is yet a bare theoretical possibility, Gandhiji may start a mass struggle in a very limited area. And if in the course of it, small and stray incidents of violence occur, he may cry

halt to the whole movement as he did formerly at Chauri Chaura. What are the Leftists then to do? We present to our countrymen, specially to the Leftists, the various implications of the present situation and call on them to think out the remedy to the best of their light. We are sure under no circumstances will they agree to barter away the birthright of their nation.

CURRENT COMMENTS

Election of Aldermen

The Congress-League pact in the civic affairs of Calcutta has borne fruit and their agreed list of candidates for Aldermanship have secured an easy pass-over. The Mahasabha, in collusion with the Ad Hoc and the Europeans moved heaven and earth to reduce the Congress to impotence in the Corporation, but their efforts have deservedly failed. The Mahasabha stalwarts have now assumed a purist pose—an amusing sight indeed! It is now no longer a secret that under the cover of darkness they knocked again and again at the League gate, but to their utter disappointment it did not open. The results of voting show that they have combined with the Europeans and we wonder how it lies in their mouths to charge anybody else with straying away from principles. We maintain with all the emphasis we command that the Bengal Congress has acted quite justifiably by entering into a pact with the League *in regard to civic affairs on an agreed and equitable programme*. The fact of the matter is that a medley body is now sailing under the banner of Mahasabha in the Corporation and it is almost impossible for them to put up a united front on any important issue.

For the moment we need not anticipate how the Congress-League combination in civic matters may give rise to far-reaching developments in larger spheres of activities as well. What we are certain about is that the "augean stables" of the Corporation will now undergo a steady process of clearing.

Cultural Unity

Whenever he opens his lips, Sir. S. Radhakrishnan says something that is truly refreshing. Presiding over the All-India Cultural Unity Conference he observed, "India is neither a race nor a religion but a culture—a culture or historic tradition by which this country has kept up its continuity for four or five milleniums." Yes, it is this assimilative spirit of Indian culture that has healed strifes and cemented unity in this ancient land of ours. And there is no doubt that in restoring harmony in future among various races, interests and religions, that noble tradition of Indian culture will act as a mighty lever. But one thing, however, should not be forgotten in this connection. Culture, as Dr. Tagore has often said, is a superstructure on the base of life and where the very existence is a problem to teeming millions, cultural appeal can hardly be expected to be universally effective. In other words, economic and social adjustments must precede the cultural fusion among the conflicting interests in this country, as elsewhere. We do not know if Sir. S. Radhakrishnan in his address meant culture in this comprehensive sense. We make these comments lest he should be misunderstood. It is always right to start construction from the base and proceed to the top. The inverse order may lead to failure.

Darkening Scene

Ten months have passed since war broke out and the humanitarian phrases showered upon India by Great Britain have passed into nothingness. The scene is darkening. India Government has been blundering, descending along the stairway that leads to a dark gulf. Present policy of Government lacks foresight and readiness to act when action is most effective. Great Britain that cradled the noble tradition of individual liberty is killing it out in India. Bludgeon of Government has descended upon the heroic souls wedded to the principle of uncompromising struggle for independence. Arrest and detention of public men are indicative of Government's opposition to the movement of national liberation. In Bengal Prof. Gopal Halder while presiding over Students' Convention at Mymensingh and Prof. Hiren Mukherjea following a search were taken into custody. Is it love of democracy blooming into action? Today has brought us the news of arrest of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. To the peasants of India Swamiji is the symbol of new life and embodiment of their hopes and aspirations. Indian peasants are fighting for life. They are desperate for their life is at stake. They do not show any sign of weakness for they belong to the grand army of oppressed humanity. The turn of the wheel will send forces into the land when their action will be regarded just.

Irresponsible Utterance

In a recent speech at Madras Mr. E. F. James, a member of the Central Assembly emptied venom upon the progressive forces of the land. His speech is an expression of his pious desire to see India flourish under the aegis of the British Rule and is decked with imperialistic jokes. Mr. James finds Revolution stalking through the land and has suggested to hound out the undesirable whose exestance threatens the basis of the society. Is it the correct reading of the situation. He is obsessed and straggers at the sight of cold facts. India is witnessing the passing away of the age of injustice and the future is not

veiled in glamour but radiant with thousandfold glories. Does Mr. James dream of perpetuating British Rule on the soil of India? India hates imperialism and Nazism equally. Britain's professed love of democracy has not been translated into action. It is only a ruse to dupe the fools. Anglo-Indians are used to such rodomontades and the past nefarious activities of the European Association in Bengal are too vivid to be forgotten. Mr. James is only reviving the old method of vilifying and dividing India and inviting repression upon the people. Let him take lesson from coutemporary Indian history. India is most truly united and such tactics doomed.

Germany and Soviet Russia

A recent Kaunas telegram says that the German ambassador in Moscow asked M. Molotov to use Murmansk-Leningrad Railway for war purpose. The correspondent says that Russia refused the request saying that she desired to remain absolutely outside the northern conflict.

This decision of Soviet Russia to maintain a policy of strict neutrality in European imbroglio, though not new, is very significant in view of the possible developments of the conflict. It is clear that so long the war does not engulf the whole of Scandinavia, the Soviet Union will keep out of it by all means. Norway is not so much dangerous to the security of Soviet Russia, as Sweden is. Sweden has not yet declared herself a belligerent, and Germany warned her not to render any help, directly or indirectly, to the Allies. But it still remains to be seen how far and how long can Germany afford to keep Sweden in a quiet state, and it may be stated with an amount of certainty that if Germany is hand-pressed by the Allies, she would not hesitate to invade Sweden. In that case, the Soviet Union cannot remain unconcerned, and it is likely that the history of Poland will be repeated in Scandinavia. The Soviet Union may halt the Nazi advance, and it will be her duty then to guard neutrality of the poor little Baltic States.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajanand have issued the following statement:—

After the lapse of a year we are again approaching the first of May. This day is a memorable one in world history and it serves as an annual beacon-light in the path of those who are struggling to break the chains of economic slavery. India today is engaged in a struggle for the attainment of political independence without which the economic emancipation of our vast millions cannot be achieved. It is the duty of every Indian to contribute his humble mite to this sacred cause. If freedom is the birth-right of every man and therefore of every Indian, he certainly has his part to play in winning it. Apart from this general duty which devolves on every Indian, a special duty devolves on those who suffer from privation and want and live in a state of

chronic starvation. For the hungry, starving, dumb millions of India, the only hope of salvation lies in the attainment of Purna Swaraj. Only when Swaraj is won, can economic servitude be ended and unemployment finally liquidated.

This year, the first of May will have a special significance owing to the struggle that is going on now. On this year's May Day we want to rally in as many places possible throughout the length and breadth of India, as many lovers of freedom as possible. The first of May, being an International Workers' Day, the workers should of course assemble in their millions to participate in meetings, processions, demonstrations and the like. It will be primarily their Day. But along with them should come Kisans, the tillers of

our soil, and also all genuine anti-imperialists in the country. They should come with the slogan of "freedom and bread" on their lips and they should resolve once again to give their all for the sake of achieving the political and economic emancipation of their country. In the meetings to be held on May Day, effigies of Imperialism, Dominion Status, Compromise, Capitalism and Landlordism may be burnt.

Let us observe May Day this year in such a manner as to draw further inspiration for the task we have undertaken and to bring about the further intensification of our struggle. The first of May 1940 should be made a significant landmark in our march towards national liberation.

PROF. GOPAL HALDER ARRESTED

Mymensingh April, 15.

As a sequel to the District Students' Convention held yesterday afternoon, Sj. Gopal Chandra Halder, President, Sj. Anil Sankar Majumdar, Organising Secretary of the District Students Federation and Sj. Pratap Chandra Chakravarty, member of the Executive Committee of the Federation were arrested in the evening for disobeying the District Magistrate's order by holding the convention without the previous permission of the authorities.

All the arrested persons were later released on bail.

RESIDENCE OF PROF. HIREN MUKHERJEE SEARCHED

Literature Seized

The Calcutta residence of Prof. Hirendranath Mukherji, Barrister-at-Law was raided by the police in the early hours of Thursday morning. The police made a search in course of which some literature was seized. Mr. Mukherjee was taken to S. B. Office.

BURMA ARRESTS

Alleged Members of unlawful Assembly

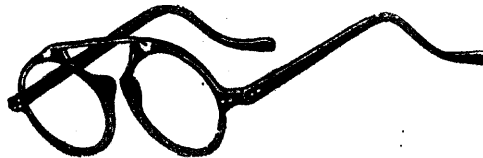
Rangoon, April 16.

33 members of the Dobama Association including 19 women, have been arrested by the Police in Myaungmya on charge of being members of an unlawful assembly. It is stated that they had inter-d with the work of the cultivators,

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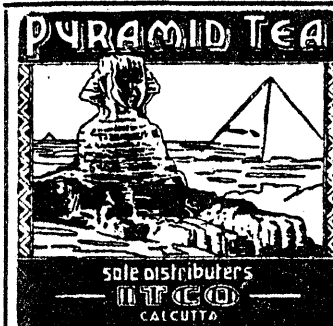
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By Ranganathan

ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR

Probably Gandhiji, when he started the anti-untouchability movement, did not offend the Sanatanists more than I might do the Khaddarites now by this article. But the movement for the anti-untouchability is waxing. And where are the Sanatanists now? A clear analysis of the economics of Khaddar will reveal the fallacies that have been so far obscured by the blind enthusiasm of conservative India for anything and everything atavistic.

Let us briefly examine the causes that led to the birth of the Khadi movement. India of the twenties was a huge consumer of the cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain. To be more exact, over 60 crores worth of goods used to be imported. This naturally maintained a good chunk of Britain's population in employment and in fair comfort. Not only did this cause a corresponding unemployment and discomfort in India but perpetuated her political and economic dependence on Britain. Gandhiji, a shrewd thinker, thought that a boycott of British goods in general and cotton goods in particular and a simultaneous establishment of the same industries at home would not only relieve unemployment and poverty but would bring the British Government down to its knees by the starvation of Manchester and Liverpool. And the millennium would be at hand; and India would be freed over-night. Alas! things could not be arranged to order; and India has yet to gain her freedom.

Mr. Gandhi, besides, liked to kill two birds at a shot. Not only did he want freedom for India, but wanted to eliminate all the evils consequent to the employment of machinery in industry. The simple remedy for the latter, he thought, was the total elimination of machinery and a throw-back to hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

This process of atavism, if successful, has got its advantages. The Congress during the past decade or more has tried hard to replace machinery in cotton industry by Charkhas and hand-looms. Needless to mention that the process is anything but complete.

These primitive implements are so inefficient that they can hardly maintain the worker himself. Therefore, there is very little chance of any capitalist making enormous profits out of Khadi industry. That is, the result as a whole leaves everybody concerned poor and nobody rich. In this fashion, Gandhiji wanted an equal distribution of wealth and work, and the prevention of all the evils of capitalism.

The production of Khadi, as per Mr. Gandhi's plan, is not a whole-time job for a man. The Indian peasant is unemployed for more than six months in the year. Such a waste of human and solar energy! Therefore, instead of allowing the devil into his brain, put a Charakha into his hands and give him cotton to spin. After the yarn is ready let him, with the co-operation of his family, dye and weave it into suitable fabrics. Self-sufficiency being a great virtue according to the Mahatma, the peasant may even tailor his own clothes. And, of course, the surplus can be sold to the patriots clamouring for Khadi. What a simple and sweet picture: but roses have thorns.

It is lucky India has not universally adopted the scheme. For, if it had, the clock would have been put back to the pre-machine age with the consequent prospect of being under-out and under-sold and finally being driven out of the cotton market by the factory-owners. This is exactly what happened to the hand-spinning and hand-weaving industries in India soon after England mechanised her cotton industry. The cheaper cotton goods from Manchester and Liverpool swept out the Indian market of home-made and hand-made cotton fabrics. To mention a single instance, by 1763—only three years after the Industrial Revolution—more than 75% of the cotton workers of the flourishing town of Dacca had to throw up their jobs and fall back on agriculture. Similarly the rest of industrial India followed suit. In the period 1814-1914 while imports of cotton goods increased from Rs. ½ lakh to Rs. 66'30 crores, the exports remained practically stationary at Rs. 90

lakhs. Well, Gandhiji is going to make industrial history repeat itself.

The production of Khaddar being only a part-time job, and the peasant being his own spinner, weaver, dyer and tailor, in addition to being an agriculturist, the degree of efficiency, if any, is awefully low. Consequently, compared to the quality and quantity of production per head in a specialised modern cotton mill, the quality and quantity of Khaddar production is very low. But the labour and time spent on Khadi being disproportionately more than what is usual, the price of it has got to be high. In spite of this high price for Khadi and in spite of the over-work the peasant is forced to do, the wages of the Khadi-worker works out to be less than that of the mill-worker. It must also be realised that the Khadi-worker, however skilled, can never produce fabrics comparable to the best produced by the machine. And if it does, it is only fit to take a place in the collections of a connoisseur; but can never be made cheap enough for general consumption. Also, at a given price the mill cloth is, yard to yard, cheaper, more durable and finer in quality than Khadi. It must be clearly understood that the human factor being there always, the quality, quantity or the price of Khadi cannot be improved beyond the limit. And that limit is not good enough. On the other hand, time is always in favour of the machine. The accompanying tables will bear out the above facts clearly.

TABLE 1.

Mill Cloth.

Serial No.	Kind of cloth	weight per yard	cost of selling per yard	cost per lb.
1.	Shirting	7½ tolas	0 3 0	1 0 0
2.	Coating	12½ tolas	0 6 0	1 3 3
3.	Dhoti	15 tolas	0 4 0	0 10 8
4.	Saree	7 tolas	0 4 0	1 6 10

Khadi Cloth.

1.	Shirting	12 tolas	0 6 0	1 4 0
2.	Coating	20 tolas	0 11 6	1 7 0
3.	Dhoti	11½ tolas	0 9 '9	2 2 0
4.	Saree	10 tolas	0 9 9	2 7 0

TABLE 2.

Serial No.	Kind of Cloth	production per day of 8 hours	wages per day
1.	Shirting	45 yards	0 13 0
2.	Coating	60 yards	0 10 0 to 0 12 0
3.	Dhoti	20 yards to 22 yards	0 10 0 to 0 12 0
4.	Saree	24 yards	0 3 6 per Saree.

Khadi Cloth.

Shirting	7 yards	0 11 3 per yard or 0 8 9 per day no helper
2. Coating	8 to 10 yards	0 1 0 per (no helper) yard or 0 8 0 to 0 10 0 per day
3. Dhoti	4 to 6 yards	0 2 6 per (with helper) yard or 0 15 0 per day
4. Saree	4 to 6½ yards	0 2 3 per (with helper) yard or 0 14 0 per day

TABLE 3.

Comparative productions and wages of spinners.

Count of yarn.	Production per day of 9 hours.	Wages per day.
14s	100 lbs.	Ra. 0 7 0
20s	90 lbs.	"
30s	60 lbs.	"
40s	50 lbs.	"
(Ginning and carding are paid separately)		
Khaddar.		
20s	1/3 lbs.	0 2 3
30s	1/8 lbs.	0 5 0
(Ginning and carding are not paid separately.)		

The factors of low quality, quantity and heavy price of Khadi are the main causes of its unpopularity. The purchase of Khaddar is beyond the reach of the average person. Nor does it satisfy the exacting demands in quality of the rich who are used to the fine products of the machine. Therefore the poor and the unpatriotic rich who form an overwhelming majority of the Indian population, refuse to patronise Khadi. The very small minority (the politically conscious rich) sacrifice money and fineness in their enthusiasm for Khadi. We may also put a fair question to the advocates of atavism. When we are asked to patronise Khaddar, it is not for a day or a month or a year that we have to put up with its deficiencies, but for good and all. Is that fair? The Khaddarite might argue "Yes, for the sake of your country." In reply I must say that Khadi is a crudity: and we know it. Khadi is uneconomic and atavistic. And in the march of nations India must take her place in the forefront and not stay behind as a stick-in-the-mud. Khadi is a drag and a dead-wig. Therefore discard it.

So far the production and consumption of Khadi, in spite of the coaxings and oercions of the Congress, have been very

insignificant—so insignificant that Khadi does not find a place in "The India Year Book" along with other industrial products. All the same, the practice of atavism even on such a minute scale does not leave the economic world unscathed.

The Khaddar-producing peasant ekes out his agricultural income with a supply of cloth for his family and the income derived by selling the surplus to Khaddar fans. Apparently, this must result in enriching the peasant and making everybody happy all round. Looking more closely as a flaw in the picture: and an ugly one at that.

Apart from the romantic Khadi-producer who is an amateur at the cotton industry, there are professional spinners, weavers and dyers. The latter are employed either in mills or in semi-mechanised factories. It is these people and their professions that are hit by the Khadi movement. They are deprived of the custom of both the peasant and those that patronise his Khaddar. The result is obvious. As atavism progresses, the professionals correspondingly get thrown out of employment. They cannot live on air. Somehow or other they go back to land. Overpressure on agriculture and a fall in the general standard of living is the result. And that is not the whole story. The peasant who has been dabbling at Khadi finds that if he drudges the whole day without sparing elbow-grease, he can hardly make a living and that it is more convenient to go in for mill cloth. He has, in addition, to struggle with a very vacillating market. For the patriotic rich are so few and have got their moods. The peasant, therefore, throws up his side job and falls back entirely on his land. These conclusions are borne out fully by the Census Report of 1921.

The number living on cultivation is increasing at a rapid rate. Profits of artisan goods have been diminished owing to the growing competition of machine-made goods, both local (very little) and foreign (mainly), with the result that these classes show a growing tendency to abandon their traditional occupations in favour of agriculture.

Census.	Proportion of population dependent on agriculture.
1819	61%
1901	66%
1911	72%
1921	73%

"The report records a decrease in the number of textile workers in the last ten years by 61%, despite the extension of textile manufacture in India. This can be attributed to the supplantation of hand-spinning by machine of foreign and local factories."

As opposed to this the following percentages indicate the proportion of population employed in agriculture in the more progressive countries:

Country.	Year.	P.C. of population dependent on agriculture
England & Wales	1921	7.1
U.S.A.	1930	22.0
France.	1926	38.3
Japan.	1930	50.3

And the following figures indicate the enormous decrease in the average holding in the space of about 125 years.

Investigations of H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Bombay. A village in Poona.

Year.	Average holding.
1771	40 acres.
1818	17½ "
1840	14 "
1915	7 "

Undoubtedly the average holding has been still further decreased since 1915.

It is, therefore, obvious that any progressive scheme for India must try and draw away a big slice of the rural population and tack it on to industries which must be created for the purpose. And atavism can never achieve this. It must also be asserted here that "back-to-the-villages" policy is the most disastrous, sentimental and short-sighted.

The Congress and certain Indian States are running Khadi-centres where production is carried on on a professional scale. The cotton mills at home and abroad are slowly but surely killing Khadi. The centres at Sabarmati and in Andhra have been publishing letters about huge unsold stocks of Khadi and the unemployment threatening the Khadi-workers. And there is no reason to hope that the situation will improve.

Let me recount briefly the primary causes for the failure of Khadi. While there is only a feeble, patriotic demand for Khadi, there is a powerful economic demand for the mill products. Khaddarites might propose a levy of high tariffs on the foreign goods. But, by this, Khadi has nothing to gain. For, the Indian mills will make capital out of it and stifle the Khadi movement all the more easily.

Atavism on a limited scale or if confined to a limited number of industries is always doomed to fail. For, other major industries like iron, jute and sugar being mechanised and being in the hands of capitalists, surplus money accumulates in private hands. And this capital will always be looking out for fresh unexploited fields for investment. If the cotton industry is still struggling in the handi-

(Continued on page 10)

By S. Upadhyay

SWEDEN

Germany has preyed upon the smaller countries of North and life and liberty of Denmark and Norway are stolen away and Sweden is awaiting the evening of its days. The spell of cold had led to the cessation of activities on the warfront and the world anxiously waited to finish off the dirty job. Diplomats were racing over the continent and each day brought news of settlement. And behind the seeming calmness was banked up the wrath of the German dictator who was busy fashioning the shape of things to come. Behaviour of the small countries, though wedded to neutrality had incensed the German dictator. He was only waiting to strike them for he needed the iron ores of Norway and Sweden and command over some strategic points. Though rocked in security, the smaller countries were found gripped by the fear of German invasion and the Soviet Premier had the earnest of it but the capitalist press scouted it down. And now our attention is switched off to the lonely corner of North where war is raging. Britain has rushed to the aid of the smaller countries and Mr. Churchill's speech has left Great Britain dazzled and the allies are buoyed up with the hope of ultimate victory in the present engagement.

Until recent times smaller countries of North have enjoyed democracy in form and content different from the western countries. The Swedish Government is run by Labourites or popularly called Social Democrats whose methods and ideal are identical with the Second Internationalists. Instead of cultivating the feeling of amity with the Soviet Union Sweden had breathed hot threats at Soviet Russia. And this feeling of antagonism springs from the basic difference of principles. The story of the Second International is long and behind it stalks opportunism. During the last war the Labourites trading on socialism and pacifism ranged themselves on the side of jingoes and banded themselves into a reactionary body whose activities fall into the catalogue of sterility. Since the formation of the Third International the Labourites or Social Democrats have reduced themselves to the status of social reformers and have

advertised their abhorrence of the Soviet system. The social Democrats do not believe in the efficacy of revolution and prefer evolution to revolution.

The Swedish Democrats have pursued a policy of social and economic reform. In its early days the Social Democrat Party could hardly command majority in the Parliament and an alliance with the Farmers had to be effected. Politically the Farmers were not advanced and their demand for raising the standard of living of the peasantry after the world slump could not be realised independent of the aid of others. The Social Democrats offered to materialise the demands of workers and peasants and the alliance was based on it. In the election of 1936 the Social Democrats polled 50.5 per cent of the total votes and next to them stand the Farmers. Present Government is a coalition of Social Democrats and Farmers. In 1937 the coalition Government succeeded in placing the First Chamber on the same electoral basis with the Second.

In order to maintain the social equilibrium the Social Democrats have introduced some measures of economic relief. During the last few years they have doubled the taxation on unearned income and increased the taxation on earned income by 25 per cent on the poor and by 50 per cent on the rich. This is said to have improved the general economic condition and money is spent upon nation-building services. Sweden boasts of 40 hour week and temporary solution of unemployment. The Swedish Trade Union has a total membership of 900000 workers and is manned by the people who subscribe to the theory of class collaboration. 'The present Government', writes Sir. E. D. Simon, 'while not pressing the traditional Socialist aim of nationalization of the means of productions is beginning to talk of an alternative form of socialism: "socialization of consumption"; the idea behind this phrase being that only by Government control extended into many varied fields will it be possible to give the whole of the people the opportunity of consuming what they need for national fitness, using the word "consumption" in the broadest

sense to include not only food and clothing and housing, but also health and education and other social services'.

Mining has been from time immemorial the leading industry of Sweden, which was the biggest producer of iron in Europe until the use of coal for the manufacture of pig-iron revolutionised that industry. There were raised in 1934, 5253058 tons of iron ore. The pig iron produced amounted, in 1933 to 323073 tons and in 1934 to 524781 tons. Of iron ore, in 1934, 6870134 tons, and of pig-iron 72324 tons were exported. And in 1935 the total export of Sweden to Great Britain and Ireland, and Germany amounted to the value of 324981 and 183093 thousand kronors. Of late there has been an increased demand for the iron ore of Sweden since both England and Germany need it to speed up the armament preparations. And a leading Swedish iron trust expressed its inability to meet the increasing demand of England. This angered Great Britain. And Sweden had to explore new areas and increased the rate of supply to the United Kingdom while Germany asked Sweden to equip its navy to continue the supply in the event of the war extending to the Baltic areas. Events are changing rapidly and let us watch the fate of Sweden.

MESSRS. DHAR BROTHERS No Truth In Rumour Of Transfer of Undertaking

Of late there has been a very strong rumour in the city that the firm of Messrs. Dhar Brothers of 82, Harrison Road, the renowned stationers, perfumers and fountainpen dealers has been purchased by some Marwari and is being run under the same style with the previous proprietors as employees.

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ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR

(Continued from page 8)

craft stage, the capital will immediately flow into this to busy itself in mechanising it. Khadi will undoubtedly lose in the end. Encouragement of Khaddar will therefore only lead to encouragement to private capitalism with consequent unemployment, over-pressure on agriculture, reduction of the standard of living, and worst of all, the postponement of the formation of a strong proletariat which is essential for political emancipation.

Gandhiji and his supporters might, if they had the power, prohibit the mechanisation of every industry that could be carried on as a handicraft. And all this of course, to prevent the evils of machinery and for the ultimate achievement of freedom for India. In their enthusiasm for Khadi they seem to ignore totally the enormous advantages derived by the use of machinery. I, for one, can not appreciate any sense in discarding comforts, conveniences and leisure, and in adopting penitential hardships without purpose.

If the Khaddarites really believe that freedom could be secured by the production of Khadi, let me tell them plainly that they are only trying to dig an ocean with their hands.

In support of the anti-ativistic policy I may here quote Sir M. Visvesvaraya. "The comparative output of work per person in the various countries of the world is estimated as follows" :

China	1
British India	1½
Japan	3½
Great Britain	18
U. S. A.	30

"The differences in output arise from the liberal use of machinery and artificial motive power for production and other activities by the more progressive nations. India occupies a place practically at the bottom of the list because she continues to carry on all her field, farm and factory work by manual labour."

As for the alleged evils resulting from the mechanisation of industries, it must be admitted that it is not the fault of the razor if it is used for cutting throats instead of for shaving. Unemployment, ill-health, poverty etc. are entirely due to the vicious nature and unchecked avarice of private capitalists. The remedy, therefore, lies in the elimination of private capitalism, but not of machinery. I remember, some time ago even Gandhiji asked for an improved form of Charaka which is also a machine. That is, he is only beginning from the bottom.

Therefore, a fearless adoption of an anti-ativistic policy and of complete mechanisation in all fields possible, combined with an economic system of equitable distribution of wealth and work will result in more leisure and opportunity for all, elimination of poverty and disease and improved chances for the evolution of a material, cultural and spiritual civilisation.

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By JACK CHEN

CHINESE NATIONAL DEFENCE LITERATURE

It is now clear to every honest observer that the immediate aim of the present rulers of Japan, is the seizure *in toto* of as much Chinese territory as possible with its raw materials, labour, power and markets. The whole China is marked out as the legitimate "sphere of influence" of Japanese imperialism. The satisfaction of this ambition demands that China's power of resistance be utterly crushed. The Chinese Government must be destroyed or made amenable to the will of the conqueror; its armies must be annihilated, all popular organizations must be put under rigid control.

The organization of the present invasion led to the suppression of all democratic, liberal, or radical manifestations in Japan. So much the more necessary is it to destroy the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity in the country marked down for colonial enslavement. Hence the determined attempt of the Japanese invaders to stamp out all manifestations of modern democratic culture in China, and to substitute the "ersatz" of the "Kingly Way" leading to the feudal concept of Mikadorian Divinity.

The barbarous destruction of culture in Manchuria and in Japanese-occupied cities in other parts of China has shown Chinese cultural workers what they must expect from these "defenders of Western civilization in the Far East." In subjected cities, they do not burn prohibited books. They burn the readers.

Chinese culture has been forced to retreat from hitherto important centres such as Shanghai, Nanking, Aangchow, Peiping, Tientsin, and Canton, but this does not mean that the cultural values represented by the educational, theatrical, literary, and other artistic activities of these places have been given up. China's culture, like its armies, has made strategic retreats from untenable positions, in preparation for a counter-attack. The tempo of cultural development in China has actually quickened.

Some may wonder at my use of military terms to describe the latest development in Chinese art and literature, but the horrible reality of fascist totalitarian invasion has convinced every Chinese artist that those who want freedom of artistic creation must first struggle for a free China, that the fascist cry of "War against Art!" must be answered by the cry of "Art against War."

How successful has the invader been in this attack on culture? Quite a considerable amount of artistic loot has been carried away from the museums and house of Peiping and Nanking, but the biggest loss has been through the systematic destruction and looting of universities and libraries. The destruction of the Commercial Press library, most important in China, the ravaging of Nankai and

Nanking University, the turning of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music into barracks, are but a few of these acts of vandalism. The loss of Shanghai, which was the biggest printing centre in China, was a severe blow to the technical basis of literature. This loss has been almost completely repaired, though the quality of printing has been lowered. In the evacuation of Hankow and Canton the printing trade took their presses with them. This has seriously affected advanced research as a result of the disruption of university work. It has put a virtual stop to fine printing, and monumental art works such as novels have become rarer, but it has actually resulted in a quickening of activity in mass education, the spread of literacy and the popular forms of art and artistic expression. All in all, I am inclined to believe that China has almost made good the wilful damage to culture caused by the invasion though in another form. But a tremendous effort will have to be made in the essential task of reconstruction of universities.

The unity of all cultures, the interdependence of art and society has for millennia been a recognized concept in Chinese social philosophy. It has been distorted during periods of Imperial decadence and even in the first years of the Republic it was overshadowed by the temporary importation of the Western idea of "l'art pour l'art." The democratic revolution, however, and the exigencies of war have again brought this concept to the fore. The artist and writer once again recognize the close connection between the development of art and the "social demand," between art and the development of the state. Thus one is not surprised in China to-day if an article on literature begins with a dissertation on military strategy and art. Similarly Mao Tun, who with Ting Ling and Pa Chin forms the leading triumvirate of Chinese literature, began an interview on the latest trends in literature with a description of the work of the painters, dramatists, and musicians. He stressed the fact that literature was but one facet of the new cultural renaissance and that a healthy literature could only develop as a stimulating and stimulated element of general artistic activity.

He regarded as a particularly favourable circumstance the spread of culture in the form of newspapers, wall newspapers, posters, exhibitions, mass education, singing, and theatricals. Indeed it is this aspect of art development that is the most significant. It is an earnest of the democratic and realistic art revival of the whole of the East. All these forms of art carry the basic ideas of the defence of democracy and the revolution to every part of the country. Songs of liberty are more popular in China to-day

than the most frenziedly sensational "hit" in England or America. Travelling from Canton to North China I heard the "March of the Volunteers" sung at least once, and often several times, a day and in a dozen dialects.

The national strategic plan of defence has led to the great Westward migration of Chinese industry, population, and culture presaging incalculable results. This and the ideologic unity of a democratic and realistic culture spreading through all strata of the people are the most important developments in modern Chinese culture and life, that go to offset the terrible losses of war.

Modern Chinese writers had organized a united front of literature for democratic revolution and national defence even before the Manchurian invasion in 1931. It is a memorial to the leadership of Lu Hsun, the reactionary forces in China were almost without representatives in the literary arena, and at the crucial moment of the invasion not one writer deserted the national front. In the first two months of conflict there was an intensification of literary activity, particularly as regards the organization of literary propaganda brigades. The new unity between the Government and the writers was symbolized by the return of Kuo Mo-jo from Japan, where he had lived in exile as one of the most vigorous of the writers of the democratic Left, to a post as director of Art Section of the Military Propaganda Service.

The loss of Shanghai caused a temporary disorganization of work. The leading literary magazines, *Wen Shueh* (Literature) *Chung Liao* (Mid-stream), *Wen Kung* (Literary Anthology), and the *I Wen* (Translation Monthly), were forced to suspend publication and jointly issued a weekly *Feng Ho* (Signal Fire), whose circulation grew to 20,000 when it began to appear in Canton. Mao Tun and Pa Chin took over the editorship, while another literary weekly was opened in Hankow, the *Chui Sib*.

New centres of literary life started also in Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi Province, and Chungking and Chengtu, in Szechuan.

Kweilin publishes the *Chuang Shi I Shueh* (War time Arts) with contributions by the artists and writers employed by the Political (Propaganda) Department of the Kwangsi Army. Chengtu publishes the *Ching Chien* (Golden Arrow), a general literary magazine by local writers. Chungking is rapidly becoming the cultural centre of China's Far West. Many universities have removed there and, as the capital of the Government, it is naturally the habitat of many intellectuals most of whom, however, are of the older school. Thus the *Kung Tso* (Work

bears a distinctly conservative character with articles and translations of an academic rather than a popular interest. *The Tceung Tung Wen I* (Eastern Szechuan Literary Supplement) and the *Wen I Ho Feng* (Literary Rear), organ of the younger progressives, are two more new magazines of this formerly backward province that up to a few years ago was considerably more famous for its warlords, opium racket, and innumerable taxes than for its literary attainments.

All literary activity has, of course, been stamped out among the ashes of Shanghai, but even to-day the mildly realistic (and therefore mildly anti-Japanese) magazines manage to continue their existence in what is left of the International Settlement. These are the *Wen I* (Literature) that is largely made up of reprints from other journals, and the *Wen I Shi Chao* (New Tide in Literature), a fortnightly.

Modern poetry has more than held its own against the invasion. Even in the days immediately preceding the evacuation of Shanghai a new poetry magazine appeared, the *Chung Kuo Shih Tang* (Chinese Poesy) with a 3,000 circulation. Following the evacuation this reappeared in Canton as the *Shih Tao* (Current Song) with a slightly increased circulation. Other magazines appeared but were short-lived. The ambitious 5,000 subscribed edition of the *Wu Yueh* (May) with 150 pages lasted one number; this however was an important event since it contained the first Chinese translation to Pushkin's *Gypsies* rendered by Chu Chu-pei, former education Commissar of the Kiangsi Soviet Government, who met with an untimely death in 1939.

It is probably a direct expression of the tremendous spiritual regeneration of China that at this time there is an increased interest in poetic expression and song. Canton, for example, was producing more poetry than any other city just before it was abandoned and destroyed before falling into the hands of the Japanese. At the same time Hankow and Kunming had their own poetry organs, the *Shih Shih Ti* (Poetic Age) and *Chang Ho* (War Songs) respectively.

Three new genres of poetry have emerged. First, poems for declamation by the poet himself or for elocutionists, that are particularly designed for the mass meeting. Secondly, Street Poems or Poems of the Market-place. These are usually folklore style, always simple in form and rhythm, and are posted on street walls, or wall-newspapers. These are widespread in Yen-an, centre of the North-West Special Region, and the popular doggerels of Vladimir Mayakovsky and Demyan Bedny offer a direct parallel in Soviet Russia at a similar stage of mass literary interest. The third new genre is a reincarnation of an ancient form—the folklore epic. One of the most famous of these is the *North-West Partisans*, written by a folklore minstrel of the famous Eighth Route Army. No less

than five epics celebrate the "Battle of Pingsinkwan and, recited to drum or orchestra accompaniment, one or the other version with many extempore interpolations is an indispensable part of every popular concert.

It is naturally not surprising that comparatively little lyric or sentimental poetry is being published nowadays.

Magazines of the democratic Left had long and consistently striven for a unity of tolerance in literary circles. It was an important day when the Kuomintang magazines, particularly the official literary monthly *Wen Erh Kan*, edited by Wang Ping-lin, opened its pages to all writers, irrespectively of party affiliations who supported national unity and defence, and for the first time printed the stories and commentaries of Pa Chin and Mao Tun.

The writers have founded the Society for Mass Literature. This has issued over 300 pamphlets in simplified characters with editions ranging up to 100,000, at a few cents a piece. The *Latin-hua* (Chinese in an alphabetic script of 28 letters) continues to spread, particularly in the Special North-West Region (former Soviet areas). This is not regarded as rival for the old characters. It is conceived as a substitute for the old characters till they are mastered by the student with the aid of the latinized phonetics. Thus the writers lay the basis of literature—literacy.

The dominant theme of present-day literature is, of course, the national defence. To the creative artist in China, national defence is synonymous with the defence of culture itself and the intellectual and spiritual freedom without which a progressive culture is as a plant without light. Do not let it be thought for a moment that this is literary jingoism. The Chinese writer to-day lives and fights with the armies, the partisans; he is a pioneer of new hinterland cultural centres: he is educating thousands of villages on the tours of the propaganda corps. He calls for the defence of this new freedom of contact with the masses of the people, this revolutionary spiritual regeneration that he seeks to express and spread by his work. He calls for the defence of the most powerful upsurge of creative vitality that has stirred the millions of China during the last three hundred years.

It is also important that the oft-repeated phrase of "anti-Japanese literature" should not be misunderstood. In no sense is this propaganda directed against the Japanese people. It is directed solely against the bestialities of Japanese militarism that are as repugnant to the Japanese people themselves (when they realize it) and to their true interests as they are to the Chinese. The Chinese attitude to Sino-Japanese problems is not negative as this phrase implies, but positive and creative. It is generally understood that peace can only be brought to the Far East (and to the word for that matter) if it is based on equality and co-operation

between nations and not on force and coercion. Chinese defence literature is dedicated to national and international democracy. Such a steadfast adherence to these ideals and a rejection of jingoistic anti-Japanese feeling as a basis of patriotic propaganda, is a measure of the political sanity of China after two years of war.

The most characteristic genre in modern writing is the reportage sketch. The short story—in which China has already made notable contributions—holds its own however. This reportage (of which incidentally Miss Agnes Smedley's recent book, *China Strikes Back*, is a typical example) has been stimulated by the newspaper demand for vivid material from the various fronts. In order to systematize the covering of all important fronts the writers have themselves organized a Literary Correspondence centre (in Changsha), maintaining direct contact with 300 writers and volunteer correspondents in different parts of the country. The Yen-an (Special Region) branch of the Federation recently sent five writers on a reportage tour of all important areas where the Eighth Route Army was operating; the reports of this brigade covering key points in five provinces supposedly "occupied" by the Japanese were later printed in dozens of papers. In describing their journey, in a captured Japanese truck running on Japanese gasoline, to within fifty miles of Peiping they showed the mythical nature of the occupation, its real character as a glorified bandit raid.

Such are the general trends in present day writing in China and if the writers have risen ably to the demands of the times, it is largely due to the four writers who have carried on the leadership of Lu Hsun.

Ting Ling, in the North, leads the literary movement of the Special Region, with I Se-chi, a young Marxist philosopher as Chairman of the Yen-an Cultural Society. She herself avers that she has produced little work of permanent artistic merit during the last year, but I am inclined to think that she under-estimates the value of the spade-work she has done in the cultural reconstruction of the North. She has led her North-West Front Service Corps through 400 villages of Shani and Shensi, taught hundreds of thousands of people the basic ideals of the revolution, and written thousands of words of effective plays, sketches, ballads, and reportage. She is editor-in-chief of the great collective *History of the Long March*, the epic march of the Red Army that is unparalleled in modern times. Kuo Mojo is the guiding spirit of the cultural life of Central China, as head of all official art propaganda. In the South, Pa Chin and Mao Tun have made their jointly edited *Literary Front* the most important literary periodical in China, with its circulation of 16,000, and yet find time to carry on their writing of novels. The title of Mao Tun's latest work is *Quo Vadis?*—(With acknowledgements to *Life and Letters Today*).

SWAMI SAHAJANAND ARRESTED

SJ. SUBHAS BOSE'S APPEAL FOR ALL-INDIA PROTEST DAY

Patna Apl. 19.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, General Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha, was arrested early this morning at the Provincial Forward Bloc Office at Dariapur, Patna, under the Defence of India Act for alleged anti-war speeches delivered recently. He was taken to Bihar Sharif, a sub-divisional town in Patna district. He will be produced before the S. D. O., Bihar Sharif to-day.

It is now learnt that the arrest was made in connection with a speech which he delivered in Bihar Sharif.

TIME IS RIPE FOR ACTION SWAMI SAHAJANAND'S STATEMENT

Patna, Apl. 19

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati issued the following statement immediately after his arrest:—

"I am going to jail and am satisfied that I have done what lay in my power. The ball has been set rolling and I hope those who have got a feeling for the cause of the country and the poor, and also a mind and will to do or die, are now expected to take up the cause and do their best. I am confident the time is ripe for action and a golden opportunity has presented itself to us. We shall commit the greatest mistake if we even now mark time and vacillate. Everyone of us is, expected to do his bit. Let not future historians pass adverse judgment regarding us that in the nick of time we were weighed and found waiting."

Protest Against Swamiji's Incarceration

The British Government have struck again and have struck hard. The victim this time is no less a person than Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, the undisputed leader of the Kisan Movement in this country. We cannot take this offensive lying down. I therefore appeal to the public throughout the country to assemble in their millions and hold meetings and demonstrations on Sunday the 28th April 1940, for protesting against Swamiji's incarceration. I request the Kisan Sabha, Forward Bloc, and other Leftist organisations to organise these meetings and demonstrations in a proper and adequate manner so that the All-India Day may be a complete success.

April 20, 1940

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Kisan's Attitude To Arrest Of Swami Sahajanand

The following statement has been issued by the Presidium and Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha:

The arrest of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, General Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha, does not come as a surprise to the Kisan workers in the country. That the Kisan and Kisan Sabha are marked out for the imperialist onslaught is clear to all. The first to fall its victim was the President-elect of the Palasa session, Mahapandit Rahul Sankritayana. Close on his heels followed Prof. Ranga to jail refusing to yield to the decree of inaction that was to be forced on him by the Madras Government. To crown it all now goes Swamiji, the most dynamic personality in the Kisan movement, and the General Secretary of the Sabha.

We need hardly raise our voice in protest. Our protest should be marked by the vigorous pushing of our programme that Swamiji helped to draw up at Palasa last month. The arrest by hundreds of the peasants at Jalpaiguri has not daunted our workers, the removal of the leaders would fail equally to crush the spirit of the Kisan. Swamiji from inside the jail will prove as potent a factor for the fight outside.



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By "Critic"

ART AND NATIONAL LIFE

That gifted exponent of Indian dancing, Uday Shanker, has given the formal start to his Art Centre. The site for its location has been a quite appropriate choice. Just at the foot of the majestic Himalayas where Nature has revealed herself in sublime beauty—Almora has been selected to accommodate the Centre that seeks to organise, foster and develop Indian dancing to its acme of perfection. Uday Shankar has toured the principal cities for picking up suitable artistes for the institution which starts with a noble promise. There is no denying the fact that there has of late been a genuine revival of art in all its branches in our country and it is no doubt gratifying to find that noted Indian artistes are carrying home numerous laurels from far-off lands. Uday Shankar has chosen to strike the iron while it is hot. All honour to him.

But there are certain very broad facts which we can hardly afford to blink. Poet Tagore has often said that artistic creation, whether individual or national, springs out of a surplus of energy—the energy that is not consumed in meeting the imperious demands of mere living. The application of this theory of art, which is closely dependent on the satisfaction of economic needs, leads one invariably to the conclusion that India at present cannot be expected to be much art-enamoured. There cannot be an overflow of life when it is at an appallingly low ebb. Besides, art in its present stand-offishness from life, cannot find a congenial soil where poverty and squalor are too extensively rampant. The masses of the country are scarcely in a mood to regard art as anything but a superfluity in national economy. They are in no mood to enthuse over subtle aestheticism whose glamorous appeal leaves them utterly cold. In their bitterness they are even prone to damn all art-shows as delicate pranks of jaded aristocracy. Nor could they be conscious that art fulfils a very deep want in life and as such should not be dismissed as a mere enervating luxury.

This attitude is undoubtedly tainted with desperation and is not, therefore,

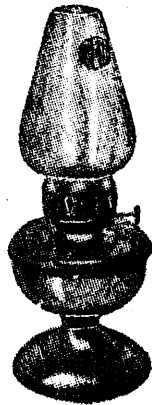
normal or sober. But at the back of its frenzied gloom there is a modicum of truth which should be realised by all who are sincerely interested in the artistic regeneration in our country. Of course, people *enmasse* can never be creators of art; those that are dowered with the aesthetic sensitiveness that can forge beautiful shapes from the furnace of imagination, are always few in number. But the common people can certainly cultivate their powers of response to the art that truly mirrors their inner souls and it is a gross misnomer to call that national art which does not draw its sustenance from the contemporary springs of national life. Electric stimulation and plutocratic benevolence may for a time sustain it but like a hot-house plant it will ultimately wither and die.

If Uday Shankar has been reported aright, his newly-formed Art Centre will aim at the revival of the ancient system of Indian dancing and will seek to carry it to its highest pinnacle of development. But what India needs sorely at the

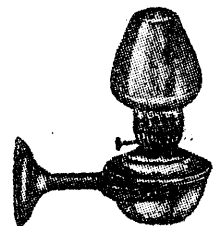
present moment is not a mere revival but a thorough re-creation of its art. The so-called Ajanta dance or the Manipuri dance suffers from an extra dose of spirituality—the outcome of a certain escapist attitude towards life which hardly fits in with the abject impoverishment of the Indian nation today. One who finds that the earth has been slipping away fast from under his feet, cannot be stirred to his depths by the call of the blue above. This stern fact has to be reckoned with by those who seek to remould the artistic life of modern India. The task that faces the Indian artist today is to evolve a new rhythm—a melancholy rhythm, no doubt—out of the disjointed and trodden life of the nation. Spirituality will come as the crest of the structure but the base has got to be laid on solid earth. The dismal song which will be the real echo of the national soul, should not discourage anybody. For has not the poet sung,

If Winter comes
Can Spring be far behind?

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BY S. BISWAS

EUROPEAN FEDERATION

The present world is torn asunder with warfare. The European civilization is on the verge of ruin. Therefore, the great statesmen of Europe are thinking of a compromise among the different States of the continent. The age-long quarrel among the different States of Europe is for political supremacy that leads to the world domination and the exploitation of the conquered peoples. It is needless to say that the present world conflagration is a fight between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots".

In order to save Europe from a total annihilation the master-minds of Europe are thinking of a solution. They are dreaming, so to say, that there will be the United States of Europe and how?

A mere glance at the past history of Europe evinces that Europe thrice got the opportunity of being united. The first time was after the fall of Napoleon. The Holy Alliance was created but to no purpose. The second time was in 1848 when the nations of Europe rose against absolutism. Here the chance came from the wonderful genius of Mazzini, but that also failed. The failure was mainly due to Napoleon III who could have become the leader of the movement for Italian liberty, but he preferred to align himself with reaction in that country. After the Great War in 1919 Britain got a great opportunity to unite Europe. The European statesmen could have united Europe, had they then wished it. That great chance was lost, for they did not want to achieve that end. And the future seeds of discord were sown in the Treaty of Versailles.

The menace of German hegemony over the continent has moulded British opinion that her fate is linked, for life and death, with the fate of the continent. If Britain failed to take the moral lead of Europe, Germany would certainly avail herself of the chance of shaping Europe according to her will. It would not only mean a Europe directed against Great Britain, but also the end of so-called European democracy.

The future of Europe is being decided by Great Britain, for the latter is a great European Power and her

frontier is on the Rhine. Great Britain was totally responsible for the frustration of Briand's efforts in past years for a union of Europe. Then Great Britain did not want the continent to unite. So the enterprise of Britain failed. Now for the first time Britain has come to realise the gravity of the situation.

Britain today is obliged to stick to Europe, for history forces her to do so as the result of a new technical development. The invention of the aeroplane is of the same significance to Great Britain, as was the invention of the cannon to Venice. Also the supremacy of the British navy has been challenged due to aerial warfare.

Now the question comes, how to unite Europe? Is it impossible to unite so many States with different languages, different traditions, into a federation? The answer to this question is Switzerland. She has solved the thousand and one problems which confront Europe today. In Switzerland the different religions and different traditions have found their due place. There is a number of States which in the interior are nearly independent.

What are the common elements of European unity? There are two very clear programmes for European union. The first one is the German programme. It is the programme of Europe under German hegemony. Many Germans aspire after uniting Europe first by creating a *Little Europe*, a federation of Germany and the little States of Central and Eastern Europe, a federation in which Germany would play the same part as Prussia did in the German federation of Bismarck. Britain and France would be compelled to join the German union of Europe after the consolidation of Germany in middle Europe. The second one is the Bolshevisation of Europe. The thinkers of Europe are of opinion that the Western democracies have the common civilization save and except Russia which is not only more a part of Asia than Europe, but had little share in that tradition of Western Christendom, or in the liberal constitutional conception which would be the very essence of the future Europe. It will be difficult for Russia to be more

than a mere neighbour. Moreover, the Yugoslavs and the Italians have their own Royal houses. They will undoubtedly object to such a federation.

So much about European federation. It is a truism that there can be no European Federation, if the statesmen of Europe fail to broaden their vision. Europe is not apart from the world. Due to modern inventions, time and distance have been greatly annihilated. We have come closer to one another, economically more than politically. We have been united by one common economic bond. Even the remotest corner of the earth is not immune from the economic crisis through which the world is passing. Capitalism which is inextricably associated with imperialism, has outgrown its purpose. The death-knell of both capitalism and imperialism will be sounded in no time. What is the use of plunging the world in a welter of blood? War cannot be averted if a few States of the Western Europe unite together. The equal distribution of raw materials is essential for the peace and happiness of mankind. There can be no peace on earth unless and until the coloured peoples of the other parts of the world are set free. Freedom should be given to India, Africa and other dependent colonies. Europe could not and should not thrive simply by exploiting the subject nations. European federation is sheer moonshine. The world problems could not be solved in terms of Europe. But the world problems should be solved in terms of the world. Europe is thinking of a federation, because if the Europeans fight with one another, they will be weakened automatically by internecine warfare. The subject nations of the world will get a chance for revolution and will throw off the foreign yoke. Also the menace of the Yellow peril in the Far East is puzzling to Europe. Therefore, the European statesmen are thinking of a compromise so that the Octopus-grip of European imperialism will be more tightened than before over the coloured peoples of the world.

This European federation will be a complete failure. Neither the European problems nor the world problems will be solved. A new world order is essential for the betterment of humanity. Socialism is the panacea for all social evils such as widespread misery, poverty and degradation. The days of bellicose patriotism should go and jingoism should be sacrificed at the altar of internationalism.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

—Reviewed By A. C. N. NAMBIAR (Paris)

Hitler Et Moi. By Otto Strasser. (Grassert : Paris. 21 fr).

Hitler's War & Eastern Europe. By Philips Price. (Allen and Unwin : London. 5sh).

The rise of Adolph Hitler to power in Germany is one of the most remarkable events of the present period. The process of this rise has been surprising and its consequences immense and striking. And many of its consequences are yet to come. They will add, in ways, to the immensity and strikingness.

It has been customary to attribute the rise of Hitlerism to the Treaty of Versailles. This has followed a short-sighted and incomprehensive reading of history. Certain terms in the Treaty of Versailles, no doubt, aided the growth of the Nazi movement, Nazi leaders displaying great skill and vigour in exploiting them. One would do well, however, to remember two factors : Wilhelm the Second, set out on an aggressive course when Germany had none of the limitations associated with the Treaty of Versailles and Hitlerism assumed the turn of quick growth exactly when the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles that caused keenest protests, had greatly dropped. Hitlerism in reality is a continuation of a process arrested. It represents a reviving of the pan-German movement. A movement having as its aim the creation of a German hegemony in Europe, based on military strength and with it securing of a dominant position internationally. Certain checks that German economy felt internationally and apart from the Treaty of Versailles, stood as more potential factors behind an urge of the pan-German movement in binding with a German social structure. This structure lagged behind the French with the profound change caused by the great French Revolution. The basis on which German industry developed and German economy rested, sustained the Reichswehr as a military caste, and some of the limitations that German economy experienced in this background with a basic weakness of world market, strengthened German aspirations to get along an aggressive

path, the Reichswehr supplying a drive to such a policy.

Hitler's rise represents really the entry of pan-Germanism on a new phase. He gained a bigger basis for it by the adoption of socialism. A sense of depression that followed the ending of the last war, the impress of a world-wide economic crisis, and hopes and fears that surged widely, hopes for a new order assuring better equity and stability, and fears of some blows falling to long-accustomed benefits, all lend weight in different ways to a platform adopted by Hitler. He got the hearing of dissatisfied and confused middle class. He drew from broad sections disorganized in mind by weakness and wrangles of socialist groups. He secured the support of dominant circles that saw in him an instrument of pan-Germanism. The story of Hitler's rise and development in such a stage is the theme of Otto Strasser's new book "Hitler Et Moi" (Hitler and I). It is an arresting account, amazing and amusing and in ways instructive and informative to understand the war of today and to form perspectives in relation. It deals with a start that Hitler obtained owing to a mingling of currents, the drift of Hitler against the federal concept involving certain essential changes in German economy and with a necessary regard to the idea of nationalism or self-determination of peoples, the entry of Hitler or Hitlerism in the camp of Prussian militarism, the way this was extended, and the results of all these.

Otto Strasser came to know Hitler first in 1920. He is a brother of Gregor Strasser who was killed in the "purge" of June 1934. In the years following 1923 Otto Strasser was closely connected with the National Socialist Party. In 1930 he broke definitely with Hitler. He then organized an opposition movement under the name "Black Front". Strasser dissociated himself definitely from Hitler as a protest against the latter's abandonment of the path for creation of a federal Europe, merge with Prussian militarism, and adoption of a programme of pan-Germanism, with development of a system

of German hegemony. After the coming to office of Hitler in Germany, Strasser had to leave the country. Since 1930 he has kept an active campaign against Hitlerism, as long as it was possible from German itself, and after 1933, he has been directing it in varied ways from different centres abroad. He is still at it, vigorous and optimistic.

The new volume of Strasser, that has been proving a "best seller", contains good deal of information of prime importance for the understanding of Hitler system. There is no mistaking a first-hand knowledge of Strasser about various matters treated. There are interesting accounts of several Nazi apostles like Goebbels, Goering, Hess, Streicher, Himmler and others, besides a lengthier one of Hitler, instructive reports of discussions with Hitler, and thrilling descriptions of chases kept up by the Gestappo. There are reviews of Hitler's opinions about a number of international issues, including also the Indian one. Hitler is reported expressing in the course of one of his conversations with Strasser the sense of shock about the idea of India gaining self-determination. The volume as well throws much light on the under-currents that favoured the coming to power of Hitler and in this connection also on the role, singular role, of that extraordinary person, Franz Von Papen, at present German Ambassador in Ankara. Just one typical incident. It happened during the eventful week that saw Hitler assuming power in Germany. General Von Schleicher was still the Chancellor. Papen calls at the Chancellery.

"Is it true" demanded the Chancellor, General von Schleicher, to his old friend von Papen, "is it true, that you are conspiring against me with Hitler" ?

"It is false" replied Von Papen.

"Franz, think well, can you give me the word of honour ?"

"I give you my word of honour" replied solemnly, the Captain of Hussards Von Papen.

"Schleicher, dumb with indignation, opened his attache case and threw on the

table a photograph showing Hitler, von Papen and Schroeder at conversation before the mansion of the financier".

"Papen tried to advance an explanation, but von Schleicher cut him short".

"It is enough, I know with whom I have to do".

It was at the house of the Cologne banker Baron Von Schroeder that Papen agreed to influence the aged Hindenburg in favour of Hitler's Chancellorship and before Schleicher could develop his plans, Hitler was enabled to form his Government with Franz Von Papen as Vice-Chancellor.

Once in office, Hitler proceeded to move rapidly in working out his plans for promoting an aggressive course. In building up a position, Nazi Germany, one is told, turned to give particular attention to two factors: terror and propaganda. Nazi Germany has been able to carry forward propaganda in quarters even along the line of overshadowing greater or veritable dangers by playing upon feelings engendered by nearer irritations. Thus the Slovaks who held good scope for development in the Czechoslovak State, were worked up against Prague. And today the Slovaks are under a rigid domination of Germany. No doubt, an under-estimate of a position and a reserve or hesitation to timely advances to Slovaks on the part of Czechs, also contributed to what has happened. The illustration has a wider significance as a circumstance proving of aid to Nazi propaganda.

Strasser views that Hitler greatly hoped on being able to effect an understanding with Britain. In furtherance of such an idea, Hitler projected the picture of England staying the great Sea Power and Germany developing as the great Land Power over Europe. This is of course in conformity with opinions expressed in Hitler's own book "Mein Kampf." According to Strasser, Hitler extended greatest concentration on causing a drift between England and France and also keen care to developing a drive against Russia. A change in attitude, that is, turning to further an active stand against both the big Western Powers, it would appear, was adopted much later, though Rauschnig in his much-commented book "Hitler Speaks" suggests Hitler holding idea in the direction greatly earlier than generally reckoned. The

Czech historian Hubert Rypka in his book "Munich: Before and After" inclines to think the idea having gained definiteness with Hitler towards the end of 1938. The occupation of Prague, he says, followed this change. Even then, Hitler did not abandon the idea of reaching an understanding with Britain. In entering on the Polish campaign Hitler remained hopeful about resistance from West not developing actively. Many of his reports from outside have not stood him in good stead. Some, very typical of this, are stated by Strasser. In the concluding chapter, Otto Strasser indicates Hitler having taken up a game difficult and dangerous with great handicaps and asserts confidence about the basis for establishment of a new and different order emerging out of the struggle.

Philip Price has a detailed and direct knowledge of Eastern Europe. And one based on study and experience of a long period. In the book "Germany in Transition" written by him several years back, he had already projected the possibility of the collapse of the Social-Democratic—controlled Weimar Republic. His latest book is devoted to an examination of broad and fundamental circumstances that have introduced new currents,

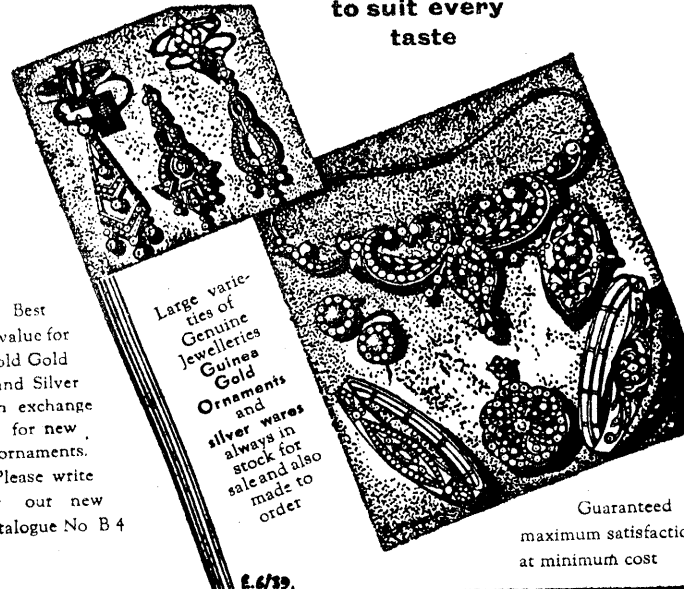
not only in Germany, but also in other parts of Eastern Europe in the period after the war of 1914. Indeed he goes to a much earlier period in tracing the growth of some of the currents that have gained an ascendancy at present. Price examines a position represented by Soviet Union, indicates a parallelism and opposition of it to Germany and discusses attitudes suggested by this, in meeting a German challenge. He does not overlook the possibility of the struggle that has evolved proving hard, and stresses the need of careful approach and resoluteness mixed with development of capacity to draw well on progressive forces to master it. Price pictures the idea of a Danubian federation as all-essential base for a new order, commencing at least with low tariff wall, with the implication, of course, of Germany being led to give up the idea of "lebensraum" that is "vital space" as now advanced. For this to retain stability, he says, it will have to be combined with a wider system of international arrangement. His book, a thoughtful one, with its historic background, is helpful to follow the present situation and take an intelligent interest in developments ahead.

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DEFENCE ACT ARRESTS

TRESPASS INTO GOVT. BUILDINGS. CHARGE AGAINST 'SATYAGRAHIS' 21 Volunteers Convicted

(From our special Correspondent)

Allahabad, April 12.

Twenty-one persons, arrested since April 7, in connection with the Forward Bloc civil disobedience here were tried this afternoon in the District Jail by Mr. D. G. P. Anthony, city magistrate, and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment each on the charge of criminal trespass, and some also on the charge of being members of an unlawful assembly.

N. K. Mukerji, Maruti Ramchandra, Bishambhar Dayal, Jamuna Prosad and Bijoy Kumar *alias* Kailash Nath, were prosecuted under secs. 143 and 447 I. P. C., for being members, on April 7, of an unlawful Assembly, which had as its common object, criminal intent of trespassing into the kotwali and taking possession of that Government building and hoisting the Congress flag thereon. The accused pleaded guilty and admitted that such was their purpose and intent. They were, accordingly, found guilty and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and three months' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of criminal trespass, the two sentences to run concurrently.

Ram Singh and Bhagwati were prosecuted under sec. 447 I. P. C. (criminal trespass) because they, on April 8, criminally trespassed into the precincts of the kotwali for the purpose of taking possession of that Government building and hoisting the Congress flag thereon. These accused also admitted the charge and were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment.

Eleven accused, Hazari Singh, Jagdish Narain *alias* Onkar Nath, Ramchandra, Buddhu, Piarelal, Motilal, Munnial, Ajodhia, Chandi Ram, Kandhailal and Nanhelal, were prosecuted for being members of an unlawful assembly, on April 9, with the common object of criminally trespassing into the district jail precincts and taking possession of

that Government building, they having been arrested as soon as they had entered the jail compound. All the accused pleaded guilty and were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment on each of the two charges, the two sentences to run concurrently.

Lachmi Narain, Bhai Lal and Kashi were prosecuted on the charge of criminal trespass for entering this morning, into the premises of the Allahabad High Court, which was in possession of the Registrar of the High Court.

Mr. Mahmudul Hasan, station officer of the cantonment police station, was examined, and his evidence showed that when the accused had entered into the High Court compound, the Registrar asked them to leave the premises as their presence there was causing annoyance to the High Court Judges, engaged in their daily work. Thereupon some of the crowd, which had entered, left the premises but the three accused refused to do so and were, therefore, arrested.

Lachmi Narain and Bhai Lal pleaded guilty to the charge, whilst Kashi did not. Kashi said that he had been called only to blow the bugle and had no knowledge of their intention to take possession of the High Court. He added that he was arrested when he was leaving. He however, produced no defence and, the magistrate observed, the evidence of the station officer of cantonment police station clearly showed that the accused in question did not go with the rest but stayed on with the other two accused. The offence of criminal trespass was thus proved. The magistrate, accordingly, convicted them also and sentenced each of them to three months' rigorous imprisonment. The bugle and other articles recovered, were ordered to be destroyed.

DEFENCE ACT PRISONER

Reported Fasting At Madura Jail

Madras, 15th April.

A message received from Madura says that Mr. P. V. Raghavan, a Congressman of Tellicherry, who was recently sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Act, has gone on hunger-strike since the past few days protesting against his treatment in jail.

His condition is reported to be causing anxiety.

The District Magistrate in course of an interview says that despite the considerate treatment by the jail authorities, Raghavan has resorted to hunger-strike and he is being dealt with according to Jail Rules.

Dacca Arrest Under Defence Act

Dacca, 15th April.

Kalipada Banerjee of Bajrajogini in Vikrampur was arrested to-day at Dacca under Section 129 (A) of the Defence of India Act and sent to the Dacca Central Jail. The total number of arrests in this district under this Act now comes up to 9.

DEFENCE ACT CASE

Poona City Forward Bloc Member Sentenced

Poona, 15th April.

The Additional City Magistrate sentenced to-day Mr. V. M. Bhuskute, of the Maharashtra Forward Bloc to one year's rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, in default six months' further imprisonment under Section 38 (5) of the Defence of India Act. Mr. Bhuskute was arrested on the 6th instant after addressing a meeting. He pleaded guilty to the charge.

SJ. ASHUTOSH MAITY

Comilla Forward Bloc Member Convicted

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Comilla, 16th April.

Sj. Ashutosh Maity, a prominent member of the Forward Bloc, was convicted under section 38 of Clause 5 of the Defence of India Rules and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment yesterday by Mr. Narul Haque, Dy. Magistrate for, delivering an anti-war speech on the 12th April last at a public meeting held at the local Town Hall. He was placed in B Class. He did not defend.

(Continued on page 19)

Gandhiji's Strange Advice To Prof. Ranga

SWAMI SAHAJANAND'S PROTEST

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Patna, Apl. 15.

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati has issued the following statement:

In the latest issue of 'Harijan' Gandhiji advises Comrade N. G. Ranga to confess to the authorities his mistake in disobeying the internment order served on him, thus get himself released, proceed to his village forthwith, confine himself there, do constructive work and in this way earn the privilege of joining the Civil Disobedience brigade. He goes on further and opines that by not complying with that order he has harmed the cause by setting a bad example to those who look up to him for guidance and done no good to himself or anybody.

This advice is most amazing and shocking indeed. Perhaps Gandhiji knows well or at least he should know that the shameless and stupid order against Prof. Ranga sought to place him, an M. L. A. (Central), in a no better position than that of one belonging to a criminal tribe and it was a complete negation of civil liberties. The order required 'Rangaji' not only to confine himself to his village, but also to deliver no speech and report his movements periodically to the District Collector.

In the circumstances, was there any other alternative left to any self-respecting man, let alone a man of his reputation and position, but to treat that order with the contempt it deserved? Could any question of a disgraceful discipline arise here and stand in his way of doing it? Does Gandhiji mean to form his much-talked of Satyagraha brigade of such shameless and utterly-devoid-of-self-respect people? If so, surely happy are those who do not join in it.

MR. LAL BAHADUR SINGH

Benares Forward Bloc Member Arrested

Mr Lal Bahadur Singh, of Forward Bloc, has been arrested to-day. His house has also been searched.

PROSCRIBED BOOKS

2,000 Copies Recovered From Forward Bloc Leader

About 2,000 copies of a proscribed book are reported to have been recovered from the residence of a local Forward Bloc leader after a search made by the

What About J. P. N. ?

But was not Comrade Jaiprakash too, under internal discipline when he preached openly and repeatedly against the Defence Ordinance? And how is it then that instead of advising him to apologise to the Government and thus get his release to join that Satyagraha brigade, Gandhiji wrote that he had got his reward and that his imprisonment was engaging his (Gandhiji) serious attention? Why and how this differentiation? And by tendering such advice to Rangaji, does Gandhiji mean that in the name of this terrible internal discipline even the most humiliating order under the Defence Ordinance must meekly be submitted to and no propaganda against our participating in the war should be carried on? If it is so, certainly it is an excellent commentary on the Ramgarh resolution and let those who are boasting of this resolution think seriously over it.

In the end, let me assure Gandhiji and those of his way of thinking that by refusing disdainfully to abide by the order, Comrade Ranga showed the only way open to any honourable man and thus instead of harming the cause and setting a bad example, he did quite the contrary and the entire Kisan India and the Kisan Sabha is now proud of him and his action. It is but meet and proper that after getting the resolution on 'National struggle and war' passed at the 5th session of the All-India Kisan Sabha at Palasa just on the heels of the Anti-Compromise success at Ramgarh, Prof. Ranga should give the proper lead in the matter as the accredited leader of the Kisan Sabha and he has done so not by word but by deed.

Alambagh police this morning. No arrests were made.

Ban on Labour Leader

Md. Musa Khan of Bengal Labour Association, 170, Harrison Road, Calcutta, has been served with a notice by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Barrackpore, under the Defence of India Act, directing him to desist from activities calculated to incite the labouring classes of the sub-division of Barrackpore.

DEFENCE ACT ARRESTS

(Continued from page 18)

Dacca, Apl. 14.

Two prominent members of the Dacca Forward Bloc, Mr. Birendranath Ghosh and Mr. Madhusudan Bhattacharjee of Munshiganj were arrested to-day under the Defence of India Act.

MR. NARASHINGHA RAO Internment Order For Madras Labour Worker

Madras, Apl. 12.

Mr. K. L. Narashimha Rao, Organising Secretary, M. S. M. Railway Labour Union and Editor, 'Karmika Bulletin,' was served with an internment order by the Madras Government directing him not to leave the limits of Karlapalem, Guntur District.

SJ. JYOTISH JOARDAR Secretary Of Dist. 'Forward Bloc' Arrested

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Mymensingh, Apl. 13.

Information has been received that Sj. Jyotish Chandra Joarder, Secretary of the District Forward Bloc, has been arrested on train at Gouripur Railway Station this morning. The cause of his arrest is not yet known. He was coming to Mymensingh from Netrakona.

MYSORE LEADER

Arrested Under India Defence Act

Mysore, Apl. 12.

Mr. Tagadur Ramachandra Rao, a prominent Congress leader in Mysore has been arrested by the local Police under the Defence of India Rules for a speech delivered by him, at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Mysore District Congress Committee in connection with National Week.

MR. R. G. KARHADKAR Sholapur Labour Leader Bailed Out

Sholapur, Apl. 14.

Labour leader, Mr. R. G. Karhadkar, arrested at Barai under the Defence of India Act, pleaded not guilty to the charge of making a speech calculated to hamper efficient prosecution of the war and creating obstruction to the defence of the country, before the sub-divisional Magistrate of Sholapur.

The Magistrate released Mr. Karhadkar on furnishing a personal security in Rs. 1000 and a bail of Rs. 1000.

Further hearing of the case has been fixed for to-morrow.

MR. K. SRIRAMURTHI Another Forward Bloc Member Arrested

Madras, Apl. 14.

Mr. K. Sriramurthi, a member of the Forward Bloc was arrested under the Defence Act and has been taken to Ongole.



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. Indigenous 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, Lal Mohan, and
 Phanindramohan Mukhopadhyay Chakravarty }

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

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