

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor : SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE



VOL I. No. 42

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1940

ONE ANNA

An advertisement for Everest Eng. Co. featuring a black and white photograph of a baby crying in a room with a ceiling fan. The text "How Sweet" is written in a cursive font above the baby. To the right of the baby, the text "FOR EFFICIENCY COMFORT & ECONOMY" is written in a bold, sans-serif font. At the bottom, the Everest Eng. Co. logo is visible, which consists of a stylized 'E' and 'C' intertwined within a circle. The text "EVEREST ENG. CO." is written in a bold, sans-serif font at the bottom of the advertisement. The background of the advertisement is dark with wavy lines at the top and bottom.

FORWARD BLOC offices are provided with . . .

ECO FANS

MADE IN BENGAL

• • •

How Sweet

FOR EFFICIENCY COMFORT & ECONOMY

EVEREST ENG. CO.

E-2 AURORA

TROPICAL.

In the wake of the two great movements that swept over the country in the early twenties of this century TROPICAL INSURANCE CO, LTD., was founded by Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari, and although the hands of Providence snatched them one after another the Company has not lost its ideals and is now under the guidance of DESHAGAURAB SJ. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, WHO IS THE CHAIRMAN OF ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

TROPICAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Branch Office : P. 6 MISSION ROW EXTENSION,
CALCUTTA.

NATH BANK LTD.

Head Office :—CALCUTTA.

Phone : Cal. 3253 (3 lines)

7½% dividend for the year 1939.

Paid up Capital as on the 30th April, 1940, exceeds Rs 9,00,000/-.

OFFICES.

Calcutta Circle	Bengal Circle	Assam Circle	Bihar Circle.
Calcutta	Dacca	Gauhati	Patna
Shambazar	Mymensingh	Shillong	Jamshedpur
Harrison Road	Chittagong	Dhubri	Sakchi
Bhowanipore	Noakhali	Tejpur	Chaibasa
Ballygunge	Chaumuhani	Nowgong	
Howrah	Baksirhat		

North India Circle :—Cawnpore, Lucknow, Delhi & New Delhi.

Mr. K. N. Dalal, Managing Director.

PYRAMID TEA



SOLE DISTRIBUTERS
ITCO
CALCUTTA

Superfine Darjeeling Blend

PYRAMID TEA

Only As -/12/- Per lb.

IMPERIAL TEA



74-1, CLIVE ST. CAL.

SIPRA

VEGETABLE TOILET SOAP



Pleases the most fastidious taste with a wealth of lather and fragrance, purity of ingredients and rare emolliating properties.

HARMLESS TO

TENDEREST SKIN

BENGAL CHEMICAL

Calcutta : : Bombay



FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, MAY 25

Hour of Trial

The War in Europe rages with that terrible ferocity which puts all calculations to shame. Amien and Arras return to memory again after 1914 and the Somme is again the line on which the fortunes of thousands of men are staked. While the fields of Flanders are again watered with human blood, the German troops have entered Boulogne. Abbeville fell to them and the French Channel coast is likely to see them, pounding the busy little towns to dust as they enter or retire. Fortune may not favour the Belgian and French Channel puts the same way as she did in the last war. As we have stated it repeatedly that Germany more than ever thinks that only a direct blow on England, the heart of the British Empire, would settle the issues. The present operations, therefore, are full of mighty consequences for the Germans. "They are throwing into the battle all their reserves of mechanized material. The operations in Northern France and Belgium are believed to comprise the first part of Hitler's plan....The second phase of the plan would be a direct attack against Britain."

"A decisive struggle is now upon us", declared King George VI broadcasting an Empire Day message, which speaks plainly in "this hour of trial." At home, the British Parliament in course of two hours presented the person and property of the British men and women to the state. Thus must Churchill's anti-socialistic mission save itself by this device of war-time socialism. The 'fifth column' is being hounded out. Mosley and his compatriots are under arrest. And Sir Strafford Cripps may be sent to Moscow to negotiate for a trade pact. Ireland, it is feared, may serve as the landing ground of the invading parachutists from across the channel while the English towns and cities are certainly, inspite of

the barricades of coastal artillery, anti-aircraft guns, and the British 'Fighter', in danger of the German 'bombers' raining havoc on them. It is easier to dislocate the life of an industrialised people with heavy bombing than that of the scattered rural population of a less economically developed nation. Britain, as a bombing objective, is an alluring, and as Hitler conceives it, decisive proposition. The vast Empire will be of little help and less consolation to the Britisher at home, when the smoking ruins and dying faces will bring consternation into their homeless hearts. The Empire itself will be a burden in the face of this *Blitzkrieg*—far-flung as the Empire is, and, incapable of offering the resources so quickly as the situation demands. On the contrary, it will detain the forces that usually Britain could count on. Thus, in the Far East — at Singapore, the British Far Eastern naval units must wait for any developments in the Dutch East Indies and Hongkong and Australia, in the Mediterranean, the great Mediterranean fleet cannot stir out of the sea when Gibraltar of British women and children, has to be evacuated and Rome is openly avowing herself to be more hostile than friendly to Britain. "Defeat", reminds the King of Britain, "will not mean some brief eclipse from which we shall emerge with our strength renewed", and "it is no mere territorial conquest our enemies are seeking. It is the overthrow, complete and final, of this Empire".

The overthrow, complete and final,—how incredibly the words sound as they come from the lips of our Emperor. Many in India can hardly believe that England can be defeated. Yet Englishmen, in spite of their will to victory, cannot ward off that thought from their mind. The hour of trial for the British Empire, we should know, is doubly an hour of trial for India, as we warned when the war began. The Empire of course is not ours. No, it is not. The proud and patriotic Englishmen have not failed to remind us of this fact. "There is a word which our enemies use against us—Imperialism," said the Emperor, on the Empire Day, the day that itself supported the

enemy's contention. The enemy may be an aspirant for the very same thing, a share in the spoils of peoples; but the truth of it for the reason is not disproved. Britain has an Empire, and, her Imperialism has killed many a people materially and spiritually. So much so, that when the Empire is in danger, these unmanned people cannot even realise that fact nor dare realise their chance for a better, healthier and manly existence. Let us face realities. We are doubly on our trial—and we are failing in it. If we are too weak to realise our freedom, we may be left to our fate any day by the masters who may be forced to leave us free. Our leaders are overwhelmed, it appears, at the very prospect. They would want the Empire to last and India to be free! So, slavish persiflages reign. Cliches dominate the thought. But effete chivalry cannot deceive the world or remove the canker of the soul of which it is the symptom.

The Communal Problem

It is but a truism that for a nation in bondage freedom is the greatest necessity and all other considerations must be subordinate to it. While a foreign power still holds the reins, it is not only a grave folly but positive crime to wrangle among ourselves, for in our differences that power will seek to entrench itself and continue its domination. This ought to be the normal consciousness among us—all sections of Indians—but at the present hour its need is felt to be all the more imperative. In view of the deadly grapple in which Britain is engaged today, it will not be possible for her to retain the imperial sceptre in her close grip for long and the disintegration of the empire seems but imminent. What we require today is to stand together with our national demand, press for and if need be, enforce its acceptance, and once freedom is won, to devise means to preserve it from all external aggression.

In this view of the situation we have started by saying that the question of Indian unity has today come to the fore and in this crucial hour it does not behove us to treat

it lightly or shilly-shally with it lest the cause on which we have staked our all is lost by our indecision or obstinacy. For the present we leave other aspects of the problem of unity and concentrate ourselves on the communal issue. We believe—and we have never concealed it—that it is the presence of a foreign ruling power in our midst that has complicated the communal problem beyond measure and made it so baffling to us. Some of our Muslim brethren deny it outright and dismiss it as a figment of imagination. To them we want to pose a few questions. It is true that the Muslims came here as conquering hordes but unlike Scythians and Huns and others, they settled in this land and made it their home. For centuries they have lived here side by side with the Hindus and other communities, ruled empires, broadened and enriched Indian culture by their distinctive gifts and at a fateful turn of Indian history passed into slavery along with others. During this long period when did the communal problem raise its hideous head in our midst? Did it make its appearance even in the early years of British rule when all the administrative authority was held fast by a foreign nation? Did it not first emerge into our ken with the gift of a few crumbs of privileges and concessions by our common masters? Further, has it not become all the more serious with the addition of more crumbs with the passage of time? And is not therefore, the whole communal problem the direct out come of our national slavery and will it not automatically be solved when the foreign yoke will be overthrown by common efforts?

A section of Muslims have today raised the cry of separate nationhood for themselves. They want parcel out of the country and take parts to it as their exclusive homeland. After all, the sense of composite nationhood is a matter of feeling and as an example it is worth noting that in England today the Welsh and the Scotch have formed an indivisible part of the British nation, while the Irish have refused to be merged into it. Our question, again, to the exponents of the two-nation theory is that, do they genuinely feel that they are

an entity apart from the rest? Their present claim is palpably against the verdict of history and we, therefore, refuse to believe that they feel like that. In the course association for countries and consequent interchange of ideas and ideals, both Hindus and Muslim have evolved a composite culture which has imprinted its stamp on the arts, architecture, and even religions of India. It is very difficult to turn back the continuous flow of history and as a matter of fact, we believe that the present separatist mentality of the Muslims is a faked creation, the psychological result of wishful thinking against the vicious background of foreign domination. We appeal to our Muslim friends with all the earnestness we command to rid themselves of the narrow sectarianism with which they seem to have been possessed today. It is certainly not in tune with their great Islamic traditions. Moreover, communalism is a contagious evil as we have been witnessing to our bitter cost today. Its ugly manifestations on both sides have made us really apprehensive about the future of our dear motherland. Unless it is scotched and buried fathoms deep today, it will not only impede the march of the nation to its goal but will even prevent it from holding the treasure of freedom when it will be won. Particularly at the present hour when an united front is an essential necessity, communal compartmentalism must have to be levelled down by all means and a settlement achieved quickly. Why are the Muslims more afraid of Congressmen than of the Britishers? Should not the clear assurance of Mahatma Gandhi that "the Muslims alone have the right to dictate what safeguards they want and these should be accepted by the Hindus as the basis of any compromise to secure Hindu-Muslim unity" set all their fanciful fears at rest? Providence has irrevocably linked their fates with the destinies of India. They should, therefore, square up their accounts with the Hindus at least in a spirit of justice, if not of generosity. They should then face the rulers with the demand for complete national freedom. Posterity will not forgive them if they fail in this crucial hour. We

again appeal to them, awake to realities and be sensible, lest you miss the chance and then repent.

CURRENT COMMENTS

Mr. Amery speaks out

Mr. L. S. Amery had his first say about India on Thursday last after his appointment as the Secretary of State for this country and thereby he quite revealed himself and his Government. On going through his speech we could not help wondering if there are some set phrases cold-stored in some archive of Downing Street for use by successive Cabinets so far as India is concerned. Change in personnel does not alter them, nor, what is stranger still, change in the situation. Scan the speech of Mr. Amery and compare it with any of the utterances of Lord Zetland and the truth of our observation will be amply borne out. There will be found the same stereotyped references to "goal of British policy" "legitimate claims of all communities and interests" and "cleavage of opinion in India." Statesmen-like imagination is conspicuous by its absence and it seems too much to hope that it will ever dawn in Downing Street. What about Messrs. Attlee and Morrison now? Have they managed to change colour so soon after joining the new company? It is really surprising that even in view of this attitude of the Government, there are some, even among Congressmen, who are addressing appeals to India to settle up things with Britain immediately. To such Congressmen with wagging tongues Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has recently dealt out a smart slap which, we hope, will go home. As for enthusiasts like Sapru, Sircar and Setalvad, we can only say that we need not take them seriously. In the very nature of things, their utterances are bound to be tuned to a certain key.

Democracy—Living or Dead?

The world has entered the period of peril. Humanity is threatened with the total annihilation of life and culture. And in its frantic effort to build up a system that

may not be attended by debate the world is only reaching the acme of gullibility. The question on the survival of democracy put to Mahatma Gandhi by an American indicates how the world wallows in half-truths and dangerous thoughts. Nazism is said to have spelt triumph over democracy; the world is watching the evening of democracy. In its true acceptance our world did never enjoy democracy. What passes for democracy is only the shadow. And the passing away of the democratic tradition can only be accounted for by the total absence of true democratic spirit. Mahatma Gandhi does not find any difference between western democracy and fascism since both bank upon violence. And true democracy can be maintained by strict adherence to the doctrine of non-violence evolved by Mahatma Gandhi. Truly speaking, democracy means onward march from the ages of barbarism, tyranny and war. In a democratic world war is banished, famine is gripped and controlled by a marvellous organisation. Justice is given equal between race and race, between man and man. Science is harnessed to the services of the masses. And by the streams of health and life and tranquility the human race grows by scores of millions. True democratic society can be brought into being when the total wealth is owned in common and scientific planning guides the affairs of life. Mahatma's village industries and non-violence can not usher in the millennium.

The New War Policy

Defeated in the disgraceful policy of capitulation, the Chamberlain Government went about strewing promises of assistance to the helpless prospective victims of Hitlerism with harum-scarum prodigality and without the slightest thought and imagination whether those promises could ever be redeemed. It failed to assess the great military importance of an alliance with the Soviet Union, which would have blown to smithereens the German Blitzkrieg and have rendered useless the positive principle of the famous Schlieffen's strategy—that a victorious German offensive in the West is possible only on condition that the overwhelming mass of the German

Army is concentrated there, whilst no more than a thin defensive line is left in the East against Russia. In Schlieffen's time, the massive offensive against France and Belgium represented the decisive operation within the framework of a two-front war. The military defeat of France in 1914 would automatically have spelt military collapse for Tsarist Russia. Today the situation and the relation of forces are entirely different. Even a hypothetical German victory over France would not in the given relation of forces mean the strategic final victory in a war on two fronts. An Eastern-European block under the military leadership of the Soviet Union would be in a position to run down Germany even after Germany had perhaps defeated France in the West. The way to Stettin, Berlin, Breslau and Dresden can remain open within the bombing-range of superior Soviet bombers, even after Lille and Verdun have fallen.

Thus German strategy would have been forced to reckon with seriously the effects of a Red Army offensive on the operations in the West, and the Red Army could have lent valuable support to France both in attack and defence, had not the incorrigible Tories of England considered an alliance with the Soviet Union as a taboo. And thus the British Tories and the henchmen of the two-hundred families of France did not make hay while the sun still shone for them.

Today Mr. Winston Churchill has given up the ideas of 1914 and the copy-book military maxim of the superiority of the defence over the offensive, and has declared: "The armies must cast away the idea of resisting attack behind a concrete line and must realise that mastery can only be regained by a furious, unrelenting assault." To this effect General Gamelin has been replaced by General Weygand, who was in the last war in the words of Liddell Hart "the natural complement, of Marshal Foch". General Weygand believes in the "offensive" and "complete victory," and Marshal Petain, who has been appointed Vice-Premier of the Cabinet, and in fact, supreme director of military strategy with

political power behind him, has given his hearty consent to this "offensive" strategy. This is a clear indication of the reversion of the war policy of the Anglo-French High Command, and the results of this reversion will be seen in the next few days.

Though a big question-mark still hangs over the results of this belated decision of Anglo-French High Command, there is no doubt that this change, from military standpoint, is for better. But the most disheartening news is that the stalemate in the diplomatic field has not yet been broken. This is reflected in the indecent haggling of Britain with the Soviet Union in her trade negotiations. After the Soviet-Jugoslav Trade Pact, and the establishment of greater friendship with the Balkan States by the Soviet Union, there has recently been a rather patronising acquiescence on the part of most of the Government press about the project of renewal of trade talks. This certainly does not indicate a departure in the policy of the new Government from that of the old. The outer shell has been cracked, but the Conservative mentality still lurks behind to blacken the prospect of Britain. Mr. Churchill will have yet to do a good deal of thinking in the diplomatic field, and he will have yet to disprove the fact that the inclusion of the British Labourites in his Cabinet has been designed by him to camouflage Conservative die-hardism.

Churchill's Government

The new British Government, under the leadership of Mr. Winston Churchill, will have to haul down the kites of a very serious menace to its stability. The monstrous caprice of a cruel tyrant has transformed Western Europe into a terrible inferno. The old values of civilisation which men have held aloft so dearly for ages, are being ruthlessly shattered and the clouds of smokes of heavy bombers and fighters have dimmed the last star of hope from human sight. The

dying agonies of women and children mix up with the peals of machine-guns and the rattling of the tanks and motorised columns of Devil's best disciples, and we have the Kingdom of Satan on earth.

Such being the menace confronting human civilisation today, a heavy moral responsibility devolves upon the democratic countries of the world, who are pledged to defend humane values. "If this is one of the most awe-striking period in the long history of France and Britain, it is also beyond doubt the most sublime...behind us, behind the armies and fleets of Britain and France gather a group of shattered States and bludgeoned races—upon all of whom a long night of barbarism will descend unbroken even by the star of hope unless we conquer, as conquer we must, as conquer we shall". These brilliant words of Mr. Churchill really made the sinking hearts throb again with new hope and belief, but the moral victory of barbarism, manifest in the latest Law of Socialisation in England, has dealt a staggering blow to them. The people of Britain, except a few big bankers and the pioneers of British Federation of Industries, will now roam about the blacked-out streets like ghosts, without any liberty or right to live, and the workers of England will make up the inferiority of R.A.F. with their last drop of blood. This is Fascism, and the moral triumph of Hitler's ideal in Europe is implied in it. Thanks to the Socialism of British Labourites, the high-falutin' professions of Mr. Attlee, and the vaulting rhetoric of Mr. Churchill, the night of barbarism has descended upon England, and Hitler has already scored a moral victory over the pseudo-moralists of Europe.

JEALOUSY AT PLAY

Under the above caption "Politicus" of *Behar Herald*, that acute commentator on current political affairs, has written this note in the latest issue of the paper :-

There seems to be no end of furore in Bengal and even elsewhere at the alliance which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose formed in Bengal with the Muslim League for the election of Aldermen and the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation. Hands are being raised in holy horror and scandalised faces are seeking hiding places. Congressmen and Hindu Mahasabaites have been shrieking alike—it is an act of betrayal; Mr. Bose has sold Hindu interests for a mess of pottage for himself. How strange! And how intriguing! Can any one tell me which is stranger—Mr. Bose forming an alliance with the Muslim League or the Congress, I mean the Official Congress, joining with the Hindu Mahasabha in decrying what is being called "betrayal of the Hindu interests"? I, for one, am unable to decide. There is another thing that perplexes me. When years ago the Muslim League had rejected the 1935 constitution there was no end of jubilation in the Congress circles. The unanimity of opinion between the

Congress and the Muslim League used to be held up in those days as the most convincing testimony of the rejection of the constitution by the entire Indian nation. Even after the Muslim League was branded a communal organisation by the Congress, it could open,—officially through its accredited representative, the then President of the Congress who was no other than this very Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose,—negotiations with Mr. Jinnah as the head of the Muslim League for an agreement between the two organisations. Those negotiations failed but the talk of negotiations never. Indeed, the more the Muslim League decried the Congress, the more anxious the latter became to effect a settlement. It was only a few months ago that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru again negotiated with Mr. Jinnah with the full authority of the Congress. And, what did Mr. Gandhi do? So anxious was he for a settlement with Mr. Jinnah ever after the outbreak of the war that when Mr. Jinnah bluntly refused an offer of Mr. Gandhi to drive to the Viceregal house in Mr. Gandhi's

(Continued on page 15)

Use BENGAL DRUG & CHEMICAL'S
Perfumed TIL OIL, COCOANUT & CASTOR OIL
136, BENARES ROAD, SALKIA, HOWRAH.

Use _____
BANGASRI PRODUCTS
AND PATRONISE
INDIAN INDUSTRY.
THE BANGASRI COTTON MILLS LTD.,
SECRETARIES & AGENTS: SHAHA CHAUDHURI & CO. LTD.,
4, CLIVE GHAT ST., CALCUTTA.

MALARIA ?
Or
Whatever
FEVER
It may
Be
EDWARD'S TONIC
Is
The
Only
Remedy
B. K. PAUL & Co. Ltd.
CALCUTTA.

RING UP CAL 2817.
HOUSE FOR FIRST CLASS
REPAIRS RIBBONS & CARBONS SERVICE
HOME FOR CHEAP & GOOD
NEW-REBUILT & SECONDHAND TYPEWRITERS
OF ALL MAKES & MODEL.
NEW STANDARD TYPEWRITER CO.
7, MANGOE LANE, CALCUTTA.

Phone :—B. B. 3711.
D. RATAN & CO.
ARTISTS & PHOTOGRAPHERS
22-1, CORNWALLIS STREET,
CALCUTTA.

STAND UNITED BEFORE BRITAIN

FACE THE NEW SITUATION,—DEMAND NATIONAL LIBERTY

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc had its three-day-session in Calcutta, commencing from Monday May 20th, and passed the following resolutions :—

Governmental Repression

This meeting of the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc congratulates Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, one of the foremost Leftist leaders of the Congress and the undisputed leader of the Indian Kisan movement and the General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, on the sentence of three years' rigorous imprisonment passed on him while fighting for the freedom of the country in pursuance of the resolution of the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh and the All-India Kisan Sabha Conference at Palassa.

The Committee also congratulates Prof. N. C. Ranga, Ex-President of the All-India Kisan Sabha on his brave defiance of the humiliating order of internment served on him and on his consequent conviction.

The Committee further congratulates the following members of the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc, who have been arrested and incarcerated during the last few months, on the bold lead they have given to the country—(1) Pandit Viswambhar Doyal Tripathi, M. L. A. (U. P.), (2) Senapati M. P. Bapat (Maharashtra), (3) Mr. H. V. Kamath (Jubbulpore), (4) Mr. M. Annapurniah (Andhra), (5) Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee M. L. A. (Bihar), (6) Pandit Jata Shanker Shukla (Unao, U. P.), (7) Mr. Ashrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury and (8) Sj. Satya Ranjan Bakshi (Bengal).

The Committee also sends its fraternal greetings and felicitations to the innumerable comrades who have heroically acted up to the policy and plan of work laid down by the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh and are suffering imprisonment in various jails in the country.

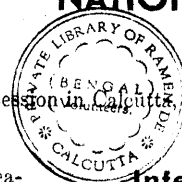
While congratulating all the comrades, who have been arrested and incarcerated, the Committee assures them that the lead given by them will be followed by the masses and the Committee warns the

Government that all the repressive measures that they may adopt will not succeed in suppressing the movement for Indian Independence.

Organisation and Activisation

Ever since the inception of the Forward Bloc in May, 1939, it has been developing rapidly, and Provincial Committees with numerous local branches have been formed. One of the main tasks of the Forward Bloc has been to stem the drift towards constitutionalism and compromise with British Imperialism and to create an atmosphere of struggle in its place. In pursuance of this task, the Forward Bloc has also launched a national struggle in the teeth of opposition not only from the powers that be, but also from a certain section of Congressmen. The Committee notes with gratitude the tremendous and altogether unexpected mass support which the Forward Bloc has received right from its birth. But though the organisational progress made by it so far has been satisfactory, considering the heavy odds it had to contend with and the short period of its existence, the Committee feels that organisational progress has not kept pace with the growing volume of mass sympathy and support. **It is, therefore, imperative on the part of members of the Forward Bloc to devote more attention and energy to the task of organisational developments.**

The Committee urges the Provincial Committees to immediately set up branches where they have not been formed already, and to activate those that are already in existence and at the same time, continue vigorously the campaign for enrolment of members. The Committee further requests the Provincial Committee to submit regular periodical reports of the progress made to the office of the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc.



Infernal Unity & Consolidation

Twelve months ago when the Forward Bloc was brought into being, one of its primary objectives was to lead the country along the path of struggle with a view to attaining independence. To this end, the Forward bloc has been able to create an atmosphere of struggle and has actually launched the struggle with such resources as it possesses. With the outbreak of war in Europe, the situation has been so greatly modified that we are now within sight of power. Consequently, along with the necessity, of a national struggle, the necessity of developing and maintaining national unity and solidarity during the critical period for the purpose of winning and retaining our freedom, is being increasingly felt. **The Committee earnestly appeals to all sections of the Indian people to sink their internal differences and to face the new situation in a bold and patriotic manner so that India may now stand united before Britain and the world in her demand for national liberty.** In particular the committee appeals to the Indian people to settle the Hindu-Muslim question as soon as possible and also appeals to Congressmen to restore unity within their ranks.

Citizens' Defence Corps

The Committee views with grave concern the rapid developments in the war-theatre in Europe and their probable repercussions in India and Far East. In the changed situation that has overtaken India and the world, it has become imperative for the Indian people to put their house in order, to close up their ranks and to stand united as one nation. This will enable them to win freedom for themselves and to bring about the peaceful transference of power to the Indian people.

In order to help in this task of developing and maintaining national unity and solidarity and in order to preserve peace and harmony among the Indian people themselves during the period of crisis and transition, it has become absolutely necessary to organise at once a Citizens' Defence Corps on a thoroughly non-party

basis, so as to command the confidence of the public as a whole. This Committee urges the public at large to take the initiative in this matter and bring this Citizens' Defence Corps into being, as soon as possible.

The National Struggle

The Ramgarh Anti-Compromise Conference which met in March last and the Annual Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha at Palasa, immediately following it, gave a clarion-call to the nation to intensify the various local struggles going on in the country and to start new ones wherever necessary and possible. There was also an appeal to the country to co-ordinate and link up the local struggles and to commence a struggle on an All-India basis and on an All-India front from the 6th April, 1940. The Committee notes with satisfaction the progress already made since the Ramgarh Conference and warmly thanks all those who have helped the Forward Bloc in its task of launching the struggle. But while expressing its satisfaction at the good beginning made, the Committee recognises that this achievement is quite insignificant compared to what remains undone. The Committee, therefore, calls upon all Branches of the Forward Bloc in the country, the Kisan Sabhas, and other anti-Imperialist organisations and individuals who believe in the necessity of a national struggle to do everything possible to implement the resolutions of the Ramgarh Anti-Compromise Conference and the Palasa Session of the A. I. K. S. without any further loss of time. The Committee hopes that all these anti-Imperialist organisations will continue the struggle by means of vigorous propaganda among the masses, by organising Councils of Action in every district, town and village, and by organising on the Kisan, Labour, Student, Youth and States' people Fronts. The Committee desires to point out that wherever possible the economic demands of different sections of the people and their day-to-day struggle should be linked up with the national struggle. The Committee draws the attention of the public once again to the resolution adopted at the Ramgarh Anti-Compromise Conference dealing with the economic demands of the Kisans, Workers, States' people etc. which were published in the Forward Bloc in its issue of the 23rd March, 1940.

Curtailment of Civil Liberty

This meeting records its emphatic protest against the order of the Government of Bombay drastically curtailing the legitimate activities and elementary rights such as correspondence, ordinary movements, and association of Com. Indulal Yagnik, a member of the All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc and the Actg. General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha.

GHOSH BROTHERS

JEWELLERS



PHONE
9.8.
2259

DEALERS IN
GUINEA GOLD ONLY



We have brought a Revolution in Gold Jewellery Business.

For we buy back Gold Jewelleries, of our manufacture at full Current Guinea Gold value without soldering depreciation.

We exchange old gold and silver ornaments with our new Guinea gold ornaments.

Our making charge further reduced. Catalogue free on receipt of two-anna stamp.

JEWELLERY MANSION
114 COLLEGE ST CALCUTTA



When the flood-gates of heaven are opened in the monsoon . . . nothing will keep the water out but a **DUCKBACK WATERPROOF**. It's specially made for the Tropical conditions and the heavy rains of our country. **LEADERS FOR 20 years. DUCKBACK** is smart, lightweight & ventilated. **INSIST ON DUCKBACK WATERPROOFS. THEY ARE RELIABLE.**



DUCKBACK

THE BENGAL WATERPROOF WORKS LTD. CALCUTTA.

Head Office & Factory :—PANIHATI, 24 Parganas.

Sales Department :—12 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.

86 College Street, Calcutta.

Bombay Branch :—377, Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.

OUR ASSAM LETTER

FORWARD BLOC THRIVES THROUGH OBSTACLES

(From our correspondent)

Sylhet, 22nd May

From the inception of the Forward Bloc there was much enthusiasm in Surma Valley (Assam) and Cachar, as was evidenced in other parts of Bengal. The intelligentsia was much shocked at the injustice and maltreatment done to S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose by the Rightist caucus. Leftist tendency, as a result, got a strong impetus. There was a strong feeling of resentment and it reached almost its white heat. The action of the C. S. P. in remaining neutral at Tripuri also exasperated many. The National Front group was able to retain its popularity by its eleventh-hour decision of supporting Subhas Babu. The Surma Valley branch of the C. S. P., controlled and influenced by the decision of the National Front from the very beginning, almost identified themselves with Subhas Babu when the Forward Bloc came into being. People and the general run of Congressmen were expecting the formation of its branches in Surma Valley. It was found that in certain places Congressmen were forming Forward Bloc organisations in their own way. National Front group was then playing a double role. They thought of taking advantage of the popularity of the Forward Bloc in order to strengthen their own position and ultimately to sabotage the Forward Bloc. When the National Front group could not pull on with the C. S. P., they thought it expedient to work in collaboration with the Forward Bloc and reap all its benefit.

When Subhas Babu was appealing to them to take up the organisation they did not say a straight 'No'. He was given to understand that they would do it. In Surma Valley the situation was ripe for its organisation then. In some places Congressmen on their own initiative actually formed local committees of Forward Bloc. The National Front group also made a show of favouring the Forward Bloc in their public utterances and in Sylhet they, with some of their comrades, formed a branch of it naming it Sylhet District Forward Bloc. In its Committee there were some of course, with the genuine desire of serving the Forward

Bloc, who relied on this National Front group for its growth and development. But the fun of the thing is that this Committee did not at all try to develop its organisation, and where there was its spontaneous growth, they branded its genuine members as opportunists and reactionaries etc. Their intention was to sabotage its growth after reaping all the fruits of its popularity. People in general and Congressmen particularly were being disillusioned about them. Thus they managed to check the growth of the Forward Bloc in its first and second stage of development.

When S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President All-India Forward Bloc, received no report about the growth of his organisation, he called S. J. Suresh Chandra Deb, the then member of the A.I.C.C. who had already resigned from the C. S. P. being disgusted with their policy, and authorised him to organise it in Surma Valley. Other groups of Congressmen in Surma Valley were watching the development of the Forward Bloc from a distance and they were opposed to N. F. group. There was a propaganda among them that Suresh Babu was set up by N. F. group with some ulterior motive. Whether this propaganda originated from the ingenious brain of the N. F. group, it cannot be said with any amount of certainty.

However, just after the appointment of Suresh Babu as the organiser of F. B., the N. F. group called a conference of Congress workers of the Valley and made S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose its President. Subhas Babu accepted the offer and went to Sylhet taking a very generous view of the whole affair. Subhas Babu also had a short tour in the Valley. The N. F. group moved so cleverly that Subhas Babu and the public of the Valley were still given to understand that they were with Subhas Babu. In the conference of the workers this group had chalked out a programme of their own and took Subhas Babu as President to gain popularity for that programme and by

that to set up their organisational basis everywhere. When Suresh Babu was organising the Forward Bloc independently in different places, he saw through their tactics of sabotaging the Forward Bloc. However, though he took all possible caution, he kept up their cooperation. In giving effect to the programme as chalked out in the said conference it, was found that they were very careful to keep the Forward Bloc at their arm's length.

In Silchar when the Forward Bloc conference was held under the presidency of Maulavi Asrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury, they came almost in open revolt. And they could not tolerate the presence of Choudhury Sahib there and in other places. Though a tour programme was arranged for him they did show all the apathy for it and even in workers' gathering, wherever arranged, they managed to put open questions in order to undermine the prestige of Choudhury Sahib and the Forward Bloc. From then their vengeance was all the more intensified. After Ramgarh they were openly criticising Subhas Babu and the Forward Bloc. In the National Week celebrations they chalked out a programme and pushed it as a counter to the the programme of the Anti-Compromise conference. After the Anti-Compromise Conference, the Forward Bloc is taking deep roots, in spite of the strong resistance from N. F. It is building mass organisations of labour and peasants. Peasants, labourers and students, and middle-class Congressmen are rallying round Forward Bloc all over the Valley when the N. F. group with their mouthpiece the Sylhet D. C. C., are criticizing Satyagraha, Charka and Gandhisim, on the one hand and the Forward Bloc and Anti-Compromise Conference on the other, trying in vain to establish another and third kind of leadership. When they were acting like this, one day they declared their intention of signing the Satyagraha pledge in support of the 'ad hoc' committee programme to keep the Congress organisation in their control. By this declaration they were totally exposed to public ridicule. People and Congressmen were rallying

(Continued on page 10)

FORWARD BLOC FORGES AHEAD

Forward Bloc Men Under Fire

Arrests and Prosecutions in Behar
(From Our Own Correspondent)

Chapra, 19th May.

Comrade Seobachan Singh, 1st. President of the Council of Action, who has been convicted under the Defence of India Act for two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100/- (in default six months) has been transferred to Bhagalpore Jail along with Jivendra Brambhachari, Vice-President of the Central District Kisan Sabha convicted by the S.D.O. sadar, for two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100/- (six months in default). Both comrades, Seobachan Singh and Jivendra Brhamchhari, while going to Bhagalpore were seen off at the Chapra railway station by Mr. Pashupati, President of the Saran District Forward Bloc who is on bail. They were hand-cuffed.

Mr. Silbhadra Yaji, Secy of the Bihar Provincial Forward Bloc, had been arrested at Patna. He has been brought to Chapra Jail—under Police escort to stand his trial under the defence of India Act. Mr. Pashupati, President of the Saran District Forward Bloc saw him in the jail last evening.

Swami Basantanand Giri, Secy Saran District Forward Bloc, stood his trial today in the court of S.D.O. for violating certain police order. Judgment has been reserved. He has been arrested again under the Defence of India Act. Hearing of his case comes in the last week of the month.

Kumar Pashupati Singh, the Labour leader, who is the President of the Saran District F.B. and of the Labour Union is tried along with his twentyfive comrades under 241, 143, 107 of the I.P.C. These arrests were made during the scavenger's strike. Great sensation prevails in the town. On the days of hearing court room is fullypacked. Mr. Pashupati is not contesting the case.

Mr. Tribhuwam Prasad, Assistant Secretary, Labour Union is being tried under section 107.

Others prosecuted under same section are to be tried on the 30th. Mr. Brijbihari Misra Assistant Secretary Saran District Forward Bloc was arrested on the Chapra Katchary Ry. station, while distributing Anti-war pamphlets. It is reported that he was roughly handled by the police.

SENAPATI BAPAT CONVICTED Sentenced To One year's R. I.

Bombay, May 23.

"Senapati" Pandurang Mahadev Bapat was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition by the Chief Magistrate of Bombay of Thursday.

Mr. Bapat pleaded "guilty" with "The greatest pleasure" and did not wish to enter upon any explanation in order "to save time."

"Senapati" Bapat was prosecuted in regard to a speech delivered by him at a Forward Bloc meeting a Chowpatty on April 6 during the celebration of National Week.

DEFENCE ACT CONVICTION

Mr. Sil Bhadra Yajee to go to jail

Chapra May 23.

Mr. Sil Bhadra Yajee, M.L.A., General Secretary, Bihar Forward Bloc, was convicted under Sections 38 and 34 of the India Defence Act and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment and fined Rs. 100 additional or 6 months' imprisonment. He was placed in class B.

PUNJAB FORWARD BLOC

Protest Against Government's Repressive Policy

A meeting of the Punjab Forward Bloc was held on the 19th May, 1940, at 1-Chamberlain Road, Lahore, to celebrate Swami Shahjanand Day. Resolutions were passed congratulating Swami Shahjanand and Prof. Ranga on their arrests and condemning the repressive measures adopted by various provincial governments against members of the Forward Bloc.

DACCA FOWARD BLOC

Members Co-opted

The following members were co-opted in an extraordinary meeting of the executive-Committee of the Dacca District Forward Bloc in the meeting held on the 9th May at 6-30 p. m. at the district office:

Organiser and General Secretary: S. J. Dhiren Roy.

Secretary—S. J. Ajit Sil.

Office Secretary—S. J. Rabindra Paul.

Asst Secretaries—S. J. Gopal Bhattacharjee
S. J. Ramananda Sil.

Two 'Forward Bloc' 'Dictators'

Arrested In Bombay

Bombay, May 19.

Messrs. Girdharlal Thakker and C. Jani, 'Dictators' of the local branch of the Forward Bloc, were arrested at a meeting at Chaupati this evening, which was held in contravention of the order of the Commissioner of Police banning any meeting, assembly or procession convened by the Forward Bloc or Kisan Sabha in Bombay to-day in connection with the observance of the 'Sabhanand Day'.

FORWARD BLOC THRIVES THROUGH OBSTACLES

(Continued from page 9)

round the Forward Bloc. Recently they discovered a new tactic of giving a further blow to the Forward Bloc by declaring in some Calcutta papers that some members of the Bloc resigned out of disgust with the policy of Subhas Babu. The names that appeared in the paper are either men of the N. F. group or their supporters, direct or indirect. Though any formal resignation has not been received by the organiser, Forward Bloc, Surma Valley, or by the Secretary, Sylhet District Forward Bloc, it will be quite welcome when such resignation actually comes, because the Forward Bloc cannot tolerate such mischief within its organisation and will not let it go smoothly. However, when Congressmen and general public are knowing that such undesirable elements are not in the Forward Bloc, genuine members are increasing and thus strengthening the organisation both in Sylhet and Cachar.

This N. F. group are not only trying to damage the Forward Bloc but are also doing disservice to the public by trying to keep all the mass organisations in their control somewhere giving extra-leftist slogans and somewhere by their prudent-looking policy of defeatism and vacillation. Thus their leftism is totally exposed and now comes the turn of real leftism in every place and the chance of the Forward Bloc and its growth are hopeful indeed!

When people are expecting the leftists to give an undaunted fight to Imperialism, the National Front group are not only disrupting the left unity but also the revolutionary forces that rallied in the Anti-Compromise conference. In spite of joining the Council of Action, the N. F. tried to give all opposition to it and vilify Subhas Babu and the Forward Bloc. The N. F. group in the Sylhet District Congress Convention meeting decided to boycott the 'ad hoc' committee of Bengal but submitted the list of Congress members in the eleventh hour to the same committee. They decried Gandhism and Satyagraha and at last fell in the trap of the same Gandhism and signed the Satyagraha pledge. They were neglecting to give effect to the decision of the Plassa Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha. They are in the Surma Valley Provincial Kisan Sabha, but they are not forming any Council of Action as was enjoined by the All-India Kisan Sabha at Plassa. The peasant struggle they led at Bhatipara and Daser-bazar utterly failed. The strike at Auranabaud tea-garden was a dismal failure. Public apathy to their leadership has grown in many places. People are losing faith in them for such inconsistencies and indecisions only few of which have been enumerated above. Forward Bloc would march on with its mission and whether the pseudo-leftists join them or not, would always try to foster left unity and Mass Council of Action.

Humayun Kabir

CENTRALISATION AND DEMOCRACY

A tendency to over-centralisation has been one of the banes of Indian politics. Historians hold up to our admiration monarchs who looked into the minutest details of administration in the regions placed under their charge. They forget that such interference with the minor details of routine procedure is a matter, not for praise, but for condemnation. Monarchs should devote themselves to the formulation of policy and general control over the temper and direction of the administration. Any greater interest in the day-to-day execution of order is bound to hamper the minor authorities and also prevent the growth of confidence and initiative in them. Any King who attempts to run his entire kingdom by personal initiative and effort thereby shows only his utter lack of imagination and leadership. A leader is he who can make others work for him: not one who has to do everything on his own behalf.

Cooperation between the different organs of administration is the first condition of democracy. Without democracy, the state-machinery may run, and perhaps even more efficiently for a while than under democracy, but in the end, the whole process tends to become mechanical and is unable to face the novelties which continually arise in human situations. Dependence upon esoteric individual quality is, in the end, always precarious, for such individual quality cannot be pre-determined nor can it be commanded at will.

Herein lies the great value of democracy, for it seeks to discount the specific importance of the individual. And in this democracy seems to be right. There is very little difference between man and man so far as intrinsic worth is concerned. Excepting occasional geniuses—like a Gandhi in the course of fifty years Congress in a country so vast as India—and occasional congenital idiots, men do not differ in ability but only in circumstances and opportunities. Some are a little abler and some a little less, but there is no intrinsic difference between man and man in general. Everyone will remember hundreds of rank and file political workers who in ability, sacrificial ardour and spirit of service seem superior to their leaders. One can think of dozens of political leaders who, but for the accident of birth, wealth or opportunity, would have remained undistinguished and indistinguishable.

Democracy, by its emphasis upon decentralisation, seeks to take full ad-

vantage of this fact. Since intrinsically men are similar if not equal in abilities, division of labour among a large number of men enables each man to concentrate upon his specified task and acquire special efficiency in it. It is common experience how through practice and concentration, men develop unsuspected hours and surprise even those who have known them all their lives. Nor is this all, for decentralisation offers to each individual a sphere of action where he can exercise his judgment and initiative, and thus realise all his latent possibilities. Freedom of the individual is possible only in a system of large-scale decentralisation.

Centralisation on the other hand is contrary to the spirit of democracy. Concentration of power in the hands of an individual or a group reduces the other to mere automata, lifeless cogs in the machine controlled by the one directing agency. This is a repudiation of the essence of democracy, and can be based only on the assumption that the leader alone matters; others must carry out his will. This is patently untrue, for whatever value the leader may have, he derives from the combined worth of his following. Nor is any man ever indispensable, for the needs of the situation will almost always throw up the necessary leaders. Men are generally equal and opportunities make the

difference between them, and hence the proper moment will always find some one who is able to take full advantage of its meaning.

In India, there is too great a readiness to emphasise the value of individual leaders, forgetful of the fact that individuality itself is the resultant of complex social forces and factors. As a corrective against this tendency, it is desirable to sharply define the scope and range of leadership in this country. There should be a hierarchy of leaders with strictly defined field of activity instead of a single leader attempting to control every sphere of organised social life. Local leaders should have relative freedom under the general guidance of provincial ones who must refrain from too much interference in local affairs. National leaders should reserve their energies and attention primarily for national questions and allow comparative freedom of action to provincial leaders. In this way alone can there be proper training in leadership and also encouragement of initiative and judgment among large number of men. In this way alone can the dignity of the individual be secured and the foundations of personal liberty laid. Decentralisation—in politics, industry and social affairs—is the condition of democracy in the modern world.

GENUINE JEWELLERIES

Guinea-Gold Ornaments
to suit every
taste

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

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

Guaranteed maximum satisfaction at minimum cost

E. 6/39.

M. B. SIRKAR & SONS

SON & GRANDSONS OF LATE B. SIRKAR
MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS

124, 124 I BOWRAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA

TELEPHONE

TELEGRAM

BOOK REVIEWS

Industrial Protection in India By K. P. Khara, M. Com., LL B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co, Bombay, Price Rs 7.

The subject dealt with in this book is of great importance to India. The publication under review is also worthy of very careful notice since, as far as we know, it is the first book embodying a comprehensive treatment of the matter. First of all the author has dealt with protection as a commercial measure and having pitted it against free trade, has sifted its merits and demerits. Then he has proceeded to a general narration and examination of the fiscal policy of India, both past and present. Individual Indian industries have then come in for a detailed treatment and lastly, the author has concluded his study with a critical review of the present policy of discriminate protection pursued by Government in regard to the industries of the country.

On going through the book the first thing that one is struck with is the thoroughness with which the subject has been treated here. No conceivable aspect of the matter has been left out, nothing relevant has been hurried over. The wealth of information pressed into the book has been amazing and the outlook that the author has brought to bear on the subject is quite impartial.

It can be accepted as a general economic principle—and it is supported by the overwhelming sentiment of the Indian people at large—that for our country at the present stage of industrial development, a policy of protection should be carried out as far as practicable. It may entail a slight increase in the burden of expenditure on the Indian people for the time being, but in view of the larger interests of the nation they would not grudge it. The government, for reasons quite understandable, has followed only a policy of discriminate protection, the effectiveness and grace of which have been further curtailed by the policy of imperial preference. The author has dwelt at length on the latter policy and has rightly concluded that it has hardly any justification for this country. We fully agree with the conclusion of the book as put down below :

We may emphasise that the Indian Tariff Board should be an active and permanent national institution working with sole object of bringing about a comprehensive and rapid industrial development of the country..... This would replace the present hurried and piecemeal investigations, and lead to an orderly economic development of our industries and facilitate the necessary economic adjustments in the country. This is all the more necessary today as there is a great agitation in the country in favour of the adoption of a comprehensive scheme of economic planning for the country.

We have been hearing of a Tariff Board being set up for sometime but it has not yet come into being. We want to emphasise two things in this connection : firstly, the personnel of the Board should command the absolute confidence of the people and secondly, in view of the peculiarly advantageous position that India occupies *today* in regard to her industrial development, the appointment of the Board should be expedited as much as possible.

The Dacca University Journal Edited by Nihar Ranjan Patrapavis.

The annual journal of the Dacca University Students' Union that is before us has presented to its readers quite an admirable literary fare. The subjects dealt with by the contributors cover a wide and interesting range and their treatment has almost uniformly maintained a high standard. Apart from the articles contributed by some professors and lecturers of the University which are quite authoritative, even those written by the students exhibit an excellence that is highly praiseworthy. Particularly the article, "National Planning with special reference to chemical industries" by Dr. J. C. Ghosh is worthy of being reprinted in some other journals so that it may get a wide publicity which it so richly deserves. The print and get up have been neat and beautiful.

Satapdir Swapna By Debansu Sen Gupta. Published by Radical Institute, Gauhati. 8 as.

The book is a collection of short stories which bear a pronounced political stamp, perhaps too pronounced for being much of a literary success. Only one or two stories have succeeded in tolerably getting through the literary test. We hope in future ventures of the kind the author will pay greater attention to the literary side of the performance without, of course, sacrificing his political objective which has its peculiar need today.

Jana Sahitya by Rakhaldas Chakravarti. Published from Chayanika Publishing House, Calcutta. 8 as.

Modern life has brought forth many problems to humanity and they have deservedly left their impress on modern literature. The Bengali literature too, is being influenced by the new outlook. In the booklet under review the author has sought to give a very brief outline of the main tendencies that have appeared in the Western literature and have, to a certain extent, passed on to ours as well. The essays included in it are marked by certain critical acumen and clarity of expression. The essay on the modern poets of Bengal has unfortunately done scant justice to some other very important figures in the domain of Bengali poetry who can justifiably claim reference in relation to the subject.

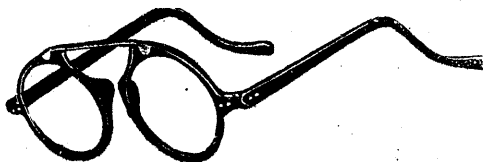
Padabrojey Baish Hajar Mile By Sudhir Chandra Roy. Published by the author from Saldah, Faridpur. Price Rs 1.

The author of the book has travelled on foot the whole of India. He has higher ambitions—he intends to undertake travels over the whole globe. In this book he has recorded the experiences of his journey over Assam and Rajputana and other volumes are to follow. In its very nature the book has been very much interesting, being full of thrills and romance; it has been rendered all the more so by the narrative skill of the author. We welcome him as a pioneer in adventures the spirit of which has been happily on the increase among Bengali youths. This book as well as the succeeding volumes of the series should find place in every school library. They will make very suitable prize-book too, for school students.

Telephone No. Cal. 2425.

ESTD. 1891.

DON'T EXPERIMENT WITH YOUR EYES.



Thorough Scientific
eye testing is essential
before you order
for your spectacles

RAY MITRA & CO.,
OPHTHALMIC OPTICIANS
23, STRAND ROAD, CALCUTTA.

By Bejon Sen Gupta

WAR AND THE COMING ORDER

We in India are still far away from the ghastly theatre of war. Kingdom after kingdom have been falling before tremendous Nazi onslaught. All the admirable inventions of science have been employed today, tragically enough for humanity, in a gigantic human slaughter. We at this distance can not see the horrors of carnage with our own eyes. But we can visualise them with the eyes of our imagination and even that sends forth a cold shiver throughout our whole being. How long will this terrible carnage continue? How far will its scope be extended? Herr Hitler has assured his countrymen and the world at large that the war will not go beyond the middle of August next. Having launched on this terrific adventure and unleashed its full furies, it is not possible even for him to cry halt at his will. It is in the interest of the Allies to prolong the war in order to be able to score the ultimate victory. Long or short whatever it be, the destruction in lives and properties that it will cause will be incalculable in magnitude. War is too brutal to respect the treasures of civilization or the sanctities of relationship and its termination will witness not only many a beautiful thing laid low in the dust, but what is far more deeply tragic, innumerable homes in different countries widowed and blasted. Further, it is too early yet to foretell the final outcome of the war but it is certain that the existing *status quo* will vanish and the map of the world shall have to be re-drawn and re-coloured.

Leaving aside the mighty external changes that the war will inevitably bring in its trail, it is a matter of common curiosity how the mind of man will work after the present horrible blood-bath. Idealists are dreaming of a new world order at that time that will finally eliminate all the chances of war in future. Even the hard-boiled diplomats who are responsible more than anybody else for the recurring conflicts among nations, have not been able to get away from the necessity of painting some fancy-pictures for the future in which rivalries among various countries will have no place and enduring peace will come to reign over the globe. These are, however, to be

taken as nothing more than mere sops for keeping popular loyalty within the kingdom or the empire intact and angling for more foreign support in getting through the present crisis. After the last great war at the instance of President Wilson the principle of self-determination for the different nations was solemnly accepted by the victors, but that was afterwards cast to the winds and the spirit of that generous statesman must be writhing in agony in his grave at the gory spectacle of the world today. Peace was then dreamt of, it was even planned but it did not come. On the contrary, on the first flush of penitence being over, imperialist avarice got gradually a new fillip, national gangsterism again secured the whip-hand, and the result we are all witnessing today.

Why was it so? After the last war there was a real upsurge of desire for peace among the common people of the West. Dr. Tagore testified to it in his numerous writings. The tremendous reception that he then got in all the leading countries of Europe and in America provided a genuine expression of that fervent desire. But after a time that went into complacent slumber and the blatant notes of jingoism again prevailed. The common man was again worked up to an intoxicating frame of mind by the fascist and imperialist war-mongers with cries of national expansionism. The masses were doped and today they have been led on to the war like beasts of sacrifice at the altar. The humanity has again come the full round of the vicious circle.

This consciousness should be driven home to the masses—the under-dogs in the fascist and imperialist countries—that it is they who can save the world from the recurring calamity of war if they can make their will felt and voice prevail. All efforts emanating from the top are bound to fail. Statesmen sitting round tables and setting up boundaries of countries will be of no avail. The greed of the possessing classes is hard to cure. They can only be made to shed it under the threat of a mightier force and that lies in the hands of the teeming masses in a country. It is only they who by their revolt against the present order can usher in a better state of things in the

world. It is only they who can give a decent burial to fascism and imperialism and prevent war in future. They have the greatest stake in the matter for they alone have to shed their blood, either to win victory or go down in the fight. Neither of the alternatives conduces to their benefit. After the fever of the war is over they are pushed back to their usual rut where they wallow till another call comes to them for supreme self-immolation.

It may be argued that the masses need not assert themselves against the old and effete order for in the deadly conflict between fascism and imperialism both may thoroughly wear down and ultimately crumble. But Marxian prophesy may not come true so soon—imperialism may not yet have reached its bursting-point.

As a matter of fact, as a result of the present war either fascism or imperialism may be entrenched all the more firmly in its position. What will then the common people do? Will they submit without any demur to their fate till Time in some distant future will fulfil the Marxian prognostication? If they do that, they will fail in their destined role. For according to the Marxian scheme of things, they also must be an active agent in the liquidation of the old order. To the fulfilment of this glorious task workers, writers and artists must bring forth all the gifts of their talent and idealism. When the last war ended the idealists' and pacifists' first appeal to the world was that of Christian sentimentality. The Russian revolution had taken place shortly before but the analysis of social forces that it envisaged, had not taken hold of the thinkers' minds immediately. When it had captured their intellect and imagination, they mostly reacted to it in an inverse way. Instead of freedom, equality and justice, they found dirt, squalor and inequity all around which drove them to deep gloom. That is the source of cynicism that pervaded generally the whole post-war European literature. By the spectacle of hideous reality some were again shocked back to the vacuum of escapist mysticism. Both these sections of thinkers wallowed in stark negation and gave out only a gospel of despair. That will not do in time to come. But the thought-leaders of tomorrow—in the next post-war phase—shall have to ring out a positive and heartening message through their writings. They must fight out the cause of justice through their written words of truth and beauty. For if life ebbs out, what will literature live for?

Life Assurance is the only means whereby one can, by easy periodical payments, provide with certainty, an amount one considers sufficient to ensure **FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE** for oneself in one's old age and/or for one's dependents.

Every Year thousands of discerning persons lay the Foundation stone of **ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE** for themselves in their old age and/or for their dependents after them by insuring their lives with the

"ORIENTAL"

The strongest and most popular Indian Life Assurance Company.

DO NOT DELAY

Take out an "ORIENTAL" Policy To-day.

Write for particulars to:—

ORIENTAL

GOVT. SECURITY LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

Estd. 1874.

Head Office:—BOMBAY.

OR

The Branch Secretary, Oriental Assurance Buildings.

2, Clive Row

Calcutta.

Phone No. Cal. 500.

**D. N. BOSE'S HOSIERY
FACTORY**



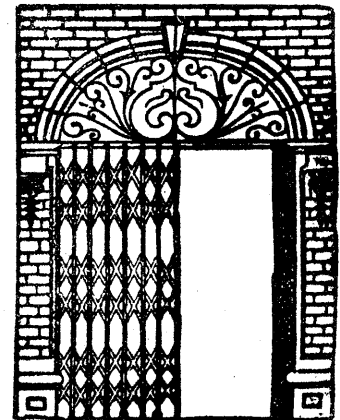
**GANJEES
BEST BY ALL TESTS.
36/1A, SARKAR LANE,
CALCUTTA.
PHONE : B. B. 2165.**

**THE CALCUTTA COLLAPSIBLE
GATE CO. LTD**

11-C, LOWER CHITPUR ROAD

PHONE NO. CAL. 3972.

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



CENTRAL CALCUTTA BANK LTD.

3, HARE ST. CALCUTTA.

A Progressing Banking Institution
of Bengal.

Branches:—

SHAMBAZAR, SOUTH CALCUTTA, NAIHATI,
BHATPARA, DINAJPUR, SIRAJGANJ,
BENARES.

A New branch at Bangpur has
been opened.

rise
P.C. AUDDY & CO'S
SOTI-FOOD
STOCKIST **SARBAMANGALA BHANDER**

**IS THE ONLY
BODY BUILDER
FOR INFANTS.**

47, RAJARCHAWK, CALCUTTA.

JEALOUSY AT PLAY

(Continued from page 6)

car, Mr. Gandhi answered the discourtesy by thrusting himself into Mr. Jinnah's car. When the Viceroy saw Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah jointly in the Viceregal house in one of the important political interviews, the entire Congress Press announced it as a memorable step forward in the realisation of communal unity. Even now, every Congressman, privately as well as publicly, has been wishing nothing more than a settlement with the League because that alone can bring about an end of the present impasse and return of the Congress Ministry to office. All that happened under the official auspices of the Congress and have been still happening, have been meritorious acts—great acts of statesmanship. But when the very same thing is done by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, it becomes an act of betrayal! What makes the difference? Well, the only difference is that Mr. Bose succeeded while official Congressmen failed. It seems perplexing to you that Mr. Bose should be condemned for his success in a venture in which the patron saint of the Congress has hitherto failed. But you need not be perplexed. Ask any experienced psychologist and he will tell you why one man cannot bear the sight of another doing successfully what he himself fails to do. It is jealousy, my friend, but appearing under the mask of outraged righteousness. Despicable—isn't it? But man is despicable, be he a saint or sinner for he is an animal first and rational afterwards.

CENTRAL CALCUTTA BOARDING

30, Sitaram Ghosh St., 2, Naren Sen Square.

Quiet surrounding; centre of students, educationists and gent emen. Healthy dishes and homely comforts.

Charges Rs. 18/- to 20/-. Prop:—A. BHADURI

WANTED District Representative on decent terms of salary or commission for the **Indian Insurance Corp., Ltd.** Lahore with Dr. Satyapal B.A., M.B., M.L.A. as chairman. Apply Chief Agent Room No. 95/D, 82, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

HERNIA

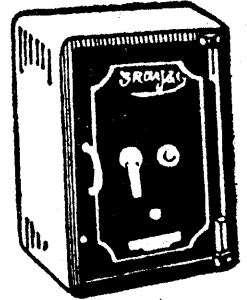
Wonderful remedy by outward application. Thousands benefited without operation. Apply for testimonials and directions:—**H. C. ROY**, specialist in Hernia, Divine Treatment Hall, 118, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

G. RAY & CO.

INDIA'S
FAMOUS MAKERS

OF

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



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

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

Illustrated Catalogue is sent on request.

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



A. TOSH & SONS. CALCUTTA, RANGOON.

THE CALCUTTA COMMERCIAL BANK, LTD.

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

A SCHEDULED BANK

BRANCHES

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

Interest on Savings Bank A/c. paid at 2½% per annum
Withdrawable by Cheques.

Interest of Fixed Deposits paid at the rate of 3 to 5% per annum.
Rs. 600 paid on payment of Rs. 5 per month for 8 years
in the Provident Deposit account.

3 Years Cash Certificate for Rs. 100 sold at Rs. 87 (eighty-seven).



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, Lalmohan, and
 Phanindramohan Mukhopadhyay Chakravarty }

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



7 DAYS TO STOP HAIR FALLING!
 MONI DHAR'S (HAIR CULTURIST)
"SKALP-TONIK" (Govt. Regd)

EAST BENGAL BANK Ltd.

(ESTABLISHED 1923)

Head Office :—COMILLA

Calcutta Office :—6, CLIVE STREET
 PHONE CAL. 4989

A modern up-to-date dividend paying concern, linking Calcutta with East Bengal and Assam.

Branches at :

Barisal, Chittagong, Brahmanbaria, Dacca, Kalirbazar (Narayanganj), Chowkbazar (Dacca), Karimganj, Mirkadim, Narayanganj, Silchar, Sylhet.

RAI BHUDHAR DAS BAHADUR,
 Advocate, Government Pleader, Comilla.
Managing Director.

The Wonder Radio for
1940



MODEL 710C
 ALL WAVE AC/DC
 ALL VOLTAGE

NEW
PHILCO
 TROPIC

Rs. 215/-
 -OR-
 EASY TERMS

RADIO SUPPLY STORES LTD.
 3, DALHOUSIE SQ. CAL.

PHONE CAL. 920

FOR INFANTS & INVALIDS
 Your Home Needs

BENGAL SOTI FOOD
 THE SAFEST & THE SUREST PREVENTIVE
 AGAINST CHILDREN'S LIVER, SPLEEN
 & WORM COMPLAINTS

HIGHLY RECOMMENDED BY
 MEDICAL PROFESSION.

Sold everywhere
AMULYA DHAN PAL & Co.
 113, Khongrapati Street, Calcutta.

CALCUTTA MINERAL SUPPLY CO., LTD.

31, JACKSON LANE, CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—CHINAMATI,
 Calcutta.

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

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

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

PRINTED BY SANTIRANJAN CHATTERJEE AT POPULAR PRINTING WORKS, 47, MADHU ROY LANE & PUBLISHED BY THE SAME
 FROM 62, BOWBAZAR ST., CALCUTTA.