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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 5

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 2, 1939

ONE ANNA

• National Struggle Week

- 2nd September—Fight Against War
- 3rd September—Fight Against Federation
- 4th September—Boycott of Foreign and British Goods
- 5th September—Demands of States' People
- 6th September—National Demand and National Unity

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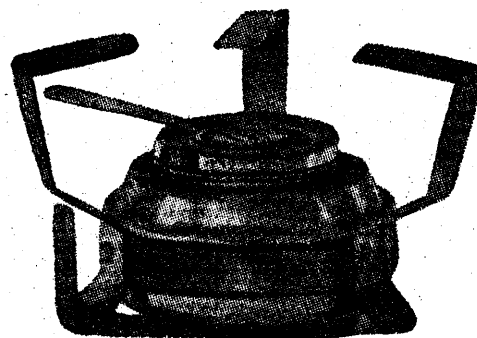
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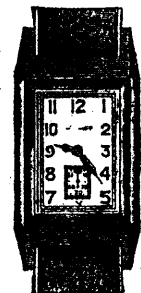
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

The Friend's Voice

"The Friend of India"—better known as "*The Statesman*"—has for some time past been writing brilliant articles on Foreign Policy and the present international situation. It has also been giving estimable advice to the people of India as to how they should behave at this critical juncture. The writer is particularly thankful to "The Friend of India" for the attention and importance it has been pleased to bestow on a small man like himself.

It is strange world that we live in and a world that is changing from hour to hour. Time was when Moscow was a bugbear to our "Friend" and the story was deliberately propagated that Moscow gold was regularly passing into the hands of political malcontents in India. Since the rise of Herr Hitler to power, he has displaced both Stalin and Trotsky and in recent months, the bogey of Berlin—and along with Berlin, of Rome and Tokio—has seized our "Friend" and caused it many a sleepless night. Simultaneously, Moscow has become a good boy and Moscow gold been transferred to Berlin, Rome and Tokio. Our "Friend's" imagination has, of late, begun to conjure up scenes of gold from Berlin—Rome—Tokio pouring into India and poisoning the minds of the docile and good-natured people of this country. But one wonders what "The Friend of India" will think or say now. Will Moscow remain a good boy or will it fall from favour because of association with vile Berlin after the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact?

"Friend" has made the remarkable discovery—or should one say, invention?—that the moment war breaks out, Indian malcontents will declare for Herr Hitler and line up behind him and the Berlin—Rome—Tokio Axis. The British people are not particularly reputed for their imagination, but our "Friend" is evidently an Exception—for exceptions prove the rule. His theory is interesting indeed and deserves credit.

Since disgruntled Indians will begin shouting "Heil Hitler" as soon as there is war in Europe, "Friend" has recommended capital punishment for them. Failing capital punishment, they should be safely lodged behind prison bars. Then all will be well both in India and Europe. India should certainly be grateful to such a "Friend."

Though these fulminations of the "Friend of India" have afforded us considerable entertainment, we must confess that they have, nevertheless, a sinister significance. This paper often functions as the mouthpiece and apologist of the Government of India and enables us to have a peep into the official mind of Great Britain. What "Friend" has said should not therefore be lightly dismissed as merely a piece of amusement.

In a recent article we are told by "Friend" that the outbreak of war should not mean the postponement of Federation. The journal has, of course, been a consistent advocate of the Federal Scheme as the one thing which will solve the Indian problem. It has been considered necessary to enquire as to what the Indian people themselves think about this solution of their own problem. Perhaps our "Friend" was distressed to hear it being mooted in certain official circles that with the advent of war, the Federal Scheme should automatically stand postponed and this appeared to "Friend" as nothing short of a calamity. Consequently, it has been at pains to convince people that on the contrary, war should expedite the inauguration of Federation. The point that will strike everybody is as to how Federation could be introduced when the Leftists are running up and down the country. This difficulty was previously solved by "Friend" through the suggestion that capital punishment or incarceration should suffice to silence the mischief-mongers and thereby pave the way for the easy advent of the Federal Scheme.

If the above suggestion find favour with the British Government or if they are an indication of the official mind, then what will happen in the event of war is that all the Leftists will be given short shrift by the British Government—not metaphorically but literally. When the coast is found clear, Federation will steam in and will be welcomed by the prospective ministers with drums beating

and colours flying—not the colours of the Indian National Congress, but of the British Empire which stands for peace, democracy and progress.

But there is after all, nothing fundamentally new in this scheme. It is just another illustration of the time-worn method of repression-cum-conciliation—with the only difference that this time the method to be adopted is more drastic than before.

Now what have we to say to such a course of treatment? The patient must, of course, have a say in the matter. In this present case, we might as well tell our "Friend" that if this superb method has failed every time in history, is there much hope that it will go down with the Indian people this time? They are not quite like dumb-driven cattle today and they may refuse to fit into the scheme prepared for them by others. Moreover, one cannot ignore altogether the temperament of the people. A drastic dose of repression applied to one section of the people may not necessarily frighten the rest of the people or another section thereof. It may, indeed, have the opposite effect of making them truculent. In that event, who will welcome Federation with drums and colours? A preliminary treatment of repression may make it impossible for even pro-federationists to a feeling to accept the Federal Scheme, with or without modification, owing to a feeling of revolt in the popular mind.

No, "Friend"! the solution is not so simple as you may think now, or as Lord Willingdon once thought. The Leftists are not such a negligible factor in the country as you would like them to be. Suppression of the Leftists may be possible, but it may upset your apple-cart also. Thank you for revealing your plans and for forewarning us. We assure you that we, on our part, are prepared for all contingencies and we are confident of winning our liberty, with or without the "Friend's" help.

Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Twilight Hour

The twilight hour between peace and war hangs over the world. Slowly the hope of peace recedes and the chasm of war yawns. The whole world shivers on the threshold of a colossal catastrophe. On one man in Europe rests the terrible responsibility of deciding whether to let the world plunge into it or not. The man is Herr Hitler.

Sir Neville Henderson was sent to Berlin with the British Government's reply to Hitler's communication. Meanwhile the nations have got nervous and are dressing up madly. The exodus of foreigners has increased everywhere. Troops have been called to colours. British cabinet is unusually active. Some parts of London have already been 'sandbagged.' Men are digging trenches round Gibraltar. Guns of the French Maginot Line are ready to give a roaring reception to the enemy. Precautionary measures for the protection of art treasures and archives and children have been taken. Bank rate has been raised in London. Borrowing of money for private enterprise, which should await more favourable conditions, is to be restricted. The exchange rate for sterling has been freed. The aim is conservation of the country's gold resources in the event of an emergency. The gold reserves of the Bank of England need protection. For that purpose the British Government have informed the French Government that the Exchange Equalisation Fund ceases to function in the foreign exchange market. These are all good war measures. It seems that the nations have already abandoned themselves to a cataclysm. Imperialism is gasping. Can it be given oxygen for a few days more?

Most probably not. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact has stopped the Anglo-French imperialist truckery. On one side the Pact is Hitler's one of the finest diplomatic triumphs over the dilatory tactics of the Bourgeois Democracies. In a most opportune moment Hitler has exposed Chamberlain and Daladier as first class parblind politicians of Europe. On the other side it is a grand evidence of Russia's consistent anti-aggressive policy, her socialist farsightedness and statesmanship. Now that the laying of too much stress upon the ideological basis of Hitler's foreign policy has

dawned upon Chamberlain as a nonsensical chimera, he and his follower Daladier, are fumbling about in encircling gloom to find out an explanation of Hitler's "anti-Bolshevism" and its relation to the Reich's policy of aggression. The facts dazzle before them. Hard facts of everyday politics. The much-talked of anti-Comintern Pact is now the visionary Demon of the nursery tale. Hitler now asks Japan to enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union. "Do I wake or sleep", thinks 'forlorn' Chamberlain. Fled is that vision of "anti-Bolshevism". Baffled is that connivance to drag Russia into the 'inferno' contemplated by him. Stalin pities him today. Hitler laughs at him.

As we write the Japanese Cabinet resigns on the issue of clashing attitudes towards Great Britain. The Anglo-French-Russian talks finally break off "in view of the serious differences which were revealed". The Polish Government have openly declared that they do not need and would not accept military help from the Soviet. The Supreme Soviet in an extraordinary session has ratified the Soviet-German Pact. Britain has re-assured Poland of her help. Poland will defend her integrity to the last. In strident tone Hitler has mouthed out his 'claims'. Danzig and the Corridor must return to the Reich. Danzig unconditionally forthwith and the Corridor by a plebiscite to be held a year hence. Hitler's claims are insatiable. Does not Roosevelt's repeated appeals for peace, amidst this boiling bustle, seem like a cry in the wilderness?

In this twilight hour of life and death what is India doing? We have heard of the despatch of Indian troops. The Congress members of the Central Assembly have decided as a protest against this measure, to refrain from attending the next session. Is that enough to make the British Government convinced about India's declared attitude towards them in the next war? We do not think so. The Working Committee, as "United Press" reports, is going to meet soon to discuss international affairs. "Reuter" gives us the news of Nehru's flying back to India in case of an outbreak of war. Good. But may we hope that a resolution will be passed to the effect that the Congress members of the Central Assembly should immediately resign, and the des-

patch of men and materials from India should forthwith be stopped? That will be perfectly non-violent, we believe. India will not take part in a war unleashed by British Imperialism. Let Imperialism alone reap the harvest it has sown. We need not carouse in its dying agony.

BIHAR CONGRESS

The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee has announced its judgment upon the guilt of Swami Sahajananda and his co-workers in the province. The announcement has been singularly unhappy. While Europe is burning and the future of humanity and of our civilisations is at stake, out comes our Bihar Congress lordings with their ban upon Swami Sahajananda, upon the Secretary of the Forward Bloc and the Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party. The folly is not only stupendous, but is something positively criminal.

Here was time not for seizing power in the District and Provincial Congress Committees or clinging to or clutching at ministerial offices and the offices of the Municipal Boards. Here was time to shape the destiny of India, to forge out the free India of to-morrow. Here was time to mobilise the resources of the Congress to win the freedom of India, not to weaken and dissipate them.

While Europe burns and the fate of the world is in the balance, the Congress leadership has wiped itself into pettiness and insignificance. We are amazed and pained to find the Congress still keeping itself busy with small things and irrelevant matters. All that matters today is the freedom of India and the progress of humanity. The country might have laughed at these bans and ukases, if, in the context of big things, they were not tragic. Let the Congress, before it is too late, shake off its pettiness and be big enough to win big things.

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Current Comments

War-panic

War is the most absorbing news today. Though it has not actually come as yet, its scare has already got heavily on the nerves. Normal life is being speedily replaced by abnormal arrangements. Conscriptons, black-outs, buzzing across in the sky and stretching sand-bags on the earth—all these point to the fact that a dark Destiny is staring grimly in the face of the nations. From indications it appears that the war-panic has sunk deepest in the British mind and some day we will hear that 'Fuhrer comes' has begun to figure in the cradle lullabies of England as 'Napoleon comes' did in the latter part of the 18th century.

"Just peace"

A few days ago in response to the appeal of President Roosevelt the Duce opined that he was keen on finding peace established in Europe but it should be "just peace." *The Times*, that serves as the organ-voice of the present British Cabinet and as such feels spiritual kinship with Fascism, has repeated this significant phrase in specific reference to China. "Britain would gladly see peace restored in China", it writes, "but it must be a just peace." Mussolini has given peace to Abyssinia and Britain has given a foretaste of the same precious thing in China by virtually recognising Japanese suzerainty over conquered territories after Tientsin. As regards justice, the Dictators and their sympathisers and supporters have a conception of it that is as poles asunder from the common human notion of the same.

Fall of Japanese Cabinet

The Hiranuma Cabinet in Japan has fallen and a new Cabinet has been formed with General Nobuyuki as Premier. The former Government was tied to the Axis and was wedded to Anti-Comintern vow. The Russo-German Pact has knocked down the old combination and Japan has been left practically to her own fates. Till the other day she was busy trampling down the British prestige in China. But now she has realised that discretion is the better part of valour and has, therefore, developed a sharp itch for friendship with Britain. The present Cabinet is frankly pro-British in sympathies. But Britain,

heavily pre-occupied in Europe, will not be able to render very great help to Japan and Russia, released from her anxieties on account of Western Frontier, will be in a position to make a southward dash. Just for the present she will continue to back up Chiang-kai-sek with her immense resources as a result of which Nippon will henceforth find in him a veritable Tartar to deal with. The Russo-German Pact has been the grave of Japan's dreams of establishing a new order in the East.

"Provisional federation"

In the event of war Britain will seek to make India the draining-ground of resources in men and money for which centralised control over the country is a necessity. And what can be a more handy instrument for the purpose than some sort of federation? Some leeway has still to be made to inaugurate the proposed federal scheme for which delay is unavoidable. The "Friend" of India—we mean *The Statesman*—has hit upon a friendly device to tide over the difficulty. It has suggested the immediate establishment of provisional federation—a plan that is reported to have found favour in Delhi and Simla. The Princes can be coaxed and cajoled and failing that coerced into joining it. But the Muslim League and the Congress are evidently hard nuts to crack. So *The Statesman* has addressed suppliant appeals to them, to be good friends to the Empire in this hour of dire crisis. It is not for us to indicate how the League, still dreaming of a Pakistan, will deal with the proposal. But the Congress has definitely taken its stand on the National Demand and will not budge an inch from it under any circumstances. To be a pawn in the game of British imperialism—the idea is utterly contemptible to it and is not worth a moment's notice.

Need of the Hour

It is hopeful to find that the menacing situation in the West has whipped up

the Working Committee of the Congress to some sense of reality. According to the Rastrapati, a meeting of the Cabinet will take place very soon to discuss the present situation and take decisions on it. Pandit Jawaharlal, who only a few days ago had gone to China on a pleasure-trip, or more precisely on adventure-trip, is winging back to India on receipt of an urgent cable. The terribly unsettled state in Europe has thrown out a splendid opportunity to India—to fight and win her national freedom. Let not the Congress capitulate for a few crumbs of imperial favour and thus ruin the golden chance. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose has been repeatedly sounding the clarion-call of struggle and has often made the generous offer of being a mere camp-follower in it. The responsibility now rests on Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee to give the country a suitable lead. That is the need of the hour.

National Struggle Week

We are in the midst of the National Struggle Week now which started on Thursday last in pursuance of the appeal issued by the All-India Left Consolidation Committee. May the week serve its dual and co-related purpose—that of making us poignantly conscious of our present fallen state and imbuing us with a spirit of fight to establish our birth-right. We repeat today that we are no believers in Swaraj by patches and shreds which appears to us to be a sheer contradiction in terms. The nation needs to be exercised of the constitutional mentality that has cumbered it from coming to its own. We appeal to all to make the Week a success.

Pandit Jawaharlal's place

So long we had been puzzled as to the exact place of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the present Congress. Now Panditji has himself solved the riddle for us. At Poona, recently, he sounded the following note of caution to Leftists. "Remember that there are others who are neither Leftists nor Rightists." Thus, according to Panditji, there is an intermediate airy zone between the two to accommodate himself and others of his ilk, if there be any. The statement must have tickled Mahatma Gandhi and the Rightist leaders to a sly smile at his back.

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WILL THE FEAR COME TRUE ?

BY Swami SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI

An inspired message from Ranchi, the head-quarters of the Bihar Government at present, has appeared in the press very recently to the effect that there is no danger of the low price of Sugar-cane being fixed by the Government and all apprehensions in this behalf are baseless. So far so good. But the cat comes out of the bag when after an elaborate and laboured plea in the defence of the Sugar Syndicate in particular and sugar mills in general the message admits that the Khaitan Committee has recommended the irreducible minimum of annas five per maund of cane "which is likely to be accepted by Government" and also the sliding scale of prices recommended by the same committee. All this seems in reply to my previous statement to this effect and also the resolution of the B. P. Kisan Council. But my fear comes true if the Government fix even five annas per maund and no amount of specious plea and defence of an utterly indefensible case can overshadow it. Even a man in the street possessing an iota of experience and common sense can not be such a fool as to accept that the kisans are going to be benefited by this so called sliding scale when and if the high price of sugar is brought about even in the middle of the season. No sugar mills and certainly not the Sugar Syndicate will ever think of raising the prices of sugar in the midst of crushing season. It is, therefore, almost sure that the growers are not going to have more than five annas for one maund of cane, if some unforeseen events do not force the hands of those who are responsible or have a voice in the fixation of prices for cane. I have before me the index of the prices of sugar during these very days of last year and it shows that sugar was actually selling then at the rate between seven and eight rupees a maund. But this year even the forward sale prices are between eight and nine rupees, while the actual sale prices something about ten. In the circumstances one fails to understand why this contemplation to fix only five annas as the minimum price of cane for this year while the same was something about seven annas last year. Will any one explain the logic or reason behind

(Continued on page 7)

