

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

FORWARD BLOC

FOLLOW
The World Affairs
on a
PHILCO
World's fastest
selling radios
Sole Distributors
Radio Supply Stores
Ltd.
3, Dalhousie Sq.
Calcutta.

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 7

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1939

ONE ANNA

'ECONOMIC FREEDOM'

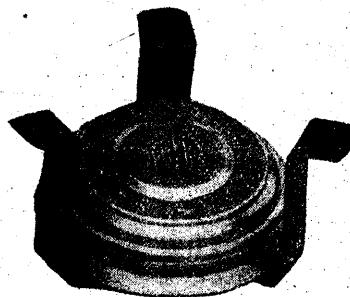
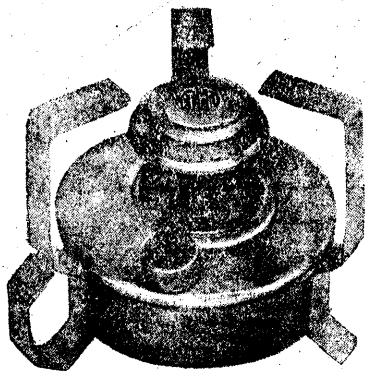


TABLE LAMPS

SPIRIT STOVES.



Madras Distributor—
BENGAL
ELECTRICAL
CO.

SHILPA-PEETH LIMITED.
ALAM BAZAR, CALCUTTA.

Bombay Distributor—
V. PRABHA
&
CO.

Whole Life Rs. 12/-

—BONUS—

Endowment Rs. 10/-

BHAGYA LAKSHMI

INSURANCE LTD.

OBLIGATIONS OF NEW INSURANCE ACT MET

We shall have our own Building soon.

Head Office :—3/1, MANGO E LANE, CALCUTTA.

Phone. Cal. 2748.

Respectable, Reliable & Renowned Indian Confectioners—

KAMALA MISTANNA BHANDAR

ALWAYS AT YOUR SERVICE


AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA.

PHONE : B. B. 1379

We have no other Branch any where.

**MAKE SURE YOUR
DOCTOR SAYS —
LILY
BRAND
BARLEY**

PREPARED DAILY IN
CALCUTTA,
'LILY' Brand Barley
does not deteriorate
with Climatic condi-
tions.


**LEVER WRIST WATCH**

5 years guarantee. Sold
by others for Rs. 10/-,
we offer for Rs. 2/8 only.
Packing postage -/10/-.
Free for three at a time.

WATSON & CO.,
21-A, CANNING STREET,
CALCUTTA (F.B.)

*Represent and
Insure with*

THE RAJSTHAN

INSURANCE Co. Ltd.

**Most popular and progressive
life office.**

*Wanted representative in all
unrepresented areas.*

Head Office : 12, CLIVE ST., CALCUTTA.

**A Progressive Indian Bank.
CENTRAL CALCUTTA BANK LTD**

Head Office — 3, HARE ST., CALCUTTA.

Branches :—

Shyambazar, Naihati, Sirajganj, South
Calcutta, Dinajpur, Benares.

*Wanted agents for selling shares of the
Bank.*

Dividend in 1937 & 1938...6½% free of
Income tax

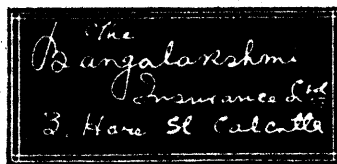
SRINATH HOSIERY.

Quality of Qualities

for : 2030, 944, "Sun-Sweet," 500, 5005
20, STRAND ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Phone Cal. 4487. Gram : Chandako.

PROP :—A. CHANDA.



For anything in
Typewriters
Please Consult

PHONE CAL. 391.

GLOBE TYPEWRITER CO.,
10, CLIVE ROW, CALCUTTA.

**FOR SERVICE & SECURITY
BANK OF COMMERCE LTD.**

HEAD OFFICE :—

12, CLIVE ST. CALCUTTA.

BRANCHES :—

COLLEGE ST., KIDDERPORE, BALLYGUNJ & BURDWAN.

THE PROGRESSIVE BANKING INSTITUTION OF BENGAL.

PROMPTNESS A SPECIALTY.

FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

Of the Marrow

The war has only just begun. It is too early to say how long it will last and what portion of humanity it will take into its sweep. The other day Mr. Chamberlain declared that the war would not end before three years. The last great war lasted about five years and the magnitude of destruction that it wrought is now a part of familiar history. It must not be supposed that even if the present war terminates after three years according to the forecast of the British Premier, the havoc will be any the less. Thanks to the perverted use of progressive science, the agencies of destruction have become much quicker and deadlier today. Then again, it is yet uncertain how many more countries shall have to be involved in the war and when. Mussolini seems only to be biding time in a pose of reticent neutrality; Japan is still undecided, hovering between ideology and expediency. Russia, in spite of the Non-Aggression Pact, seems to be in a disturbed and uncertain mood and her steadily proceeding military preparations are not certainly to be taken as a happy omen; and who knows that America will not repeat the performance of the last war and leap down the fence finally to have a share in the spoils? When the bigger powers will take the field, the smaller ones in Europe will not be able to keep away from the fray for long with the result that the conflagration will gradually engulf almost the whole of humanity. If this estimate of the situation turns out to be true, then not only the map of the World shall have to be re-drawn but what is far more important, the whole attitude of mankind towards life and its problems shall have to undergo a thorough transformation.

After the last great war humanity found itself confronted with a dreary mental blank. The ideals to which it had clung before and which supplied it with faith and hope in the hour of crisis, had all been knocked down to the dust by a mighty psychological shock. The Post-War literature records the terrible

emptiness of mind of the contemporary generation. Eliot's *Waste land* is a typical picture of the mental desolation that overcame all thinking minds. Where is peace, where is peace, was the cry that was wrung out of the bruised and agonised souls. Soaring idealism prescribed universal love and fraternity as the only panacea for the disease to which Europe, nay, practically the whole of thinking humanity fell a victim. But where was love in practice? Was not fraternity an unmeaning word? Rather the exploitation of the weak by the strong continued as rampant as ever. The reality of things was a negation of all idealism. The gross iniquities of life drove, as literature testifies, the most profound idealists to take shelter in the inmost recesses of the soul and revel in mystic musings. Thus with them thought became divorced from life, idea from reality. But man can neither wallow in the blank nor keep flying in the empyrean for long by shutting out his eyes to the world below. He seeks adjustment between the two; so the search went on and hard thinking continued. The latest trend of literature seems to have envisaged that adjustment. If man is to look up full to the sky, he must have the right and privilege of standing erect on the earth and not merely be left rolling in the dust. If life is to flower forth in beauties of its art and religion, genuine and full-blooded, must be assured of the very fundamentals of that unfoldment—freedom and democracy for all. Good-will and peace, the twin blessings for humanity, can only follow the practical establishment of those principles in the world. Will the present war liquidate the accumulated iniquities in the world and serve as a sort of purgatoris for mankind? Will it usher in an era of universal freedom and peace? Who knows?

Congress and Unity

It will be remembered that the Constitution Committee wanted members of the Forward Bloc and Socialists to be kept out from the Congress organisation. Members of "other organisations," that is, other than those who belonged to the Gandhi Seva Sangha or said ditto to it, were to be bawled. This punitive clause, however, was dropped at the last moment

on account of the pressure of public opinion or for fear of public odium. It is said that Gandhiji himself advised moderation and sanity.

But the Gandhiji-ites who are in power in the Congress organisation to-day have not been able to shake off the "purge" mania that has seized them and to forego the immediate benefits of a system of ruthless 'purge.' Authoritarianism—conformity—uniformity—these are all that they want. They are impatient of opposition. They are intolerant of other minds and other ideas. 'Either we or they'—this is the slogan. And self-interest dictates that the best is that "we" remain in power and not "they."

The most useful instrument of this policy of purge is disciplinary action'. Those who are not with us are against us, and disciplinary action is the most suitable punishment for 'disobedience' in any form or measure. The Congress, from the commonsense point of view, from the point of view of service to the nation, needs strengthening, needs reinforcements. But the Congress High Command—and their prototypes in the provinces of India have ruled that Swami Sahajananda is undesirable—that Mr. K. F. Nariman is inconvenient, that all those who do not think and act according to a prescribed pattern must go out.

We hear sentimental talks about unity now and then. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—and Jawaharlal Nehru say that unity is not only desirable but is essential "at this critical hour", but the purge goes on as ruthlessly as ever before.

The Delhi Provincial Congress Committee has been disaffiliated. Bengal is being threatened with extinction. And in the remote north west frontier of India, "an important decision to alter the constitution of the Provincial Congress Committee so as to eliminate all other parties existing within it except the Congress" (that is to say, Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan's party) has been taken.

We are told Gandhiji at Abbotabad advised against this course. But he has not succeeded, it seems, in curing the "purge" mania. Keep out others by all "peaceful and legitimate" means. All power only to ourselves! And—all the time, there is to be diligent talk of unity, which, however, should mean only homogeneity. The new forces refuse to be crushed.

Current Comments

"All Quiet"

War is news; it is *the news*. But news about the war is meagre. So much so, that people in the bazars have been heard to express that in fact there was no war. Some conceded that Poland has been fighting for her life; many wondered what Britain or France was doing on the Western Front. "All quiet on all fronts?" dubiously comment others as they scan the news sheets and drop them by. To a great extent, we owe this feeling to our ignorance of the military art and science of modern times to which we have been condemned by our masters. We ask why Poland cannot have British or French forces; why the Western front did not immediately prove to be the theatre of main operations, why the bombers only rain leaflets over Germany and the Great British Navy does not still sweep the seven seas. This may be childish; but when knowledge of the elementary things of modern warfare is tabooed, our imagination is not limited by anything—any knowledge of the barriers that stand in the way of big engagements, or of the strategic or preparatory requirements for them. The policy of our rulers puts a premium on all wild imaginings. It is, therefore, all the more desirable that war news should be ampler in supply, should not be withheld from the "market" in censorship stores to be retailed out like commodities in our bazars; and there should be less effort to control than to educate the public on the realities of modern warfare.

About Poland

If the "*Pravda*" of Moscow is to be believed, the Poles may break from within. "Polish ruling circles have done everything possible to aggravate their relations with the national minorities and bring them to a state of extreme tension."

The "*Pravda*" analyses the internal causes of Poland's "defeat" and says that these are difficult to explain merely by the superiority of German technique, and equipment, and lack of effective assistance from Britain and France.

"All reports on the situation in Poland show that the disorganisation of the entire Polish State machine is constantly increasing and it proved so important and inefficient that it began to crumble with the first military setbacks. The Poles are only sixty per cent of the population

and the remainder include eight million Ukrainians and three million White Russians without administrative autonomy, national schools etc. With the clear thought of such rights it is impossible to preserve a multi-national State and assure internal unity of a vital power."

Poland has in the past shown no consideration for small nations—Lithuania or Czecho-slovakia. But Moscow, perhaps, does not take kindly to Poland which even on the eve of the War would not agree to receive Soviet help on her territories against aggression from other powers. This comment by the "*Pravda*" accompanied by Soviet mobilisation however, is significant under the circumstances.

Japanese Problems in China

War in Europe claims the attention of the world. "The China incident" has sunk into a comparatively minor affair—though it involves the fate of more men and of a large part of the globe. In a sense a more heroic chapter of human history is being written there. In the hinterlands of the 'wide, wild, west' of the vast continent of China—for China is really a continent—Chiang-Kai-Shek is striving—to build up a new China on sounder foundations. While Japanese war economy is sorely trying her resources, China on the whole is in no worse position. The "Sung dynasty" can show a practical success in the matter. The Chinese dollar was to die and the Sung finance to collapse before Japan could make any further progress. Madam Chiang-Kai-Shek is building up a new Chinese womanhood—not merely 'new women' as the west knows;—but a sound, healthy, trained army of China's 'daughters of revolution', equal to the task of the Front and the Base. The Generalissimo of course is creating the new army of China on the experience of the campaigns of the last two years, planning the factories for Chinese arms and ammunition, and arranging for the supply of the same from outside as Japan closes one door after another. The recent break in the 'Axis' has encouraged the Chinese to expect more handsome help from the Soviet. It has opened better prospect for Chinese of a successful resistance, and, Chinese spirit, unbroken so far, must now assert itself vigorously. Japan may probably reach a settlement now on easier terms with Britain and France, in Far East, but the "New order in the Far

East" must appear to be a vain pursuit before the Chinese reconstruction and the Soviet re-emergence in the Far East.

Not a Ministry of Repression

News for India are allowed to trickle only through the British sources. That is inevitable now. But the recent attack on the British Ministry of Information, the "muddle" they are accused of, shows that even the British politicians and publicists felt that they were being kept in the dark on the "Athenia" tragedy, the Kiel exploit and on the stationing of British expeditionary force on the French soil. The Labour leader, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, warned the Government against 'the intolerable situation': "If this sort of thing was not stopped they would be playing with the most tricky thing in the country—the psychology of the people. There was an even more serious side to this problem than the Home side—the problem of foreign and Dominion Press. The world was agog for news. If they could not get it from this country they would get it from elsewhere. If they could not get the news, they would take rumour or propaganda." Lord Macmillan, the head of the Ministry, promised more news and assured: "It is a Ministry of expression and not a Ministry of repression, least of all a Ministry of depression."

What it is in India

We in India, of course, passed through the same that is characterised as 'an intolerable situation! The Press officer play in this respect a minor role. They dole out the Home supply. "Commenting on the personnel of the British information Ministry, *the Statesman* said that its Director-General Sir Findlater Stewart of the India Office had "no direct knowledge of publicity" and "his concern . . . had been more with the holding than with the distribution of news". This India Office stamp so intolerable in Britain, is of course less deep than its original, the Indian official stamp. *The Statesman* would remind us, here other standards are to apply—did always apply—.

Release of Politicals

The Bengal Government have not yet found their way to release even a small portion of the remaining politicals although their promised period for the consideration of the cases is about to expire. It is said that Mahatma Gandhi pressed on the Viceroy the release of the politicals during his recent interview with the latter to which Lord Linlithgow is understood to have given a sympathetic hearing. In the meantime the Punjab Government—also non-Congress—have already stolen a march over the Bengal Ministry by setting Prithwi Singh to liberty. The Bengal Government have proved impervious to public demand and it will certainly be no credit to the "popular" Ministry if the Viceroy's intervention force them to a course to which insistent public demand could not persuade them.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE TO WAR

GANDHIJI EXPLAINS

"The Congress support will mean greater moral asset in favour of England, for the Congress has no soldier to offer. The Congress will fight with non-violent means. All that is required is a mental revolution on the part of the British Government and a clear declaration in their faith in democracy", says Mahatma Gandhi in course of a statement issued to the press to-night in connection with the Congress vis-a-vis the present international situation.

Gandhiji also says that the Working Committee's press statement on the war situation took four days before it took the final shape. Every member expresses his opinion freely on the draft resolution that was, at the invitation of the Working Committee, prepared by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhiji was sorry to find himself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British Government should be given unconditionally.

This could only be done on purely non-violent basis, but the Committee has tremendous responsibilities to discharge. It could not take a purely non-violent attitude. It felt that the nation had not imbibed a non-violent spirit requisite for provision of strength which disdains to take advantage of the difficulties of opponents. But in stating reasons for its conclusion the Committee desires to show greater considerations for the issues.

Gandhiji further adds that the author of the statement is an artist who cannot be surpassed in his implacable hostility to imperialism in every shape or form. He is a friend of the English people. Indeed he is more English than Indian in his methods. He is more at home with the English than with his own men. He is a humanitarian in the true sense of the word. His nationalism is enriched by his fine internationalism. His statement is a manifesto addressed not only to the British Government and British people, but addressed to the nations of the world. He has compelled India through the Working Committee to think not merely of her own friends, but of other peoples also.

Gandhiji hopes this statement will receive the unanimous support of all parties including Congressmen. At this supreme hour of country's history, Mahatmaji trusts, Congressmen and others will not engage themselves in petty squabbles.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The following are extracts from the Working Committee statement from Wardha:

"The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of a war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally and circumscribe and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments. These have been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

Fascism Condemned

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principle of imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who resist it.

The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be

SJ. SUBHAS BOSE ON CONGRESS RESOLUTION

His breaking away from the position at present taken up by the Working Committee at Wardha was referred to by S. Subhas Chandra Bose addressing a gathering of about fifteen thousand at Nagpur on Sept. 13.

S. Bose said that he took his stand on the resolution that stood on the Congress statute book. He added that Poland was a semi-Fascist State but because she had been attacked by Germany who did not try to settle her claim by peaceful means she had their sympathies. It was a pity that at this critical juncture the Working Committee was deliberating for five days and was unable to come up to a final decision. He hoped the Committee would take public opinion into account. Congress was the only political body in the country and on it lay a great responsibility and it should give a correct lead.

Difference in method.

Alluding to the difference that had arisen in Congress S. Bose said this was not because they had different objectives but because of different methods of their achievement. Congress was not Liberal Federation. Under the Congress programme of constitutionalism real fight was forgotten while a fight for loaves and fishes amongst themselves had grown.

Concluding S. Bose appealed for unity of classes and communities.

exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision or attempt to use Indian resources for purposes not approved by them will necessarily have to be opposed by them. If co-operation is desired in a worthy cause this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by an external authority.

There is an inherent ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and Imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for maintenance and extension of democracy then she must necessarily end Imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have

