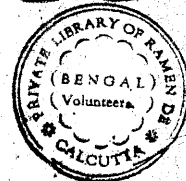


Our Working Committee

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE



VOL. I. No. 17

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY DECEMBER 2, 1939

ONE ANNA



To,

Messrs. SHILPA-PEETH LIMITED,
CALCUTTA.

Mysore,
28-10-39.

Gentlemen,

I highly appreciated the display of your spirit stoves and table lamps at the Mysore Dasara Exhibition. I was personally present at the function of distribution of awards of merit by H. H. THE CROWN PRINCE OF MYSORE and was highly gratified by the declaration of the 1939 GOLD MEDAL for your manufactures.

I pray to God that you may achieve success in your enterprise and thus glorify the name of Bengal in India and abroad.

Yours sincerely.

Translated.

Sd/ Keshabchandra Chakrabarty.

Keshabchandra Chakrabarty

Madras Distributors—
BENGAL
ELECTRICALS
CO.

SHILPA-PEETH LIMITED.
ALAM BAZAR, CALCUTTA.

Bombay Distributors—
V. PRABHA & CO.
Rangoon Distributors—
H. HIRJI & CO.

LOANS FOR ALL :—with or without Security Repayable by 100 equal monthly instalments and other Banking transactions of all descriptions. Apply to—

ASIATIC BANK LTD., H. O. KARACHI OR 15, Clive St., Calcutta.

Unique Opportunity for Small Investors

IN STOCKS AND SHARES

THE SCHEME—Suppose a man wants to buy some shares the full value of which he cannot afford to pay. We shall give him a loan of 75% of the value provided 25% is paid by him. We shall charge 6% interest only on the amount to be paid till it is sold. Full particulars of the scheme will be found in our "MARKET REPORT." Annual fee Rs. 3/-. Specimen copy free on request.

OUR APPRECIATION —(1) Mr. Ramchandra Kashinath Velanker, Satara City (Bombay Presidency), says :—"Received your letter of the 1st. instant, with a cheque for Rs. 980 on Lloyds Bank. Many thanks for your troubles. I am glad to note that you have all along acted with zeal, promptness and honesty in doing the business and wish you a success....."

(2) "Industry," one of the best Industrial Magazines of India, says :—"The Syndicate was established in 1925 and since then it has been efficiently working as Stock, Share & Finance Brokers.....To help those who are dealers in and Stockists of share, the Syndicate has started a monthly report of Share Market dealing with the quotation of the prices of all marketable Shares and Government papers. The general investors who desire to invest profitably in Shares will find this Journal a very useful guide."

(3) "Leader" the widely circulated U. P. paper says :—

"As an investment consultant, stock, shares and finance brokers, the Bengal Shares Dealers' Syndicate, a registered concern, established in 1925, managed by Mr. S. Chatterji, has, it is understood, made a good name in the market. The Syndicate has introduced a novel scheme of marginal deposit to provide small investors. To give the idea of sure investment to publish up-to date information of the market and advise the customers how to make a profit, the Syndicate is issuing a "Monthly share market report." The Lloyds Bank and Bank of India, Ltd., as the bankers of the Syndicate, can be referred to for its monetary capacity and general credit."

Nelaji Sabash

Nelaji Zindabad

Thousands of such appreciations are forthcoming unasked for. We expect such from our prospective clients too :—

Apply Messrs.

BENGAL SHARE DEALERS' SYNDICATE, (Govt. Regd.)

(STOCK & SHARE DEALERS & FINANCE BROKERS.)

3 & 4, HARE STREET, CALCUTTA.
Telegrams:—ARYOPLANTS

POST BOX
Cal. 2318

PHONE :—CAL. 1048 & 1049

Jai Hind Jai Hind

HOM EOPATHIC MEDICINE

Price 5 & 6 Pice

American Homeopathic and Biochemic medicines. Sugar of Milk, Globules, Phials, Velvet Corks, Card-board cases, English, Bengali, Hindi Books and all sorts of medical sundries at the cheapest rate.

B. C. Dhar & Bros. Ltd.
81, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA.

No Remedy is better than

NEUROL

in case of any weakness of brain, nerves and heart. It promptly relieves, vertigo, sleeplessness and palpitation of heart and asthma. As it strengthens memory, students and brain workers are greatly benefited by it. There is nothing like neurol to give new energy to both body and mind. Phial Rs 1/12. To be had of DESHBANDHU MEDICAL HALL 128D, Manikola Road, Calcutta.

LEPROSY

ANAESTHETIC, HYPERAESTHETIC & NODULAR LEPROA INFECTED WITH VARIOUS SYMPTOMS, ECZEMA, BACILLUS SORES & ALL SORTS OF SKIN DISEASES WITH 14 DIFFERENT SYMPTOMS OF

LEUCODERMA

ARE WONDERFULLY CURED BY THE MIRACULOUS SPECIFIC OF FAMOUS LEPRO-SPECIALIST

Pt. RAMDAS SHARMA KAVIRAJ.

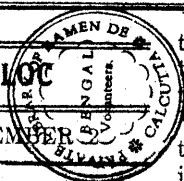
ASK FOR FREE BOOKLET.

ADDRESS:—HOWRAH KUSTHA-KUTIR KHURDI—BHARMATOLA, HOWRAH

BRANCH—40, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA

FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939



Our Working Committee

The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc met at Calcutta on the 24th November and the following days. Representatives of other Leftist organisations like the All-India Kishan Sabha and the National Front Group attended on invitation and their presence and advice were exceedingly helpful. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati who is a host in himself, besides being the General Secretary of the All-India Kishan Sabha, and who is a tower of strength to the Left Movement in India was good enough to visit Calcutta twice within a fortnight—his second visit being on the occasion of the meeting of our All-India Working Committee. The Committee did a great deal of hard thinking and heart-searching and passed sixteen resolutions on questions of varying importance. These resolutions have already appeared in the daily press but they are also published in one lot in this issue.

The main resolution deals with the present situation in India. It examines in great detail the stand taken by the Congress Working Committee with regard to the major questions of War Policy and India's National Demand and adversely criticises that Committee on some points. This resolution deserves the attention of the public. The central point in it is that the position and stand of the Congress Working Committee have not yet been clarified with the result that the people at large are left in considerable doubt. Some of the utterances and statements of members of that Committee as also of Mahatma Gandhi create the impression that they mean a fight. Others create a contrary impression—as, for instance, the remark of Mahatmaji to the effect that he will resist Civil Disobedience if started and of Sjt. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, to the effect that the Congress Ministers are on a three months' holiday. Over and above

these remarks, news trickle in from time to time which tend to confirm the impression that the Congress Working Committee will not ultimately show fight. For instance, it is reported from Bihar that the Advisers who are carrying on the administration since the recent ministerial resignations, have in some cases been ordering that files are to be put up before the Congress Ministers when they come back to office.

The Forward Bloc has made it clear more than once that in the event of the Congress Working Committee not giving the lead expected of it, it will endeavour to do so—though the best thing would undoubtedly be for the official call to go forth in the name of the Congress. The point at issue now is as to what the C.W.C. will ultimately decide. There should be no room for complaint that it was prepared to give the call and that somebody else butted in. So far, the C.W.C. has been asking others to wait and to give it a chance to satisfy the public demand. But there should be a limit to our patience. Consequently, the sooner the C.W.C. comes to a decision, one way or the other, and announces it, the better for everybody concerned.

As in many other cases, double-faced propaganda is now being conducted against us by our political opponents. We are being condemned for threatening to act independently of the C.W.C. and of Mahatma Gandhi. We are at the same time being adversely criticised for not declaring war on the British Government. Members of the C.W.C. are reported to have openly challenged us in public meetings to go ahead and launch a struggle. Either attack leaves us unaffected, for we have to determine the course of action that would be most conducive to our national welfare, regardless of the smiles or frowns of our critics.

The declared attitude of the Forward Bloc should not be construed as a threat or a challenge to the C. W. C.—for it is not so. That is why it has also been repeatedly stated that the most desirable thing would be for the C. W. C. to move forward and have an undivided

Congress behind itself. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that our attitude has had and will have a steadying effect on the C.W.C. Who can now tell what the C.W.C. would have decided after the outbreak of war in September or whether the Congress Ministries would have resigned by now, but for the bold stand taken by the Leftists on the issues of War policy and National Demand?

The resolution on the International situation is also important since it defines clearly our attitude towards recent world developments. It is not generally recognised that the countries primarily responsible for the mess that we now see in Europe are Great Britain and France. Both these countries have encouraged Fascism in various forms out of an implacable hatred for Soviet Russia and have sought to eliminate the latter from European Politics. Further, Great Britain is responsible for undermining and ultimately breaking the elaborate systems of alliances which France, largely through M. Laval's efforts, built up on the Continent with a view to encircling Germany. After France was thereby reduced to impotence, she naturally threw herself into the arms of Britain. In consequence thereof, Europe outside Russia, Germany and Italy, is today being governed by British Foreign Policy. Russia had consistently and tenaciously endeavoured to secure an understanding with Great Britain and France and also with Poland. It was only after she was convinced of the utter hopelessness of this effort, that she decided to enter into a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. The statements on Foreign Policy made in recent months by M. Molotov on behalf of the Soviet Government are remarkable for their clarity and transparent lucidity and should serve as an example to all Foreign Ministers.

The recent arrest of Pandit V. D. Tripathi, Secretary of the All India Committee and President of the Provincial Committee of the Forward Bloc is extremely significant. It has brought into prominence before the public eye what we had already known before—viz, that the repressive policy against the

Forward Bloc is in full swing. To use a rather unhappy but very effective expression, Tripathiji is the uncrowned king of his own district of Unao in U. P. Besides his position in the Forward Bloc, he is the Chairman of the Unao Municipality, Member of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, member of the Executive Council of the Provincial Congress Committee, of the All India Congress Committee and of the War Council of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee. The arrest of a leader of such outstanding position carries its own moral.

The other resolutions passed by the A. I. W. C. of the Forward Bloc will show that we are now under cross-fire. There is governmental repression on the one hand and unmitigated vendetta of the Congress High Command on the other. At the moment, the latter is causing more harassment than the former. But we shall survive both.

The resolution on the Bengal Political prisoners was a timely one. It made it clear that the Forward Bloc stood by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in its pledge to the Political Prisoners. There is no room for apprehension that that pledge will not be redeemed. Whether as a separate issue or as an integral part of larger All-India issues, the Bengal P.C.C. will fight for the cause of the Political Prisoners and in this task it will have the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the Forward Bloc.

The resolutions dealing with Muslims under different heads also deserve attention and perusal and particularly of Muslims themselves. They clearly illustrate our manner of approach to the Hindu-Muslim problem. A special resolution on the Majlis-i-Ahrar was absolutely necessary, because the Ahrars have not unfortunately received as much attention so far as they should really deserve.

In conclusion, let it be noted from now by all concerned that the next Independence Day on the 26th. January, 1940, will have special significance. Our Working Committee has referred to this matter as well.

Subhas Chandra Bose

Congress and Ministries

The withdrawal of the Congress ministries was announced with a flourish of trumpets. The Indian press gave the news under the banner headlines. The platform rang with cheers for the Congress. The Rightist leaders averred that it was a heroic act of self-sacrifice. The Rightist rank and file welcomed it as a great gesture of something more heroic to come. The anti-British foreign press blessed it as meaning an act of defiance. It was certainly received in the country as a matter of great moment, an earnest of developments that should determine the course of the Indian struggle for independence. Really, it raised expectations in the country. The resignation of the Congress Ministries, read in the context in which it was done, should be a matter of significance. It should mean, first and foremost, disapproval of Britain's war and peace aims, disapproval of British policy regarding India, a definite and well-planned stage in the preparation for India's struggle for freedom. It should mean all this, provided however it was sincere.

The policy of masterly inactivity that is being followed by the Congress High Command after the withdrawal of the Congress Ministries has belied the expectations that it raised in the minds of unsophisticated people. We are told that the role of the Congress at present is to sulk in a wise passivity. We are only "non-co-operating" and non-co-operation is to be clearly and consciously distinguished from civil disobedience. The speeches and writings of the Rightist leaders are a diligent exercise in moderation, and the people are being told not to do or say things that may be calculated to grate upon the ears of the British authority in India or in any way to embarrass it. The discontent that is said to be divine in a subject race is being deliberately smothered. On the contrary, all idea of direct action, all idea of something more significant to follow the resignation is being zealously discounted. Sufficient hint has been given by some of the Rightist leaders and by many of the ex-Ministers that a come-

back is within the range of probability. A distinguished Madras Minister is said to have stated in a public meeting that the resignations meant only a "holiday". Mr. Satyamurti of course can afford to be more outspoken. He has not only regretted the absence of the Congress Ministers but would fain see them back in their places in the secretariats. In the North-West Frontier province, in U. P., in Bihar, stories are current to the effect that the Congress Ministries are soon staging a come-back. The statement issued to the press by T. Prakasam of Madras clearly shows that the withdrawal of the Congress Ministries was not a very heroic affair at all and is not related to the struggle for Indian freedom. It was a virtue of necessity. Immediately after the outbreak of war in Europe, the permanent officials began functioning independently of the Ministries and without reference to them. The Congress has only saved itself from the odium of bad and unpleasant actions by ordering the withdrawal.

For the Indian people the resignation of the Congress Ministries can have meaning only if it is followed to its logical conclusion. Nowhere in the history of the world has any independence movement thrived on inaction. Passivity, wise or otherwise, is no policy. In a supreme moment of Indian history, the Congress leadership is showing a woeful confusion of mind. It is time the rank and file of the Congress were alive to the dangers of passivity, and freed themselves from illusions.

Britain's Aims

In two of his recent speeches Mr. Chamberlain has proclaimed the war aims and the peace aims of Britain. The second speech may be said to be supplementary and, to a certain extent, explanatory to the first. The speeches may have been a disappointment to the credulous and unthinking, but to the discerning they have been nothing more than a fun. Destruction of Hitlerism (mind, not of Hitler!) is the war aim of Britain and the Premier's hope is that "if the German people could be convinced

that their aggressive spirit was as bad for themselves as for the rest of the world, they would abandon it." It seems that Mahatma Gandhi has not preached his doctrine so long quite in vain, for it has, after all, touched the heart of the British Lion. But the Lion cannot become a lamb all at once. So follows the rider, "If we could secure that they did abandon it without bloodshed, so much the better, *but abandoned it must be.*" (Italics ours.) Here again is the roar of the Lion! If the enemy cannot be changed, he must be destroyed. For what? Now comes an enunciation of Britain's noble peace aims. "Our desire would be to establish a new Europe not in the sense of re-drawing the map according to the ideas of the victors, but a Europe with a new spirit in which the nations of Europe would approach their difficulties with goodwill and mutual tolerance."

From the declaration we are assured that Europe will have an end of its troubles after the war. Peace will descend on it like a gentle rain from Heaven and everything will be all right. But the question remained, what about the two continents, called Asia and Africa? The Premier has supplied the answer in his second speech. "I feel that Europe is the key to the situation and if Europe can be settled, the rest of the world would not prove so difficult a problem." The implication is quite clear. If the nations of Europe can square up accounts among themselves, the rest of the task will be very easy of accomplishment. It is needless to point out that it is nothing else than the old imperialist slogan—the whiteman is to carry the "burden" of the black for all time to come. In other words, the imperialist *status quo* is to be maintained for good, at least as long as possible.

It is good that the Premier has himself pricked the bubble. The vaguely tall professions of the British statesmen (including Mr. Chamberlain himself) about the establishment of democracy and peace after the war have now been proved to be nothing more than mere words. Not that India had any illusions about Britain's war aims; at least the awakened, alert and sensible

sections among the Indians knew as much from the very beginning. To them Mr. Chamberlain's speeches have been no revelation, either sad or pleasant. They are sure about the destiny of their motherland and they are determined to achieve it. They know that there is a higher Dispensation than that of the British, French or German. They have a clear and unfailing vision of the same. Mr. Chamberlain's speeches have only tickled them to abundant fun. The British Premier wants to destroy Hitlerism. But imperialist interests have so dulled his wits that it has evidently failed him that by doing away with Hitlerism in one country, he will virtually be helping to keep it alive in others. For whatever the garb, are not fascism and imperialism twins in spirit?

CURRENT COMMENTS

Finis ?

By the time it is in print, the fate of Finland will be decided. Would it be an epitaph that will be written in smoking ruins of Helsinki? Or, would it be a prologue to a new Finnish regime of the Finnish people rising out of those ashes? To a great extent—almost solely—that depends on the wish of Moscow today. Much is not known of the land of lakes and mists. It still remains to be learnt why this State stood out against Moscow and refused to settle the outstanding questions. Was its independence really imperilled by the Moscow terms? Was it safe in those pre-September days when for years Finland challenged the Soviet neighbour and set up all military projects that were a threat to Leningrad? Are then safety of Finland and the safety of Leningrad two irreconcilable things? We refuse to believe in such alternatives. The safety and interest at any rate of the two peoples, we know, can be well reconciled and happy harmony made to prevail though their Governments may find that impossible. The latest declaration of M. Molotov is this that the Soviet is not out to crush Finland, but only to remove

M. Erkkö and other "war-mongers" who control the destiny of Finland. Certainly the voice of M. Erkkö in the face of the developing crisis during the whole month surprised, and even amazed all. Was he acting up to the cue supplied from across the seas by some great Powers? He should have in that case known the fate of Col. Beck and Mosciski. The fall of Poland revealed why these ruling men refused Soviet's hand of friendship. Behind the deliberate challenge of M. Erkkö may now be detected a similar sectional basis of interest rather than the noble resolve to defend the Finnish fatherland. In that case, removal of M. Erkkö and his conferees would not disturb Finnish life. Or, if a more popular regime comes up, Finnish life would know only a change for the better. That at the moment appears to be the aim of Moscow—only as a preparation for Finland for finally merging as an autonomous unit in U.S.S.R. At any rate, in Finland it is not the Finnish Government alone who are on trial—the Soviet too as the liberator of the oppressed masses is on its trial. Finland will know no *finis* as yet.

Nazi-imitators

"Hitler's declaration of war had come as a god-send to the present Government in Bengal," said S. J. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on Wednesday (Nov. 29) at the Bengal Assembly in supporting the adjournment motion to censure suppression of public opinion in the province. Indeed, to Herr Hitler must go the hearty thanks of our Bengal ministers though they have to call him names in order to prove that they hate Hitlerism like their masters, the Europeans, who keep them in the Bengal saddle. But imitation is the sincerest form of compliment that Huq ministry pays to the German Fuehrer. They do not like public meetings; they do not want public demonstrations. But, no this is not correct. The Nazi Fuehrer replaces public meetings and free expression of opinion by Nazi meetings in the public and widest publication of Nazi opinion. This is the right Fuehrer technique. In Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin also

