

RECOGNISE BANGLA DESH GOVERNMENT

Rush Aid to the Freedom Fighters

In human history we have seen a few parallel of the bitter struggle which is now being waged in Bangla Desh. The present liberation struggle of Bangla Desh, formerly known as East Pakistan has taken shape through a long period of grim battle of the people of East Bengal against the unbearable oppression and fascist offensive of the West Pakistani military rulers. Since the day of declaration of independence in 1947 the people of Pakistan lived through an unbroken rule of dictatorship, culminating in military dictatorship serving the interest of feudal aristocrats and the industrial monopolists of certain nationalities of West Pakistan. The cherished dream of independence and freedom of the people even in the limited bourgeois sense did not come true.

The people of Bangla Desh, like the people of the rest of Pakistan had to bear the burden of ruthless exploitation of the ruling clique. The West Pakistan rulers spread a reign of terror and gagged the voice of the people for completely enslaving the toiling masses. The people of Bangla Desh not only shared this common grief of the Pakistani people, but their suffering was further aggravated due to an additional factor, that is the nationality oppression which assumed the character of colonial exploitation perpetrated by a combination of certain influential nationality bourgeoisie and the military clique. They were not only politically and economically oppressed, but also culturally suppressed by virtue of which there was no scope for free development of all aspects of life of the East Bengal people. The present freedom movement of Bangla Desh is a culmination of the very many struggles that took place earlier to fight against military autocracy and realise some democratic demands of the people.

It is necessary to recall however the historical peculiarities with which the State of Pakistan was born. It did not take shape out of an all out

anti - imperialist nationalist movement. Rather it was created on the basis of a communal line and on a wrong hypothesis that Muslims constituted a separate nation, as propagated by the then leaders of the Muslim League following a communal outlook at the time of India's freedom movement. This peculiarity which lay at the root of formation of Pakistan coupled with the fact that there was a long geographical separation between the two wings of Pakistan hindered the growth and formation of

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one single national psychological make-up of peoples of both the wings. Since the nationality oppression by certain nationality bourgeoisie of West Pakistan assumed the character of colonial exploitation, the people of Bangla Desh looked upon the West Pakistan authorities as foreign invaders subjecting them to hardest cruelties and oppression. All through the Pakistan rulers in order to keep the communal link between the people of both sectors of Pakistan and to destroy the possibility of nationality uprising in East Bengal which they thought

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

Dated 3rd April, 1971.

The Central Committee of the SUCI expresses its firm solidarity with the struggling people of Bangla Desh and supports fully their very just and heroic struggle which, though originally started as a movement for provincial autonomy, has by now, assumed the character of national upsurge for complete national independence of Bangla Desh.

The Central Committee strongly condemns the most brutal and barbarous acts of genocide perpetrated by the military rulers of Pakistan in Bangla Desh in flagrant violation of all canons of humanity and civilisation and urges upon all the Governments, including the Government of India, to take such effective measures as will compel the Pakistan Government to stop the war of genocide and withdraw its military forces from Bangla Desh immediately.

The Central Committee demands that the India Government should without delay recognise the independent "Sovereign People's Republic of Bangla Desh" set up by the people there and render it all possible help for speedy victory of the revolutionary struggle and calls upon the people of our country to mobilise public opinion and force the India Government to recognise without delay the independent "SOVEREIGN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH".

The Central Committee strongly feels that mere expression of moral support and sympathy at this time is not enough. Concrete material help to the freedom fighters is essentially necessary. Our people should, therefore, liberally contribute money, food articles, baby food, medicines and such other materials as are urgently needed by the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh.

The Central Committee further feels that a committee consisting of representatives of all Left and democratic parties functioning in the country would have been the best form of organisation to organise public co-operation and pool public contributions. With this end in view the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI made a serious attempt for the formation of such an organisation at the State level. But the Central Committee notes with regret that none of the parties responded to this call. Under the circumstances our Party units at different levels have themselves taken the initiative. The Central Committee appeals to the people to respond to the calls given by our Party units.

The Central Committee directs all the units of the Party to enroll thousands of volunteers ready to come forward in active support of the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh.

MID-TERM POLL

Sweeping Victory Of Congress (R)

In the recently concluded mid-term polls the Congress (R) has secured 350 out of 515 seats in the Lok Sabha, three seats in the 518-member House still remaining to be filled. The election results show a sweeping victory for the Congress (R), resulting in huge reduction of strength of the opposition parties in the Lok Sabha. This has, no doubt, created more favourable conditions for the ruling party to exercise dictatorial power against democratic mass movements still more ruthlessly.

But what are the reasons for this sweeping victory of the Congress (R)? In our considered view, there are two reasons for it. First, the policy of the CPI and some other Left parties including the C.P.M. of projecting Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Congress as progressive to the people. That the CPI believes in the progressive character of the Congress (R) and acts accordingly is well-known. The behaviour of the 'revolutionary' CPM, which is now loudly condemning Sm. Gandhi as a fascist dictator, had not been very different; till the other day it too eulogized her as a paragon of progressiveness. In 1967 general election the Congress, the representative of the Indian monopolists, was routed from most of the States. The Indian people being exasperated by twenty years of Congress misrule which brought a trail of utter miseries to them rejected the Congress party and voted in favour of those political parties which were in a position to defeat the Congress. Although the reaction of the people thus expressed did not reflect any firm ideological political conviction, still their bitter feeling and hatred against the Congress which only served the interest of the Indian monopolists was reflected beyond any shadow of doubt. In order to fill up the political vacuum thus created and give it a Left oriented

direction, our party at that time made a proposal to all other Leftist parties in India to build up a United Left Front on a national scale to take the best advantage of the situation. At the time of Presidential election, our party initiated a move to sponsor a candidate out of the combination of the Leftist parties in order to utilise the situation for elevating the Leftist image before the people and strengthen the Left movement throughout the country as the only alternative to the cruel oppressive regime of the Congress. But unfortunately this proposal of ours was turned down by all other Leftist parties including the revisionist CPI and the 'revolutionary' CPI (M). Not only there was no serious attempt by the big Left parties to build up a Left alternative to the Congress before the masses, making this opportune situation to weaken the Congress go waste, but they even helped the ruling Congress to heighten its prestige and influence over the people by eulogising Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Congress in her so-called progressive measures like bank nationalisation etc. The CPM hailed the victory of Shri V.V. Giri in the Presidential election as a victory of our people with no less gusto than the CPI. Like the CPI, though couched in different language, of course, interspersed with Marxist-Leninist jargons, the

C P M also characterized the act of the India Government headed by Sm. Gandhi nationalizing fourteen major Indian banks in our country as a "step forward" in the right direction and assured the Government of its whole-hearted support for such measures in future. In consonance with this appreciative attitude of the Party towards the Congress (R) the Central Committee of the C P M in its resolution relating to split in the Congress observed: "...the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a **healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists.** Despite the support its leaders seek and receive from the foreign monopolists and Indian reactionaries, it has raised certain slogans and **taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people.** Above all, its political line is such that the biggest danger threatening the democratic movement in the country—the **danger of Hindu Communal reaction is sought to be opposed.**" (Bold ours-Editor, P.E). What better certificate of progressive character can be given to the Congress (R)!

CPM Supported C(R) against SUC

Consistent with this line the CPM openly worked for the victory of the Congress(R) candidates against candidates of a Left party like ours in by-elections from Dholai in Assam, Julana and Bahadurgarh Assembly constituencies in Haryana. This friendly relation between the CPM and the Congress (R) continued till the crisis of the UF in Kerala when the CPM in spite of its best efforts, failed, to enlist the support of Sm. Gandhi in forming a

Congress(R)-backed mini-front government headed by Shri Namboodiripad and, to the chagrin of the CPM Sm. Gandhi helped the Achyut Menon ministry to be installed. Disappointment in winning the support of Sm. Gandhi made the CPM critical of her. But by then the mischief had already been done. Continuous projection by the CPI and the CPM of Sm. Gandhi and her Congress as progressive objectively helped the Congress (R) in creating a progressive image about it, confusing the people and regaining lost position. The progressive image thus created by the right-opportunist policy and activities of both the "revisionist" CPI and the fire-eating 'revolutionary' CPM got a brighter polish through attacks on Sm. Gandhi from the opposite end by the parties of extreme right reaction like the Swatantra Party, the JanaSangh and the Congress (O). In denouncing her the leaders of these conservative parties branded her not only as a socialist but also as a veiled communist out to establish communist rule in our country, thus enabling Sm. Gandhi to capture public imagination as a true champion of the cause of the Indian people.

Unlike other elections where there was clear reflection of a distinct difference between the politics followed by the Congress, the political representative of the Indian reactionaries, and the anti-Congress anti-reactionary Left politics, in the recently held election however no such distinction was apparent. The left parties like the C. P. I. and the CPI (M) not only joined hands with this or that wing of the Congress overtly or covertly, but even fought the election battle just like the Congress by taking a d v a n t a g e of

Setback Of Progressive Democratic

Forces

the administration and resorting to other fraudulent practices. Such behaviour of the Leftist parties was responsible for failing to develop in the mass mind any definite anti-Congress, anti-right reactionary, anti-administration Left political outlook, which went to the benefit of the Congress (R). Furthermore, due to the eulogisation of Sm. Indira Gandhi for her so-called progressive measures by the C.P.I and the CPI (M), the Congress (R) had a smooth sailing in posing her as a progressive force before the toiling masses.

It will, perhaps, be not out of place to reproduce here the note of caution sounded by our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the S U C I, immediately after the mid-term Assembly elections in Kerala in September last. He said: "It should be realised that the conflict between the Syndicate Congress and the Indira Congress is not a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism and the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie", or, in general terms, between reaction and progress. Both the Congress (O) and the Congress (R) are parties of the Indian bourgeoisie and the conflict between them is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the Indian bourgeoisie representing individual interests of monopolists and the so-called radical section representing aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. It is, therefore, the duty of genuine left and democratic parties of our country not to behave as drum-boys of Sm. Gandhi and preach Sm. Gandhi and her Government as progressive but

to take advantage of the contradiction between the Syndicate Congress and the Indira Congress, try to increase the rift between them still further to the point of no return and utilise it in developing mighty democratic mass movements. If the Left parties do not harbour any illusion about Sm. Gandhi and her Government as progressive and do not create such an illusion among the people then and then only it will be possible for them to take advantage of the contradiction between the Congress (O) and the Congress (R) in intensifying class struggles, developing massive democratic movements and helping revolutionary preparation in the country. Otherwise, the Congress (R) will take advantage of the weakness of the left and democratic parties, rehabilitate itself and gain further strength at their cost. The election result in Kerala is a glaring instance of it." Unfortunately, the note of caution sounded by Com. Ghosh fell on deaf ears of the big and powerful Left and democratic parties in our country making the landslide victory of the Congress (R) in the just-concluded mid-term elections another glaring instance of the correctness of what he said.

Failure of UF Politics

The other reason for the sweeping victory of the Congress (R) is the failure of UF politics leading to breakdown of the United fronts and fall of United Front governments in different states and consequent frustration among the people, giving birth to a political vacuum advantages of which have been fully exploited by the Congress (R) in the last mid-term election. Undoubtedly there is still a historical necessity of a Left and democratic front in our country. The emergence of

the United Fronts of Left and democratic parties particularly in West Bengal and Kerala corresponded to this historical necessity. They in these two and other states also appeared to the people as the only alternative to the anti-people and oppressive Congress rule for a change for the better in their material and cultural conditions. The United Fronts in states other than W. Bengal and Kerala became opportunist combinations of heterogeneous forces, including forces of extreme right reaction and never functioned as instruments for developing legitimate democratic mass movements. The opportunist combinations without any common ground of unity, torn by opportunism, and carrying ruthless oppression of the people, as the Congress had done, lost all support of the people and ultimately disintegrated. The United Front in West Bengal, which at the initial stage during the regime of the second U.F. Government in the state functioned for some time as an instrument of developing democratic movements as also the United Front in Kerala, because of Left-opportunistic and disruptive activities of the C P M, faced serious crises threatening the very existence of the fronts. In the face of this situation when it was all the more necessary to adopt correct position and fight the Left-opportunistic politics of the C P M inimical to the unity of the democratic front in order to save the United Fronts from being disintegrated, the right-opportunists within the Fronts, exasperated by the C P M politics, made clandestine agreements with the Congress (R) and started attacking the United Fronts from the rightist direction. The result was the breakdown of the UFs in West Bengal as also in Kerala and consequent

fall of the U.F. governments there. The failure of the U.F. politics in general, more so in West Bengal and Kerala, created among a substantial section of the people a strong sense of frustration which in its wake engendered a political vacuum in the body politic of our country, which has been fully exploited by the Congress to further its ends.

West Bengal swing in favour of C (R)

The victory of the Congress (R) is no victory of the progressive and democratic forces, as some Left parties are claiming it to be. It is, in fact, a temporary victory of the Indian reactionaries masquerading falsely as progressives under radical cloak which the fascists everywhere and at all times put on to conceal their true character and enlist popular support in proceeding along the fascist path.

The election results in West Bengal are no departure from the general all-India pattern indicating a pro-Congress (R) swing, even though the C P M has been able to capture the largest number of both Assembly and parliamentary seats and emerge as the largest single party in the State legislature. This is confirmed by the fact that whereas the C P M's strength in the State Legislative Assembly has increased from 80 in the last dissolved House to 111 now, thus recording a rise of about 39 per cent over the previous records the Congress (R) has been able to improve its position by 150 per cent securing 105 seats as against 42 seats in the last dissolved Legislative Assembly. Besides, though the C P M has been able to take away only 5 sitting Assembly seats from the Congress (R), the latter has snatched away as many as 14 Assembly seats from the C P M. In fact, the C P M's

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PAK RULING BOURGEOIS-MILITARY CLIQUE

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would threaten the very existence of Pakistan, tried to eliminate the Bengali language, the Bengali script and its culture from social life and impose the culture of West Pakistan artificially over the East Bengal people and thereby keep the two wings together which was historically unsound as well as oppressive in nature. Besides, due to a continuous spell of civilian and military dictatorship in Pakistan since independence, even the minimum bourgeois democratic norms were not maintained which made it impossible for the rising bourgeoisie of East Bengal to have their voice felt in the administration. It is this all out oppression on the people of Bangla Desh, political, economic and cultural, perpetrated by an alliance between certain section of influential nationality bourgeoisie of West Pakistan and the military clique coupled with the historical peculiarities in which Pakistan was born that provides the basis for the present death-defying struggle of the East Bengalese for national liberation. Since the historic language agitation was launched at Dacca for upholding the Bengali mother tongue as a national language against the cultural onslaught of West Pak rulers a new national awakening of Muslims and Hindus of East Bengal emerged fortifying the historical truth that a nation based on religion is only a misconception and cannot attain the full status of a nation. Those who advocated two-nation theory on the basis of religion and even the so-called Communists of India who before independence deemed Muslims constituting a separate nation and lent their support for the creation of a Muslim State should take lessons from the present events in Pakistan.

This struggle is unique and unprecedented in many respects. Never and nowhere the national liberation struggle took such a magnitude and embraced literally all the sections of the oppressed population. Mr. Mujibur Rahman, the remarkable leader of Bangla Desh national liberation struggle, has been able to muster support of not only the poor peasants, the working class and the other toiling masses, but even the support of the entire civil authorities of East Bengal, the East Pakistan Rifles, the entire police force and other auxiliary forces of the State. Right from the Chief Justice of High Court to the common man, everyone has become a partisan of this great movement. The youths, the students, men and women of all age have only one dream and one purpose to fulfil, that is, to liberate Bangla Desh from the hands of the contemptuous fascist rulers of West Pakistan. It is specially heartening to note that when we, the Leftist forces of India, cannot even hope to launch an all out powerful Left movement in our country against an equally cruel rule of the Congress (R) headed by Indira Gandhi, due to the weakness of Left movement and opportunist activities and bankrupt leadership of the big Left parties, the people in the neighbouring State are well on the move to capture power and give shape to their democratic aspirations under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman. The struggle of the toiling masses in India to root out all sorts of capitalist exploitation will get further inspiration from the valiant fight now being launched by the people of East Bengal against their own enemies. It is but natural that every democratic minded person, specially the toiling masses fighting against capitalist onslaught in all fields

will pay their heartiest greetings and revolutionary homage to the people of Bangla Desh who are fighting for their own objective of national emancipation. Hundreds of thousands of people have already sacrificed their lives and millions more are ready to lay down their lives for the cause they hold so dear to their hearts. Countless instances of heroism and the grim determination of the entire people of Bangla Desh to fight against oppression once again kindles the heart of all oppressed humanity throughout the world to wipe out the reactionaries with greater firmness than before.

Sheikh Mujibur, the leader of Bangla Desh put forward his six-point programme to Pakistan President Yahya for the restoration of a civilian democratic rule and achievement of greater autonomy for the Eastern wing of Pakistan. All through Sk. Mujibur who was voted to power through general election in Pakistan held last December and commanded an absolute majority in the National Assembly, to be convened for framing up a new constitution, demanded greater autonomy and never called for secession or independence of Bangla Desh. Although East Bengal provided the maximum revenue, only a small part of it was spent for the development of East Bengal. The West Pakistan industrial monopolists and the military authorities not only suppressed and fleeced the people of Bangla Desh, reducing them to a state of abject poverty, mass unemployment and destitution, but also the small traders and businessmen of East Bengal were also ruthlessly subjugated by the present rulers of Pakistan. There was very little industrial development in this sector and discrimination in respect of appointments in Government services and other facilities was abundant.

Above all the move of the West Pakistan rulers to destroy the culture of Bangla Desh ignited the spirit of Bengali nationalism. Sk. Mujibur's even moderate approach to give vent to these rising emotions of Bengali nationalism and his willingness to come to a settlement with the Western authorities is clear to all. Not only the voice of the people and their democratic aspirations were mercilessly throttled by denying the people of East Bengal their just demands for autonomy and democracy, but the way President Yahya carried out his negotiations with Sk. Mujibur while inducting large military reinforcements giving no chance to the people to even remotely guess the mass slaughter and virtual genocide President Yahya had in mind to carry on, is another remarkable piece of deceit and double crossing in the political history of mankind.

Sk. Mujibur's historic civil disobedience movement, at the time of which he ran almost a parallel civil administration, was switched on to the current freedom struggle, due to the stubborn attitude of the Western military circles not to let in to the pressure of the Bengali nationalist movement of East Bengal. It is quite understandable why Mujibur, the representative of the rising bourgeoisie of Bangla Desh, and the leader of the present freedom struggle, was quite reluctant to launch an independence movement of Eastern wing of Pakistan. In the present era of proletarian revolution, specially after the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and capture of power by the working class there, the bourgeoisie as a class has lost its revolutionary role, in the struggle against imperialism. If by taking recourse to a

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REDUCED EAST BENGAL TO VIRTUAL COLONY

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revolutionary path for wiping out imperialism, the leadership of the struggle passes into the hands of the working class, then the interest of the bourgeoisie to exercise full control over the state apparatus in furtherance of their economic and political ends cannot be fulfilled. It is due to this spectre of seizure of power by the proletariat in a revolutionary battle that the bourgeoisie have developed a fear complex of revolution and is unwilling to wage a relentless revolutionary struggle against the imperialist power for achieving national independence. Sk. Mujibur's moderate and compromising attitude reflected in his demand for greater autonomy of East Bengal and not its secession or independence from Pakistan follows out of his particular class position. His efforts were directed to achieve more extensive autonomy for East Bengal, which would remain as a confederated unit of Pakistan, having full control over collection and utilisation of revenue and taxes and also on foreign trade, and defence, foreign affairs and currency would be under the control of the Central Government. It is clear that Mujibur Rahman did not favourably respond to the idea of achieving full independence for Bangla Desh. Mujibur had an apprehension that the struggle to realise full independence would naturally become a struggle in the form of a mighty protracted revolutionary mass movement in which the working class along with the poor peasantry is likely to provide the leadership in the long run and there will be little hope for the rising national bourgeoisie of East Bengal represented by Mujibur Rahman to exercise full control over the newly independent state to serve their vested interests. Incidentally it may

be mentioned that the call for independence was first given by the radical groups and parties of East Bengal represented by Maulana Bhasani of National Awami Party and others.

It could have been easy to conclude that the struggle which is going on in Bangla Desh would meet with final victory bringing into existence the desired objective of the struggle. Provided the correct leadership and militant organisations at all levels are there giving a well co-ordinated and centralised guidance to this liberation struggle having a definite clear-cut ideology upheld before the fighting masses, the Yahya regime would certainly be defeated in its attempt to impose its tyrannical rule again on the people of Bangla Desh, however powerfully backed it may be from various quarters. So far we could gather from various Press reports we do not know definitely if such a prerequisite for successfully carrying out this struggle has been fulfilled although there is unmistakable evidence that the entire people of Bangla Desh are fighting with tremendous patriotic zeal repulsing the heinous and ghastly attacks of West Pakistan troops. If out of this struggle, such leadership and organisations can emerge which alone can sustain this unique struggle by resorting to necessary war tactics against a powerful modern army of West Pak military rulers, then there is no power which can check this mighty tide of growing nationalist movement in Bangla Desh.

It is gratifying to note that the Indian people, specially those who have themselves to fight against the tyrannical rule of the capitalist rulers here, who have unleashed a black terror on the people and are obstructing progress of the

country, have spontaneously come forward in support of this heroic struggle of the East Bengal people. It is felt that a section of the Indian people who are supporting this just struggle of the East Bengal patriots are doing so from a fond hope that out of this struggle, the two parts of Bengal, namely West and East Bengal, would ultimately merge together. This is not only a wrong attitude but even a harmful one which can only serve to backstab this great movement by giving a handle to the West Pak authorities to denounce this movement as being sponsored by Indian Government, thereby creating suspicion and even split within the East Bengal people. The emergence of Bangla Desh as a single entity can only take place historically at a very distant future when conditions are ripe for such a merger. If in both these territories a working class state is established, defeating the exploitative systems which are obtaining now, then and then only, at a developed stage of unhindered progress of society of both these areas, the present international frontier dividing the two Bengals can disappear.

It is also observed that a section of Muslim population in India have an apprehension about the struggle going on in East Bengal. Due to the existing capitalist system in India the Muslim population here have to go through untold sufferings like poverty, unemployment, insecurity of life etc. The wrong attitude of the Indian Government towards Muslims and their helpless insecure position here, have naturally pushed a section of Muslims to hopefully look upon Pakistan as providing a second refuge to them in that country. They also view Pakistan as the guarantor of their security and life. So any disintegration of Pakistan

which will eventually result out of the struggle in East Bengal will make their position here more insecure and uncertain. Their unhappiness over this struggle in East Bengal is more due to a suspicion that the present movement is directed against non-East Bengal Muslims in general. We would request this section of the Muslim masses to abandon this way of thinking. It is not Pakistan which can really give them protection and shelter which they are after. Such protection and security of their life can only be ensured by joining hands with the majority community in India in various democratic struggles and spearheading a joint attack against the unbearable oppression of the ruling capitalist class. Besides the present struggle in Bangla Desh is nothing but an expression of Pakistan nationalism which has taken a different form in East Bengal. Just as in our country we are fighting against the exploitation of the Indian monopolists so also they are fighting against exploitation, of course, colonial exploitation of the West Pak rulers for a better life and freedom. This movement is not directed against the Muslim toiling masses of West Pakistan. So this fight against exploitation launched by the patriotic forces of East Bengal against the colonial exploitation of the West Pak military machine should be deemed and supported as a just struggle by all right thinking persons in our country.

The attitude of the British and American monopolists regarding this freedom movement in Bangla Desh has been amply manifest through some reports appeared in the monopoly controlled Press like The Guardian, Times, Washington Post etc. According to these foreign monopolist circles, it

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new gains have mostly been at the cost of the Bangla Congress, CPI, Forward Bloc, SSP and some other parties except the SUCI. But it would be wrong to conclude that the C P M's apparent victory in West Bengal in the last mid-term election is an unmistakable evidence of its growing popularity and increasing organisational strength since the breakdown of the last U.F. Government in this State. Amidst its loud chorus of 'class struggle' which in actuality meant extermination of political opponents in the democratic front, it followed a consistent policy of class collaboration with the Indian Big Business and rural vested interests. This service of the C P M towards the vested class during the office of the last U.F. ministry had enabled the party to earn powerful financial backing of the different Chambers of Commerce as well as the rural bourgeoisie of this State. Apart from this, a substantial section of Police officers and the administrative circle took side with the C P M and helped it to pursue its policy of persecution against political opponents to assure its electoral victory. Besides, the failure of the U L D F to project itself as a powerful alternative both against Congress—the main enemy of the people, as well as the C P M whose Left opportunist disruptive policy is the main danger before the Left democratic mass movement in the State has been an important factor causing this apparent victory of the C P M.

In 1969 midterm election in the State, the majority of the people voted decisively against the Congress, reducing it to an insignificant minority. These anti-Congress, left voters whose support the U.F. enjoyed, can be broadly

divided into three categories. In the first category, there is the pro-communist left mass, which constitutes a microscopic faction of the total left voting strength, followed by a section of determined anti-Congress left voters. The third category represents the vacillating left masses which constitute the major portion of the leftist mass. In the last mid-term election, the U.F. secured the entire support of the leftist strength even including the vacillating left and achieved an absolute majority in the Assembly. In the recently held mid-term election, due to the sectarian attitude and policy of murder and intimidation followed by the C P M, the major partner of the U.F. ministry, almost the entire section of the vacillating left voted in favour of the Congress (R) leading it to vastly increase its strength than what it had in 1969 election. The section of determined left voters, who cannot vote for Congress under any circumstances due to their well fashioned anti-Congress mental make-up, decided in favour of C P M to defeat the Congress, despite the fact that they had deep dissatisfaction regarding C P M's politics.

Failure Of The ULDF

If the U L D F could emerge as a powerful alternative left front, then it is the front which could have gathered the major support of the vacillating left as well as the determined left section of the masses who are dissatisfied about the C P M thus preventing the Congress (R) to regain its position and reducing the strength of the C P I (M) also. But for this failure of the U L D F to emerge as a strong alternative left front, some partners of the U L D F, specially the C P I is responsible. The C P I for a prolon-

ged period made an utmost effort to bring the E P C into an accord with the Congress (R) through Bangla Congress, thus tarnishing the left image of the E P C and giving a scope to the C P M to further vilify the E P C regarding its leftist stance. Further even after a long period was over and the election was imminent, when the U L D F was formed with its declared policy to fight both the Congress (R) and the C P M in the interest of advancing the cause of left democratic movement, the C P I and some others made unprincipled open alliance with the Congress (R) for electoral gains, in utter violation of the declared pledges of the U L D F, thus denigrating its position before the people.

Unique result of S. U. C.

In spite of these favourable factors which are responsible for CPI (M)'s increased strength in the legislative Assembly of the State, one cannot however overlook the fact that the CPI (M) lost 18 sitting seats, and did not get more than two seats in the whole of North Bengal, contrary to their expectation,—a clear sign of its depleting organisational strength and losing influence over the people. In contrast to this the results shown by our Party in the face of all out attacks by the C. P. M. and the Congress (R) to wipe out the S. U. C. I. by all means, not excluding violent physical attacks on our candidates and election workers is very much significant. While all other parties even including the Congress (R) and the C. P. M. which were benefitted from the polarisation of voting that took place in the recent election in West Bengal, lost many of their sitting seats, our Party alone could retain all the 7-sitting seats it had in the dissolved State Assembly. This is a unique achievement, which the party can justifiably be proud of, specially when the odds were so heavily against us. Due to the effect of polarisation of voting while the big parties like Bangla Congress, C. P. I., Forward Bloc, R. S. P. etc. were raged to the ground, our Party could maintain its former strength, due to the correct line of approach followed by our Party and which the other partners of the U. L. D. F. failed to pursue and had to pay dearly for it, as well as the superior

organisational strength and solid mass base which the Party had established. While the Party's organisational might has increased a few fold since 1969 election which alone explains why we could retain all the seats, despite such polarised pattern of voting, the C. P. M.'s present gain, however, is not based on any such solid organisational footing and their results are reversible under adverse circumstances because their victory is based on polarisation of electoral voting, backing of jotedars, the Industrial Houses and the administration as well as adopting other types of unfair means.

It is true that the C P M has improved its strength in the Lok Sabha. It has come out as the second largest party, though a very bad second at that (25 as against 350 seats). But it is an undeniable fact that except in West Bengal and the Union territory of Tripura the Party has fared extremely badly. It has practically been wiped out from the rest of India, so to say, insofar as election results are concerned. The worst part of it is that even in Kerala so long considered a strong base of the C P M the Party has received a very bad beating at the hand of the Congress (R). In Tamil Nadu also not only has it lost all the parliamentary and assembly seats it previously had but its top leaders like Shri Ram-murthy have failed to save their deposit money as well. The C P I, on the other hand, has been able more or less to maintain its strength in the Lok Sabha but this has been possible not so much for its own strength as for the support it received from the Congress (R) which for all practical purposes made a gift of several parliamentary seats to the Party. The parties of extreme right reaction have been humbled in the election. Even then performance of the Jan Sangh is certainly better compared to that of other partners of the Grand Alliance. Apart from Madhya Pradesh wherefrom it has captured 11 parliamentary seats it still has under its control several pockets throughout Northern India, a danger signal for the secular democratic forces in our country.

The administration has been waxing eloquent on the way it has managed the election affair. The Congress (R) leaders and the bureaucrats are

loudly claiming that the last mid-term elections have been free and fair. It is a travesty of truth. We strongly feel that the mid-term elections have not been at all free and fair. Firstly nowhere under capitalist rule is election really free and fair. Even if we leave aside for the present this basic question, we can not deny that the last mid-term polls have not been free and fair even from the point of view of parliamentary democracy. Big and powerful parties have indulged in all sorts of corrupt practices on an unprecedented scale this time, reducing elections to a farce. Is it not a fact that crores of rupees have been spent to bribe the electors on behalf of the powerful affluent parties? Can any one deny that threats and intimidation have been used on a large scale to secure votes? Have not supporters of political opponents been forcibly prevented from casting their votes according to their "free" choice? Have not candidates and election workers of opponent political parties been physically annihilated? Have not polling agents of candidates of other parties been forcibly prevented from attending polling centres on pain of murder? Have not communalism been preached and communal disturbances organised to secure votes? Is it not a dry reality that *en masse* false voting by trained squads specially raised for the purpose has taken place particularly in industrial and urban areas? Is it not a fact that ballot papers and ballot boxes have been tampered with in the interest of this or that powerful party? Can it be denied that the polling personnel by and large have been partisan and worked for some big and powerful political parties? Have not the police and the administration thrown in their weight in support of the big parties by harassing the workers of some other parties with false cases and detaining them in jails? This list is not exhaustive; it simply mentions some of the glaring corrupt practices indulged most nakedly by the big and powerful parties everywhere according as they have liaison with and could influence the administrative, police and election machinery to their advantage. In West Bengal all these corrupt practices have taken place most nakedly. The small parties have been the worst victims of these corrupt practices by the big powerful and affluent parties to the negation of true and fair elections.

S. U. C. Proposal scuttled

It seems that most of the left and democratic parties have taken no lesson from the results of the last mid-term

elections. No serious attempt has been made by them to revise their previous wrong stands. To illustrate, after the elections there were real possibilities for the formation of an anti-Congress Left democratic government in West Bengal which could take very well shape through the formation of a coalition government of the U L F and the U L D F. The West Bengal State Committee of the S U C I tried for such a coalition to save the people of West Bengal from either the President's Rule or a Congress (R)—controlled government. But neither the U L F as such nor the C P M, the largest single party constituting the U L F did show any active interest in getting such an anti-Congress Left democratic coalition ministry installed in office in the State.

The C P M, was rather eager to establish a C P M-led ministry in the State which is also evident from the Central Committee resolution of the C P I (M) published in People's Democracy dated 18th April, 1971. The C P M leadership is now giving a call for unity of all Left and democratic parties—unity which they themselves have destroyed by raising a bogey of 'class based front' and consistently following a Left adventurist disruptionist policy endangering the democratic mass movements. But if they are really serious about formation of such a front, what would be the character of it? Will it be a front of all Left and democratic parties, based on the principle of equality of constituent parties of the front, observing some minimum democratic norms, maintaining philosophical tolerance by the parties of the front, and conducting ideological struggles among them in such a way that the struggle against the main enemy is not weakened and the unity of the front is not jeopardised? But the C P M leaders have not shown any indication of such a democratic front. Rather they have characterised that this front, which they have mentioned, would be a C P M-led front of all Left and democratic parties, thus betraying the same Left sectarian outlook and domineering attitude of the C P M which have disrupted the previous U. F., the only instrument of developing mass struggle.

The C P M however not only gave scant regard to our proposal for the formation of a coalition ministry of the U L F and the U L D F, but even stealthily moved to woo the legislators of other parties to form a Ministry under its control. Instead of formally

approaching and placing before the U L D F any concrete suggestion to explore the possibility of a left democratic Government in West Bengal it made contacts with the Muslim League (having secret meetings with them in spite of their open denial in this regard) and other parties and independents to anyhow occupy the office of the Ministry to serve its narrow party end. The idea of an U L F-U L D F stable coalition Ministry was further scuttled by the C P M leadership in their imposing some conditions that the issues which led to the disruption of the last U. F. Ministry in the State shall not be allowed to be reopened. Thus due to this attitude of the C P M and past bitter experience which the former U. F. partners like C P I, Forward Bloc etc. had due to the left sectarian and violent activities of the C P M, when some U. L. D. F partners specially the C P I had decided to form a Ministry with the Congress (R), the C P M leaders sent a casual telegram to Shri Rajyeshwar Rao, General Secretary of the C P I, to reconsider their decision. Thus the attitude of the C P M regarding the formation of Ministry shows its lack of sincerity and seriousness in forming a left democratic Government. Hence, the C P M leadership by no means can be absolved of dereliction of duty as a left party to forestall the installation of a Congress (R)-controlled government in West Bengal. We cannot but at the same time reiterate that the decision of all the constituents of the U. L. D. F. other than the S. U. C. I. to support the formation of a Congress (R) controlled ministry in West Bengal had been most unwise. It is true that their decision had been actuated by their desire to anyhow prevent the C. P. M. from sharing governmental power lest it would usher in a reign of individual terrorism leading to large scale murder of workers and leaders of non-C. P. M. parties. There are some grounds for such an apprehension of theirs. We do not dispute it. But nonetheless as a left party one cannot ignore the hard reality that backing the Congress (R) controlled coalition government would give a crushing blow to the prospect of developing left democratic mass movement, which the last two U. F. Ministries in West Bengal, in spite of severe weaknesses, tried to develop by its basic approach that police and bureaucracy must not intervene in legitimate democratic mass movements on the plea of maintaining law and order in the State and the process of

left political orientation thus initiated by the leftist parties through U. F. Governments will be hindered due to installation of such a Congress (R) led Government in West Bengal. A revolutionary workingclass party cannot, in such circumstances, back the formation of a Congress (R) controlled Government apprehension of neo-fascist tactics and murderous attacks by the C. P. M. if returned to Governmental power, on its workers notwithstanding.

We, therefore, request the left and truly democratic parties to seriously take note of the situation, shun big party chauvinism and the mentality of bossism, realise their past mistakes that led to disintegration of left unity and consequent tremendous gain by the Congress (R), revise their previous wrong stands, rise to the occasion and seriously try for forging a struggling unity of the left and democratic parties anew for the development of a mighty surge of democratic movements against vested interests and reaction and their principal political representatives, namely, both wings of the Congress, main enemy of the people. We also request those left and truly democratic parties which, on this or that consideration, are backing the Congress (R) to get over their weaknesses, revert to positive anti-Congress stand and carry forward united democratic struggles under the banner of a united left front.

We, however, want to remind our people that whatever might be one's reaction against the left-opportunistic and disruptionist politics of the C P M which is mainly responsible for the breakdown of the U. F. and fall of the U. F. governments in West Bengal and Kerala one must not allow oneself to be a victim of anti-communist tirade now being conducted by the reactionary forces in the country. No real cause of the people can be served by hostility to Marxism-Leninism that alone can create a new world upon the ashes of the present oppressive world and liberate mankind. In the prevailing historical situation even those who cherish to uphold democracy must not suffer from any anti-communist bias as it is bound to push one into the lap of the imperialists, enemies of the people, in the long run. Genuine criticism of the C P M however, must not be confused as anti-communism. On the contrary, such a criticism is essentially necessary to hold aloft the revolutionary banner of communism and lead our people to power and uninterrupted progress and prosperity.

Long Live the Glorious Struggle

(Contd. from page 5)

would have been wise for President Yahya to come to a settlement with Mujibur Rahman through constitutional means by accepting his demand for greater autonomy of East Bengal. An international conspiracy by these forces is going on to thwart the emergence of radical leadership in East Bengal and for that they are trying to impress upon President Yahya that the more the struggle will be protracted the more the moderate leadership would be on the way out and the possibility of emergence of radical leadership will grow. It is also observed that in tune with the above expressed outlook of the foreign monopolists, India Government also is in a hectic move to bring about a settlement on the basis of autonomy, by creating pressure from international quarters on President Yahya, and even if necessary, independence under moderate leadership in order to forestall the emergence of radical leadership in East Bengal through a protracted battle. There is strong evidence that the India Government do not like the present freedom struggle of Bangla Desh to take shape of a long drawn revolutionary battle clearly expressed through its reluctance to give aid and assistance to the freedom fighters there, lest the radical and revolutionary leadership

in Bangla Desh take the grip of the liberation struggle through protracted movement. To prevent this eventuality, the India Government would even welcome defeat of this freedom struggle under the jackboot of West Pak military dictators, otherwise, it would have rendered unstinted support to the freedom fighters in the most awful hour of their need.

The Indian Government, led by Congress (R), the representative of the Indian monopolists, is making great hullabaloo about its supposed concern and assistance for the people of Bangla Desh. But despite its clamour and fake manifestations of support to this struggle, one can clearly discern that this Government is rendering no effective help to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh for helping them to defeat the fascist military hordes of West Pakistan as voiced by the Indian people. Not only the declared Sovereign Independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh has not been recognised as yet by this Government, but also massive military and other assistance urgently needed by the patriotic fighters of Bangla Desh at this moment has still not poured in. So it is necessary to build up intensive mass campaign throughout the country to unmask this despicable role of the India Government, change its

lukewarm attitude regarding extension of support to the people of Bangla Desh and compel it to recognise the newly installed Government with full honour without any further delay. The Left and democratic parties in the country have before them an important task to fulfil in this respect. Apart from recruiting thousands of armed volunteers in our country who should be ready to fight side by side with the patriots of Bangla Desh, raising of funds and collection of war materials, it is highly necessary for us at the moment to prepare and organise mighty movement against our own Government

and compel it to arrange immediate effective material and other assistance for the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh in deference to the wishes of the Indian people.

The struggle in Bangla Desh has spread to all corners of the country. Not a single town or village in East Bengal is free from the burn of the struggle. The seething battle of East Bengal patriots who are fighting for a just cause will not go in vain. The world eagerly looks on and is hopeful about the success of this great struggle of the people of Bangla Desh. Long live the glorious struggle. Long live Bangla Desh.

Build up United Front of Left and Democratic forces in Assam

S. U. C. State Committee's call to Parties and People

(By A Staff Reporter)

The Extended meeting of the Assam State Committee of the S. U. C. I. was held on March 21st and 22nd at Gauhati. The Meeting conducted a thread-bare discussion on the results of midterm poll to the Lok-Sabha and adopted a resolution expressing grave concern at the tremendous gains of the Congress (R) in the recent Lok Sabha polls in India as a whole and Assam in particular.

"It must be admitted that the overwhelming victory of the Congress (R) and its ally the A. P. H. L. C. (All Party Hill Leaders Conference) in all the parliamentary seats in Assam and Meghalaya is a severe blow to the growth of Left democratic movements in the State especially because there will be no representative of the Left opposition from the State to the Lok Sabha for the next five years. It may be recalled in this connexion that well before the poll our Party having apprehended such a debacle, called upon the Left Democratic parties of the State to make a common cause against the Congress (R) and to come forward to form a UNITED FRONT in Assam. But due to reasons best known to them the leading Leftist parties did not pay heed to our appeal in this regard," the resolution said.

The State Committee pointed out that behind this unusual victory of the Congress (R) the secret alliance of Congress (R) with the monopoly capitalist class as a whole, corrupt and immoral spendings of crores of rupees, the naked use of the Government machinery, and last, but

not least, the violent threats and intimidation of the poor and the innocent people and fanning up of caste and communal feelings,—all these played a great role.

"It is also to be noted that due to the weakness of Left movement, the false slogans of "Socialism" and "Garivi Hatao" of Mrs. Indira Gandhi helped to create confusion in public mind to a considerable extent. We think that the role played by the big Left parties like the C.P.I., the C.P.I. (M), branding the Congress (R) as PROGRESSIVE has definitely helped that party to wear the garb of Socialism and further confuse the people".

"It may be recalled" the statement added, that only "the S. U. C. I. among all the Left parties in India has been continuously exposing the real class character of the Congress (R). Only the S. U. C. I. pointed out that the so-called new Congress is nothing but a new edition of the same old Congress, the representative of the aggregate interest of the monopoly capitalists of India".

In conclusion the statement said, "We, however, feel that all the Leftist parties should take lessons from this defeat in the recent mid-term polls and should come forward to build up a UNITED LEFT DEMOCRATIC FRONT to strengthen the Left movement in the State and thus to ensure the defeat of Congress (R) in the coming '72 Assembly Elections. In fine, the State Committee of our Party is hereby taking up the responsibility of adopting objective measures to help the formation of a UNITED LEFT DEMOCRATIC FRONT in the State as early as possible."

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I, Sukomal Dasgupta, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/- SUKOMAL DASGUPTA

Signature of Publisher.