

STOP ACTS OF INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM AND MURDER

The Congress controlled coalition Ministry in West Bengal, at the time it assumed the office, assured the people of West Bengal that it would stop acts of individual terrorism and murder. The assurance still remains on paper. Acts of individual terrorism and murder have not stopped. Rather, in some places they are on the increase. All right-thinking persons want that they should be stopped forthwith and normality restored.

It is reported that the West Bengal State Government has decided to form armed resistance groups, composed of members of the constituents of the Congress-led Democratic Coalition in every area in the city and districts apparently to counter those engaged in violent activities. We strongly oppose this decision of the Government. In our considered view, this will not only fail to stop acts of individual terrorism and murder but, on the contrary, would increase them. It would objectively mean giving premium to the members of the Government parties to launch armed attacks on the political opponents. From our experience of the role of rural guards in villages we are absolutely certain that the proposed resistance groups would work as the spearhead of the armed attacks by the jotedars and the anti-social elements backed by administration and police on poor peasants and agricultural labourers and their legitimate democratic movements against reaction and vested interests in the rural areas. In the urban areas the so-called resistance groups will, no doubt, take the shape of fascist type of organisations engaged in attacking the democratic movements of the youths, students and the toiling people. It would only endanger the safety and security of workers

of political parties other than the Government parties.

It should be realised that what is taking place in West Bengal now is a socio-political problem the tackling of which requires serious all out efforts on the part of different political parties functioning in the State and the Government. The West Bengal State Committee of the S. U. C. I. has for some time been trying to bring the different left and democratic parties in West Bengal together to devise ways and means to check the acts of individual terrorism and murder. The CPI (M) originally opposed this move and imposed a precondition which was not acceptable to the C. P. I., the Forward Bloc and some other parties. It is a welcome sign that the CPI (M) has made a shift in its stand and has agreed to the proposal of the S. U. C. I. to call a meeting of the constituents of the U. L. F. and the U. L. D. F., the R. S. P., and the L. S. S. It is expected that the parties should put their heads together and arrive at some conclusions to fight out the menace of individual killings and murders. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in this respect the hands of the C.P.I.(M) and the Congress (R) are not clean, leaving aside the question of the Naxalites. But among the Naxalites, who are real Naxalites and who are

(Contd. to page 8)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL. 4

JULY 1 '71

PRICE 20 P.

No. 11

THURSDAY

Air Surcharge 4 P

S. U. C. Protests Against Dissolution of W. B. Assembly

Calcutta, 26th June 1971

Shri Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of S.U.C.I. has said in a statement that "In flagrant violation of all democratic norms the Congress (R) led-coalition Government in West Bengal has recommended for the dissolution of the State Assembly and imposition of the most undemocratic President's Rule without giving any scope to the opposition for running the administration. This is most undemocratic, which all democratic-minded people should strongly protest."

In memory of Com. Naren Dey

Com. Naren Dey, a reputed leader of the class IV employees of the West Bangal State Govt., of Birbhum had been stabbed to death on 2nd June last by some miscreants at Barabagan when he was discussing some matters with others in front of a shop near his house. This cowardly violence leading to the death of a reputed leader has caused serious resentment among the Government employees and the local people. It may be mentioned in this connection that Com. Dey's activities among the Government employees and his relentless efforts to save the class IV employees' organisation from falling a prey to factionalism and left-opportunistic disruptionist policy had been a headache to some of the leaders of the Co-ordination Committee of the State Government Employees Unions and Associations dominated by the CPI (M). It is reported that some of the leaders of the Co-ordination Committee threatened Com. Dey of dire consequences for his activities.

The local people expressed their strong indignation at the way the Police moved in this case. No arrest has yet been made.

The West Bangal State Committee of the S. U. C. I. expresses its heartfelt condolence in memory of Com. Dey.

PEOPLE MUST ACT NOW

Since the ruling military clique in Pakistan had started the barbarous genocide in Bangla Desh about three months back, nearly sixty lakhs people have crossed the border and migrated into the adjoining states in India. In fact, such massive migration in so short a time is unprecedented in the history of our country. Any one having any modicum of common sense can very well understand that those, who are thus leaving their hearths and homes and coming to this side of the border in complete destitution, are not doing so just in expectation of getting some benefits here.

The massive migration is a glaring testimony to the magnitude of brutal oppression, mass slaughter, plunder and rape the fascist hordes of Yahya Khan are perpetrating on the freedom-loving people of Bangla Desh. No civilised person can remain indifferent to what is going on there. It is a sad commentary on international conscience that it is still silent and has not burst like an avalanche to stop the genocide in Bangla Desh and create conditions for the safe return of the evacuees and their security after return. So far, the Government of India has shown no vision, courage, determination and sincerity in this regard.

First, take the case of the relief operation. It is true that the Government has taken up the responsibility of relief to the evacuees. But there are many many things still to be desired in this respect. Even the barest primary necessity of providing some sort of shelter to the evacuees has not as yet been met. With the rains in full blast, having nothing in between their heads and the open sky, several lakhs of evacuees are passing their days in veritable hells amidst stinking squalor in the most insani-tary condition, catching cholera and such other epidemics and dying like cats and dogs on any plot of land they can stretch their limbs. The entire matter being left to the mercy of the bureaucracy and mean petty party politics discourag-ing all-out mobilisation of

public co-operation and public participation in relief work, you cannot expect a better management of relief work. On the top of it, some of the state governments have flatly refused to take any evacuee into their areas, thereby be-traying their utterly inhuman attitude to the suffering multitude.

It goes without saying that conditions should be created for the safe return of all the evacuees to Bangla Desh and perfect security of them after return. The Government of India also is speaking of it. But the conditions cannot be created without a political settlement of the Bangla Desh question. And there can be political settlement only on the following terms, namely, (1) unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, (2) withdrawal of the Pak Military forces from Bangla Desh, (3) recognition of the sovereign Republic of Bangla Desh and (4) compensation for the losses suffered by the people of Bangla Desh as a result of Pak attacks, as laid down by the Acting President of Bangla Desh, Syed Nazrul Islam. Has the Government of India moved even an inch to get these pre-conditions fulfilled? Notwithstanding so much of oral sympathy to the cause of the freedom-struggle in Bangla Desh, has the Govern-ment of India recognised the sovereign Republic of Bangla Desh? It has not. Better late than never. Is it ready to do

(Contd. to Page 8)

By The Way

According to US official statistics, the U S A maintains 429 big and 2972 relatively smaller military bases in thirty foreign countries spread over the different continents. At the beginning of the current year there were 10,01,600 US soldiers stationed abroad. Are they not indicative of bellicosity of the U S rulers? What an incorrigible suspicious-minded person are you! Don't you know that their presence in countries thousands of miles away from the American shore is necessary for the security of the U S A?

As revealed in the Budget, the total public debt of the Union Government in India at the end of the financial year 1971-1972 is estimated to be Rs. 15,055 crores, of which Rs. 7,027 crores is raised outside and Rs. 8,028 crores in India. Add to it the public debts of different State Govern-ments and you will get the total amount of public debt of India. Who says that our country has gone bankrupt thanks to the economic policies of the Congress (R) Governments? You can at best call India a beggar moving with a begging bowl from one country to another. And do not scriptures enjoin on the pious to live on begging? The Congress (R) Governments are only adhering to the teachings of the *shastras* of our country.

Don't lose heart. West Bengal has caught up with the USA. What? You don't believe? Alright! face facts then. During the period of last President's rule in West Bengal from 19th March, 1970 to 1st April, 1971, over and above several hundreds killed in police firing and lathi-charging, 1690 persons had been murdered. In most of the cases the murderers could not be detected. This is according to official admission. Now compare it with the state of affairs obtaining in the USA. In 1970 there were 1100 bomb and fire-bomb incidents in that country and 90 per cent of the bombers could not, however, be detected. An US official communique gives these figures. There is, thus, at least one matter, namely, bomb-throwing and murder and inefficiency of the administration and the police to detect and catch the miscreants, in which the Congress (R) administration equals that in the USA. You should give three cheers for this achievement.

Now a days it has been a fashion of the high ups in our society to condemn low output of work by low paid employees and recommend curtailment of paid holidays. Are they pre-pared to take the same stand in respect of the High Courts and the Supreme Court in our country? There are reportedly 3,83,489 cases pending before the sixteen High Courts. The Calcutta High Court tops the list in this respect with 75,733 pending cases followed by the Allahabad High Court with 64,342, the Bombay High Court with 37,067 and the Madras High Court with 32,864 cases. The High Court of Punjab and Haryana has before it about 23,000 pending cases and even the Supreme Court has to dispose of 7,104 cases. Some of the cases have been pending for more than three decades. We understand that law books meant for examinations of law students still contain the dictum that delay in 'justice' is denial of 'justice'. Presumably that is meant to be learnt by rote and repro-duced in answer papers by the students and not to be practised.

Com. Ghosh's illuminating Analysis on Bangla Desh

[Com. Shibdas Ghosh, leader, teacher, and the General Secretary of the Party, in course of his speech on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the foundation of the Party on 24th April last made an illuminating analysis of the struggle in Bangla Desh. We could not publish it in time. We, however, reproduce a summary of his speech relating to Bangla Desh. The delay of publication of the speech is regretted.—Ed., P. E.]

The freedom movement now being conducted in Bangla Desh is of great significance particularly for India. For, the territory in which this freedom movement is being conducted is surrounded on all sides by our India. Hence, the past and future of that country, the development and outcome of the present political movement there and the form and character of the Government of that country—the peoples of other countries may think these questions as an internal and exclusive affair of that country alone, but this should not be the thinking of the Indian people. We have a historical relationship with the people of Bangla Desh; our link with them is deep-rooted; cultural ties connect us with them. In fact, till the other day they and we were people of the same country, though at present not only two different states have emerged, we are divided into two different nations in two different countries.

It is necessary to say a few words to those in our country who are dreaming of reunification through this freedom movement in Bangla Desh of East Bengal and West Bengal and are, accordingly, raising a slogan to that effect. Though once the people of Bangla Desh and we belonged to the people of the same country yet today the idea of belonging to the same nation does not objectively exist among the peoples

of the two countries. Two different national psychological make-up and two different ideas of separate nationhood have in the meantime developed among the peoples centring round the two countries. It is of course, true that there is a great deal of commonness between the Bengali sentiment of the people of West Bengal as an integral part of India and the Bengali sentiment of the people of Bangla Desh. But other than this cultural and linguistic commonness between the peoples of the two countries their national feeling is completely different from the national feeling of ours. We should not for a moment forget this reality. However much serious their freedom movement is to us, while extending our support to their freedom struggle we should at the same time bear in mind that Bangla Desh is struggling to exist as a separate Sovereign Independent State. So we are to support their freedom movement with a mind to help them in the development of their national life and sovereignty.

If in our support and assistance to their struggle works our overlording mentality or mentality that the two Bengals will soon reunite then our support to them is liable to be misunderstood by them. Psychological make-up that has led to the present national uprising in Bangla Desh cannot take this mentality of ours

properly. If this mentality expresses itself at this moment then our Party feels that in place of helping the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh it will create too many complications. It will only help the forces opposing the freedom struggle there to gain in strength. As a result, our support and assistance to their freedom struggle will to a very large extent be hampered and their freedom struggle objectively somewhat weakened.

History of freedom struggle

In order to correctly realise the nature of the upsurge for separate nationhood in Bangla Desh it is necessary to discuss to some extent the history of its development. When India and the Indian nation were artificially divided into two and Pakistan was established as a separate State, with the continued existence of the Pakistani State, attempts to develop Pakistani nationalism were made and it actually developed also. But due to some reasons the sense of nationhood and psychological make-up of one Pakistan comprising its two wings could not take a concrete shape. The reasons which obstructed the development of the sense of one nationhood embracing both West Pakistan and East Pakistan in spite of all attempts by the ruling clique of Pakistan are as follows. First, the long distance between West Pakistan and East Pakistan and complete absence of geographical contiguity. Second, it became very difficult to develop unification between the peoples of the two wings even in the cultural sense, inasmuch as from the point of view of language and culture the two had no commonness. Moreover, the ruling clique of Pakistan virtually reduced East Bengal to the status of a colony in the interest of development, industrialisation and economic progress of West Pakistan. Notwithstanding the fact that

the population of East Bengal constituted more than half of the total population of Pakistan, only one-fourth of the revenue collected from East Bengal used to be spent for it, the rest of the revenue income from East Bengal being utilised for augmenting the wealth of West Pakistan. In the way the imperialists exploit their colonies as the source of raw materials to develop their own country and suppress them, the ruling clique of West Pakistan in the similar way reduced East Bengal to such a colony even after the formation of one country and one state.

It is true that this feeling of colonial exploitation did not develop in the mind of the people of East Bengal at the beginning, nor did the sense of one Pakistan nationhood disappear from their minds overnight. For a long time the people of East Bengal considered themselves Pakistanis. But centring round the questions of language and culture as also economic development, public opinion in East Bengal began to grow gradually against the ruling clique of West Pakistan. It led to the raising of different demands by them and movements. The Pakistani rulers, however, completely failed to grasp the inherent meaning and the historical course of these movements. As a result they on the one hand tried to suppress these movements by the application of ruthless state power and on the other hand strove to sustain a sense of one nationhood in the mind of the people by fanning up religious fanaticism. They simply forgot that a nation could never develop simply on the basis of religion.

A nation is an historical product. In the course of history, out of strong urge for the development of capitalism, within the bounds of a particular geographical boundary

(Contd. to page 4)

Emergence of New Nationalism

(Contd. From page 3)

grow economic centralisation and a centralised common concept. Based on this centralised concept expressed through common language and culture and aiming at an all-out economic development, a community of people in a given territory historically emerges as a nation. This is exactly the history of the formation of all the modern nations. From that point of view had not Pakistan been created as a separate country by disturbing the natural process of nation formation through artificial division of India, the peoples of India and Pakistan would have historically emerged as a single nation. But India, which was in the process of emerging as a single nation, was artificially vivisected into two different countries, into two different nations with distinctly two separate sense of nationhood. But even after the formation of Pakistan as a separate state the sense of belonging to the same nation could not develop in the mind of the people of the two wings of Pakistan. In spite of all out efforts by the ruling clique of Pakistan to develop a common feeling of same nationhood among the people of its two wings on the basis of religion alone in the name of an Islamic State, completely ignoring the question of language and culture, Pakistan nationalism objectively bifurcated into two distinctly different national feelings. The national psychological make-up in West Pakistan developed in one way while that in East Pakistan, which at present is called Bangla Desh, began to develop in a quite different way. This distinctly different Bengali nationalism, which grew under the peculiar conditions within the geographical limits of Bangla Desh, is a new nationalism. It must not, however, be forgotten that this nationalism of Bangla Desh is

a current, a variant, of Pakistani nationalism.

If the different states comprising West Pakistan are taken into account separately, it will be found that there too national feeling about Pakistan is not homogeneous, is not one and the same. Resentment is there among the people against the despotic rule of the autocratic Pak rulers; a very strong feeling of resentment exists among the non-Punjabi nationalities against the attempts of the Punjabi Muslim nationality to establish its dominance over others with the backing of the ruling clique. Nevertheless, since the different states constituting West Pakistan are geographically contiguous, the resentment among the different non-Punjabi nationalities did not develop so quickly and intensely as a distinctly different national feeling as it did in a case of Bangla Desh. But because of the absence of this geographical contiguity there began to grow in the mind of the people of Bangla Desh a burning sense of colonial exploitation, slavery and oppression based on their feeling as a separate nation, notwithstanding the fact that both East Pakistan and West Pakistan were components of the same Pakistan state. As a result, though it has been possible for the ruling clique of Pakistan to unite the different nationalities and maintain the integrity of West Pakistan to some extent, another current of the same Pakistani nationalism took a distinctly different form in the shape of East Bengali or East Pakistani nationalism in Bangla Desh.

Bangla Desh—a new nation

This nationalism of Bangla Desh, being freed from the religious superstition and tutelage of Pakistani nationalism, has given birth to a completely new national feeling through real national and

patriotic upsurge and Bangla Desh has occupied its position as a new nation in the pages of history. It cannot be called now a part of Pakistan. To the people of Bangla Desh the Pakistani rulers have appeared as foreign imperialist rulers and for Pakistan East Bengal or Bangla Desh has become a separate nation. The national and patriotic feeling of the people of East Bengal is distinctly different from Pakistan national feeling. If the Pakistani rulers try to suppress it forcibly or succeed in suppressing the national upsurge of Bangla Desh today even then it should be kept in mind that a new national feeling has been born in Bangla Desh and the people there will time and again rise in revolt against the Pakistani order and ultimately establish a separate state. The freedom struggle of no country can now be forcibly suppressed in the old way.

At the same time it should also be borne in mind that since the national feeling and national upsurge, which has taken place in Bangla Desh, has been born in the womb of Pakistani nationalism, in this national upsurge soft and sympathetic feeling towards Pakistan also still continues to exist in the mental framework of the Bangla Desh people. Hence, those in our country, who are raising the slogan of re-unification of East and West Bengal or are dreaming of achieving this re-unification through the present struggle now going on in Bangla Desh in the special interest of India, must realise that such is not the mind of the people of Bangla Desh nor are they seeking our support and assistance to their freedom struggle right in this way. It is true that once we were united and in future we will again be united. But the unity will not come in this way. If right at this moment attempts for re-unification are made thus then the

freedom struggle of Bangla Desh itself will be jeopardised. Those, who are dreaming of immediate re-unification of East and West Bengal, should also bear in mind that even if socialist states are established under the leadership of the working class in India as well as in Bangla Desh, immediate re-unification of the two countries would not be possible. Immediately with the establishment of socialism the national boundaries of two socialist countries cannot be done away with. Since even after the victory of socialist revolution the form of socialist revolutions continues to exist in national form in different countries, the socialist countries themselves are not finding it possible now to transgress the national boundaries. If the socialist countries try to achieve unity by arbitrarily abolishing their respective national boundaries overnight then clashes and conflicts will occur among themselves. For, in that case it will give rise to the question of domineering tendency of one over another and immediately national mental complex, which so long lay intermingled with the socialist revolution, would try to tear itself off from socialism to the detriment of the socialist revolution.

We will definitely unite not now but in remote future when the national form will exhaust itself, the different nations will merge into a single human community, the different states in the world will be replaced by a world communist society and world revolution will become victorious. Prior to that it will be our duty to selflessly help the nation, once it is formed through struggle, in its development and progress. There is no need of our desire for immediate re-unification. This mentality is harmful to the peoples of both the countries. Hence, it is our

(Contd. to page 5)

Victory of freedom struggle in Bangla Desh—conducive to the liberation struggle of Indian people

(Contd. From page 4)

request to those who are helping the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh that they should do it in the spirit of a volunteer.

This does not mean that we have no interest in the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. Our only interest is this that if through this struggle a revolutionary government is established in Bangla Desh then it will be an ally of the revolutionary movement in India. Let such an independent sovereign state be established in Bangla Desh as will not move as a puppet of the imperialists, will support the anti-imperialist national liberation movements in different countries of the world, encourage the democratic movements within the country and help the country in moving towards socialism and progress. We wish it; we expect it. We will certainly be sorry if after independence a government like that of Tenku Abdul Rahman is established in Bangla Desh. But it is also true that it cannot be our stand that we should not want the independence of Bangla Desh on the plea that a government like that of Tenku Abdul Rahman is going to be installed there.

On question of leadership

It is the problem of the people, of those who are engaged in the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh as to what type of government should be formed there. If the people of Bangla Desh install the moderate leadership in power through the present freedom struggle then any attempt by us or by any other external force to foil it will only imperil and bring catastrophe to the whole freedom struggle. There can, of course, be discussion about the character of the leadership. But whatever may be the

character of the leadership, if there is no difference in opinion with the study that the present movement in Bangla Desh is a freedom movement then all honest, sincere, democratic-minded and patriotic persons have to extend their support to this freedom struggle.

What type of government the people of Bangla Desh will be able to establish just at the moment is absolutely dependent on the character of the leadership of their freedom struggle and the level of political consciousness of the people engaged in mass struggles and the freedom struggle. Besides, the character of the government to be established there will also depend on which of the forces, that, in spite of ideological differences with one another, are unitedly fighting in the present freedom struggle, has maximum influence over the masses of the people, is organisationally the strongest, and particularly, is the most capable of giving correct leadership in the armed struggle of today. The freedom struggle in Bangla Desh has assumed the present form of armed mass uprising, after skipping over the different stages of democratic movements like non-violent civil disobedience movement, processions, strikes, etc., against the barbarous, bellicose, armed Pak military regime. There the people are engaged in a life and death struggle for national independence. Of the forces, that are now unitedly conducting the freedom struggle, those, who will be able to consistently provide the correct leadership and organise in reality the conduction of this armed struggle, will ultimately come to the leadership. Whatever be the leadership of the freedom struggle today, it is sure that the leadership and

state power, after the freedom struggle is victorious, will go into the hands of those who will be able to carry forward correctly the present armed struggle to victory.

Here a very important point must be said to those who are engaged in the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. There within a section of the partners of the armed freedom struggle we are finding a reflection of brewing discontent against the leadership of Mujibar Rahman. In our country also we are seeing that a section among those who claim themselves to be revolutionaries has gone to the extent of even branding Mujibar Rahman a foreign imperialist agent. It may be that they are saying it in view of the fact that the rulers of different capitalist countries have contacts with Mujibar Rahman. It may also be that since they have doubts as to whether or not Mujibar Rahman will fight for the ideal of socialism, they are saying it. To say that since Mujib has contacts with different imperialist-capitalist states, the freedom struggle conducted under his leadership is an imperialist conspiracy logically cannot but lead one to oppose the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. They have perhaps not given thought over this question. It is true that from the available reports so far gathered about Mujibar Rahman he has appeared to us also to be a moderate leader. But nevertheless it should be realised that the entire people of Bangla Desh have plunged headlong into so big and full-scale a struggle for full independence under the leadership of Mujibar Rahman and that Mujib still exists as the central focal point of national unity and solidarity in the present freedom struggle to the common men of Bangla Desh. Hence, those who will try to

discredit the leadership of Mujibar Rahman on this or that ground will not only be isolated from the public imagination but also weaken the solidarity of the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh. This will objectively mean the strengthening of the hands of the barbarous Pak military junta in the long run. It is for this reason that by no means can we push back the question of the unity of the people that was developed in the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh by bringing about whatever differences one might have with regard to the political character of Mujib leadership to the fore.

Full independence—the main slogan

We feel that on behalf of the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh as well as ourselves a specific point must be placed at this time before the freedom struggle with all emphasis. And that is that Bangla Desh must be given full independence. There can be no settlement short of it. We have been noticing that a conspiracy by America and other interested quarters is already in the offing. These quarters have understood that if the independence of Bangla Desh cannot be resisted then it has got to be supported in the long run. But prior to that if Bangla Desh can be kept tagged up with Pakistan by forming a confederation through mediation by the U N O then that would be the best solution to the problem most advantageous in safeguarding their interests. As a result the U. S. official lobby is very much active in this respect. Many a seasoned brain is moving from one capital to another throughout the world to find out any such acceptable formulae. There is necessity of being particularly cautious in this respect.

(Contd. to page 6)

Build Up National Liberation Front on the Demand of Complete

National Independence

(Contd. From Page 5)

Full independence, that is, full sovereign national independence, short of which there will be no settlement—this slogan must be raised by the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh above everything else. Any leader or any freedom fighter, whoever he may be, or any leadership that will raise the question of discussion in any condition short of this full independence must be isolated gradually from the freedom struggle. Those who will help the present struggle for full independence must be taken as allies of the freedom struggle regardless of their political and ideological views. In case it is felt that the freedom struggle if conducted under the leadership of Mujibar Rahman will frustrate the independence itself then it should be fixed on the question of full independence. A national liberation front must be built up in Bangla Desh with all of them who will want to fight on the demand of full independence. And the unity of this national liberation front must be protected like the apple of an eye during the freedom struggle. It is true that Mujibar Rahman at the initial stage demanded only autonomy of Bangla Desh and strove for it. But subsequently he himself has raised the demand of full independence and come forward to provide leadership in the freedom struggle. So though the leadership of Mujibar Rahman is moderate leadership, it is most necessary to advance at the present time the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh through the formation of a national liberation front with that moderate leadership. Our request to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh is that at this moment they must not emphasise this mutual differences centring round the question of leadership inasmuch as it would considerably weaken the freedom struggle itself.

Besides, the revolutionary forces there will have to keep in mind another word in this connection. And that is this—if they want to take the leadership of the present freedom struggle they will fail to do it by simply carrying on criticism against Mujibar Rahman. Revolutionary leadership cannot be established through scramble. There is only one way of establishing this leadership.

If they can carry on relentless ideological struggle inside the national liberation front, that would be formed in course of the present freedom struggle, without, of course, weakening in the least the unity of the front and if they have the capability of providing the most competent political, organisational and military leadership in the liberation war, which in all probability is going to be a protracted one, then the leadership of the national liberation front will in the long run be in their hands. Then there will be none to prevent it. And if Mujibar Rahman himself gives this leadership then no one should reasonably object. Every one will have to move under that leadership. No freedom struggle can be opposed on the ground that it is being led by a feudal lord. Those who oppose frustrate the whole thing. So, the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh should bear in mind that it would weaken the freedom struggle, that has grown and developed centring round Mujibar Rahman, disrupt it and thereby objectively strengthen the hands of Pak military junta, if one starts scrambling for leadership and for that purpose raises slogans against Mujib.

Role of India Government

In the matter of the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh the role of the India Government

to be discussed also. Because, however much support the people of India may have for this freedom struggle, without the active and effective role of the India Government not much assistance can we render to them compared to their vast necessity. What we can do is that if the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh so desire and the Government of India allows them to go then we can send thousands of volunteers there. They can go on the other side of the border, fight and lay down their lives if necessary. We can donate money and medicines. But what the freedom fighters need most now are such assistance as can effectively help the liberation army there in being transformed into innumerable invincible forces on guerrilla lines. The people of our country cannot give any effective help in this regard. The Indian State, the Government of India, alone can provide the necessary help for it.

India Government has made many sympathetic utterances about the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. But though the freedom fighters have set up an independent government, the Government of India, on this plea or that, has not recognised it as yet. The India Government is observing if the U. S. A., Great Britain, Russia or China recognises the government of Bangla Desh or not. But what is there for the India Government to ponder so much? With what outlook other states are judging this freedom struggle is their own matters. The Government of India itself recognises this struggle as freedom struggle by the people of Bangla Desh. Why then is it not recognising the independent government of Bangla

Desh? It is the bounden duty of the India Government to recognise this independent government and render all possible help so as to develop the liberation army there as invincible armed resistance force. The India Government is trying to shirk this responsibility by means of trickery. It is true that the Government of India is expressing sympathy and donating money and medicines but it is feeling apprehensive in recognising the independent government there and supplying arms to the freedom fighters. It appears from the stand of the India Government that the Government is perhaps thinking that in case the Pak military clique succeeds in suppressing the freedom struggle and the struggle is defeated, the diplomatic relation which India has with Pakistan in that case will be worse. Here a question arises. Will the India Government decide whether it will support or not after seeing if the freedom struggle becomes victorious or not? If that be the case then why pay lip service to the freedom struggle? By such sweet sympathetic utterances the India Government then is practising hypocrisy, is just trying to keep the freedom fighters in good humour. The motive is—if the freedom fighters win then it will make tall claim of India's contribution towards the victory but if the freedom struggle is defeated then its diplomatic relation with Pakistan will continue as before. This is nothing but trickery. Our Party strongly feels that in the matter of rendering active and effective help and assistance to the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh no fruitful purpose will be served by entreating the Government of India. It is necessary to set up strong pressure on it by organised mass movements to compel it to recognise the independent

(Contd. to Page 7)

Hypocrisy Abounding

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Planning Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam had a discussion at New Delhi with some seventeen "top economists of the country". Shri Subramaniam specified certain areas in which he sought the views and advice of the economists.

It is reported in newspapers (Sunday Statesman dated June 20 last) that "the Minister agreed with the view expressed at the meeting that conspicuous consumption must be avoided if the fruits of development were to reach all people. What was needed, Mr. Subramaniam said, was an "ostentatious simplicity" from people in high positions, including Ministers. This would have a salutary effect on the people."

Let us see how the Union Ministers live and if it can be called "ostentatious simplicity" as professed by the Planning Minister. The salaries, allowances and perquisites of Central Cabinet Ministers are as follows, according to a calculation published in the Sunday Statesman dated June 6 last.

The salaries and perquisites of Central Cabinet Ministers are as follows :

Particulars	Rs. (Net : free of tax)
Salary (Rs. 27,000 Less Tax Rs. 5,544)	21,426
Sumptuary Allowance	6,000
Rent of Bunglow	7,800
Rent of Furniture & Appliances	7,704
Mali, Chowkidar & Sweepers (420 × 12)	5,040
Maintenance, Repairs & Decoration of Bunglow and Grounds	15,040
Furniture & Appliances ($\frac{1}{3}$ × 20,000)	10,000
Electricity & water	2,400
Motor Car : Personal use	
Driver's Salary (200 × 12)	2,400
Petrol (500 × 12)	6,000
Depreciation (20% of 21,000)	4,200
Interest (10% of 21,000)	2,100
Insurance	600
(15,300 × 1/5th)	3,060
Personal Travelling (30,000 × 1/5th)	6,000
Personal Telephone (6,000 × 1/5th)	1,200
Total	70,660

* 1/5th taken for Personal Use, this being well established practice in Income-Tax assessments.

Thus, the annual earnings come to Rs. 70,660 or roughly Rs. 5,900 per month. The readers can very well understand that in a poor country like ours where 50 per cent of the total population cannot afford two square meals a day this is not an example of "ostentatious simple" living. The attention of the readers is also drawn to the report published in the Hindusthan Times dated June 18 last relating to renovation of the office-room of Shri Uma Sankar Dikshit, Union Minister for Works and Housing at a cost of nearly Rs. 1 lakh. Apart from this amount, a similar sum is stated to have been expended to renovate the bangalow allotted to him.

Role of the Indian People and Organisations

(Contd. From Page 6)

government of Bangla Desh and supply arms to the freedom fighters.

It goes without saying that as Indian citizens we too have so many things to do in actively helping the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. It is our foremost duty to raise organised volunteer corps in order that we can effectively help the freedom struggle. Those who are willing to serve as volunteers in the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh must enrol themselves as such. Our Party has already appealed to the people for such enrolment. If we can build up powerful volunteer corps ready to go to help the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh then we can

demand of the India Government to arm them and arrange for their despatch to Bangla Desh. In the absence of such organised volunteer forces loose amorphous individuals will crowd on the other side of the border and create much inconvenience to the freedom fighters only. We should also send food, clothings, medicines and other necessary articles to them. Care should, however, be taken to see that they do not fall into the hands of undesirable elements, as various types of persons are at work there. So we request the non-official organisations, which are collecting donations here for the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh, to see that these things reach proper hands there.

Colossal Wastage

As much as 67 per cent of the total expenditure of the India Government is non-developmental expenditure. From Rs. 291.5 crores in 1950-51 it had risen to Rs. 2150.9 crores in the Budget for 1970-71. One should not mind for this colossal wastage in the form of unproductive expenditure of public money, which leaves very little to be spent for developmental work necessary for improving the hard lot of common men. For, after all, we cannot dispense with the *Badshahi* tradition of maintaining expensive white elephants of our country.

The gulf of difference between profession and practice of the Congress (R) Ministers and other top leaders is nothing new. They have all through been practising this fraud on the people. Their popular gesture of plain simple

living is only a cloak to conceal their life of a new princely order. Such popular gestures are the characteristics of almost all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians in our country which the toiling masses must learn to hate most bitterly.

PEOPLE MUST ACT NOW

(Contd. From Page 2)

now? There is no sign of any such desire. Is the Government also ready to supply arms to the freedom fighters in Bangla Desh? Is it prepared to train the evacuees in guerrilla warfare and send them to Bangla Desh as freedom fighters? As long as it refuses to do all these things all its sympathy boils down to just lip service.

The Government of India has sent so many of its ministers to various capitals of the world to canvass the case of Bangla Desh. But has it any moral right to do it when it itself has not recognised sovereign Republic of Bangla Desh? The missions on behalf of such a Government are bound to fail as they have failed.

The ministers have not been able to draw out any commitment from any government with regard to the pre-conditions for political settlement of the Bangla Desh question as referred to earlier. The different states are at best ready to extend assistance on humanitarian ground towards the evacuee problem. It was not unexpected of the imperialist Powers as they are sending ship-loads of arms to the Pak military authorities even today (the USA had sent three ship-loads of arms the other day). The mission to Moscow too has not yielded any better result. The language of the Joint Communiqué issued after Swaran Singh's visit and of the address by Kosygin to his electors makes it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union envisages a peaceful political settlement within the framework of Pakistan. It means the negation of the demand for independent Bangla Desh.

Corrigendum

Last issue of Proletarian Era dt. 15th June, 1971 has been numbered as Vol. 4. No. 9. It should be Vol. 4. No. 10. The mistake is regretted.

Ed.—P. E.

Our people should realise that we cannot remain silent spectators. The question of recognition of sovereign Republic of Bangla Desh cannot brook any further delay. No matter whether other governments recognise it or not, since the Indian people want it, the India Government must do it immediately. But habits die hard. No demand of the people has been accepted by the Government unless and until it has been forced by pressure of mass movement to accede to the demand. Our people, therefore, are left with no other alternative than to organise themselves, build up mighty mass movements and compel the Government to recognise the sovereign Republic of Bangla Desh.

STOP ACTS OF MURDER

(Contd. from page 1)

veiled C. P. I. (M) men or Congress(R) men is a question. If these parties are sincere in stopping individual killings and murders, they are to start with a clean slate.

The Government's role is no less ignominious. It is now admitted on all hands that the bureaucracy and the police have thrown to the winds the principle of administrative neutrality. This is because the bureaucracy and the police to-day have, by and large, transferred their allegiance to the big parties in the State, particularly the C. P. I. (M) and the Congress (R). Coupled with it is the old chain between the police and the anti-social elements. With this machinery, individual killing and murders cannot be stopped.

If the Government is really serious to rid West Bengal of individual killings and murders then it should at least take effective measures so that the chain of the police, the anti-social elements, the big political parties, the jotedars and industrial magnates is

Wanton Attack on Leaders of Govt. Employees

(By a Staff Reporter)

Com. Ashima Ranjan Banerjee, a leader of the class IV employees of the West Bengal State Govt. of Birbhum had been severely stabbed all over his body on 15th of June last by some miscreants.

The miscreants dragged him out from his house at dead of night and committed this crime. He was subsequently admitted to the Suri Sadar hospital in an unconscious state. Com. Banerjee is in a critical condition.

Com. Naren Dey, Com. Ashima Ranjan Banerjee and Com. Pranab Bhattacharyya, are some of the leaders of the State Government employees who had been conducting serious campaigns to prevent the Government Employees organisations from falling into the hands of sectarian disruptionist leadership of the Co-ordination Committee belonging to the C. P. I. (M). Com. Dey was stabbed to death on 2nd June last. Attempt on the life of Com. Banerjee was made on 15th of June and Com. Bhattacharyya had been threatened of dire consequences by some anti-socials

broken and administrative neutrality restored. The Government should also take steps to abrogate the Arms Act in order that the peace-loving sober section of people can arm themselves and resist the hooligans which they cannot do now in view of the fact that they are unarmed as against armed hooligans. Simple abrogation of the Arms Act will not do. Small and conventional arms should be brought within the purchasing power of common men. Possession of arms by the people, sincere and serious attempts by political parties to help people in unitedly resisting the anti-social elements and effective attempts by the Government to stop individual killings and murders, a co-ordinated move in this direction alone can bring back normality.

and supporters of the Co-ordination Committee belonging to the C. P. I. (M).

These dastardly attacks on the leaders of the class IV employees and of the local people have caused strong resentment among the people. The local police's behaviour is most condemnable. The police has practically taken no action in arresting the culprits.

Deputation Of Construction Industry Workers

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 31st May last 500 representatives of Construction Industry Workers from all concerns over India, covering West Bengal, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Andhra etc. under the leadership of All India Hindusthan Worker's Federation and Tarapore & Co. Worker's Union, demonstrated before the Prime Minister's residence on the demand of enactment of a law in favour of construction workers. On 7th June a deputation including Com. Achintya Sinha, Member of the General Council of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) and Com. M. P. Lahiri, General Secretary, All India Hindusthan Federative Worker's Federation met the Prime Minister, Sm. Indira Gandhi who assured them that she would personally look into the matter. A convention is going to be held in the last week of September in Delhi to form a confederation of Construction Workers of India, numbering about forty lakhs and chalk out a programme for movement to meet their demands.