



A Marxist-Leninist document on the struggle in Bangla Desh

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When all of these aspects are put together it is clear that the government of China does not condone nor support the military actions of the Pakistani ruling class and at the same time leaves the possibility open for giving support to a genuine indigenous peoples' liberation struggle.

A Marxist-Leninist Document on the Struggle in Bangla Desh

A Statement by the C.P. (M.L.) in Bangla Desh

"Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but *must be*. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions."

Chairman Mao Tsetung,
in "The Role of the Chinese Communist
Party in the National War,"
(October 1938).

Earlier this month a statement was released to the Press in Bangla Desh by Md. Toaha on behalf of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). This is the first available document of the Party bearing on the current political situation in Bangla Desh. It is hoped that this document will help to clear a lot of confusion about the stand of the Marxist-Leninists in the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh against the Pakistani rulers and it will also effectively counter tendentious propaganda launched by various ultra-left groups and counter-revolutionary cliques against the Marxist-Leninists of Bangla Desh.

LEAGUE OF BENGALI MARXIST-LENINISTS IN GREAT BRITAIN 22, Seymour Place, London, W.1.

1. **Cunning counter offensive of imperialism and birth of Pakistan:** Twenty five years ago in the post-world war revolutionary situation, the then British Imperialist rulers and their native collaborators – the feudal aristocracy and the comprador bourgeoisie – conspired against the rising tide of the peoples revolt against British rule and partitioned the country on religious-communal basis. It was a cunning counter offensive against the impending people's revolution to perpetuate their vested interests in neo-colonial form. Pakistan was, thus, created as a neo-colonial dependency of the imperialist powers.

2. **Our struggle for People's Democracy:** The then left progressives, however, were clear about this cunning counteroffensive of imperialism in league with their collaborators and predicted the inevitable collapse of the artificial state structure of Pakistan. They also had visualised the inevitable emergence of East Bengal as a Peoples' Democracy and had been working on that line since 1951.

Two decades of neo-colonial subjugation of our country, frequent conspiratorial changes in the interest of imperialism, and ruthless exploitation of the people by imperialism, feudalism and big comprador-bureaucratic capital gradually helped disillusionment of the people about the nature of independence achieved in the shape of Pakistan.

In this changing favourable political climate the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in the month of October 1967, adopted a full-fledged programme for the establishment of the Peoples' Democratic republic of East Bengal (at present Bangladesh) and started organising an agrarian revolution to achieve that objective.

3. **New cunning counter-offensive of the enemy:** In the wake of mass discontent the Central Committee of our Party decided to launch a movement. Accordingly, the great peoples' upsurge known as the anti-Ayub movement of 1968-69 was launched in alliance with other political parties and democratic mass organisations. The movement shook the anti-people regime to its very foundation. The ruling classes, therefore, felt the urgent need of resolving their internal differences and set their house in order, with a view to facing – to quote the then President Ayub, "the Communist menace." So under the direct guidance and help of

their imperialist mentors the anti-people ruling classes planned another new cunning counter-offensive to stem the tide of the revolution by crushing the revolutionary forces of the country. Accordingly, the roundtable conference on March 10 to 13, 1969, was held. All the political parties excepting the National Awami Party (Bhashani) which was largely influenced by the left-progressives, attended the said conference. Restoration of the so-called parliamentary democracy, which the ruling circles had discarded a decade ago, was considered to be the most suitable method for diverting the revolutionary mood of the people on to the path of reformism. The general election of 1971, the only election ever held on an all Pakistan basis, was arranged as a part of that counter revolutionary plan.

The extreme right-religious parties — the Jamat-e-Islami, the Naezani-e-Islam, the Muslim Leagues, the Pakistan Democratic party (an offshoot of the Muslim League) and the petty bourgeois nationalists of the Awami League found it necessary to make a common cause against the impending revolution of the people. Both the extremes quite comfortably co-operated in the execution of the master plan and participated in the election on the basis of the so-called philosophy of "Glory of Islam and integrity of Pakistan" as laid down by the then President General A.M. Yahya Khan in his so-called Legal Frame-work Order.

The Marxist-Leninist Party, however, gave the timely warning to all the fighting democrats about the deep-rooted conspiracy and declared in clear language that the proposed election was not going to solve the problems the country was faced with. The predictions of the Party, however, proved completely true by the subsequent post-election events and developments.

The election, however, undoubtedly reflected the peoples' urge for emancipation only from the decades of ruthless exploitation by the ruling classes backed by imperialism. The results of the election also at the same time helped expose the inner contradictions amongst various sections of the ruling classes, particularly between that of East Bengal and West Pakistan. Contrary to their expectation the spectacular victory of the Awami League upset the whole plan of the ruling junta by sharpening the contradictions between the power-hungry Awami League Leadership of the East and the central ruling clique of Pakistan.

The ruling military junta and their imperialist mentors miscalculated. Being scared by the revolutionary mood of the people they simultaneously attacked both the Awami League and the people with a view to compelling the former to accept a compromise on their own terms and to subdue the latter. Thus the contradictions were transformed into armed conflict.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as usual, went to jail and the rest of the Awami League leadership fled to India leaving the people to their fate. The barbarous attack of the Pak Army however, met with the resistance of the people. At places under the leadership of our Party and at other places under the leadership of spontaneously organised sporadic groups of patriotic fighters, the revolutionary people started resisting the onslaught of Pak Army. Gradually these sporadic battles were being polarised and transformed into a National Revolutionary War under the leadership of our Party. This scared the counter-revolutionary forces both inside and outside the country. The Awami League leadership which had taken refuge in India, could think of no other alternative but to fall a willing victim to the counter-revolutionary machinations of the imperialist powers and the Indian expansionists.

The two super powers, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet Social imperialists in their respective interests as well as in their common interests to check the revolution in our country and also with a view to fit our country into their global war strategy against the Peoples' Republic of China and the national liberation struggles of South-East Asia escalated this conflict into a full-scale war with the help of the Indian expansionists who had always cherished designs on our country.

The loss of lives and properties due to this war is incalculable. The world outside does not know what a great genocide and hundreds of tragic 'My Lai' were committed on the unfortunate soil of East Bengal only to serve the counter-revolutionary plan of imperialism.

Today the people of our country are given to understand that the Governments of the Soviet Union and India have helped our national liberation; our country is declared to be an

independent and sovereign state. But the reality of the situation proves this claim to be illusory in the gradually awakening eyes of our people. In their race for establishing their respective neo-colonial suzerainty over our country both the super-powers competed with each other. The Soviet Social imperialists having reciprocal closeness of interests with India joined hands and got the upper hand of the U.S. imperialists. The Indian expansionists with the active support and material help from the Soviet Union launched aggression against our country and have occupied it. Today East Bengal renamed as Bangla-Desh has become a protectorate of India. Thus the People's Republic of Bangla-Desh owes its origin and existence to the armed intervention of the Indian expansionists with the active support and material help of the Soviet Social imperialists and also a section of the U.S. ruling classes. In short, our country has come under the collective neo-colonial subjugation of the imperialist powers. And the only visible change that has taken place is that the number of foreign exploiters has increased.

The penetration of Indian capital has already exposed itself shamelessly and nakedly. Apart from the covert grabbing of strategic positions in our economy, the Indian aggressors have dismantled several of our jute mills installations and other industries at Khulna, Chittagong, Dacca and other places and have removed those to India as war booties. They have also taken away arms worth several hundred crores surrendered by the Pak Army.

The penetration of Indian capital is having its impact on our economy, resulting in an adverse balance in our import and export trade.

The internal socio-economic set-up of the age-old semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy is maintained as it had been, with the added strength of the feudal exploiters in the rural areas having support of the private armed bands such as the Mujib Bahini and the armed forces of the Bangla-Desh Government. In some places the Razakars (Pak Army auxiliaries) have also been integrated with the Mujib Bahini. The consequence of this added strength of the feudal exploiters, particularly the evil gentry in the rural area: has been simply bewildering and is contrary to the expectation of the people. For example, in the course of the struggle the revolutionary peasants under the leadership of our Party liberated certain areas in several districts, recovered the land of the poor peasants forcibly grabbed by the jotdars and restored those to their rightful owners. In those areas progressive land reforms were also introduced by the peasants committees. But after the takeover by the Bangla-Desh Government the previous land grabbers have again recaptured those lands, looted the paddy of the poor peasants and forcibly collected huge sums of money (at the rate Rs. 50/- per acre or 5mds. of paddy per Kani) with the help of the armed forces at their disposal. In almost every place the collaborators of the Pak Army have turned into local patrons and guides of the Mukti Bahini. On the one hand a section of the Mukti Bahini killed hundreds of genuine Freedom Fighters, who had fought against the Pak Army and the agent/collaborator of the Pak. Government, while on the other, the Mukti Bahini people including some of the commanders in some cases fell victims to the attacks, conspiratorially engineered by the influential jotdars. Honest Freedom Fighters belonging to the Awami League also shared the same fate. This annihilation campaign continues under the very nose of the Bangla-Desh Government.

4. New danger of global war: The establishment of Bangladesh now under the control of India has given complete shape to the anti-China bulwark which the super-powers have long since been trying to build up: Along with it the presence of the super powers in our soil has exposed our country to the danger of risky involvements in the big-power conflict that may engulf the Peoples' Republic of China and the whole of South-East Asia.

5. The task before the people: From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the growing indomitable urge of our people to achieve their emancipation that had characterised the whole political development over two decades prior to March 25, 1971 and after has been awefully betrayed; and the Peoples' Democratic Revolution has suffered a temporary setback.

The task before our Party and the people, therefore, is to transform our country into a real Peoples' Democratic Republic, completely free from foreign domination and exploitation politically, economically and militarily. For achieving these objectives, our Party will

make all efforts to unite all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces from all walks of life — the peasants and the workers, the youth and students, the patriotic intellectuals and also the patriotic national bourgeoisie — on a broad programme for peace, freedom, democracy and self-sustaining peoples' economy with the ultimate objective of achieving socialism in our country, as charted by the great teachers and leaders of socialism — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse tung.

Lastly, our Party takes note of the existence of large numbers of patriots outside our Party who honestly believe that socialism is the only answer to our mounting problems, but are confused about the correct path. We invite them to join hands with us and fight for the emancipation of our people.

On Fascist Terror in West Bengal — An Appeal to the World Press, Calcutta, 23/3/72
From Mr. Jyoti Basu, Member, Polit-Bureau, Communist Party of India (Marxist)

Dear Editor,

We are writing this letter to you with the hope that you will bring to the knowledge of your readers the facts about the brutal suppression of the leftwing parties of West Bengal, particularly Communist Party of India (Marxist) by the Congress Government of India, which has been going on over the past two years. The essential facts are as follows:—

(1) About 20,000 political workers are languishing in the prisons of West Bengal without trial, many of whom are in their teens or early twenties. It is a standard practice of the Government to arrest a person on charge of murder or other serious offences, to keep him in prison for "investigation" for several months, then to release him only to arrest him again outside the courtroom for another set of offences. In almost none of these cases the persons concerned would get the opportunity of a trial, not to speak of a fair trial. The Government is also using extensively its powers under the newly enacted Prevention of Violence Act (which succeeded the old Preventive Detention Act in West Bengal after it was withdrawn from the rest of the country) and Maintenance of Internal Security Act (an old anti-terrorist Act of the thirties, which has now been revived), to arrest and keep under confinement for an indefinite period the leftwing workers. There have also been several cases of shooting inside the prison leading to deaths of about fifty prisoners so far.

(2) The workers of the leftwing parties who are outside prison are also living under constant threat of arrest and murder. It is known that warrants are pending against about 100,000 workers and peasants. The "combing operations" by police and Central Reserve Police are a regular feature of the life in the state, particularly in the urban areas, which lead to large scale arrests and tortures of political workers and innocent alike. About 70,000-80,000 CRP personnel are being deployed in these operations in addition to the equally strong police force.

(3) There have been reports of many deaths (at least 80) in police custody in the past two years. The usual explanations offered for the death of a person under police custody are as follows: "The prisoner was shot when he tried to escape", "The prisoner committed suicide", "The prisoner was killed by other persons in the police cell", "The prisoner was released and we do not know what has happened to him afterwards", "The prisoner said that he would take the police party to an arms-dump, but on their way to the arms-dump the police party was ambushed, and during the exchange of fire the person in police custody was killed", "The person concerned was never in police custody, and he was killed during an operation against extremists conducted by the police". In several cases the reports of brutal torture inside the police station and deliberate shooting were reported and confirmed by witnesses. In a number of recent cases raping of young girls by the police has also been reported by the victims and their doctors. The Government has imposed a moratorium on the routine departmental enquiries into cases of police firing, and demands for investigation by outside bodies of these reports of cold-blooded murders and tortures in police cells have been categorically rejected.