



AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

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'Revolution is the Main Trend in the World Today.' -Chairman Mao

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DOWN WITH THE INDO - SOVIET MILITARY PACT!

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DOWN WITH THE INDO - SOVIET MILITARY PACT

by Charu Mazumdar

The Indian Government has entered into a military pact with Soviet social-imperialism. As a result, India has been turned into a satellite state of the Soviet social-imperialists. In collusion with the Soviet Union, the Indian Government has attacked Pakistan, occupied East Pakistan and turned it into a neo-colony. As a result, the Soviet Union and India have been isolated from all the progressive forces of the world. Today, the ruling class is trying its best to create an atmosphere of chauvinism in India. All the parties in India are co-operating towards this end. The Soviet-Indian alliance has turned out to be the main enemy of the people of East Bengal. It is against the same enemy that the struggle in East Bengal and the struggle in India will be directed. As soon as the Indian Government has assumed this aggressive character, it is imposing fresh burdens on the Indian masses. It has enforced the notorious D.I. Rules to destroy all opposition. Today, it cannot stand opposition of any kind. But the people of India will not passively accept this burden imposed on them. Resistance is sure to grow. Militarily, the Indian Government is also sure to put pressure on other neighbouring countries. For this is the nature of chauvinism. The burden of exploitation will increase and a few people will reap the benefits --- such a state of affairs cannot continue for long in today's revolutionary situation. The broad masses of the people will be on our side in this struggle. In India and in East Bengal there are revolutionary Parties. Therefore, the struggle is bound to enter a new phase. Temporarily, we may have to retreat in some places. But if the Party is there, the struggle will inevitably attain a higher phase. Our task is to intensify further the revolutionary struggle conducted by our Party comrades and to widely propagandize this politics. Today, our comrades must go ahead firmly with this conviction that as a whole the situation is such that a revolutionary upsurge is bound to come.

December 20, 1971

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APPEAL TO FRIENDS WHO HAVE COME FROM EAST BENGAL

by Charu Mazumdar

Friends who have come from East Bengal,

Imperialism and domestic reaction have jointly destroyed your peaceful way of life. Peace will not be restored as long as the reactionaries are in power. The Indian Government is seeking foreign aid by exhibiting you and is turning you into beggars. This state of affairs is unbearable. Whether you continue to stay here or return to East Bengal, you will have to carry on struggle. You will not get back a dignified way of life without waging struggle for establishing your right as men. Today, in East Bengal also, a revolutionary Party --- the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) --- has been formed. They have also taken to the path of armed struggle. You should join hands with them and help make their struggle powerful. Those of you who want to stay on here should break the barrier created by the Indian Government to isolate you from the revolutionary struggle in West Bengal and should participate in the struggle as partners in the democratic revolution in West Bengal. There is no other way. That this is possible has been shown by the people of Vietnam. The 14 million toiling people of South Vietnam have repeatedly defeated U.S. imperialism, the most powerful of all the imperialist powers of the world. We --- the people of the two Bengals --- are more than 110 million. There is no reason why we should not be able to defeat the reactionaries of our countries, to put an end to our humiliation, to fight and win dignity as men. You are not helpless. Both the common men of East Bengal and the common men of West Bengal are on your side. If you wage struggles, this support will take the form of co-operation on a vast scale. The reactionaries of both the countries are weak. They are not, therefore, capable of suppressing this revolt of ours. All their edifices will break into pieces like a house of cards. As a golden Bengal will be built by the poor men of East Bengal, so also a golden Bengal will emerge through the efforts of the poor men of West Bengal. So, keeping that bright future in view, prepare for struggle today.

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SMASH THE AGGRESSIVE, COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY INDO-SOVIET

MILITARY ALLIANCE

On August 9, 1971, the reactionary Indian Government turned India openly into a satellite State of the new Tsars of the Soviet Union by entering into a military pact with them, which they named "Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty." On that day India was formally chained to the war-chariot of the Soviet social-imperialists. On that day, the Indo-Soviet military alliance emerged as one of the chief enemies of the people of India and Asia.

In the Soviet Union restoration of capitalism, overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppression of the working class and other toiling people began with the capture of leadership of the CPSU (B) and seizure of state power by the revisionist renegade clique headed by Khrushchov. In the name of defending world peace they joined hands with the U.S. imperialist bandits, the most ferocious enemies of mankind, to plunder and dominate the world. They peddled the revisionist theories of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition to socialism" in order to collaborate with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of different countries to put out the flames of national liberation wars and to establish their own neo-colonial rule. They succeeded in making most of the countries of East Europe their neo-colonies and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became targets of their social-imperialist designs. In the name of providing economic "aid" they have been plundering India since 1955. From that very year they began to extol the arch reactionary Nehru's "Socialism" and "policy of neutrality" and tried, together with Nehru, to hoodwink and suppress the Indian revolutionaries.

From the very beginning the clique of Soviet revisionist traitors took China to be their main enemy. Chester Bowles, former U.S. ambassador to India, writes in Foreign Affairs of July, 1971: "Although the outside world had no clear indication of the growing differences between China and Russia until a few years later, the possibility of a split must have been apparent to the Soviet leaders by the mid-1950s." He adds: "In February 1957, shortly before the Soviet-Chinese break became evident, I had a lengthy discussion with Nikita Khrushchov in Moscow, most of which centred on India and China. When I remarked that both the Soviet Union and the U.S. might ultimately face a common problem in regard to China, he did not disagree." This shrewd representative of the U.S. ruling circles remarks: "The motivation of the U.S.S.R. in assisting India has since the mid-1950s been primarily based on the Soviet estimation of India's geopolitical importance as a partial balance to the political influence and potential military weight of China." As the ideological and political struggle of the Soviet revisionists with Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China grew bitter, this revisionist renegade clique tried, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to build up India as the main base of their aggression in South and South-east Asia against China and the world revolution and began to provide military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries. They encouraged the Indian reactionaries to intrude into and attack the Tibet region of China by giving them economic, political and military "aid." But the result proved all their calculations wrong. Not only did the Indian reactionaries, who enjoyed the overt support of the U.S. imperialists and the covert support of the Soviet revisionists, suffer shameful defeat in the battle-field. But the world-wide struggle against revisionism was led by Chairman Mao and from then on the unmasking and isolation of the revisionists all over the world began. Fighting and defeating revisionism, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties emerged in different countries of the world. In our country also, Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued the call for anti-revisionist struggle and raised the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. As a result, the historic peasant struggle of Naxalbari under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar ushered in a new era in the history of our great country and our Party was founded.

But the nature of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the reactionaries never changes. Since 1962, the Soviet social-imperialists have been providing immense quantities of military hardware to the Indian reactionaries. Today the Indian army is armed chiefly with Soviet weapons, the Indian navy and the Indian air force are built mostly with Soviet warships and Soviet planes. At the same time the Soviet social-imperialists have been fleecing India. In the name of helping the "State sector" they have helped the Indian reactionaries to pile up huge bureaucratic capital. Steel and other products of the "State sector", manufactured by exploiting cheap Indian labour and raw materials, are taken away by them at prices below the cost of production. In 1967-68, Rs. 53

crores were squeezed out of the Indian people only to pay interest on the loans advanced by them. They are also plundering this country in the name of carrying on trade. They sell their goods at exorbitant prices --- sometimes twice as much as the international price and buy raw materials and other goods from India at prices much lower than the international prices. In 1955-56 the total Indo-Soviet trade amounted to Rs. 9 crore and 40 lac (Rs. 94 million) while in 1969-70 it increased to Rs. 374 crore (Rs. 3740 million). The Soviet Union is India's second biggest trading partner --- second only to the U.S.A. The Soviet social-imperialists hope that a new horizon of Indo-Soviet trade will open in the coming years. An article by Mikhailov in the journal "Soviet Union" states that during her last visit to Moscow Indira Gandhi discussed with the Soviet social-imperialists the question of drawing up a long-term programme (of 10-15 years) of extensive economic "co-operation" between the Soviet Union and India. Already the Soviet social-imperialists control important sectors of Indian economy. Much emphasis has been put on this economic aspect in the Indo-Soviet treaty. Article VI says: "Attaching great importance to economic, scientific and technological co-operation between them, the high contracting parties will continue to consolidate and expand mutually advantageous and comprehensive co-operation in these fields as well as expand trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most favoured nation treatment ..."

Some time ago Kosygin came to India and proposed to integrate the Indian economy with the Soviet Five-Year Plans, that is, to control Indian economy in the interest of the social-imperialists. Nikolai Mirotvortsyev, Deputy Chairman of the Gosplan, visited India last April with the same purpose. The reactionary Indira Government has sold away to the Soviet social-imperialists the interests of our country for the sake of its own class-interests. They are all trying to shift the burden of their deep crisis on the people of our country.

Today, the Soviet social-imperialists have completed much of their preparation to use our country as a base against the Indian revolution, against the people of South and South-east Asia, especially against Socialist China. These merchants of death have not only sold a huge quantity of weapons, Mig. planes, helicopters and warships; their navy is not only using Indian ports like Visakhapatnam and trying to exercise control in the Indian Ocean, but they are also trying to use the Indian soil and the Indian resources and the Indian people for waging a counter-revolutionary war. Three of the articles in this so-called "Friendship" treaty are about military affairs. Article IX states: "In the event of either party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries." This conclusively proves that this treaty is actually a military pact. Subsequent events also have borne evidence to this. On December 4, T.N. Kaul told press correspondents that India had invoked this article of the treaty and that for weeks serious discussions had been going on in New Delhi, Moscow and the U.N. between the governments of India and the Soviet Union. Actually, India had carried on a policy of naked interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan, caused systematic harassment and sabotage in East Pakistan for long eight months and then attacked Pakistan on November 21. According to Kaul's admission, this treaty was used for making war-preparations against Pakistan. Today this aggressive military alliance is a menace not only to Pakistan but to all countries neighbouring India.

What is the main object of the Indo-Soviet military pact? The object is to establish control over the countries of South and South-east Asia, to suppress revolutionary struggles of the people in India and neighbouring countries, and to use India's land, water and air space and innumerable Indians (as cannon-fodder) in an aggressive, counter-revolutionary war against China, if the new Tsars of the Soviet Union dare to launch it. The very first article of this treaty sows the seeds of war. "Each party", according to this article, "shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party ...". It is quite well known that both the governments have refused to settle the boundary disputes with China. In the past the Russian Tsars and the British imperialists took advantage of China's weakness and occupied vast areas of China. The new Tsars of Russia have grabbed still more areas besides those; and the Indian expansionists, heirs to the British imperialists, have occupied certain areas of Tibet and have laid claims to yet more areas. Already in the past the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet social-imperialists attacked China

on the pretext of fighting for these spurious claims. If the Soviet social-imperialists launch a war of aggression against China, the citadel of world revolution, on the plea of "respecting" "territorial integrity", the articles of this treaty will be invoked to drag the Indian people into that anti-China war.

As the new Tsars of the Soviet Union are trying to make the Indian economy an appendage to their own economy, so they are making the Indian army, the Indian navy and the Indian air force appendages to their own war machinery. Immediately before and after the conclusion of this military pact, representatives of the ruling classes of the two countries paid frequent visits to each other and held discussions. Besides Gromyko, Podgorny, Kuznetsov etc., Nikolai Fir-yubin and the Soviet Air Marshal P.S. Koutakhov and several top-ranking military officers of the Soviet Union came to this country. Fir-yubin is not only Soviet deputy foreign minister but also secretary-general of the Warsaw Pact military organisation. He came not to discuss and determine policies with his counterparts here but to hold discussions with the officials of the India Government and to give them necessary instructions. This pact is a new pact of the Indian people's slavery. This pact has reduced India into a satellite State of the Soviet social-imperialists. This "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation" is in essence a treaty of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet social-imperialists and their stooges, the Indian reactionaries, for waging war against the people of the whole world, especially the people of India, South Asia and China. Through this has been forged a counter-revolutionary, aggressive military alliance.

In his historic Statement of May 20, Chairman Mao said: "THE NIXON GOVERNMENT IS BESET WITH TROUBLES INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY, WITH UTTER CHAOS AT HOME AND EXTREME ISOLATION ABROAD ... U.S. IMPERIALISM, WHICH LOOKS LIKE A HUGE MONSTER, IS IN ESSENCE A PAPER TIGER, NOW IN THE THROES OF ITS DEATH-BED STRUGGLE." Every word of what Chairman Mao said has come true. Today U.S. imperialism is being pounded by the blows of the world's peoples, especially the three Indo-Chinese peoples. Military defeats, one after another, have accentuated its economic crisis more and more and have forced it to retreat to some extent. That is why the British Prime Minister sarcastically called it "the sick man of the world." In order to keep the people under subjection it has revived Japanese militarism and made it its accomplice in East and South-east Asia. In return, it had to make many concessions to the Japanese reactionaries. Similarly, the main responsibility of suppressing revolution in countries like India and Pakistan in South Asia has fallen on the shoulders of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is why the stooges of U.S. imperialism in this country did not raise any uproar over this treaty they have rather welcomed it. In the above-mentioned article in Foreign Affairs, Chester Bowles writes: "The U.S.S.R. is seeking to 'contain' what it believes to be an expansionist-minded China --- much as we have been trying to do --- by associating whatever Asian nations can be persuaded to co-operate in a loose political organisation under its leadership. When asked, 'What is the basis of Soviet foreign policy in Asia?' a Soviet official recently replied with an eye to America's pull-back from Asia, 'We simply occupy the empty seats!'" The new Russian Tsars are following the same policy of aggression and war as the U.S. imperialists. This was the purpose of the "Asian Collective Security System" proposed by Brezhnev about three years ago. By reducing India today into their satellite State they have led the Indian expansionists to occupy East Bengal, and swooped upon it like vultures in order to plunder it. At the same time they want to turn East Bengal into their military base against China and revolution

Today, the revisionist chieftains like Dange, Sundarayya, Gopalan and Jyoti Bose, are playing the same despicable role that they and Ajoy Ghosh played at the time when the Indian expansionists intruded into and attacked the Tibet region of China. Then both the revisionist cliques here betrayed class interests as well as national interests in the name of "national defence", rallied behind the reactionary ruling classes, trampled underfoot proletarian internationalism and opposed Socialist China. Today also, these running dogs of the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian reactionaries are singing praises of the Indo-Soviet military pact and making vile attacks against China.

Chairman Mao said: "WORKING HAND IN GLOVE, SOVIET REVISIONISM AND U.S. IMPERIALISM HAVE DONE SO MANY FOUL AND EVIL THINGS THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER WILL NOT LET THEM GO UNPUNISHED. THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE RISING. A NEW HISTORICAL PERIOD OF STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET REVISIONISM HAS BEGUN." What these enemies of the world's people are expecting shall never come to pass. Their contradiction with the masses of the

Indian people will grow still more acute; the contention between the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. and other imperialists over East Bengal, despite collusion, will be more bitter. It is not correct to think that all the enemies are the same and that they are one monolithic bloc. There is indeed collusion between them but there are also sharp contradictions and contentions. These contradictions are irreconcilable. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are colluding with each other with a view to suppressing the people's revolutionary struggles and encircling China; on the other hand, driven by their urge to satisfy their imperialist interests, they are engaged in bitter struggles with each other. The flames of anger of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries will reduce into ashes the Soviet social-imperialists and their dreams of dominating the world jointly with the U.S. imperialists. However loud may be the bluster of the Indian reactionaries, they and their masters will soon be swept away by the approaching storm of revolution of the people of India and East Bengal.

Workers, peasants and other toiling people of India,

The reactionary Congress Government has intensified its oppression on you. During the last year alone it has imposed fresh taxes of more than Rs. 400 crore and exploited you more brutally than before by resorting to heavy deficit financing. They have declared "National emergency" and have been carrying on a savage policy of repression. They have been killing revolutionary peasants, workers and youths --- even within prisons. Backed by the Soviet social-imperialists, these enemies of the Indian people have occupied East Bengal and have, like vultures, swooped upon it. We must unite with the revolutionary people of East Bengal and hit hard at these common enemies; we must deal death blows at the Indo-Soviet counter-revolutionary, aggressive military alliance. We must quicken the pace of armed agrarian revolution and smash the war-plot of these enemies of mankind against China, and bring nearer the day of the liberation of India and the liberation of the world. Comrade Charu Mazumdar said: "For some time U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have been making elaborate preparations to launch a war of aggression against China, the land of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And together with all other reactionaries of the world India's reactionary ruling clique and Japanese militarism are working hand in glove with them to carry out this task." Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued the call: "Today your struggle is not a mere national struggle of the Indian people, you are among the advanced contingents fighting for mankind's world-wide advance. Perhaps never before in the world's history the internationalist task had so merged with the national task as now. The world-wide revolutionary struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao have today reached a confluence of great unity. We are their partner and comrade-in-arms. So we have not a single moment to waste. March ahead with all your strength. Victory will certainly be ours. A liberated India in a liberated world is looming large in the horizon. March on with all your strength to usher in that sacred day."

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THE INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS AND THEIR MASTERS ARE DOOMED

Backed by different imperialist powers, especially the Soviet social-imperialists, and condemned by all the progressive forces of the world, the Indian expansionists attacked Pakistan and have occupied the whole of East Pakistan --- a land of 75 million people. Savage wars of aggression were launched by Hitler "to save the world from international communism"; by Tojo to build up the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere"; by the U.S. imperialists "to defend the Free World"; and the Soviet social-imperialists invaded and overran Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and thus repeated Hitler's performance in order "to defend socialism and the socialist community"! Now, plotting in secret for several years with the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the Indian expansionists launched on November 21 last a most shameless war of aggression against Pakistan with the slogan of "liberating Bangladesh" --- that is, "liberating" one part of Pakistan from another part! The imperialists and the social-imperialists and their expansionists henchmen have a nice, convenient vocabulary. So they charge with opposite meanings the most beautiful words of men. Their "Free World" means the world ruled by the imperialists --- a world really slave; their "Socialism" means social-imperialism; their "democracy" means fascism; their "liberation" means enslavement.

The war of aggression against Pakistan, denounced by the entire progressive world, was the culmination of more than a decade-old imperialist conspiracy to

force Pakistan to join India as a subordinate in an alliance directed against Socialist China and the world revolution. Several years ago, a pamphlet, issued by USIS in Dacca and withdrawn later under pressure, harped on the economic, political and social 'disparities' between the two wings of Pakistan. In 1965, the U.S. imperialists, it is quite well-known, tried to topple down Ayub Khan's government by a two-pronged attack --- an attempt at a coup d'etat and an invasion of Pakistan by the Indian reactionaries. About this time Mujib was being groomed by the U.S. imperialists for the role he has now been playing. It was immediately after the Indo-Pak war of 1965 that Mujib raised his six-point demands, which meant secession for all practical purposes and actually led to the creation of "Bangladesh". The Pakistan government imprisoned him on the charge of conspiring to dismember Pakistan as an agent of the Indian reactionaries and started what is known as the Agartala Conspiracy case. The Pakistani ruling classes had not the courage to say the whole truth, for Mujib was not merely a paid agent of the Indian reactionaries but also a paid agent of the U.S. imperialists. His visits to the U.S. Embassy during the Round Table Conference at Islamabad in 1969 and his close links with Haroon, Pakistan's former minister and ambassador to the U.S.A., one of the top industrialists and C.I.A.'s most important man in West Pakistan, are no secrets. In 1969, a secret C.I.A. document came to light. It contained a detailed plan of how to organise an armed uprising for making East Pakistan "independent" and described in detail what role different organisations like the Awami League were to play in this uprising. A photostat copy of a part of this plan was given to the press by Bhasani and published by some newspapers in Dacca. It was published in full in Marxbadi, the monthly organ of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). One may also recall the fact that during Mujib's talks with Yahya Khan in March last year, it was the U.S. ambassador who came all the way from Islamabad and played the role of his mentor. Early last year the CIA and the Indian reactionaries stage-managed the hijacking of an Indian plane from Kashmir to Lahore and had it burnt there. The Indian expansionists raised an uproar and used this as a convenient plea for denying overflights to Pakistani planes in preparation for what was to come.

For about eight months the Indian expansionists, encouraged and helped by the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists, carried on a policy of naked interference, harassment and sabotage in East Pakistan. Certain houses in Calcutta served as "Mujibnagar" --- the mythical capital of an equally mythical "independent Bangladesh government", a clique of Awami League stooges who had fled from the country; a section of the reactionary Indian radio became the "Independent Bangladesh Radio"; and the "Mukti Bahini" ("Liberation Army"), except the hard core formed by the East Bengal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles and the police, was recruited on the Indian soil; they were all trained by reactionary Indian army officers, and paid their wages and rations and equipped with arms by the reactionary Indian government. Statesman wrote on October 16, 1971: "All preparations for staging a full-scale guerrilla warfare by the Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh are nearly over. With the completion of the selection and training of men and organisation of operations, the gestation period of an independent Bangladesh (sic!) is also coming to an end. The peripheral commando raids, which have so far been the primary tactics of the Mukti Bahini, will shortly give place to organised guerrilla action deep inside Bangladesh, according to well-informed circles." For about eight months "peripheral commando raids" were being launched from the Indian soil by "Mukti Bahini" guerrillas as well as Indian military and para-military forces in order to destroy roads, bridges and different installations in East Pakistan. Then, on November 21, the Indian expansionists launched a massive attack from different sides on East Pakistan with tanks and planes and the puppet soldiers, called the "Mukti Bahini", were formally put under the command of the Indian army. Within less than four weeks the Pakistani army in East Pakistan surrendered. At a public meeting at Lucknow on January 8, Indira Gandhi congratulated herself on this naked invasion and forcible occupation of East Pakistan by saying that the mistake of partitioning the country in 1947 had been corrected now with the "liberation of Bangladesh". (Ananda Bazar Patrika, January 9, 1972)

How could the reactionary Indian army and its puppet troops win so easily in East Pakistan? The helplessness of the Pakistani army was due not so much to material conditions, which were indeed difficult, but to its very poor morale. This army as well as the para-military organisation named the Razakars and other fascist gangs committed such unspeakable barbarities on the people that the people who had been mostly disillusioned about Mujib and the treacherous Awami League soon after March 25, were extremely anxious to get rid of their rulers. It was this utter isolation from the people and their intense hatred that were the causes of the low morale and helplessness of the Pakistani army

before the Indian invaders. One need not be surprised if there was treacherous collusion between the Pakistani men at the top and the imperialists for dismemberment of Pakistan.

The recent events have proved that the compradors, who rely on their masters and not on the people, can hardly oppose their masters' policies for a long time. The Pakistani compradors opposed rather timidly the U.S.-Soviet global war-strategy in this part of Asia for some time because of their contradiction with the Indian expansionists, who threatened their very existence. While opposing their masters' policies, they sought crumbs from the same masters' table and allowed their people to be fleeced by them. Their opposition could not be effective enough because of their dependence on the imperialists on the one hand and their basic contradiction with the people on the other. One can see that the compradors must kiss the very feet that tread upon them.

So the aim of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists to turn East Pakistan into a protectorate and a base against Socialist China and the world revolution has been achieved --- for the time being. Were the U.S. imperialists opposed to the creation of "Bangladesh"? It will be naive to think so, for this was the very thing they had been trying to accomplish for the last few years. While the support of the Soviet social-imperialists was open and unashamed, the U.S. imperialists' support to the Indian aggression was both open and hidden. A number of very important representatives of the U.S. ruling circles like Senators Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson came to India to provide open encouragement and support to the Indian expansionists, and the leading organs of the U.S. ruling classes like New York Times and Washington Post were loud in supporting the Indian reactionaries' role. The U.S. government refused to call India an aggressor and did little to support Pakistan, except introducing some ineffective and unsatisfactory resolutions at the U.N.O. Instead of blaming India, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has blamed Pakistan. According to an AFP report from Washington, dated January 29, Rogers said on the previous day that "the USA recognised that it was Pakistan which had originally created the problems that led to the Indo-Pakistani war". Rogers also said that the USA intended to have realistic relations with all nations in South Asia." (Statesman, 30.1.72) Notorious McNamara, World Bank chief, who was former U.S. War Secretary, visited Dacca, besides New Delhi, asked Mujib to join the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and assured him of "precious" imperialist "aid". The consolidation, though temporary, of all the reactionary forces in this country behind Indira Gandhi points to the collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The fact is, the creation of "Bangladesh" has served the needs of the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary strategy in this part of Asia.

No doubt, the very invasion and occupation of East Pakistan will sharpen the contradictions between the two so-called superpowers. Pounded by the blows of the world's peoples, especially the three Indo-Chinese peoples, beset with sharp contradictions with its own people and afflicted with a deep economic crisis, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to make concessions to the Japanese militarists in East and South-east Asia and to the Soviet social-imperialists in South Asia. These forced concessions will further accentuate their own crisis and intensify more and more with the passing of days the contention between the two so-called super-powers. Already the Soviet social-imperialists have reduced India into their satellite by concluding a military pact with the Indian expansionists and their influence in the Indian Ocean has increased. There will no doubt be a bitter struggle over "Bangladesh" between the two super-powers.

The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are out-tsaring the Russian Tsars. They have built up a neo-colonial empire vaster than the wildest dreams of the Tsars. While the British and U.S. imperialists are being forced to pull out from certain strategic areas, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to replace them. Today, the Soviet fleet arrogantly patrols the Indian Ocean and uses the Indian ports as its bases. According to a press report, the so-called Bangladesh government will allow the Chittagong port to be used as a Soviet naval base. According to a Statesman article "The New Equation in S.E. Asia" by Alan Bennett, Singapore Prime Minister "has implied that ... ships of the Soviet Indian Ocean fleet will be as welcome to call at Singapore for servicing --- provided the sailors behave themselves in the streets --- as were formerly the ships of the British navy, now withdrawn to cover withdrawal from the Gulf."

In the U.S. journal Foreign Affairs of July 1971, Chester Bowles writes: "The U.S.S.R. is seeking to 'contain' what it believes to be an expansionist -minded China --- much as we have been trying to do --- by associating whatever

Asian nations can be persuaded to co-operate in a loose political organisation under its leadership. When asked, 'what is the basis of Soviet foreign policy in Asia?' a Soviet official recently replied with an eye to America's pull-back from Asia, 'We simply occupy the empty seats.'" This is the essence of what is known as Brezhnev's "Asian Collective Security System", proposed successor to the U.S.-organised military bloc called SEATO. In an article published on May 26, 1969, in the Soviet government organ Izvestia, Vikenty Matveyev discussed the possibility that a power vacuum would be created in Asia by Britain's withdrawals from Far Eastern, Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf bases, and by the eventual withdrawal of U.S. from South Vietnam. In the name of "Asian collective security", the new tsars of the Soviet Union are keen on stepping into the shoes of the British and U.S. imperialists. They are determined to practise neo-colonialism and bring under their domination various lands and peoples; to encircle in collusion with the U.S. imperialists Socialist China, the bastion of world revolution and the hope of the world's people, and to help as munition merchants and in other ways the reactionary ruling classes in different countries to put out the flames of revolutionary struggles there. Today the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are among the fiercest enemies of the people of Asia, especially South and South-east Asia.

It may be recalled that Indira Gandhi, the arch Indian reactionary, hailed the Soviet plot of the "Asian Collective Security System" (which is similar to the Japanese imperialists' "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere") from the very beginning and peddled it among reactionaries in other countries. On June 30, 1969, she said in Djakarta, "We think that if the system is based on economic co-operation, then India is for it." She further said, "We think that economic co-operation will not itself solve the (security) problem but will be a step towards doing so." She wanted "some system of guarantees" for "Asian Security" by major powers. One remembers that these people have a curious vocabulary. According to the reactionaries and revisionists, the security of a country is not ensured by the withdrawal of an imperialist power but by its replacement by another imperialist or social-imperialist power. (Otherwise, according to these people, there would be a "power vacuum") They talk of ensuring security while they actually trample upon it, as in East Bengal.

Armed to the teeth by the Soviet social-imperialists and supported by other imperialists, the Indian expansionists have, like vultures, swooped upon East Bengal and turned it into a protectorate to be jointly ruled and fleeced by them and their masters. A large Indian army remains there as an army of occupation. According to a PTI report, "Bangladesh Foreign Minister" Samad, during his talks with Jagjivan Ram, exchanged ideas on long-term co-operation in the defence sector to safeguard the security of the two countries (Statesman, 7.1.72) So, after fulfilling the historic task of "liberating" "Bangladesh", Jagjivan Ram's army will stay on there in order to fulfil another historic task --- that of defending it. Two facts are illuminating. First, the entire "Mukti Bahini", the regular army of "Bangladesh", is still being paid its wages and supplied with rations as during the "liberation struggle." Secondly, Boards at different levels --- from the Central Board to the Sub-divisional Boards --- have been set up to recruit, organise and train the national militia, which will chiefly perform police duties, and these will all have Indian "advisers" to guide them. To be "liberated" by Indian arms and to play at decision-making under the shadow of Indian arms is "liberation", "independence", "sovereignty" and what not ! Mujib, the puppet prime minister of "independent and sovereign Bangladesh", even echoed Nehru. "Bangladesh", he told a press conference on January 14, "would have a socialistic pattern of economy. But the process to achieve this would be democratic." (Statesman, 15.1.72)

The Indian compradors have been cherishing wild dreams of expansion for a long time. As early as 1945, when India was still a colony, Nehru wrote in "The Discovery of India": "The Pacific is likely to take the place of the Atlantic in the future as a nerve centre of the world. Though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the centre of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in South-east Asia and right up to the Middle East. Her position gives (her) an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in the future." (Signet Press, April 1956 edition, p.569) Since direct British rule ceased, the Indian compradors have used the State machinery to pile up huge bureaucratic capital while plunging the masses into an abyss of dismal misery and destitution. At the same time they have tried every means to realize their expansionist ambitions. Immediately after coming to power they marched troops upto the illegal McMahon Line and beyond, occupied Kashmir and turned Sikkim and Bhutan into their

protectorates; they tried to grab Nepal with the help of some stooges, but failed. The emergence of the People's Republic of China dashed to the ground their hopes of exercising control over Tibet. But Nehru and men of his ilk placed their services at the disposal of the U.S. imperialists to prevent the liberation of Tibet. Even when the Indian compradors were shouting their loudest the slogan "Hindi Chinee Bhai Bhai" (Indians and Chinese are brothers), they were engaged in a criminal conspiracy with the U.S. imperialists to stir up a revolt in Tibet with the help of Khampa bandits. One may refer to "Tibet in Revolt" by George Patterson, one of the actors in this sordid drama, for the account. Though the conspiracy of the Indian reactionaries and their masters to organize a successful uprising in Tibet with the help of its inhuman serf-owners was foiled in 1959, and though their "Forward policy" in the direction of Aksai Chin was smashed in 1962, the Indian expansionists are still using Dalai Lama as an instrument of their reactionary policy. Now, exploiting the anti-people policy of the Pakistani ruling classes and depending chiefly on full Soviet support, the Indian expansionists have inflicted defeat on the Pakistani compradors, their old rivals, and grabbed East Pakistan as a source of raw materials and as a market for their goods.

The Indian compradors are in a hurry to shift the burden of their crisis on to the people of East Bengal. They have begun the job in right earnest. D.P.Dhar, Indira Gandhi's special envoy, that is, the man behind Mujib's throne, said in Dacca on December 25 that "India and Bangladesh were 'partners' in the task of consolidation of the newborn State." Indira Gandhi declared on January 2: "India is a vast country. She can do many things with her own resources and capacity which many countries of the world cannot even imagine... we can supply all the needs of Bangladesh without asking for aid from any quarters." (Ananda Bazar Patrika, 3.1.72) So the Indian compradors have taken upon themselves the noble and brave task of consolidating "the new-born State" and supplying all its needs. For this purpose they have not only kept the army there but have also sent a substantial number of civil and police officers. They have also undertaken the printing of currency notes for "Bangladesh" and agreed "to look after the new nation's trade for some time." The Indian compradors are getting East Bengal's damaged roads, railways, bridges, power houses, ports etc. repaired by Indian engineers and technicians. They expect a flourishing and lucrative "trade" with East Bengal. They hope to dump textiles, coal, cement, petroleum and various other shoddy products of theirs (which have no market elsewhere) in the East Bengal market at high prices and to buy cheap different things like raw jute, hide and skin, newsprint, paper etc. The Indian jute industry had it never so well during the last 24 years as in these days. The Indian compradors are seeking ways of investing capital in East Bengal in collaboration with foreign capital. During the last few days Dacca was visited not only by D.P.Dhar and his men but also by economic, shipping, insurance and aviation delegations from India. So the Indian compradors have assumed the task of controlling every sphere of life of the people of East Bengal — including their education. So they are jubilant in the hope that through "aid" on the imperialist pattern and unequal trade they will be able to suck the blood of the already impoverished people of East Bengal. Not only Indian vultures but also vultures from different imperialist and revisionist countries are flocking to have a share of the feast that is "liberated Bangladesh". The U.S. monopolists, too, are represented by the World Bank chief McNamara and others.

What kind of liberation have the Indian "liberators" of "Bangladesh" achieved for the people of India? While accumulating huge capital, many times of what they had 24 years ago, in collaboration with foreign plunderers, they have brought cruel suffering and anguish, shame and humiliation, semi-starvation and slow death to the vast majority of the Indian people — hundreds of millions of peasants, workers and other toiling people.

What price must the Indian people pay for the conquest and exploitation of East Pakistan by their own oppressors? Already the reactionary Indian rulers have imposed taxes to the tune of more than Rs. 400 crores and will surely realize much more. The people have also been bled white through "massive doses of deficit financing the country has been subjected to because of the heavy increase in expenditure on the Bangladesh refugees and the Indo-Pakistani war", according to a Statesman report of January 7. India's Finance Minister Chavan warned the people on February 1 that they would have to bear still heavier burdens. He said that "to increase the pace of development and provide assistance to Bangladesh" his intention was "to harness more surplus through the fiscal system." So the cost of "liberating" Bangladesh for the Indian compradors has fallen on the cruelly exploited people of India. The ruling classes want to

utilize the chauvinism that they have been able to rouse for the purpose of putting an end to class struggle and for making the people rally behind them and pile up more profits for them. Addressing a public meeting at Poona on January 5 Indira Gandhi called for a moratorium on strikes, lock-outs and other agitations to increase production. The need of the hour, she said, was to work hard and produce more - all for the benefit of the exploiting classes. In his "Republic Day" message Giri repeated his call for a moratorium on strikes and industrial disputes for three years. The Indian ruling classes have imposed a "national emergency" on the people and assumed unrestricted powers to shoot down all opposition. At the same time they are seeking to hoodwink the people and put out the flames of all revolutionary struggle by creating an atmosphere of chauvinism in this country.

In this task they are being faithfully assisted as ever by both the Dange and Sundarayya-Gopalan-Jyoti Bose cliques. Immediately after the Indian expansionists had launched on November 21 a large-scale attack on East Pakistan from different sides, Dange said that the Indian working class was fully prepared to carry out their tasks "in defence of their country." He referred to cases of victimization of thousands of workers on the railways and of many others in the Defence, Posts and Telegraphs and other sectors. He shamelessly told his masters that if the reactionary government continued victimization there might not be a break-down of production, but efficiency would be affected. And, he pleaded, "We shall try to hold down the temper of workers, but how long can that be possible?" The working committee of Dange's AITUC met at this time and stated in a resolution that "in the face of Pakistani intrusions into Indian air and land space there was no alternative for India but to hit back at Pakistan." It called upon all trade unions and workers "to fulfil their tasks" (Statesman, 27.11.71). These running-dogs of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction tried their utmost "to hold down the temper of workers" when the reactionary rulers ruthlessly oppressed the workers and carried on a policy of plundering, maiming and killing people both at home and abroad. The Sundarayya-Gopalan-Jyoti Bose clique vied with the Dange clique in supporting the criminal actions of the Indian expansionists and their puppets - Mujib and the Awami League - and thus proved themselves to be faithful running dogs of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction. As early as October 17, 1971, A.K. Gopalan, CPI(M) leader, publicly declared his party's unequivocal support to the ruling classes "if there was any threat or aggression from Pakistan". He also said that "the CPI(M) would not object to the Central Government declaring a national emergency to meet the threat of aggression". (Statesman, 19.10.71) Like their masters, the revisionist lackeys are good at calling black white and white black - good at calling aggression defence and defence aggression. They too played their shameful role in supporting the diabolical conspiracy of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists against revolution, the people and China, in rousing chauvinism and in trying to disrupt the ranks of the people. History will not forgive them.

In East Bengal, where darkness reigns today, one can hear a howling in the wind. It is the howl of glee raised by many - wolves, hyenas and jackals. They roam all over East Bengal in search of their prey - the famished, much-oppressed people of East Bengal - and smack their lips thinking of the feast that awaits them. Will darkness rule? Who will win in the end - man or beast, the millions of long-suffering peasants, workers and other toiling people of East Bengal or the imperialist wolves, the social-imperialist hyenas and the pack of comprador jackals? No, darkness shall be chased away by light; the days of the wolves, hyenas and jackals are numbered. Chairman Mao said: "REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY." A genuinely revolutionary Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the fire of struggle has emerged stronger; a People's Army that was born in the course of struggle will march from strength to strength as the revolutionary war of resistance against foreign invaders and their collaborators develops; and a revolutionary united front of all people willing to fight against these enemies will emerge under the leadership of the Party. With these "magic weapons" the people of East Bengal, a contingent of the world's revolutionary army led by Chairman Mao, shall surely slay all the wolves, hyenas and jackals.

And in this great struggle the Indian people will stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of East Bengal. Unhappily, the Indian people could not prevent the Indian soil, the Indian resources and India's sons from being used by the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists for waging the war of aggression against Pakistan and occupying East Pakistan. But under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the CPI(ML), they will spread wide the flames of agrarian revolution and deal mortal blows at the common enemies.

In the flames of revolutionary struggle which will burn brightly and fiercely in both the countries shall perish the imperialist wolves, the social-imperialist hyenas and their comprador and feudal jackals. A truly liberated India and a truly liberated East Bengal loom in the horizon!

As Chairman Mao said:

" THE FOUR SEAS ARE RISING, CLOUDS AND WATERS RAGING,
THE FIVE CONTINENTS ARE ROCKING, WIND AND THUNDER ROARING.
AWAY WITH ALL PESTS
OUR FORCE IS IRRESISTIBLE."

-- February 2, 1972

* * *

REPORT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED
STRUGGLE IN EAST BENGAL

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist), the armed peasant struggle began in East Pakistan in October, 1970. To intensify the class struggle, to build the People's Liberation Army and to seize power locally, guerrilla units led by the Party waged the battle of annihilation of class enemies. It spread to various districts and hundreds of youths went to the rural areas to boldly rouse the poor and landless peasants with the teachings of Chairman Mao.

The U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their Indian henchmen had no time to lose. Their old conspiracy with the Awami League, a clique of traitors, to turn East Pakistan into a base against revolution, people and Socialist China developed feverishly. So began on March 25 the counter-revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Awami League. The imperialists, the social-imperialists, the Indian expansionists and their Awami League lackeys had been exploiting fully the widespread anger and discontent of the people with the rule of the reactionaries and their imperialist masters, had been depicting the big Pakistani compradors as wholly responsible for the misery and persecution of the people and had been rousing chauvinism as best as they could. But never for once did these "liberators" of the people of East Pakistan mention the contradictions between the people on the one hand and feudalism, imperialism and social-imperialism - the most vicious enemies of the people - on the other.

Thus the Pakistani ruling classes, which had been opposing the U.S.-Soviet global war-strategy in this part of Asia because of their contradiction with the Indian expansionists, were faced with a bitter struggle against the Indian expansionists and the Awami League traitors, who were supported by the new tsars of the Soviet Union and other imperialist powers. But the Pakistani ruling classes did not distinguish between the broad masses of the people and a handful of enemy agents and did not try to win over the masses. Instead, because of their basic contradiction with the people, they went on committing unspeakable brutalities on the people roused their bitterest hatred, drove most of them into the camp of the enemy and thus indirectly helped the imperialist and social-imperialist conspiracy of dismembering Pakistan to succeed. The revolutionaries in East Pakistan could not rally behind the Yahya government, for support to the Yahya government meant liquidation of the class struggle and support to the rabid anti-people policies pursued by Yahya's army, Razakars and die-hard feudal elements, though, at the same time, they realized that the main aspect of the situation was the conspiracy of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists. The call for a united front between the Yahya government and the Marxist-Leninist Party which would retain its independence and initiative - a united front that would be directed not against the people but against the foreign interventionists and their collaborators - was futile, for the Marxist-Leninist Party had not acquired sufficient strength to force the Yahya government to agree to it. Only by waging class war the Party could develop that strength.

So, under the leadership of the CPEP(ML), the peasants' armed struggle for seizure of power locally developed rapidly between the months of April and October, 1971. Hundreds of most hated class enemies and their agents were annihilated, their properties seized and distributed among the people. Large

areas in several districts, especially Jessore, Khulna and Noakhali, became freed of class enemies and their agents. Here the P.L.A. was formed, Revolutionary Committees were set up as organs of power, and the land of the class enemies was seized and distributed. Here in many of the villages, People's Courts functioned. While the local tyrants, so long high and mighty, were brought under arrest and sat on the ground awaiting their trial, the poor and landless peasants, down-trodden for ages, sat on elevated seats of judges, and tried and punished them. A violent storm of peasant uprising swept away the old feudal class relations and overthrew the rule of the comprador and feudal classes and the imperialists. The Marxist-Leninists also boldly exposed the anti-China campaign waged by all imperialists, social-imperialists and reactionaries. It was China that had consistently warned the people against their criminal plot and had correctly pointed out that this criminal plot was the main aspect of the complex situation.

In Jessore district the Party's influence spread from the Madhumati (on the Faridpur border) to Maheshpur (on the Indian border). The area in which the peasantry performed the above great deeds was about 50 miles in length and 50 miles in breadth with some enemy pockets within it. The armed struggle led by the Party created a mass upsurge throughout this area. Revolutionary Committees and People's Courts sprang up almost spontaneously in many villages. Five police stations and several Razakar camps were attacked, many reactionary army-men, policemen and Razakars were killed and arms were seized. Fire-arms were also seized by attacking the "Mukti Bahini" and capturing supplies sent to the "Bahini" by the Indian expansionists. Both the Pakistani government and the "Mukti Bahini", organized, trained, armed and paid by the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists, carried on numerous "campaigns of encirclement and suppression". There was a time when the P.L.A., supported by the local guerrilla forces, had to wage daily battles against the Pakistani army and the para-military Razakars on one front and the "Mukti Bahini" on the other front.

In Noakhali district, a temporary base area covering almost the whole of two thanas - Rangamati and Laksmipur - developed in the course of the struggle. Here 10,000 bighas (3 bighas = 1 acre) of land and several thousand maunds of paddy belonging to the class enemies were distributed among the poor and landless peasants. Here, People's Courts constituted by poor and landless peasants tried local tyrants, bullies and evil gentry. Forty big and hated landlords were punished with death. The PLA fought against the Pakistani army but was defeated. When the Pakistani withdrew from this area after massacring thousands of people and setting up Razakar camps, the PLA destroyed the Razakar camps and re-established red political power.

In Khulna district red political power was established in two areas. The Party's work extended to many thanas (police station areas). Here also the PLA was formed, police stations of the reactionary government and Razakar camps were attacked and arms seized. The PLA, supported by the local guerrilla forces, had to fight both against the Pakistani army, Razakars and the "militia" on one front and the "Mukti Bahini" hirelings on the other front. In one incident in Raghunathpur village in Dumuria thana 40 armed policemen and Razakars were ambushed and killed.

The battle of annihilation of class enemies for seizure of power locally spread to at least eight other districts of East Bengal: Kusthia, Faridpur, Dacca, Barisal, Mymensing, Chittagong, Sylhet and Rangpur.

The temporary base areas in Jessore and Khulna fell before the vicious and treacherous attacks of the "Mukti Bahini" hirelings in October and November. In Noakhali the people suffered a setback after December 16.

With the direct invasion and occupation of East Bengal by the Indian expansionists, who were fully backed by the Soviet social-imperialists, the revolutionary armed peasant struggle has no doubt met with a reverse. But already the true character of the A ami League government and different political parties as puppets and collaborators of foreign invaders is getting exposed and the people's disillusionment has started. The people saw how the Indian expansionists dismantled machinery of several factories and despatched them to India, how they plundered and sent hundreds of thousands of bales of jute to India, how the Indian army imposed curfew in different areas and looted gold and other articles.

The Party has emerged out of the struggle, reborn and purged of its weaknesses; the PLA under the leadership of the Party is being reorganized. By their immense sacrifice and heroism they have established themselves in the hearts of the people, especially poor and landless peasants, who too have tasted power,

though for a brief while. We are sure that the Party will go deep among the people, boldly arouse them, infuse into them the spirit "DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN" and lead a mighty united front of all those who are ready to fight the foreign invaders and their collaborators. A storm of revolution far vaster than the recent one will then sweep away the enemies of the people to their doom and a new dawn will then break over a truly liberated East Bengal.

- January 15, 1972.

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