

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR
UNFOLDING IN BANGLA DESH



FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1971

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Earlier this month, in the most dramatic international move so far connected with Bangla Desh, the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko rushed to Delhi and signed a 20-year "treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" between Soviet Union and India. Amongst the ordinary patriotic Bengalees, the first flush of misplaced enthusiasm has already given way to a feeling of suspicion and anger as the true import and significance of the Treaty becomes clearer everyday. This is not hard to explain.

Any treaty or agreement which formalizes the relations between two states is only declaratory of the relation between the two states at a particular point of time. In order to assess the full import and significance of a treaty it must be analysed in the context of the background and the preceeding developments leading to the signing of the treaty and the subsequent developments. In the present case the treaty must be analysed with reference to the subsequent Indo-Soviet Joint Statement and the Independence Day speech of the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.

While the Pakistani rulers continue to dig their own graves in Bangla Desh, there is no doubt that the Indian reactionary government too is caught in a cleft stick on Bangla Desh. On the other hand the growing momentum of the struggle in Bangla Desh is unnerving the U.S.-led imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism no less

than the Pakistani gangsters' junta and the Indian reactionary government. According to them the 'stability' of the entire area is being threatened by the present 'conflict'. Hence their frantic efforts to restore 'stability' in this area. The Indo-Soviet mutual security treaty is only one part of a comprehensive Russo-U.S. plan to restore 'stability' in the area. It is also a part of their global plan to encircle People's China, that mighty fortress of world revolution.

The Indian reactionary government has no love for the political and economic aspirations of the broad masses of the people of Bangla Desh. They apprehend, quite correctly so, that the emergence of a sovereign Bangla Desh would have contagious effects within the present Indian State , particularly its eastern part, where the centrifugal forces are gathering momentum due to the short-sighted policies of the reactionary government. The people of Bangla Desh want to exercise their right of self-determination and consequent sovereign status in order to fulfil their legitimate economic and political aspirations. But the Indian ruling class wants the dismemberment of Pakistan for their own narrow interests. For them, if the dismemberment of Pakistan turns out to be a costly objective then they would settle for a weakened Pakistan. For this no contribution from the Indian reactionary ruling class was needed. The Pakistani

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RUSSO-AMERICAN COLLUSION

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ruling class has by its own action dug their own graves. In the mean time India joined in to make hay while the sun shines. They wanted to settle the Kashmir question in their favour. They wanted to suppress the revolutionary movement in India, particularly West Bengal which was shaking the Indian State to its very foundations. As for Kashmir, the Pakistani ruling class would be laughed out of court if they ever raised this issue on any world forum again. By their naked fascism in Bangla Desh, they have forfeited their right to talk about self-determination. In any world body it would not be heard to raise this issue again. (That means, the Kashmiris would have to wage and win their own struggle.) This is nothing but windfall gain for the Indian ruling class. They had to do nothing but make loud noises in order to achieve this.

The second objective of the Indian ruling class, that of suppressing the revolutionary movement in India, is proving more difficult to be achieved. Union ministers are shouting from the rooftops that peace in West Bengal is an absolute precondition for the success of the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh. They are using all the instruments of repression against the revolutionaries in West Bengal. The whole of Eastern India is virtually under military rule. Clearly the people and the revolutionary forces in West Bengal have refused to fall for the ruling class slogan for 'peace' in West Bengal. They have correctly decided that only an intensification of the revolutionary struggle against the Indian ruling class would help the people and the revolutionary forces in Bangla Desh. So the perfidious scheme of the Indian ruling class to suppress the revolutionary struggle in West Bengal on the pretext of Bangla Desh has clearly failed.

The Indian ruling class has pushed their opportunistic policy so far that they are now caught in a cleft stick. At home they face the renewed revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people. The euphoria of a phoney snap election victory has given way to discontent and anger amongst the broad masses of the Indian people. To the people of Bangla Desh all the loud noises made by the Indian reactionaries are by now proved to have been nothing but opportunistic gestures to achieve their own objectives. The Indian reactionary government's loud noises and actions only helped Yahya's junta in their attempts to portray the Bangla Desh struggle as being part of an Indo-Pakistan conflict and thereby internationalize the problem to the disadvantage of the people of Bangla Desh. With Pakistan they face a prolonged military confrontation. Yahya's gangsters' junta has got away with committing a demographic invasion of India. There is no doubt that due to their self-defeating policies both the Pakistani and the Indian ruling classes together are sliding down-

hill to disaster. Though in the long-term view the contradiction between the rulers of Pakistan and India is non-antagonistic, today they are at each other's throat. Their antagonism is threatening the "stability" of the entire area. To save them from disaster and restore the "stability" of the area their U.S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist masters have now joined the game. The U.S. has taken up the job of controlling Pakistan and the Soviet Union has taken up the task of restraining India. This division of labour between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists is a slight rearrangement of the Tashkent situation when the U.S. managed India and the Soviets tackled Pakistan. This collusion between the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionist ruling clique is evident from the fact that there was not the slightest ripple in Washington about the Indo-Soviet Defence Treaty. In fact it was only after proper consultations between Washington and Moscow that it was decided that the Soviet Union should sign this treaty with India to prevent any further 'deterioration' of the situation. They apprehended that as the Indian government faced a desperate situation at home, it might take a 'precipitate' step and recognise Bangla Desh, which would have sparked off a war between India and Pakistan.

There are numerous incontrovertible evidences which show that Washington and Moscow have at least temporarily achieved their objective. But they did it at the expense of the people of Bangla Desh and the people of India.

So far as Bangla Desh is concerned, even the ardent supporters of Indira Gandhi are disappointed by an overt shift in her policy. Earlier when Mrs. Gandhi and Ted Heath issued a joint statement they advocated "a political solution acceptable to the people of East Pakistan". But in the Indo-Soviet Joint Statement which was issued a few days after the treaty was signed, they only talk about "the interests of the entire people of Pakistan and the cause of preservation of peace in the area". (We are printing the full text of the Joint Statement elsewhere in this issue of The People's War.) In her Independence Day Speech Indira Gandhi talked vaguely about supporting freedom struggle everywhere in the world. What a change from her earlier pompous noises! Very recently she refused to pass a resolution in the Indian Lok Sabha condemning Sheikh Mujib's phoney trial by Yahya's gangsters. In concrete terms this shift in her policies has led to restrictions on the freedom fighters operating from the Indian territory. Even the vociferous pro-Indira paper BLITZ of Bombay has mentioned in its August 21 issue that the freedom fighters have nothing but antiquated .303 rifles and 2-inch mortars, which confirms the earlier reports that the Indian government has confiscated even those heavier items which were captured by the freedom fighters from Yahya's

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Some Documents

(Underlines P.W.)

ARMS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA, NOVEMBER 14, 1962*

* * * * *

EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH INDIA

Press release 670 dated November 17

U.S. Note

NOVEMBER 14, 1962

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the Agreement between our two Governments effected by an exchange of notes on March 7 and 16, 1951,¹ at Washington, as amended by an Agreement effected by an exchange of notes on April 16 and December 17, 1958,² at New Delhi. In response to requests from the Government of India, my Government is prepared to furnish assistance to the Government of India for the purpose of defense against the outright Chinese aggression directed from Peking now facing your country. It is the understanding of my Government that, with regard to defense articles made available to the Government of India under special arrangements to be concluded between representatives of our two Governments, and including defense articles provided between November 3 and November 14, 1962, the Government of India considers the assurances contained in the Agreement effected by the exchange of notes of March 7 and 16, 1951, to be applicable and that the Government of India is prepared:

(1) to offer necessary facilities to representatives of the Government of the United States of America attached to the United States Embassy in India for the purpose of observing and reviewing the use of such articles and to provide them with such information as may be necessary for that purpose; and

(2) to offer for return to the Government of the United States of America such articles furnished by the Government of the United States of America which are no longer needed for the purposes for which originally made available.

¹Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2241.

²TIAS 4322.

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*[Reprinted from 47 Department of State Bulletin 838 (December 3, 1962)]

A reply to the effect that these understandings are correct will constitute an agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the United States of America, which shall come into force on the date of the note of reply from the Government of India.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:
PHILLIPS TALBOT

His Excellency
BRAJ KUMAR NEHRU,
Ambassador of India.

Indian Note

NOVEMBER 14, 1962

MR. SECRETARY, I have the honour to refer to your note dated November 14, 1962 reading as follows:—

[Full text of U.S. note quoted here.]

I have the honour to confirm that the understandings set forth in the above quoted note are correct. I agree that your note together with this reply shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments which comes into force on the date of this reply.

I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

B. K. NEHRU
Ambassador of India

The Honourable
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
Washington, D.C.

Text of Indo-Soviet treaty

The following is the text of the treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between the Republic of India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:—

Desirous of expanding and consolidating the existing relations of sincere friendship between them,

Believing that the further development of friendship and co-operation meets the basic national interests of

both the States as well the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

Determined to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation of international tensions and the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism,

Upholding their firm faith in the principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between States with

different political and social systems,

Convinced that in the world today international problems can only be solved by co-operation and not by conflict,

Reaffirming their determination to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter,

The Republic of India on the one side, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

on the other side, have decided to conclude the present treaty, for which purposes the following plenipotentiaries have been appointed.

On behalf of the Republic of India: Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, having each presented

(Contd. on p.6)

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MAO TSETUNG

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE AND INITIATIVE WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT

November 5, 1938

(We are reproducing this article by Chairman Mao Tsetung as this article is very topical and relevant to the present phase of our struggle in Bangla Desh. With characteristic clarity and lucidity Comrade Mao Tsetung analyses the relation between national struggle, class struggle and the people's democratic revolution. This article is also the locus classicus on the question of the relationship between the different constituents of a united front during the national struggle.)

Introduction

This is part of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. At the time, the issue of independence and initiative within the united front was one of the outstanding questions concerning the anti-Japanese united front, a question on which there were differences of opinion, between Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Chen Shao-yu. In essence what was involved was proletarian leadership in the united front. In his report of December 1947 ("The Present Situation and Our Tasks") Comrade Mao Tse-tung briefly summed up these differences:

During the War of Resistance, our Party combated ideas similar to those of the capitulationists [referring to Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War], that is, such ideas as making concessions to the Kuomintang's anti-popular policies, having more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the masses, not daring to arouse and give full rein to mass struggles, not daring to expand the Liberated Areas and the people's armies in the Japanese-occupied areas, and handing over the leadership in the War of Resistance to the Kuomintang. Our Party waged a resolute struggle against such impotent and degenerate ideas, which run counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely carried out its political line of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces", and resolutely expanded the Liberated Areas and the People's Liberation Army. Not only did this ensure our Party's ability to defeat Japanese imperialism in the period of its aggression, but also, in the period after the Japanese surrender when Chiang Kai-shek launched his counter-revolutionary war, it ensured our Party's ability to switch smoothly and without loss to the course of opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary war with a people's revolutionary war and to win great victories in a short time. All Party comrades must keep these lessons of history firmly in mind.

HELP AND CONCESSIONS SHOULD BE POSITIVE, NOT NEGATIVE

All political parties and groups in the united front must help each other and make mutual concessions for the sake of long-term co-operation, but such help and concessions should be positive, not negative. We must consolidate and expand our own Party and army, and at the same time should assist friendly parties and armies to consolidate and expand; the people want the government to satisfy their political and economic demands, and at the same time give the government every possible help to prosecute the War of Resistance; the factory workers demand better conditions from the owners, and at the same time work hard in the interests of resistance; for the sake of unity against foreign aggression, the landlords should reduce rent and interest, and at the same time the peasants should pay rent and interest.

All these principles and policies of mutual assistance are positive, not negative or one-sided. The same should be true of mutual concessions. Each side should refrain from undermining the other and from organizing secret party branches within the other's party, government and army. For our part we organize no secret party branches inside the Kuomintang and its government or army, and so set the Kuomintang's mind at rest, to the advantage of the War of Resistance. The saying, "Refrain from doing some things in order to be able to do other things",¹ exactly meets the case. A national war of resistance would have been impossible without the reorganization of the Red Army, the change in the administrative system in the Red areas, and the abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection. By giving way on the latter we have achieved the former; negative measures have yielded positive results. "To fall back the better to leap forward"² — that is Leninism. To regard concessions as something purely negative is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. There are indeed instances of purely negative concessions — the Second Inter-

national's doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital¹ resulted in the betrayal of a whole class and a whole revolution. In China, Chen Tu-hsiu and then Chang Kuo-tao were both capitulators; capitulationism must be strenuously opposed. When we make concessions, fall back, turn to the defensive or halt our advance in our relations with either allies or enemies, we should always see these actions as part of our whole revolutionary policy, as an indispensable link in the general revolutionary line, as one turn in a zigzag course. In a word, they are positive.

THE IDENTITY BETWEEN THE NATIONAL AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan — such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved, and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to co-operation and unity, but on the contrary must be firmly upheld within certain limits. Only thus can co-operation be promoted, indeed only thus can there be any co-operation at all. Otherwise co-operation will turn into amalgamation and the united front will inevitably be sacrificed. In a struggle that is national in character, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle.

"EVERYTHING THROUGH THE UNITED FRONT" IS WRONG

The Kuomintang is the party in power, and so far has not allowed the united front to assume an organizational form. Behind the enemy lines, the idea of "everything through" is impossible, for there we have to act independently and with the initiative in our own hands while keeping to the agreements which the Kuomintang has approved (for instance, the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction). Or we may act first and report afterwards, anticipating what the Kuomintang might agree to. For instance, the appointment of administrative commissioners and the dispatch of troops to Shantung Province would never have occurred if we had tried to get these things done "through the united front". It is said that the French Communist

Party once put forward a similar slogan, but that was probably because in France, where a joint committee of the parties already existed and the Socialist Party was unwilling to act in accordance with the jointly agreed programme and wanted to have its own way, the Communist Party had to put forward such a slogan in order to restrain the Socialist Party, and certainly it did not do so to shackle itself. In the case of China, the Kuomintang has deprived all other political parties of equal rights and is trying to compel them to take its orders. If this slogan is meant to be a demand that everything done by the Kuomintang must go through us, it is both ridiculous and impossible. If we have to secure the Kuomintang's consent beforehand for everything we do, what if the Kuomintang does not consent? Since the policy of the Kuomintang is to restrict our growth, there is no reason whatever for us to propose such a slogan, which simply binds us hand and foot. At present there are things for which we should secure prior consent from the Kuomintang, such as the expansion of our three divisions into three army corps — this is to report first and act afterwards. There are other things which the Kuomintang can be told after they have become accomplished facts, such as the expansion of our forces to over 200,000 men — this is to act first and report afterwards. There are also things, such as the convening of the Border Region assembly, which we shall do without reporting for the time being, knowing that the Kuomintang will not agree. There are still other things which, for the time being, we shall neither do nor report, for they are likely to jeopardize the whole situation. In short, we must not split the united front, but neither should we allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot, and hence the slogan of "everything through the united front" should not be put forward. If "everything must be submitted to the united front" is interpreted as "everything must be submitted to" Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, then that slogan, too, is wrong. Our policy is one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence.

NOTES

¹ A quotation from *Mencius*.

² V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1918, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275.

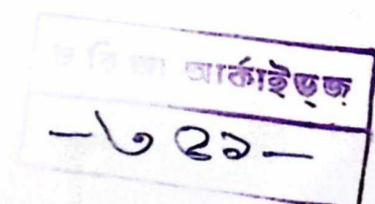
³ "The doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital" is the reactionary doctrine of the Second International, which advocates such collaboration in the capitalist countries and opposes the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party.

Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

Communists should be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.



Some Documents

(Contd. from p.3)

Indo-Soviet treaty

their credentials, which are found to be in proper form and due order, have agreed as follows:

Article I

The high contracting parties solemnly declare that enduring peace and friendship shall prevail between the two countries and their peoples. Each party shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party and refrain from interfering in the other's internal affairs. The high contracting parties shall continue to develop and consolidate the relations of sincere friendship, good neighbourliness and comprehensive co-operation existing between them on the basis of the aforesaid principles, as well as those of equality and mutual benefit.

Article II

Guided by the desire to contribute in every possible way to ensure enduring peace and security of their people, the high contracting parties declare their determination to continue their efforts to preserve and to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world, to halt the arms race and to achieve general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional, under effective international control.

Article III

Guided by their loyalty to the lofty ideal of equality of all peoples and nations, irrespective of race or creed, the high contracting parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations, and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high contracting parties shall co-operate with other States to achieve these aims and to support the just aspirations of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial domination.

Article IV

The Republic of India respects the peace loving policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at strengthening friendship and co-operation with all nations.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respects India's policy of non-alignment and reaffirms that this policy constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and in the lessening of tensions in the world.

Article V

Deeply interested in ensuring universal peace and security, attaching great importance to their mutual co-operation in the international field for achieving these aims, the high contracting parties will maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of the States by means of meetings and exchanges of views between their leading statesmen, visits by official delegations and special envoys of the two Governments, and through diplomatic channels.

Article VI

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, subject to existing agreements and the special arrangements with contiguous countries as specified in the Indo-Soviet trade agreement of Dec. 26, 1970.

Article VII

The High Contracting parties shall promote further development of ties and contacts between them in the fields of science, art, literature, education, public health, Press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports.

Article VIII

In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries, each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each high contracting party undertakes to abstain from any aggression against the other party and to prevent the use of its territory for the commission of any act which might inflict military damage on the other high contracting party.

Article IX

Each high contracting party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in armed conflict with the other party. 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 the security of their countries.

Article X

Each high contracting party solemnly declared that it shall not enter into any obligation, secret or public, with one or more States, which is incompatible with this treaty. Each high contracting party further declares that no obligation exists, nor shall any obligation be entered into between itself and any other State or States, which might cause military damage to the other party.

Article XI

This treaty is concluded for the duration of 20 years and will be automatically extended for each successive period of five years unless either high contracting party declares its desire to terminate it by giving notice to the other high contracting party 12 months prior to the expiration of the treaty. The treaty will be subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification which will take place in Moscow within one month of the signing of this treaty. ed and seventy-one.

On behalf of the
Republic of India,
(Sd). Swaran Singh,

Minister of External
Affairs.

On behalf of the
Union of Soviet So-
cialist Republics

(Sd). A. A. Gromyko.
Minister of Foreign
Affairs.

TEXT OF INDO-SOVIET JOINT STATEMENT

Following is the text of the Indo-Soviet joint statement issued at the conclusion of talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. A. A. Gromyko on August 11:

On the invitation of the Government of India, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, H.E. Mr. A. A. Gromyko, paid an official visit to India from August 8 to 12, 1971.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR called on the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, and was received by the Prime Minister of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi. He also met the Food & Agriculture Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Finance Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan and the Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram. He had several meetings and talks with Sardar Swaran Singh, the Minister for External Affairs of India.

The meetings and talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality. It was noted with deep satisfaction that the friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields were developing successfully and hold great promise for future expansion. The political and legal basis for this co-operation is further strengthened by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and India, which was signed in New Delhi by Mr. Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs of India and Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Logical Outcome

Both sides consider that the conclusion of the Treaty is an outstanding historic event for their two countries. The Treaty is a logical outcome of the relations of sincere friendship, respect, mutual trust and the varied ties which have been established between the Soviet Union and India in the course of many years and have stood the test of time. It corresponds to the basic interests of the Indian and Soviet people and opens up wide prospect for raising the fruitful co-operation between the USSR and India to a higher level. Alongside other provisions concerning bilateral Soviet-Indian relations, the Treaty provides for the two sides maintaining regular contacts with each other on major international problems and holding mutual consultations with a view to taking appropriate effective measures to safeguard the peace and security of their countries.

The Treaty between the USSR and India is a real act of peace expressing the community of policy and aspirations of the USSR and India in the struggle to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world and for safeguarding international security. All provisions of the treaty serve these purposes. The Treaty is not directed against anyone: It is meant to be a factor in develop-

ing friendship and good-neighbourliness in keeping with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

The Government of India and USSR are confident that the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation will meet with complete approval on the part of all those who are really interested in the preservation of peace in Asia and throughout the world and on the part of the Governments of all peace-loving States.

Identity of Views

In the course of the meetings and talks, both sides noted with satisfaction that their positions on various problems discussed were identical or very close. The Minister for External Affairs of India explained the heavy burden placed on India's resources due to over seven million refugees who had entered India. Both sides, after detailed discussions, reiterated their firm conviction that there can be no military solution and considered it necessary that urgent steps be taken in East Pakistan for the achievement of a political solution and for the creation of conditions of safety for the return of the refugees to their homes which alone would answer the interests of the entire people of Pakistan and the cause of the preservation of peace in the area.

The Indian side expressed its gratitude for the understanding of the problem shown by the Soviet Union as was evident from the appeal addressed on 2nd April, 1971 to the President of Pakistan by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Mr. N. V. Podgorny.

Both sides held the view that outside interference in the affairs of Indo-China should immediately cease. They consider that it will be futile to attempt to impose any settlement not acceptable to the people of the area. They welcomed the recent seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as a concrete step forward which could form the basis of a peaceful political settlement.

West Asia

On West Asia, both sides were convinced of the urgent need for the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of November 22, 1967, so that the consequences of aggression are liquidated.

Both sides considered that all international problems, including border disputes must be settled by peaceful negotiations and that the use of force or the threat of use of force is impermissible for their settlement.

Both sides declare that they are strongly in favour of an early agreement on general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional weapons, under effective international control.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. expressed his gratitude for the cordial reception given to him by the Government of India.

RUSO-AMERICAN COLLUSION

(Contd. from p.2)

army. The changed attitude of the Indian reactionary government towards the Bangla Desh struggle would mean ruination for those political forces who depend on the Indian government for their political survival.

So far as the people of India is concerned, the signing of the Indo-Soviet treaty has brought India effectively within the scope of operation of the notorious Brezhnev Doctrine. We all know what the Soviet revisionist ruling clique did to the Czech people in the name of the "international dictatorship of the proletariat". The Indo-Soviet treaty will only provide the legal justification for subjecting the Indian people to such overt and covert dictatorship and aggression by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in future. For one thing, this Treaty has finally exposed the perfidious nature of India's non-aligned foreign policy. India already had arms agreement with the U.S. as early as 1951 which was renewed in 1962 at the time of the Indian aggression against China. (We are printing the text of the renewed Agreement in this issue of the People's War.) With Nixon backing Yahya against the people of Bangla Desh, Indira

bound by treaties and agreements to Nixon and Brezhnev, the entire subcontinent would now be effectively reduced to a condominium of the Nixon and Brezhnev Doctrines. This collusion between Nixon and Brezhnev is directed against the people of Bangla Desh, the people of India or in other words the people of the entire subcontinent. The aim of this perfidious collusion is to prevent and forestall revolutionary changes in the subcontinent and in the South and South-East Asia. The imperialist and social-imperialist masters of the Indian and the Pakistani ruling classes cannot save their clients from disaster. We can see this quite clearly in the case of Egypt. Their dependance on the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has only taken them from one humiliation to another. After Nasser's death, Kosygin came to Egypt like an imperial viceroy and demanded a say in the choice of the future president.

No matter how hard the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists may try to save the Yahya and the Indira regimes from their doom, there is no doubt that the people of the subcontinent will rise up and defeat both the Nixon Doctrine and the Brezhnev Doctrine and drown them in the Indian Ocean.

What Others are Saying...

: BLITZ, AUGUST 7, 1971

MALICE IN WANDERLAND

Neutral friends!

TAKEN by surprise that India has no more friends in the world, unless you count a few Canadians and a few Irishmen, the External Affairs Ministry has set-up a special bureau for winning friends and influencing foreign governments.

IF most Indians do not know about this, it is because most Indians are not supposed to know that they have no friends left.

Mr. SWARAN SINGH, in view of his vast experience of making friends, has been put in charge of the bureau. He sits in his new office every day with the latest reports from our intelligence service and a copy of "The New York Times".

HE was kind enough to give me a little time in-between appointments with visiting American senators, Canadian parliament members and the Swiss and Soviet ambassadors.

"SEE this," he said, putting down a copy of a one time bestseller by Dale Carnegie and pointing to a large map of the world on the wall behind him.

"IT is a map," I said. Perhaps not the most intelligent thing to say, but I do not know how to start conversations with gentlemen who have travelled around the world and obtained assurances of friendship from presidents and prime ministers.

"THE red flags indicate countries which are not friendly with us and the green flags the ones which are. The yellow dots are Ministers at present abroad to establish friendship. This purple line you see is the course of the Pakistan freighter, PADMA."

"A lot of Ministers are abroad," I said, looking at all the yellow dots.

"YES," said Mr. Swaran Singh, "and this blue line indicates the route followed by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. As you can see he has been almost everywhere in search of friends."

"ANY success?"

"ONE Cairo paper carried a statement by him. Just goes to show we have not lost our Arab friends."

I asked the chief of the new bureau if there was any particular plan that the bureau had in mind to make friends.

"YES, we have a five-year

plan and, if necessary, we will extend it to seven years. The need of the hour is friends and everything will be done to acquire them. Also, just because we make new friends does not mean that we give up our old friends."

I said that President Nixon had said more or less the same thing.

Mr. SWARAN SINGH explained some of the main features of the new plan. "We have instructed all our visiting Ministers to avoid criticising foreign governments. Even when they are right."

"WHO? The Ministers?"

"NO. The foreign governments."

THE chief explained: "The main problem is not that most countries are unfriendly to us or friendly to Pakistan. It is that they have got some foolish idea of remaining neutral in our present troubles."

"AND you do not want them to remain neutral?"

"CERTAINLY not and we will do our best to convince them of the stupidity of a neutral policy. After all we should know, we have 20 years of experience of neutrality."

AUGUST 21, 1971

But the fact remains that the strength of the striking force, its equipment and training fall far too short of the demands of the situation.

The training is painfully slow. The Bahinis are equipped with antiquated weapons like .303 rifles and two-inch mortars.

All reports say there is no dearth of volunteers. The sky is indeed the limit. But there seems to be an in-built handicap in expanding the training programme.

League's monopoly resented

For one thing, no volunteer can be trained unless he is certified by the Awami League. Awami League members of the still-born National Assembly or Provincial Assembly have to clear him for the guerrilla force.

This is meant to ensure that the future army of Sovereign Bengal is loyal to the Awami League, a fact which is naturally resented by a vast number of restless youth. Lots of them are thirsting to get some training to avenge themselves on their West Pakistani tormentors.

There was a proposal to train volunteers owing allegiance to the Wall group of the National

Awami Party. This remains incomplete, with resulting frustration for many dedicated young men.

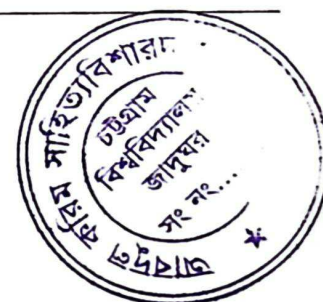
The Awami League's veto on recruitment of volunteers stems from its apparent sectarianism. This sectarianism is sought to be justified on the ground that the Awami League won the massive mandate single handed in the December elections.

National Front imperative

This inward-looking tendency has resulted in the Awami League leadership rejecting offers of other parties for a NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. The League is unwilling to share the responsibility of liberation to avoid sharing power with others in the future.

This appears to be one of the main causes of the drift that is becoming evident.

The delay in getting things moving has dangerous consequences for our economy and internal security, according to competent observers.



BY AACE

News

Farce of Mujib's Trial

The military junta in Pakistan has announced that the so-called trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, has started in Lyallpur, a textile city in the central Punjab. The Awami League leader was arrested by the military army junta on March 26, one day after the Army started its carnage in Bangla Desh. Since then he has been held incommunicado in various prisons in West Pakistan. He is being tried on a charge of 'waging war against Pakistan', which carries death penalty. This trial is a travesty of judicial process. The tribunal consists of army officers and it sits in camera. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has not been allowed any opportunity of arranging his defence. To complete the farce, the military junta has itself appointed lawyers to 'defend' Sheikh Mujib. This is a fascist attempt to convict and execute a Bangla Desh leader in an attempt to terrorise the people of Bangla Desh into submission. Hundreds of other political workers have also been executed summarily by Yahya's hordes. These fascist thugs would be responsible to the people of Bangla Desh for each of these precious lives. The people of Bangla Desh would one day avenge these persecutions and executions.

Though the People's War is opposed to certain policies of Sheikh Mujib, we condemn this farce of a trial as a flagrant violation of the fundamental rights and of basic human rights. Yahya's gangsters have no right to try any Bengalee. Only the verdict given by history and by the people of Bangla Desh in the course of their struggle is acceptable to the people of Bangla Desh.

Other News

News has leaked from West Pakistan that U.S. anti-guerilla and counter-insurgency experts are training Pakistani army men. Some of these anti-people mercenary experts were previously in South Vietnam to assist the puppet government there in its acts of terrorisation of the people.

Some 500 Pakistani army men have so far been trained by the U.S.A. in Fort Bragg which is notorious as the training ground for "Green Beret" Special Force engaged in Counter-insurgency activities in Vietnam.

U.S. counter-insurgency advisers are trying to sneak into Bangla Desh in the garb of U.N.

Relief Committee personnel. But the freedom fighters in Bangla Desh have lost no time in clearly understanding the ulterior motives of the U.S. government. They are fully aware of the problem and are ready to meet the threat. They have announced that no anti-people activity of these advisers will go unpunished. If found guilty, they will be annihilated in exactly the same manner as the local collaborators are being wiped out.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The next issue of the People's War (No.8) would be published on Friday, the 17th September.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

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