



Communist party Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Bangladesh

Declaration & Program

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Communist Party Marxist Leninist Maoist Bangladesh

Introduction

Great Marx and Engels gave human race the guide of communism. Great Lenin called this doctrine concretized in Marxism as all powerful because this is true. Today the exploitative society we are living was not existent once upon a time. There was no exploitation in primitive communist society. Regardless of male or female all were equal. All used to work and their products were used to be equally distributed to all. Later, class society emerged since when a few people who were clan chiefs, by exploiting the different opportunities, seized ownership of property and riches, made the mass majority people slave. This system of exploitation was sustained in slave society, feudal society and present capitalist stage. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels first showed that the exploited class of society the proletariat will destroy this capitalist society and construct socialist and communist society. In Russia, under Lenin's leadership, first socialist society was established what continued under Stalin's leadership through struggle.

In China, under Mao's leadership, the systematic trend of new democracy-socialism-communism was initiated by overthrowing feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism.

As soon as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels declared 'Proletarians of all countries Unite!' in 1848, this great ideological struggle started. Then humankind noticed unparallel dedication and great struggles. Paris Commune in 1871, Russian revolution in 1917, Chinese revolution in 1949 and Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution during 1966-1976 period were great revolutions led by proletariat in this goal. Then in Peru, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Philippines, Turkey and around the world new uprisings of people's wars are charting the path to the world in that very goal. Communist doctrine developed to Marxism by Marx & Engels, to Leninism by Lenin & Stalin and to Maoism by Mao, Charu Majumder, Siraj Sikder, Gonzallo, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya and others. Today this doctrine is constantly developing.

This Bangladesh named land was a rich country in ancient time. Jana Jati used to live in this country who were the ancestors of Bengali and other small nationalities. It is presumed that civilization developed here in ancient time. Foreign monarchial imperial forces one after another occupied this country, seized all the possessions in the name of Hinduism, Buddhism or Islam. On the basis of serfdom, here they developed different forms of exploitative system including caste system and communalism. To save themselves from inequality, injustice and suppression that were imposed from above in form of religious suppression, people repeatedly changed religion but that repression further increased. Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim monarchs lived here and became Bangladeshi but the English that colonized this country in Eighteenth century did not come to become Bangladeshi. Religion was also less important to them, because they were representatives of capitalism. They plundered all the possessions of this country, destroyed rich industries and developed textile mills in England from the raw materials of this

country. They tried to wipe out Bengali nation by plundering all the agricultural products through creating two great famines. Peasants of this country rose in great rebellions. They fought armed struggle against English in lots of revolts such as Fakir and Sanyasi rebellion, Santal rebellion, Great Army Mutiny, Tebhaga. After Russian revolution, Communist party was formed in India, but this party did not lead peasants to armed struggle against British colonialism and its feudal basis, and denied to lead their armed struggles. Moreover, during Second world war, it tried to push Indian people to the unity with British in the name of line of anti fascist united front, and as a result, Congress and Muslim League that are representative of Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal of India respectively gave birth to India and Pakistan named two semi colonial semi feudal state by making communal class contradiction antagonistic. As majority mass peasants of East Bengal as Muslim was object of communal exploitation and suppression by the Hindu Jamindars, and as the problem was not solved through revolution, Muslim peasantry of East Bengal voted in favor of Pakistan. Since after the creation of Pakistan, backward East Bengal became colony of comparatively advance West Pakistan. People of East Bengal rose in rebellion against Pakistani colonial rule from language movement of 1952 and mass movement of 1969 up to national liberation war of 1971. The East Pakistan Communist party failed to lead people's struggle in correct line. With the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism internationally, that party became a revisionist party. As Chairman Mao led international struggle against that revisionism, that party got divided into two trends--Pro Moscow and Pro Peking faction. The Pro Peking faction could not free itself from revisionism. Comrade Siraj Sikder broke that chain of revisionism.

Siraj Sikder is the greatest son of Bangladesh who led the proletariat here to take up Mao Thought as development of Marxism-Leninism. On that basis he correctly analyzed the society of East Bengal as colonial-semi feudal, led the proletariat to form its own party, armed force for the first time in history, united front by mobilizing peasantry, middle class and national bourgeoisie and building Base Areas. He led proletariat in national and class liberation struggle. Chairman Siraj Sikder was able to initiate people's war in this country. In 1971, Indian army could occupy East

Bengal by defeating Pakistan with the help of Awami League, the party of rising Bengali bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal. In place of US-led imperialist backed Pakistan, USSR backed Indian colonial exploitation came into being. In 1975, Indian lackey Sheikh Mujib Government fell in a military quo de tat led by US lackey bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Then came the military bureaucrat regime of Zia, and another bureaucratic bourgeoisie party BNP was formed. They established so called elected government. BNP was overthrown by the Ershad led Military in 82. Then eight years of martial law continued led by Ershad. In 90, Ershad was overthrown by the middle class mass movement and again so called democratic government of civil bourgeoisie was set up. In between two term Khaleda led government and Hasina led government, a military care taker government was in power for about two years in 2007-8. After the martyrdom of Siraj Sikder in 1975, party was fallen in serious crisis. Then Anwar Kabir led the pro Mao fraction of party. Hoxaite Ziauddin gradually degenerated and liquidated. The armed struggle that was developed under the leadership of Anwar Kabir in 80s can't be said People's war. It was eclecticism. He mixed up his own line with Siraj Sikder line. As a result of that eclecticism, in third congress, led by Anwar Kabir and his comrades-in-arms, line of destruction of party was passed through abandoning Chairman Siraj Sikder's line.

In 2004, with some young cadres of PBSP, Maoist Unity Group was formed which was a very important initiative to reconstruct communist movement of this country. But already party has been destroyed as a result of practice of reformist and revisionist line of several decades. Revisionist leaders made Siraj Sikder and PBSP a matter of history. Anwar Kabir-led PBSP is a different one that doesn't possess a single bit Siraj Sikder's ideology, but a revisionist ideology. So, this revisionist ideology has been practiced in the whole decade of 90 and early 21st century. So, MUG could not reconstruct that part of PBSP. The work accomplished by Maoist Unity Group in ideological field and real practice that have contributed in preparation for a new MLM communist party in our country. Today it is clear that new party must be built that will conceive 21st century reality based upon creative development of MLM, what of course will be a

succession of Chairman Siraj Sikder and his led Proletarian Party of East Bengal, but will completely abandon wrong succession of the middle period. This is the time to newly construct everything, of course, on a new basis.

Ideology

Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is the international doctrine of proletariat. Its dialectical process of development has three stages.

Marxism

Karl Marx with the assistance of his close comrade-in-arms Engels developed this doctrine. The philosophy Marx developed is dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism is the law of development of nature, society and human thinking. According to this law, there is struggle and unity in everything in this world. The struggle is permanent while unity is temporary. Because of that struggle old things end and new ones emerge. Marx developed a political economy that revealed class exploitation. Through theory of surplus value Marx showed how capital expands itself by exploiting the surplus value produced by human labor power. They (Marx and Engels) discovered the inherent contradiction of capitalist society. He and Engels formed first communist international and through Communist Manifesto, declared 'workers of all countries, unite!' When in 1871 proletariat first seized power in Paris Commune, they summed up its experience. Marx and Engels armed proletariat class with its historic mission: seizing political power through revolution and using this power, the dictatorship of proletariat.

Marx led life and death struggle against the opportunists in the proletarian movement who sought to confine the struggle of the workers to improve the conditions of wage-slavery without challenging the existence of this slavery itself.

Together, the stand, viewpoint and method of Marx came to be called Marxism, and represent the first great milestone in the development of the ideology of the proletariat.

Leninism

In the course of leading the proletarian revolutionary movement in Russia and the struggle in the international communist movement against revisionism, Lenin developed Marxism to a whole new stage and that is Marxism-Leninism. Lenin showed that capitalism had raised itself to stage of imperialism where finance capital emerged from merger of industrial capital and mercantile capital and capital export is the main trend of this stage. Imperialism is monopoly capitalism and that is highest and final stage of capitalism. Monopoly capitalist groups are engaged in struggle to distribute the world and from their conflict of distribution and redistribution periodically imperialist war arises. Lenin showed that present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The whole world has been divided into on the one hand imperialism and oppressed nations on the other. From this, he put forward the idea of fusion of strategy of proletarian revolution and that of national liberation movement. Lenin raised the conception of party of a new type which is an indispensable for leading the revolutionary masses in the seizure of power. Lenin raised the theory and practice of proletarian revolution to a whole new level as he led the proletariat in seizing and consolidating its political power, its revolutionary dictatorship, for the first time with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. Lenin waged a life-and-death struggle against the revisionists of his day within the Second International who had betrayed the proletarian revolution and had called on the workers to defend the interests of their imperialist masters in World War I. Lenin's struggle against revisionism further spread the communist movement throughout the world, uniting the struggles of the oppressed peoples, and the Third (or COM intern) International was formed.

Lenin's all-round and comprehensive development of Marxism represents the second great leap in the development of proletarian ideology.

After Lenin's death, Joseph Stalin defended the proletarian dictatorship against enemies from within as well as from the imperialist invaders during World War II, and carried forward the cause of socialist construction and transformation in the Soviet Union. Stalin fought for the international communist movement to recognize Marxism-Leninism as the second great milestone in the development of the

proletarian ideology. It was Stalin who formulated Leninism.

Maoism

Mao Tsetung developed Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage, that is the stage of Maoism in the course of his many decades of leading the Chinese Revolution, the international struggle against modern revisionism and the Cultural Revolution. He showed that the only fundamental law of contradiction is the law of unity of opposites. He explained transformation of quantity into quality by the law of unity of opposites. And he said that negation of negation does not exist as a law. What exists is that the unity of the opposite of affirmation and negation. He established monism by discarding the tripartite doctrine of development what presented three laws side by side with equal importance. So, this is comrade Mao who established dialectics on a comprehensive basis. He enriched dialectics in multi dimension.

He by correcting Engel's formulation regarding freedom showed that freedom is not only understanding necessity but its transformation too. In epistemology, he developed profound dialectical understanding of the theory of knowledge, whose center is the two leaps that make up its law (from practice to knowledge and vice versa, but with knowledge to practice being the main one). He masterfully applied the law of contradiction in politics; and moreover he brought philosophy to the masses of people, fulfilling the task that Marx left.

In Marxist political economy, Chairman Mao applied dialectics to analyze the relationship between the base and superstructure, and, continuing the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist thesis of the "productive forces", he concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can modify the base, and that with political power the productive forces can be developed. By developing the Leninist idea that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, he established that politics must be in command, (applicable on all levels) and that political work is the life-line of economic work; which takes us to the true handling of political economy, not just a simple economic policy.

Advocate of Great Leap Forward & socialist

development comrade Mao along with his comrades facing fierce struggle in China realized that socialist construction should be put forward in the form of a full-fledged ideological political line. On the other hand, the deviation Soviet Union had been going through since Comrade Stalin's period was reflected in China too. Those errors on the very characteristics of Socialism had made room for revisionism. The preliminary tendency of the productive force theory Mao found in Stalin's writings was presumed by him as the deviation of a Communist.

To Mao Socialist construction was a fierce mass movement. Mao analyzed the interrelation between base and superstructure. He advocated revolutionizing of production relation and superstructure. People's daring, massive and great effort in the form of Great Leap Forward should be viewed in this way. Stalin and the Soviet leaders erroneously thought that the meaning of socialism is state ownership and some development in productive force. Mao noted that development in production relation in Soviet Union had fundamentally ceased. Mao taught that it is ownership system that is decisive in production relation, yet under socialism, public ownership should be socialist both in content & form. He specially emphasized on the interrelation between the two other aspects of production relation such as relation among man to man in engaging in production and the distribution system. Mao has showed that not by bureaucratic order but by increasing people's initiative can socialist economy be firmly made. Mao urged for constant attack upon ideology of "Bourgeoisie right".

He established many principles of socialist economy such as, concurrent promotion of industry and agriculture by putting heavy industry in center, politics-in-command, red & expert, large and public, partial qualitative transformation, balance and imbalance, crash program, transformation of public ownership, walking in two leg i.e., constructing self-reliance based socialist economy, assume joint interest above individual interest, joint management of production, two participation (workers' participation in management and management's participation in productive labor), Great Leap Forward: "More! Faster! Better! More economically!", abolition of old rules & superstition, crushing ideology of bourgeoisie right, planning etc many things.

Therefore, this is Chairman Mao who first developed a scientific & universal thought in socialist economy.

Despite its importance, an issue which is often sidestepped, especially by those who face democratic revolutions, is the Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism; that is, the capitalism which is being developed in the oppressed nations by imperialism along with different degrees of underlying feudalism, or even pre-feudal stages. This is a vital problem, mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, since a good revolutionary leadership derives from its understanding, especially when the confiscation of bureaucratic capital forms the economic basis for carrying forward the socialist revolution as the second stage.

In scientific socialism, Chairman Mao further developed the theory of social classes analyzing them on economic, political, and ideological planes. He upheld revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exception whatsoever; revolution as a violent displacement of one class by another, thus establishing the great thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". He resolved the question of the conquest of political power in the oppressed nations through the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, establishing its general laws. He defined and developed the theory of the class struggle within socialism in which he brilliantly demonstrated that the antagonistic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between socialism and capitalism continues. That in socialism it was not concretely determined who would defeat whom, that it was a problem whose solution demands time, the unfolding of a process of restoration and counter-restoration, in order for the proletariat to strongly hold political power definitely through the proletarian dictatorship; and, finally and principally, the grandiose solution of historical transcendence, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the socialist revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

New democratic revolution is a theory of Mao what showed that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution bourgeoisie is no more able to carry

democratic revolution in countries oppressed by imperialism. This task has been given to proletariat by history as a responsibility. But this democratic revolution led by proletarian class is a part of international proletarian revolution and its aim is socialism. This revolution will constantly advance towards socialism.

Comrade Mao developed conception of a new type of party that is based on unity of opposites that is based on two lines struggle what is able to initiate and develop people's war and able to unify and lead all the oppressed classes.

Mao developed conception of a new type of army that will not be burden for people rather will be connected with production. United front is theory of Chairman what, in oppressed countries is a front of workers, peasants, middle class and patriotic bourgeoisie led by proletariat based on workers-peasants alliance directed with the representation of communist party.

Chairman Mao is first to establish the military theory of the international proletariat in the form of The People's War; in it are summarized, for the first time in a systematic and complete form, the theoretical and practical experience of the struggles, military actions, and wars waged by the proletariat, and the prolonged experience of the people's armed struggle and especially of the incessant wars in China. People's war is not only applicable in oppressed countries, but in imperialist countries too. It is not merely guerrilla war. It develops through guerrilla war to mobile war and positional war relying on the Base Areas in rural areas. Base areas are the key where embryonic people's power develops in form of people's committees.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most transcendental development made by Chairman Mao. Central committee meeting of Chinese Communist party stated regarding Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution:

"Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in

the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, art and literature and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

After the death of Chairman Mao, formulation of Maoism started under the leadership of PCP chairman Gonzallo. Universality of people's war is a notable concept that developed by Gonzallo. Maoism achieved strong basis and developed through people's war of Peru and Nepal. In 1984, RIM was formed to forge fourth international. Adoption of Maoism in 92 as international joint realization was a great victory of communists worldwide. We got Marxism from Marx and Engels, Leninism from Lenin and Stalin, Maoism from Mao, Siraj Sikder, Charu Majumder, Gonzallo...These are root of a tree, from what, branches come out as politics, economy and philosophy of MLM.

Chairman Siraj Sikder accepted Mao Thought and made its application in East Bengal through people's war. In this way Siraj Sikder thought developed in Bangladesh. Siraj Sikder needed to first plant ideological pillar.

It is the root of everything. It is the root of politics too. This is a comprehensive outlook, by which political framework develops.

Comrade Charu Majumder accepted Mao Thought and made its application in Indian reality through people's war, what's ring of influence overflowed South Asia. In this way, Charu Majumder-teaching developed.

On the other side, emerging from the reality of revolution of Peru, internationally Gonzallo Thought developed through discovering universality of Maoism. It was comrade Gonzallo, who showed that people's war is universally applicable. He developed theory regarding development of Bureaucratic capitalism within Semi feudal semi colonial social framework. We get decisive importance of two lines struggle, militia,

concentric construction of party-army-front, question of people's power, agrarian revolution, theory regarding bureaucratic capitalism, developing Base Area in a planned way, coordination of urban and rural area, theory of Great Leadership etc many other things from Gonzallo.

By taking lessons from comrade Gonzallo, we can properly evaluate Thought of Siraj Sikder Charu Majumder. We get from Siraj Sikder Thought: line of developing Base Area--area wise seizure of power, theory regarding bureaucratic capitalism, agrarian revolution, theory regarding communal class contradiction, national struggle, use of geographical terrain, theory on colony, coordination of urban and rural areas, militia, theory of Great Leadership etc many other things.

MLM is the developed form of Mao Thought.

Theory of Maoism has been rediscovered by Gonzallo, and through him RIM, and through RIM Maoists worldwide accepted it. All these principles have been very much concretely presented what is the basis of new MLM party today.

Maoism, MLM, principally Maoism all are synthesis. But we know, synthesis and analysis are the two aspects of a single matter. Of that synthesis is principal. But that is too an endless process. MLM is said Maoism by synthesizing that while by analyzing MLM again new synthesis is principally Maoism. Yet, synthesis and analysis, all are from the necessity. All these are for the sake of class struggle of proletariat.

In universe, material world is a single entity. We use to separate that for the sake of our judgment. Again we use to put it in its right place. Domain of knowledge is a single one, but we say philosophy, politics, art and literature...

There are three milestones in MLM. Those are Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism. The later one is the highest development. Therefore, this is superior. To concretize in this way has been historically connected with the establishment of Maoism. PCP has compelled to been struggling to establish Maoism for long several decades. Siraj Sikder and Charu Majumder used to possess the then highest development of Maoism. At that time it was said Mao Thought.

The wrong roaders don't want to recognize the contributions comrade Siraj Sikder, comrade Charu Majumder and Comrade Gonzallo made in ideological

field. So, are their contributions non-ideology? How does ideology evolve? They are saying that Siraj Sikder and Charu Majumder couldn't be able to solve many basic problems of revolution of Bangladesh and India. They placed the foundation-stones of revolution of the two countries which is a solution of a fundamental problem. According to those wrong roaders, Marxism can be negated now. But that can't be according to law of materialism. Every matter or event has birth, development and end. Matter should be viewed in that limit. Marxism was borne by possessing ideology of communist society. That will not be negated until establishing communism. As soon as this time period ends, Marxism will end too. That means, it will be negated by more developed things. On the other hand, revisionism will never be able to negate Marxism, because that doesn't have that strength. According to wrong roaders, "Thought" can't be any domestic/state matter. As if thought has to arrive in a country after being born internationally. As man has to live in this or that country, so thought has to be born in this or that country. Then it takes international character.

Partial qualitative leap is a theory of Mao. So, opposite to what idealist thinks, Mao Thought hadn't suddenly appeared in 9th congress universally. It is not a divine matter. Mao wrote On contradiction, and On practice in 1936. Protracted People's war, analysis of semi-feudal semi-colonial social framework, New Democratic revolution, Great Leap Forward towards the path of socialism, Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution---all these came up in stages one after another. Egg to Pupa, Pupa to Moth, and Moth to Silkworm; Human childhood to adolescence, adolescence to youth, youth to middle age, middle age to older age.. etc are examples of partial qualitative leap pointed out by Mao. The same happens in human idea as it is in nature or society. Mao Thought of 1935 and Mao Thought of 1969 wasn't the same. Mao Thought of 1969 and today what we say Maoism is not the same. All are universal, but there are differences. Marxism of Communist Manifesto, Marxism of Capital, and post Paris Commune Marxism, all are universal but not equal. These are of different levels.

Marx and Engels are the authors of Marxism, where role of Marx is principal. Lenin and Stalin are the authors of Leninism, where role of Lenin is principal.

We have got Maoism from Mao, Siraj Sikder, Charu Majumder, Gonzalo..., where role of Mao is principal. Universality doesn't come spontaneously, that needs struggle to be achieved and at the same time, struggle is needed for recognition for that.

Let us take a little bit detail look at Thought and action of Comrade Siraj Sikder. Siraj Sikder is the greatest son of Bangladesh who led proletariat here to take up Mao Thought as development of Marxism-Leninism. On that basis he correctly analyzed East Bengal society as colonial-semi feudal and led proletariat to form its own party, build its army for the first time in history, and building united front by mobilizing peasant, middle class and national bourgeoisie. Under his leadership party could establish Base Area twice: once in Payarabagan forest of river delta of Barisal district (in 71) and later in Chittagong Hill Tract during 72 to 75. His this idea had international significance that East Bengal was colony of Pakistan and later of India. From that analysis he went ahead to lead proletariat to fight for national liberation. His realization was that all the countries dominated by imperialism are in essence colony and semi colony may have colony. Present world situation clearly proves his this idea. He had a good understanding on communal class contradiction in British colonial Bengal. The general situation of South Asia and contemporary world situation proves this idea too. He defined bureaucratic capitalism of East Bengal and targeted fight against it. His realization was that bureaucratic bourgeoisie is representative of imperialism, expansionism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism. This is also a decisive thinking what today's world communists must understand.

After the death of Chairman Siraj Sikder Hoxaite Ziauddin abandoned Mao Tsetung Thought and Siraj Sikder line. On the other side, Anwar Kabir failed to realize Mao Thought's developed form Maoism, and he by correcting Siraj Sikder Thought started guiding party with eclecticism.

Socio economic analysis

The conception of semi colonial semi feudal social structure given by Mao Tsetung is as follows:

The capitalism borne by development of imperialist

capital in the belly of feudalism by changing it, is neither feudalist nor capitalist, at the same time, both the characteristics exist in it. This is called semi feudal because commodity economy developed on the basis of feudalism. It makes the use of feudalist exploitation system.

The characteristics of capitalism is----

1. commodity economy, labor power is also commodity

2. expanded reproduction

Inevitably a process of exploiting surplus value starts in it i.e., domestic based heavy industry develops.

Commodity economy exists in our country, but the system of exploitation includes feudalist characteristics. That means, feudal exploitation system is made use of. For example----

1. unpaid labor

2. extra economic coercion

3. extra exploitation (Extra surplus value)

4. long working hour

There is a big working class in our country. One third of the total populations of this country are working class people. More than half the working class people are industrial worker most of whom are working in garment industries. Apart from those, numerous workers are working in Textile Weaving, Jute, Leather, Poultry and Medicine industries. Large number of workers are working in Hotel-Restaurant and Building construction sector. After severe hard labor, workers get wages that is not even one third of their real family expenditure. Their working Day is too long. Often they are subject to unpaid labor and extra surplus exploitation. Since British colonial period, working class of Bangladesh made many struggles and revolts. As a result, they are enough matured. Working class has nothing to lose but their chains, but they have a world to win. Working class is the leader of revolution. It is the guarantee of communist path in revolution. It, by uniting with peasant masses, forges workers-peasants alliance what is the basis of front.

Ours is an agricultural based country. 60-70% of total population is related to agriculture. 56% peasants are completely landless who may or may not have

household land. 25-30% peasants are poor peasants who have 0.3-0.67 acre arable land. Usually they don't have agricultural tools. 80 percent of the whole peasantry is poor and landless, of those, two third are landless and one third are poor peasant. These two class hold one sixth of total arable land. These two classes are called in short poor peasants. Poor peasants usually till land through taking land for share cropping or contract lease or take land as mortgage in exchange of money. Poor peasants are exploited through share cropping (giving share of product), giving contract money, interest of loan, compound interest of NGOs, increasing rent of government, development tax, education tax, village police tax, corruption of government employees, high price of fertilizer, irrigation water, power tiller rent and above all wage labor. Landless and poor peasants have to work in other's land. This is the difference between them and middle peasants. Poor peasants are the majority people of the country who are called semi proletariat. They are the base of revolution. People's war develops mainly relying upon them with the leadership of working class. Those can be called middle peasants who hold 1.75-2 acre land. They are 10-15% of the whole peasants. Many of them have shallow tube well, but because of high price of oil it is not beneficial now-a-days. Rather land lords use to get government allowance in electricity in using deep tube well. Total or main part of middle peasants' income comes from their own labor. Generally he doesn't exploit others, rather by the end of year, he himself is exploited through giving share of share cropping, contract money, loan interest, increasing government rent, development tax, education tax, village police tax, high price of fertilizer-insecticides-irrigation water-power tiller rent etc. Though some of the middle peasants carry some exploitation, but that is not their regular or main source of income. Middle peasants easily accept revolutionary propaganda. Working class and its party, by relying on poor peasants, will unite middle peasants, fight against existing semi-feudal big rich class and carry land reform. Those peasants are rich peasants who hold 2.3-3.67 acre land. They are 4-5% of the peasantry. Some rich peasants' some of the lands are usually taken in contract or some are mortgaged land in exchanged of money while rest of the lands belongs to him. Some rich peasants' all the lands are taken in contract or mortgage agreement. Usually rich peasants have shallow tube well and

more money. He takes part in labor, but his main form of exploitation is wage labor. He also mortgage land, or give land to others in share cropping or contract. He may lend money or he may engage in business. They are usually neutral in revolution, but their interest is protected in revolution. We will take 3.3 to 4 acre land as Ceiling and will seize ceiling above lands in agrarian revolution. So, only ceiling above lands of rich peasants will be seized. They should be inspired in anti imperialist struggle. As their capital is small, they can be united against bureaucratic capitalism and semi feudal land lords. Middle and rich peasants together hold one third arable land. Generally holders of above 7 acre land those land owners are semi feudal big rich who have other properties besides land. They are 2 or 3%. If we count khas lands, they hold more than half of the total lands. Apart from land, big rich have tractor, deep tube well, business of fertilizer, oil and insecticide. They get different types of government allowance including electricity in irrigation etc. Most of them have houses in cities. They are the union council chairmen, members, leaders of reactionary parties. They are the officials of interest sucker usurer NGOs, officers of Police Stations and courts, and lease holders (Ijaradar) of local markets-hats-bazars. They carry exploitation through taking care of School, college, oakf properties too. They are usurer with compound interest. They organize gamble house. Many of them have guns in their houses. Together with NGOs they are the main enemies of peasants in rural areas. Their land and properties will be seized in agrarian revolutions. Usually they are very much wicked and ruthless. They are the pillars of all sorts of domestic and external exploitations. They employ long term agricultural workers. They use to suck extra surplus value by employing workers. In different ways, they carry extra exploitation over the poor peasants, that includes share cropping, contract, usury etc. Decades after decades they have captured peasants' lands through exploitation and corruption. All the NGOs including Grameen Bank, Brac, Asha, Thengamara expanded their usury network of compound interest throughout the whole rural Bangladesh. Most of the poor peasant families of rural areas have been trapped in their net. They carry extra surplus exploitation over poor peasants. They are monopoly organization built with imperialist funding. Their big capital develops through exploiting poor peasants. In rural areas they sell

cheap solar panel to peasants in many times higher price with compound interest. They carry many these types of exploitation. They are considered main enemies as part of semi-feudal big rich class in rural areas.

One sixth of agro land is under share cropping. One third peasants till by share cropping, taking land in contract and by taking mortgaged land in agreement. In Bangladesh, now widely agro land mortgage developed. Those declining peasants, who mortgage their land, usually can't take back their land due to lack of money. At last they use to sell their lands. Apart from that, peasants till by taking land in different types of contract such as Khai Khalasi etc.

In pre colonial period, feudal exploitation had usually been carried from agriculture of Bengal as tax and rent.

In British period, there were three main exploiting classes: Jaminder (Land lord), Jotdar (Smaller Land lord) and usurer.

The British established colonial exploitation through collecting tax by strengthening Jamindery system by creating new Jaminders by crushing many old Jaminders by giving permanent lease (lease for ever).

In Pakistan colonial period, in 1950, the East Bengal Jamindari acquire and peasants' right law seized a few lands as Khas---about 465139 acre. Most of the lands were illegally grabbed. So, seizure of the occupied lands is also a part of land revolution.

So, no land reform occurred in the history of East Bengal so far. So, peasants hunger for land haven't been satisfied. Major parts of landless peasants employed themselves in cities as rickshaw puller, garment and other worker by losing land or not having land. Consequently their problem is related to agrarian problem. Land revolution i.e. agrarian revolution will solve major part of problems of peasants and working class people.

The old feudalist structure in our country that entered in semi-feudalism in the very British colonial period went through no significant change. But a significant change surely occurred. That is, collapse and basically liquidation of classic feudal class. In British period, apart from general exploitation, the Hindu feudal Jaminders use to carry communal oppression

over Muslim peasantry of East Bengal, what created communal class contradiction. As communist party of India didn't resolve that problem through revolution, majority Muslim peasantry supported creation of Pakistan on communal basis. As a result, Hindu feudals were ousted from East Bengal. Here with the state sponsor new arising Muslim feudal, besides feudal character, very significantly were enriched by the bourgeoisie state banking economy and they also enriched that banking economy. A part of pure feudal among those, fell on the verge of liquidation as result of emergence of Bangladesh and they left their place for new rising looter rich whom chairman Siraj Sikder called lackeys of six mountain. Those state sponsored new looters accumulated capital and they took bourgeoisie character more than feudal. Thrown down to their lower level the semi feudal big rich class sustained in rural areas.

So, commodity economy is sustaining on feudalist basis, that means, long work time, extra surplus value, unpaid labor, extra economic coercion etc.

Garments like industries that developed here by crushing domestic big industries like Adamji, machines tools factory, paper mill, ninety percent profit of those goes to imperialist shopping mall, buying house and big shop keepers. In garments, there is forceful overtime work, extra exploitation, extra economic coercion etc. About seven million Bangladeshi workers are employed in foreign countries. The remittances they send make a big part of Bangladesh state income and make dollar reserve of Bangladesh Bank. Most of them have petit bourgeoisie class basis domestically. Export processing zones have been built here. In this way, imperialism developed a balloon economy in this country which may collapse at any time. In our country, bureaucratic bourgeoisie holds state power. This bourgeoisie class dominates over economy, politics and culture. But this class is submitted to imperialist economy. Imperialism by penetrating its capital developed this capitalism over feudalist basis. Here feudalism means not necessarily feudal land lord, but system of exploitation. In our country, basically this classical feudal is non-existent.

In late nineteenth century in British India, British supporter bureaucratic capitalism developed in this country. That capitalism was connected to feudalism and in service of British colonialism. As a result, in the

very nineteenth century, feudalism entered in semi feudal transformation in this country. This capitalism got divided into two on communal basis. 1) Hindu communal bureaucratic capitalism whose representative was Indian congress 2) Muslim communal bureaucratic capitalism whose representative was Muslim League. With the influence of Great Russian revolution, despite communist party was formed in India in 1920s, reactionary intellectuals dependent on imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism captured power of party and misguided party. As a result, the path of surrounding cities by the countryside was not defined. Party denied to lead the peasant wars in this country and made public opinion on the side of politics of non-violence, non-cooperation and compromise with exploiting classes. During the 2nd world war this party in the name of comintern's anti fascist united front paved the way in line of unity with British colonialism. As a result of that betray with the people of India, Hindu and Muslim communalists took that opportunity and divided India in favor of their interest. Consequently, Indian bureaucratic capitalism and Pakistani bureaucratic capitalism emerged what gave birth to India and Pakistan named two semi colonial semi feudal states. Muslim majority East Bengal peasantry had been colony of Hindu majority west Bengal and apart from being class exploitation, they were subject of communal oppression by the Hindu communal feudal. As communist party did not resolve this particular contradiction through revolution, Muslim peasantry of this country voted to join Pakistan. Again East Bengal became backyard and consequently colony of West Pakistan inside Pakistan. Muslim bureaucratic capitalism was West Pakistan based. It continued to develop by exploiting East Bengal people. Communist party guided itself in revisionist peaceful line. National struggle for national development started in East Bengal and Muslim capitalism fell in serious crisis by the end of 60s. Communist party did not lead national struggle, and under the leadership of Awami League, demand of development of Bengali bureaucratic capitalism was raised. In a certain period in 1971, with the assistance of India, Awami League started armed struggle against Pakistan. In 68, under the leadership of comrade Siraj Sikder Maoist path of surrounding cities by the countryside was defined. In 71 Proletarian party of East Bengal was formed and armed struggle through people's war against Pakistani

colonial forces developed. But by the end of 71, USSR-backed Indian expansionism, with the help of Awami League could establish colonial exploitation here by overthrowing Pakistan. After the Bangladesh state was formed in 71, the new born bureaucratic bourgeoisie under the care of Awami League Government led by fascist Sheikh Mujiv, started massive loot and plunder. As a result of massive loot and plunder for accumulation of capital, hundreds of thousands of people died in big famine. On the other side, people's war developed countrywide led by Proletarian party of East Bengal. In order to resist that people's war and to assure loot and plunder, government had formed Raxi Bahini named a Fascist armed force, by which, many thousand people were killed. In face of great mass rebellion, state machinery was fallen in all out crisis. Bureaucratic capitalism entered in a permanent general crisis. As a consequence, pro US military Quo De' tat occurred led by the pro US part of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that was already enriched with the loot and plunder.

The military led by Fascist Zia killed many thousand rebel army members, formed BNP named party by using military power, initiated so called multi party democracy that was successively replaced by pro US Fascist Ershad-led military rule. Ershad carried military rule for eight years, suppressed mass movement, and continued to face armed struggles of Maoist communists. Ershad formed Jatyo Party by using power of military force. Ershad widely strengthened infrastructure of Bourgeoisie state and Bureaucratic capitalist economy by using imperialist loan and assistance. In '90, Ershad was compelled to resign in face of mass movement. Then, for long 16 years, two times led by Fascist Khaleda and one time led by Fascist Hasina, under the leadership of so called democratic government, by using foreign loan assistance, through Bank loan and plundering domestic possessions, a big corrupt class has been created. They created a permanent famine situation in the country. Intense mass movements have erupted against them time and again. On the other side, armed activities of the splintered Maoists terrorized them. Consequently, Fascist Khaleda formed RAB named a Fascist armed force, under the leadership of which many thousand people have been massacred, what all the government continued successively including present government. After Khaleda, military-led civil

care taker government failed by trying to stabilize the discipline inside bureaucratic capitalism. Crisis of Bureaucratic capitalism further deepened with the leadership of latest Hasina government. The reactionary Bangladesh government has finished money of the capitalist state bank of Bangladesh. Maximum inflation and devaluation of Taka has been made. Maximum price hike of daily goods, multiple increase of price of oil, gas and electricity made life of common people difficult. Peasants got very less price of agricultural products. As price of fertilizer is high and because of repeated price hike of electricity and oil, they are less able to carry irrigation. Even many of the middle peasants want to mortgage their lands in exchange of a few money. But very few people in rural area have that much money. Those who have money, live in cities. By sustaining semi-feudalism in rural areas, bureaucratic bourgeoisie has built a structure of semi feudal semi colonial society with bureaucratic capitalism in its center. Workers have no real minimum wage. The wage they have by working severely hard labor in factory imprisonment that is not even one third of real family expenditure. Many of the middle class people are committing suicide by being bankrupt at the disastrous fall of share market. But exploitation and plunder by the imperialist collaborator bourgeoisie doesn't stop at this situation, rather increasing. Their capital is multiplying. The government ministers' corruption is exposed now. By stealing the initial money of Padma Bridge project, they embarrassed imperialists too. Now, Hasina attempted for last survival (in this project) by proposing US representative Yunus as World Bank Chief. Government carried its collaborator duty by letting India infiltrate in Bangladesh by giving her corridor in the name of transit. In exchange, Bangladesh didn't get water for Tista river. Rivers are being destroyed. Environment is being collapsed. As part of handing over oil and gas mines to imperialist companies, government embraced Russian imperialist company Gazprom. US, Europe, China, Japan, Saudi Arabia, India and Russia are the imperialist and expansionist forces who are carrying semi colonial exploitation in our country. The agreement to build atomic power plant with Russia is nothing but conspiracy to destroy environment. US imperialism is the main imperialism that is carrying semi colonial exploitation in our country. Saudi Arabia is the main fund raiser of Islamic fundamentalism and religious feudalism in this

country. China has made this country big market of its commodities. Indian expansionism is a fundamental contradiction to people of our country. Bangladesh is its market of all commodities including drugs. Indian expansionism is regularly carrying massacre on Bangladeshi people. Recently domestic and external reactionaries have formed a secret force what is disappearing opposition cadres. Since the beginning bureaucratic capitalism in Bangladesh is in a general crisis what further increasingly deepened. Fascism pretend to put alternative to survive from this crisis what is most reactionary. Besides carrying most brutal exploitation and domination over revolutionaries and masses, it establishes dictatorship over its opposition groups of its own class too. Example of fascism in Bangladesh is Mujiv-ism, military autocracy of Zia-Ershad, 'democratic' autocracy of Khaleda-Hasina, religious fundamentalism etc. They tried to deceive masses in the name of 'Golden Bangla', 'program of digging canal', 'New Bangla', 'struggle against corruption', 'Islam' etc. Through Raxi Bahini, RAB, force to disappear have carried and continued to carry suppress on revolutionaries and masses and even upon their opposition groups of their own class.

Be it military or civil, no autocratic regime could never be able save the life of top to bottom rotten bureaucratic capitalism, the comprador bourgeoisie and the semi feudal big rich class that developed based on of semi-feudal semi-colonial society. That effort will never succeed. What is putrescent will rotten furthermore and will be waiting for death.

Why imperialism can't decay feudalism

New democratic revolution is people's democratic revolution led by proletariat. It means, in today's world, national bourgeoisie is unable to lead this revolution. This revolution is related to overthrowing feudalism. As national bourgeoisie is very weak class, it remains mixed with comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, it can't be separated. So, it is unable to overthrow feudalism. When proletariat leads revolutionary struggle, it separates itself from lackey bourgeoisie and join proletarian led front. Proletariat takes national bourgeoisie into front conditionally.

The interrelation between imperialism and feudalism depends upon democratic revolution, revolutionary situation, advance of class struggle and various

aspects of a particular country. Imperialism decays feudalism as much it needs. Decay is inevitable but destruction is not. Because of this decay, feudalism is not used to be seen in classical form. Rather bureaucratic and comprador capitalism and commodity economy is visible. What exists is feudal exploitation system.

Agrarian revolution

Agrarian revolution is the axis of new democratic revolution. Only through carrying agrarian revolution peasant masses can be mobilized i.e. people's war can be carried. Its central point is land to the tiller. Its central point is majority people who are the main force of revolution. This country economy is basically agrarian economy. Landless and poor peasants are 80% of the peasantry and they are more than half of the total population of this country.

In our country land revolution never took place. There are two types of program to overthrow feudalism-----

1. Land lord path
2. Peasant path

The first is reactionary path. In this path mercantile capital, that is, semi feudalism emerges as a result of collaboration of imperialism with feudal. Consequently feudalism is not overthrown totally. Rather, imperialism makes use of this backward system of exploitation.

The second path is peasant path. This path is revolutionary path. In this path, landless and poor peasants under proletarian leadership overthrow feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism. This path overthrows feudalism in revolutionary way. New democracy is the contradiction between these two paths. Feudalism is the basis of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism.

In peasant path, landless and poor peasants seize lands of class enemies. The idea of land distribution in our country is to distribute piece by piece land to every individual landless and poor peasant. So, many critiques have this fear that lands will be divided in many tiny pieces. Actually, according to the real situation and peasants' level of consciousness will determine whether distribution will be piece by piece or collective farm or state owned farm.

Another logic against land distribution is that there is less land and much population in our country. Actually planned tilling in a part of agro land of the country may produce enough for the whole country. This is possible through using domestic natural fertilizers, rivers and canals and technologies.

In order to discard agrarian revolution, the proponents of 'distorted capitalism' raise that logic. Further they say that class enemies don't have enough land, so whom you from can seize land? There are mentionable lands are in the hands of class enemies in actual and false name. Since decades and decades with the help of Thana-police, courts, through extra economic coercion, deception, and various types of feudal & capitalist exploitation process, they have grabbed most of the lands of poor and middle peasants. To rehabilitate those lands is also part of land revolution. The proponents of 'distorted capitalism' theory actually don't understand total revolutionary transformation of lands.

Middle classes

This is clear from our socio economic analysis that here serious class polarization took place. Major part of middle class people demoted to semi proletarian level who are strong ally of proletarian class. The life and livelihood of lower middle class and the middle section of the middle class is gradually declining due to many times increase of price of oil, gas & electricity, fall of share market, burden of extra tax and serious price hike of daily goods. The lower middle class is the closest ally of proletarian class. Middle section is vacillating ally while the higher section is bundled with exploiting class who can be united with the advance of revolutionary struggle conditionally.

The socio economic system of Bangladesh is semi-colonial semi feudal with Bureaucratic capitalism in its center.

Semi feudalism versus peasantry contradiction is the principal contradiction at the present phase of revolution.

Subordinate to the central structure of bureaucratic bourgeoisie, its lower level semi feudal big rich class versus workers-peasants-broad masses contradiction is the principal class contradiction at the phase of

agrarian revolution

Under imperialist global system, the main obstacle of social development of East Bengal is semi feudal semi colonial system, by overthrowing what, new democratic revolution will take place. Among national and democratic aspects of that, today domestic aspect is principal. That is, semi feudal system is main problem.

But as class, this system is sustained by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the class that is representative of imperialism, expansionism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, which have central state, parliament, banks, industries, political parties and armies. That means, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is in political power. But as class, it is not independent but imperialist lackey. So, we have to make revolution by overthrowing this class because the central question of revolution is to seize political power. But overthrow of this class is related with the overthrow of imperialism, expansionism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. But according to law of historical materialism, it is not possible to go to overthrow capitalism and imperialism without overthrowing feudalism before. This is why at the present phase of revolution this is mainly agrarian revolution. The present main task is to overthrow feudal system. But we should keep in mind that as a class, here feudalists are under the central structure of bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and they have been thrown down to the lower level of big bourgeoisie in the course of formation of bureaucratic capitalism. That is why this feudalists serve the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, exploit extra surplus from peasants, keep that surplus in bourgeoisie bank, invest that in business and industries. On the other side, bureaucratic bourgeoisie help them by allocate bank loan and assist them by Thana-police and courts.

Still feudalist characteristics is principal among exploiters in rural areas. Feudalists use to suck extra surplus value through usury, extra economic coercion, deception and corruption. Besides, use of religion is also very strong in rural areas. Impose of restriction over women, polygamy (poly marriage), divorce, dowry system etc are very strong. Exploited and discriminated many of these women again join garment factories by breaking feudal chain, but there

too they are subjected to exploitation of extra surplus value. Not recognition of equal right of women in property is also manifestation of strengthening feudalism. By strengthening madrasha (religious school), legalizing fotwa (giving verdict by the mullah) and making religious study compulsory, government further strengthened feudalism.

Through that bureaucratic bourgeoisie imperialism established its semi colony in Bangladesh. That means, Imperialism allows political independence to Bangladesh, as long as she is submitted to it. But in any time, in any excuse, any of the imperialist forces may occupy our country, make full fledged colony. So, semi colony is basically a colony. This is the concept of comrade Siraj Sikder. So, another aspect of our revolution is national revolution, that is, to overthrow imperialism. In a certain period, when imperialism will directly intervene, then national revolution will be principal. When land revolution takes place, still then secondarily national revolution occurs. On the other side, when national revolution occurs, still then land revolution occurs secondarily.

Semi colony may have colony

Regarding domestic contradiction, in pre 71 period Siraj Sikder mentioned national contradiction of East Bengal people against Pakistani colonial forces, and in post 71 period, he mentioned national contradiction of East Bengal people against Indian expansionism. In 71, through Indian occupation, Indian expansionism became principal contradiction in place of Pakistan. This is a theory of Siraj Sikder that any of the oppressed countries may be principal contradiction for any other oppressed country or for other oppressed nationalities in its own country. That is, semi colony may have colony. To establish this theory, Siraj Sikder had to carry serious struggle against revisionism. As a semi colony the firstly mentioned country is dominated by imperialism, but development of its monopoly capitalism may subordinate other nationalities or other countries. It has been seen in pre revolutionary Russia too.

By being deviated from Comrade Siraj Sikder's theory regarding colony, Anwar Kabir took formulation of neo colony what in 80s was eclecticism from its duel

meaning and in 90s since after third congress is clearly revisionist. The theory regarding neo colony is a Khrushchevite theory what Maoists have rejected.

Climate Change

Imperialism in its greed for super profit has taken this planet on the verge of collapse. The so called capitalist development in Bangladesh has destroyed environment through massive pollution. Dense forest of once upon a time, Bangla is almost deforested now. They have driven the rivers to biological death. Artificially they are giving rise of various illnesses like diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid, cholera, and hepatitis. The colonial and semi-colonial development of Bangladesh has put the masses in the impossibility to face flood and cyclone. The majority of the masses of Bangladesh face the arsenic contamination of drinking water; the cause of this is the non-scientific approach of the use of groundwater. Colonialism and semi-colonialism has pushed a process of blind development of exploitation, destroying the balance of nature as one of the price for it.

Imperialist and capitalist exploitation has created a fundamental contradiction between cities and countryside. By destroying villages, so called development is carried in cities through undisciplined urbanization. As a result people are rushing to cities. Now about one fourth of the population is living in cities whose average income is double than rural people. If the earth is not protected through revolution, its destruction can't be avoided.

International line

After crossing innumerable bends for the worldwide struggle for socialism and communism in twentieth century, when the world has entered in 21st century, the goal of communism has further clarifyingly bloomed, not otherwise.

As soon as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels declared 'Proletarians of all countries Unite!' in 1848, this great ideological struggle started. Then humankind noticed unparallel dedication and great struggles. Paris Commune in 1871, Russian revolution in 1917, Chinese revolution in 1949 and Great Proletarian and

Cultural Revolution during 1966-1976 period were great revolutions led by proletariat in this goal. Then in Peru, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Philippines, Turkey and around the world new uprisings of people's wars are charting the path to the world in that very goal. Communist doctrine developed to Marxism by Marx, to Leninism by Lenin and to Maoism by Mao. Today this doctrine is constantly developing.

There are very important Maoist dictum: imperialism's life-time is 50 to 100 years, revolution is the main tendency, either revolution will prevent war or war will bring revolution. Reality of today's world proves correctness of these statements. As far as US imperialism is trying for single hegemonic dominance worldwide, they are confronting challenge from oppressed nations and people. Each and everyday imperialism is imposing war upon the masses, where as masses are facing that with war. Even the other imperialist powers too, are challenging US's single hegemonic dominance. Imperialism in no way is being able to avoid war and the oppressed masses are making effort for waging revolutionary war. This is the reality.

As proletarian class is an international class, international line is a very important part of line of a communist party. Proletariat of each country is a detachment of international proletariat. What the Chinese revisionists obscured, through that Three World thesis Chairman Mao went ahead to analyze contradictions of contemporary world. On the basis of his thesis, he came forward to establish strategy and tactics of world revolution. Based on that, today's fundamental contradictions are as follows:

1) The contradiction of the oppressed nations, on one side, against the superpower (now only US) and imperialist powers, on the other. The kernel of the contradiction lies in contradiction against superpower. The solution of the contradiction is new democratic revolution.

2) The inter-imperialist contradiction

A. Imperialist superpower US versus imperialist power like Russia, France, Britain and Japan etc.

B. Contradiction among smaller imperialist powers

This contradiction leads towards imperialist world war of plunder for hegemony what the proletariat must

oppose with people's war and finally world people's war.

3) Bourgeoisie versus proletariat contradiction

Solution of this contradiction is socialist revolution and then cultural revolutions.

Today, imperialism versus oppressed nation and people contradiction is principal at world level. Chairman Siraj Sikder by following principle of Mao mentioned and included Soviet social imperialism in imperialist camp. Comrade Gonzallo and PCP also mentioned it in 80s what presently does not exist. As socialist world does not exist now, the contradiction of imperialist world versus socialist world does not exist at this moment. In case of domestic contradiction, Siraj Sikder, in pre 71 period, said that national contradiction against Pakistani colonial force as principal, and he mentioned in post 71 period that through Indian occupation, the national contradiction of East Bengal people against Indian expansionism had become principal. This is comrade Siraj Sikder's a theory that any of the oppressed countries may become principal contradiction for any of the nationalities of the same country or any other oppressed country. That is, semi colony may have colony. To establish this theory, Siraj Sikder had to carry serious struggle against revisionism. As a semi colony the firstly mentioned country is dominated by imperialism, but development of its monopoly capitalism may subordinate other nationalities or other countries. It has been seen in pre revolutionary Russia too.

Imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tiger. Destruction of imperialism by communists is inevitable truth.

There are two currents that operate in the international Communist movement: The international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement. The first leads and the second is the base.

Asia, Africa and Latin America is the storm centre of world revolution.

Mao, demarcated three world by specifying imperialist superpowers as first world, smaller imperialist powers as second world and the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as third world---rural area of

world. By distorting Mao's this analyze, Deng gave class collaborationist revisionist three world theory what is reactionary.

Since birth, Marxism had to carry international struggle against revisionism. It stood up against Proudhon and anarchism, against right-wing deviations of the supposedly creative developments of Dühring, and against the opportunist positions that emerged in the German Social Democratic Party. Lenin had to carry struggle against the old revisionism that unfolded with Bernstein and Kautsky, and also against the idealism of neo Kantism. In succession of Lenin, Stalin waged a 13-year struggle against the deviations of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev that concluded in 1937. It is untruthful to say that things were administratively resolved. Chairman Mao showed that 70% of the legacy of comrade Stalin was positive. The errors committed by Comrade Stalin on dialectics and other questions was errors of a great communist. As Communists today we have the task of making an adequate analysis of World War II, the standing of the International Communist movement, the role of Comrade Stalin, along with the actions of revisionists in France, Italy, etc. Under the leadership of Dimitrov, Fascism was correctly defined as the most reactionary part of monopoly capitalism, but there was weakness in anti Fascist people's front theory put forward by them against fascism, the theory that included anti fascist bourgeoisie in front. The weakness is that there was no guarantee of leadership of communist party and proletarian class in it. As a result, taking that opportunity, bourgeoisie seized leadership from communists in the whole world including Europe and India. In Germany and India, Communist party even failed to discover the existence of communal class contradiction, what made them leave the country for fascists in Germany and bureaucratic bourgeoisie in India. Chairman Mao made its theoretical solution through his theory of new democratic revolution where there is guarantee of proletarian class leadership, there is continuous revolution, where bourgeoisie democratic revolution is part of world proletarian world revolution and continuously that march ahead towards socialist and communist society successively.

Besides tackling internal revisionists of China including Liu Chao Chi and Teng, Chairman Mao lead at international level to confront and defeat

Khrushchevite revisionism. In Marxist movement, Khrushchev raised theory of bourgeoisie parliamentary peaceful path, peaceful transition in place of revolution and peaceful competition with imperialism. After the death chairman Mao, revisionists, after capturing power in China, by distorting chairman Mao's theory regarding three world, put forward a revisionist thesis of class collaboration where it has been said like Khrushchevite revisionism to cooperate with the lackey bourgeoisie of own countries and to unite one imperialism against another. Pro Mao forces internationally tackled it. Anwar Hoxa, by being degenerated in neo Trotsky-ism, carried an all out attack on Mao Tsetung Thought what Maoists had to internationally confront. In our country, Zia uddin tried to divide Proletarian party of East Bengal on the basis of Hoxaite revisionism. Outside PBSP there was another Hoxaite--Abdul Huq. In the crisis situation after the revisionist transformation of China in post Mao's death period, pro Mao forces tried to unite again. In this case, most important is the formulation of Maoism by Communist party of Peru. Despite emergence of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 84 was an important step forward for a new communist international, parties of RIM including Anwar kabir led PBSP did not accept advance doctrine of PCP and continued to be confined in Mao Thought formulation. As a result of long struggle of PCP in RIM to establish Maoism, and development of People's war in Peru, in 1992, RIM adopted Maoism. But since formation, many parties had to struggle against hegemony of Avakian in RIM, especially in its committee. After people's war was initiated in Nepal, through RIM Committee, effort was made to influence on it with Avakianism. Even after eighty percent of area of Nepal was captured by Communist party of Nepal (Maoist), it got revisionist led by Prachanda. Avakian already presented its anti Marxist doctrine. Both Avakian and Prachanda by abandoning Marxism, created Avakianism and Prachandism. By capturing the leadership of RIM Committee, they led liquidation of RIM. Avakianists and Prachandists started opposing Maoist principles from within communist rank. All of them have centralized their criticism over 'Thought'. Through that they intended to say that revolution is not the main tendency, condition is not matured for revolution and imperialism may avoid war. As those principles were originated from Mao Tsetung Thought and these were reestablished internationally

by Gonzallo, therefore, criticism has been centralized upon Gonzallo Thought internationally. In our country, this criticism has been initiated on Siraj Sikder Thought, the teaching of revolution in this country.

Inside the rank, this criticism is being waged in two ways— 1) criticism on Marxist philosophy 2) criticism on Scientific socialism. In the first way they are labeling the belief that originates from firm confidence on Marxist philosophy by naming it as political truth. They are trying to discover a non-political truth. So, they are not on the side of having confidence over theory of Great Leadership as it is a political truth. Through that actually doubt is created to the great goal of communism. In second way, criticism has been started on scientific socialism in the name of democracy of the 21st century. Through criticism over proletarian leadership and proletarian dictatorship they have made complexity like the previous one.

When the advocates of Maoism namely Siraj Sikder, Charu Mojumder, Gonzallo and Ibrahim Kaypakkaya had accepted Mao Thought they had no confusion on this question of thought. All of them tried to make their decades the decades of liberation. They got significant success too, upon what we are based. In Bangladesh, in the post Siraj Sikder-death period, a large section of Maoists had taken up revisionist positions like Hoxa-ism and Teng-ism by rejecting Mao Thought and Siraj Sikder thought. Many of those who, at that time, defended PBSP by holding Siraj Sikder thought, fell in confusion of path since 90s.

1) They were streamed in the trend of rejection of path, position and thought. 2) Actually they rejected armed struggle or made it lifeless. These people should re-understand Mao Tsetung Thought (what they said more than two decades) before they say themselves Maoist. They should accept Maoism in its very essence.

The aim of old type of democratic revolution of 21st century that has been put forward by Prachandists is seriously wrong. At the same time, seriously rejected long ago old parliamentarism has been brought forward. Under the flag of pacifism, these conceptions has been brought in the model of politics of class collaboration.

The question is, which class democracy? Against which classes?

By shadowing class question, actually dictatorship of proletariat is rejected. The root of this lie in deviation in ideological question. The positive experiences of socialist system is being negated. By showing globalization i.e., analysis of unipolar imperialist world system, opposite pole-contradiction among the imperialists, inevitability of war and revolution is being tried to conceal. The role of Great Leadership is being tried to disgrace. Recommendation has being made not to be firm in fundamental principles of MLM.

Against all these, we like to firmly speak out that our only goal in the 21st century is communism. Imperialism is decaying and moribund. It is inevitably bringing war and revolution. We are obedient to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Thought and will remain so.

When Avakian see Socialism's collapse, when Prachanda declare failure of socialism, at that time, by being obedient to almighty theory of Marxism, we, world communists see death-ache of not socialism but of moribund capitalism. So, we say, socialism hasn't failed, rather it denied to adapt itself with imperialist world system.

As an outcome of Effort to negate Marxism by Avakian and Prachanda since long days, their degeneration course has been completed. Those negations have been notable in line of Anwar Kabir, Sultan and Motin in our country too. The main aim of that is to make doubt over Marxism, make doubt over Great Leadership, make doubt over people's war and make doubt over great goal of communism. They have converged their voice with the old bourgeoisie opponents of Marxism. On the other side, influence of pragmatism is notable among some others. That means, they presume temporary strength as superior to line. Here seriousness is not ideological, but of relative numbers. Ideology is not measure here. If ideology is measure, despite less in number it is solid. If number is less, organization is weak, that is no problem. We should have patience. But what we have to ensure is that whatever develops should do so ideologically. Many of those who think temporary strength as superior were follower of Deng. It is not unusual to have influence of that still. CCOMPOSA failed to advance due to this vulgar pragmatic outlook,

failed to develop ideologically Base Area in South Asia, rather it liquidated itself by uniting with revisionists. Definitely we do not want Indian Expansionist Base Area, but we want Red Base Area of proletarian class. In that case, the first question is whether we will possess proletarian class outlook or Bourgeoisie class outlook.

The recent opportunist position of CCOMPOSA should be viewed from here. CCOMPOSA has made shameful compromise with remnants of Prachandism. In Europe and America, a bunch of opportunist parties have been seen hoisting Prachandist flag. Now when they are exposed with the flag of remnants of Prachandism, they are trying to hide themselves under the cover of people's war of India. PCM Italy is the leader of those centrist opportunists. With centrist and opportunist basis, PCM Italy called for establishing a new RIM and it is trying for that. Genuine Maoist forces of our country have struggled against centrism and opportunism of PCM Italy. Other MLM forces of the world also carried the same struggle. And that made the path of unification of international MLM forces.

The statement of 26 December 2011 produced by 9 MLM parties of Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, France, Spain, Arabia and Bangladesh against centrism and opportunism, and the May Day 2012 statement of communist parties of Panama, Colombia, France, Belgium, Spain along with our party from Bangladesh very strongly exposed and struggled centrism and opportunism. We hope this achieved unity will advance forward to forge a genuine Maoist international.

The unity of communist forces of all countries is inevitable!

Proletarians and oppressed nations, unite!

Military Line

Great Karl Marx and Frederick Engels first put forward idea of proletarian armed revolution. When they were alive, proletarian class first seized power in Paris Commune from where Marxist concept of proletarian dictatorship developed. Lenin had to build armed force within three months before revolution. After October Revolution, for long four years, they had to carry

armed struggle. Based on that experience comrade Mao in the concrete condition of China carried protracted people's war for twenty four years and in 1949 Chinese Revolution won its victory. Only through Chairman Mao, the class proletariat could develop a comprehensive military line, said Peruvian comrade Gonzallo. Gonzallo said that people's war is universal. That means, people's war is not only applicable in oppressed countries but also in imperialist countries. In countries like ours, besides people's war in rural areas, it will complimentarily take place in cities too. Although base area will not develop in cities like rural areas, but armed resistance movement will develop here. Experience of Peru, Europe & different countries and during the time of Siraj Sikder in Bangladesh armed activities in cities including armed general strike proves this theory correct. Military line is the centre of political line.

Comrade Siraj Sikder, by applying Maoism in East Bengal, established a military line. He realized that proletariat must have a military line and it is people's war. Proletarian party of East Bengal in his leadership achieved numerous valuable experience in military field, developed ideas what party led by him stated:

"Without people's army people have nothing", "Political power grows out of barrel of the gun", "Armed struggle is the highest form of revolution" "Development, consolidation and Bolshevikization of party can only be possible through armed struggle", "Armed force is the principal form of mass organization under party", ... "Only through guerrilla war, people can be aroused, organized and at the same time, people's strength can be applied against enemy."

The source of his military line is his political line what came from his ideological line. As he took Mao Tsetung Thought as ideology, always emphasized on ideological reconstruction. The East Bengal communist party and the Huq-Toha company was not firm on the question of Mao Thought i.e ideological question, so they followed Gueverist military line. Because of taking Maoist people's war line ideologically, comrade Siraj Sikder could be able to develop base area twice and countrywide strong armed struggle. Under his leadership party could develop a regular armed force. Later what chairman Gonzallo emphasized, effort of forming armed sea of masses---militia was there, so in military line, this people's war could gain broad mass support. Gonzallo

emphasized upon militarization of party before developing people's war. PBSP was militarized since beginning.

PBSP initiated armed struggle through sabotage bomb action on imperialist and Pakistani colonial establishments. Later, influenced by comrade Charu Majumder's "line of annihilation", PBSP also carried national enemy annihilation campaign, but as relatively "selected".

Critiques raise question on class enemy annihilation. Comrade Charu Majumder envisioned line of class enemy annihilation as a way to smash political and military authority of class enemies. To him it was war. Communists never liked to carry physical assassination nor do now. In course of war, class enemies itself carry its destruction.

Charu Majumder wanted to release the initiative of peasant masses.

Of course, revolutionaries will not build revolutionary war anywhere now by carrying class annihilation campaign as before. This is because, by the change of time, through shedding own blood, revolutionaries learned how to carry war more consolidated way, through less bloodshed than before and more controlled way. Chairman Siraj Sikder, in the context of Bangladesh, creatively carried war in more controlled way and he said to minimize number of annihilation. Later on, Peru People's war led by Comrade Gonzallo more clearly manifested the comprehensiveness of people's war and how to smash political and military authority of class enemy in course of war. Experience of Peru showed that annihilation is a military action in the midst of war, and of course it should be 'selected'. An important characteristic of military line of comrade Siraj Sikder was commando attack which is an important line of guerrilla war. He, by reviewing and analyzing geographical terrain of Bangladesh took rainy season as strategically important. He made military plan of Rainy seasonal strategic attack what is very important from the viewpoint of Maoist military science. To discover different geographic and socio economic characteristics of a country and making strategic and tactical plan accordingly is indispensable to develop Maoist people's war. Chairman first thought hilly and forested areas as most important to build guerrilla base. Accordingly PBSP could build liberated

area in Payarabagan in 71 and in Chittagong hill tract in 72-75 which comrade Siraj Sikder later said "natural base". According to his latest summation, the problem of building base area in East Bengal is building base area in plane land. It is a general problem. On the other side, party continued to give priority to remote areas like hill, forest and river delta.

Post comrade Siraj Sikder leadership in 80s was guided by eclecticism. Under Anwar Kabir's leadership, Siraj Sikder line and his (AK) own line was mixed up what shifted to the line of party in village, mass organization in cities from the Siraj Sikder line of rural based but also armed activities in cities to seize central political power. When comrade Siraj Sikder said that economy of East Bengal is equally developed countrywide, he meant domination of bureaucratic capitalism by that. So, he tried to coordinate cities with rural areas, and said about mass organization as part of and creation of party. Today, those have been totally clear through chairman Gonzallo and PCP what was not defined that much before. After the martyrdom of chairman Siraj Sikder, US lackey bureaucratic bourgeoisie overthrew Sheikh Mujiv and captured power. Led by Anwar Kabir party took the evaluation that imperialism was principal contradiction. By shifting from theory regarding colony, they took the revisionist deviated line regarding neo colony. As a consequence of deviation of political line and ideological deviation of own reformist annihilation line, military line became an armed reformist line, what ended up in 90s in total destruction of party through abandoning Siraj Sikder line totally.

They claim that they have accepted guerrilla war line of Siraj Sikder line as their line. What is this notion? They do not take up Maoism from Great Siraj Sikder as the main ideology. Consequently, what was people's war to Siraj Sikder, have been guerrilla war to them. They have deviated from Maoism in this way. They don't think agrarian revolution as the axis of new democratic revolution. They presume war as the axis. So, they don't form people's power organization---the people's committees, so, naturally they degenerates in militarism, became burden for people and fall in bureaucracy.

After the death of chairman Siraj Sikder, Anwar Kabir, by being deviated from Siraj Sikder's line of base

area, took so called concentrate area line. By taking annihilation as a stage, three staged armed reformist line was taken what's first stage was annihilation stage, second stage was stage of mass struggle, and the third stage was guerrilla war stage. By being deviated from Siraj Sikder's countrywide people's war line, they took the line: to forge party in villages in some regions and mass organization in cities. In nineties, they, by completely abandoning Siraj Sikder line, lead party towards destruction. They, by carrying some roving rebel activities, went ahead towards liquidation.

The experience of building armed struggle by Proletarian party of East Bengal under the leadership of Siraj Sikder is our guide to build people's war. We can say on the basis of Siraj Sikder Thought:

We should to go to villages and inspire poor peasants in agrarian revolutionary war. By taking it as axis, we should forge armed forces mainly from poor peasants. Armed force will be first irregular. Then regular force should be forged from irregular force. Besides regular force, armed sea of masses---the militia should be built what will be basis of base area. There is three stages of people's war: strategic defense, strategic equilibrium and strategic attack. First, war will be mainly guerrilla war. Then it will develop into mobile war and positional war. In course of war, we should build base area in rural areas. Base area is strategic area what has been liberated from enemy, where people's power has been established in the form of people's committees. These base areas are developed through repeated restoration and counter restoration. This has been seen from the experience of Peru people's war that course of war is struggle between restoration and counter restoration.

Our war is people's war. Only by relying upon people and by mobilizing people can this war be waged. Armed force should be forged from root level. That means, first it is not possible to build regular force. Because of history of people's war in Bangladesh, in different parts of the country, there is supporter masses of it. Apart from that, peasantry is always ready for struggle. By applying agrarian revolutionary program, it is possible to create mass upsurge in any part of the country. So, this hundred and thousand active masses are the basis of army. From them, rapidly armed unit of militia character develop here.

From that, successively irregular squad and regular guerrilla unit should be developed what will develop to platoon, company, battalion ... etc.. This army should abide by the principal that party commands the gun. It should abide by The Eight Points for Attention:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

Two types of errors in army building:

1. Artificially building at the beginning a regular unit which does not evolve from masses and does not carry forward program for basic masses. In this trend, armed force does not develop in the course of class struggle. This is a roving guerrilla-ist force.
2. Being confined in irregular guerrilla force. Even if irregular armed unit evolves from masses, no effort is made to form regular armed unit from that. This army also ends in being roving mercenaries.

Program

Basic principles

1. To grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guiding doctrine. Especially to grasp principle of Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution what is to carry great two lines struggle amidst great class struggle, and to carry great ideological reconstruction amidst great two lines struggle.
2. Contradiction as the only fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter; the masses make history and "it is right to rebel";
3. Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;
4. To grasp two lines struggle as the principled basis of Maoist party. To grasp it as the internal driving force

of party development.

5. To develop a new type of party, that is, based on unity of opposites, that is, party based on two lines struggle what is able to initiate and develop people's war, able to unite peasants, middle class and national bourgeoisie in country like ours, is able to create massive network of legal work in connection with illegal center,

6. To build a new type of Army that will not be burden to the people, rather will be connected with production.

7. To grasp the three magic weapons: Party, Army & Front. To develop those interconnected way.

8. To uphold the dictum that not weapons but peoples are decisive in people's war.

9. People's political power, that is, people's power is fundamental in our ideology.

10. To rely upon the masses, mainly upon workers, landless & poor peasants. That is, to rely upon basic classes.

11. To uphold the sacrifice of personal interest for the sake of people.

General program for Democratic Revolution

1. To establish New Democratic People's Republic by overthrowing imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism & feudalism through building united front of worker-peasant-middle class-national bourgeoisie based on workers-peasants basic alliance under the leadership of proletariat, that is, to make new democratic revolution, to relentlessly march ahead towards socialism & communism and give rise of cultural revolutions in that goal.

2. Demolition of the Bangladesh reactionary State, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie, and of the armed forces and forces of repression that sustain it and of all its his bureaucratic apparatus.

3. To sweep away all imperialist oppression and exploitation, mainly US, all expansionist oppression and exploitation, mainly India. In general to confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property including the external debt.
4. To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, private as well as state owned; to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit of new state, as well as those belonging to imperialism.
5. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and everything subsisting on it, in the countryside as well as in the city.
6. Respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie, or middle bourgeoisie, in the country as well as in the city.
7. To grasp agrarian revolution as the axis of new democratic revolution. So, to grasp land revolution and the principle of 'land to the tiller'. On the basis of that, to confiscate land of bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class and distribute it to landless and poor peasants. To protect the interest of middle peasants and conditionally unite rich peasants.
8. To grasp people's war as the central task. To grasp rural based protracted people's war as the path to seize political power of Bangladesh.
9. To complete the formation of the Bangladeshi nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, providing self determination to all minority nationalities and safeguarding the rights of the adivasi Jan Jati.
10. Revolution of each country is part of world proletarian revolution. Proletariat of each country is indispensable part of world proletariat. Therefore, we have to firmly hold high internationalism. We have to support Revolutionary initiatives that unify world proletariat, participate in it and carry it forward in order to make world revolution & build a new type of communist international.
11. To defend the freedoms, rights, benefits, and conquests that the working class and the masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing them and guaranteeing their authentic enforcement in a "Declaration of the Rights of the People". To recognize, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its widest sense, of believing as not to believe. Also to combat all arrangements harmful to the people's interest, especially any form of unpaid work or personal burden and the overwhelming taxes imposed on the masses.
12. Real equality for men and women in land, properties, work, family and all spheres of society; a better future for the youth; protection for the mothers and the children; respect and support for the elderly.
13. To develop a new culture that serves the broad masses and is guided by the ideology of the proletariat.
14. To support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples of the world; fighting against the only superpower, the United States and all the imperialist forces including Russia, Europe and Japan, Indian expansionism and all other expansionism including Saudi Arabia and China, as well as international all forms of revisionism. ■

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