

Siraj Sikder Works

On some slogans



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1

Correct politics is the life of party. It expresses itself through political strategy and tactics. Strategy and tactics are raised to people through slogans and on that basis people are united and directed to struggle.

There are two types of slogans—strategic and tactical. Strategic slogans are reflections of a strategy. Tactical slogans are reflections of a tactics. Strategy is the solution of a basic contradiction while tactics is the solution of a stage of contradiction. Strategy remains unchanged throughout the whole period of the solution of a basic contradiction. So it is long-term. On the other hand, tactics is more changeable because the process of development of a contradiction passes through many stages until final solution and tactics changes accordingly as it is composed according to stages.

2

The Proletariat as a class is minority at the present East Bengal society and even it will remain so till certain stage in socialist society too. In that situation, how will the proletariat lead the whole masses of the country? *“First, by putting forward basic political slogans (Strategic—Writer) that accord with the course of historic development and by putting forward slogans of action (Tactical—Writer) for each stage of development and each major turn of events in order to translate these political slogans into reality.”* [1] So, in order to lead the whole masses of the East Bengal society, the East Bengal proletariat has to make political strategy and tactics corresponding to the historic development of East Bengal on the one hand, and strategic and tactical slogans as reflection of the respective strategy and tactics on the other, and they have to implement those as well.

In this context, they must study and analyze whether or not the slogans raised by the different forms of revisionists of East Bengal properly reflect East Bengal society and its development.

The People’s Democratic East Bengal

This slogan is correct with respect to the analysis made by the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-Tung Thought follower proletarian revolutionaries. It corresponds to the historic development of East Bengal society. This is solution of two contradictions, one, East Bengal people’s national contradiction with foreign exploiters; the other is feudalism versus peasantry contradiction. First one will be resolved through national revolution, while the later through democratic revolution. Among the two aspects of people’s democratic revolution – national revolution and democratic revolution – the principal aspect is the national one because East Bengal is a colony, the whole nation is oppressed under colonial exploitation and rule and they want its end. The solution of this national revolution is to establish independent sovereign East Bengal and this is possible through national liberation war.

The Peasantry versus feudalism contradiction is resolved through democratic revolution i.e. overthrow of feudalism and distribution of lands to the peasants. Feudalism versus peasantry contradiction is secondary. For this reason, we have to destroy those feudal forces that are enemy of national revolution and oppose it.

Our strategy is to resolve the national contradiction, to establish independent sovereign East Bengal by overthrowing Pakistan's colonial ruling regime, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism via national revolution and end all sorts of national oppression; to overthrow feudalism via democratic revolution and distribute land to the tiller.

Our tactical line is to destroy the anti-national independence feudal forces.

What the Huq-Toha neo-revisionist clique raises as the analysis of the slogan of people's democratic East Bengal does not correspond to this slogan. Consequently, clearly it manifests that they are using this slogan to deceive the proletarian revolutionary masses and is working as the running dog of international bourgeoisie (imperialism, social imperialism) and its lackey bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalists.

The Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, other than taking the national contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistan's colonial military ruling regime as the principal contradiction and its solution as the correct political line of national liberation war, have taken peasantry versus East Bengal zamindars (Zamindars are the big feudal landlords—Sarbahara Path) contradiction as the principal contradiction and its solution as the line of agrarian revolution. The agrarian revolution is a civil war of the peasantry against the feudal zamindar class of East Bengal. This is a class struggle. In this way, by saying internal class struggle, civil war, agrarian revolution, they are making futile attempt to keep East Bengal far away from national liberation struggle, the struggle to establish independent democratic East Bengal by separating it from Pakistan. In this way, they are constantly working to sustain the lackeys of international bourgeoisie and reactionaries.

If the peasantry versus feudalism contradiction is principal, it is truer for West Pakistan. In that case, the program for the advocates of "feudalism principal contradiction" should have been Pakistan-based peasants' civil war against feudalism. If feudalism versus peasantry contradiction is principal, then on the eve of that's solution—the class war, the question of national cessation is secondary, and by carrying that secondary struggle, inflicting losses to principal class struggle and class war does not correspond to Marxism. That is bourgeois tactics. This is why the Marxist-Leninists of India are not fighting for national separation of any particular nationality. By giving promise of solution of secondary national contradictions, i.e. right of self-determination, i.e. end of all national oppression, they are heroically carrying class struggle, the internal civil war.

Huq-Toha neo-revisionists are saying feudalism versus peasantry contradiction as principal contradiction, its solution agrarian war and civil war, and at the same time, they are saying people's democratic East Bengal, that means, to separate East Bengal from Pakistan at certain

stage of people's democratic revolution. It proves that their slogan is betraying with their political analysis. These two are contradictory to each other.

Marxists always oppose unification based on national exploitation and suppression. On the other hand, they welcome equality based unification free from exploitation-oppression, what is helpful to development of production, social progress and anti-imperialism. For this reason, if feudalism is principal contradiction, then comes Pakistan based revolution, formation of People's Democratic Pakistan on the basis of providing right of self-determination to every nationalities of Pakistan. By saying feudalism versus peasantry contradiction principal, taking anything other than the above mentioned program is against Marxism and manifestation of bourgeoisie nationalism. So, it is wrong to say People's Democratic East Bengal by saying feudalism versus peasantry contradiction principal. "People's Democratic Pakistan" will match to that analysis.

Why Huq-Toha neo-revisionists are raising the slogan of people's democratic East Bengal? Because they are making vile attempt to entrap patriotic revolutionaries in the saying of independent East Bengal so that they can kill the consciousness of revolutionaries and make them their puppet and at last transform them to slave of neo-revisionism.

Huq-Toha neo-revisionists say of independence. Independence from whom? According to their analysis, feudalism is the main enemy. So, independence is from feudalism, that is, the East Bengal zamindars have kept East Bengal under foreign domination. This ridiculous logic, even a school boy will not accept. It proves that they lost their sense by continuous treachery.

Sometimes, they say, they want independence from imperialism. Imperialism is exploiting East Bengal and West Pakistan as well. Every proletarian wants emancipation from imperialism and wants the end of imperialist exploitation. But why to separate East Bengal from Pakistan by freeing it from imperialism i.e. by ending imperialist exploitation? Why not establishing independent Pakistan but independent East Bengal? Isn't it bourgeoisie nationalism?

Huq-Toha, Deben-Motin, Kaji-Rono and Co., as answer to these questions, raise geographic distance, that is, external reason (East Bengal is 12 hundred miles away from West Pakistan). In modern scientific era, the transportation problem due to external reason of geographic distance can be solved. On the other side, to reach some domestic regions of East Bengal like North Bengal and Khulna etc. need more than twelve hours. Despite geographically these regions are of much less distant than West Pakistan, are much problematic for transport. If we proceed along the logic of Huq-Toha and Co. all the remote regions of East Bengal including those should be independent. This is not a thought of modern scientific era, rather reflection of medieval thought when different regions would separate due to lack of transport.

Dialectical materialism teaches us "*The fundamental cause of development of a thing is not external but internal. It lies in the contradictoriness within the thing*". It further teaches us,

“Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society”. That means, the basic reason why independent democratic East Bengal is the end result of social development of East Bengal lies inside the society of East Bengal. This is dialectical materialist. Along with other revisionists, the Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, by saying external that is, geographic distance as the basic reason behind the result of social development of East Bengal, the independent democratic East Bengal, have expressed their own metaphysical world outlook. Chairman Mao said about them, *“They (the Metaphysicians—Writer) ascribe the causes of social development to factors external to society, such as geography and climate (geographic distance is one of those)”*. He further added about them, *“...it (metaphysical world outlook--writer) was supported by the decadent feudal ruling classes for a long time, are supported by the bourgeoisie.”* That means, this reactionary counterrevolutionary world outlook is helping international bourgeoisie, its lackeys, domestic bourgeoisie and feudal zamindars. The Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, in the name of peasantry versus feudalism contradiction as principal, its solution as class war, civil war etc struggle, are opposing national liberation war of East Bengal and struggle for national separation, and they have engaged in resisting separation of East Bengal which is the main problem of the Pakistani colonial regime. They are working as the rapid force of Pakistani colonial ruling regime. Disguised with revolutionary slogan, they are working as the propaganda machine of reaction. This is why their journals and books are getting government favor to be openly published in the market.

So, they are doing exactly what even the Pakistan colonial government is unable to do. They are deceiving the East Bengal revolutionary people by disguising themselves as friend. In, this way, they are working as the running dog of colonial ruling regime of Pakistan whose class basis is bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism.

They, by not opposing colonial rule and oppression over East Bengal, are pushing the East Bengal people behind the Six Point bourgeoisie.

Even a few days ago, the Huq-Toha neo-revisionists have denied the necessity to find out principal contradiction on determining political line of the proletariat, and said that all the contradictions are one and inseparable. Huq wrote in his booklet *“East Bengal semi-colonial semi-feudal”* (58 pages), *“this three forces (feudalism, imperialism and monopoly capitalism) are one and inseparable force...Today the main and basic opposition of our country is people versus expression of these three forces”*. He further added, *“To judge the inseparable entity of the three forces separately means willingly or unwillingly serve them, work for their interest.”*

It is plain metaphysics and idealism and against dialectical materialism, what helps international bourgeoisie, domestic bourgeoisie and feudalists. Dialectical materialism teaches us – matter exists independent of our consciousness. Matter is primary while consciousness is the reflection of matter in our brain through five perceptual organs. Consciousness is created from matter and is secondary. It further teaches us, matter is

dynamic and this dynamism has its own law. If there are many contradictions in process of development of a matter, in that case, each contradiction has separate existence, they have mutual relations too and matter develops periodically through solution of principal contradiction. This is the reflection of the law of development of matter that has been included in the law of dialectical materialism and principal contradiction.

Huq, by not reflecting the law of development of matter, has directed it from his head. In this way, he is giving consciousness as primary role and matter the subordinate role. This is clear idealism. In this way, they are defending enemies by stopping people from separating and smashing enemies one by one. On the eve of the Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution, Liu Chao Chi, Tao Chu etc revisionist counter-revolutionaries tried to defend a handful of revisionists by confusing proletarian revolutionaries with the slogan “attack all the cadres”. This is a very old tactics.

At a certain period of time, they used to say People’s Democratic East Pakistan. All on a sudden, they started to say the peasantry versus feudalism contradiction as principal and People’s Democratic East Bengal.

Have they become dialectical materialist by saying principal contradiction and people’s democratic East Bengal? No. In the past, their idealism and metaphysics was open and vulgar, so that was easily caught. But at present it became more secret and sophisticated. What is the new situation that made changes in tactics of Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, and made their trick more sophisticated and secret?

That is the victory of Marxist-Leninists in Indian revolution led by Charu Majumder, Kanu Sanyal etc, the defeat of Nagi-reddy, Jyoti-Nambudripad and that’s influence over the East Bengal proletarian revolutionaries and the intensification in national spirit of East Bengal.

First Huq-Toha neo-revisionists opposed Naxalbari peasant upsurge and termed it as conspiracy of CIA (as Jyoti-Nambudripad termed it). After the defeat of Jyoti-Nambudripad, they overnight changed their position and supported Nagi-Reddy as true Naxalite. But as actual neo-revisionist character of Nagi-Reddy was exposed, they, to defend themselves and to deceive people, disguised themselves as Naxalite. They, by abandoning concrete analysis of concrete condition – that is the living soul of Marxism-Leninism – took the program prepared by the Indian Marxist-Leninists for the concrete condition of India, that is, peasantry versus feudalism contradiction and its solution agrarian revolution. Secretly they left People’s Democratic East Pakistan and took People’s Democratic East Bengal.

In the past, by saying three enemies one and inseparable, they stopped people from smashing enemies one by one. At present they are making last effort to save the main enemy-the Pakistan colonial ruling regime by saying to attack secondary enemy feudalism by terming it as the main enemy.

The Independent People's Democratic East Bengal

This slogan of the Trotskyite Guevarist Deben-Motin clique proves that they don't understand the meaning of people's democracy and even they don't have any knowledge regarding relation between independence and people's democracy. Theoretically they are foolish, so their excuse is vulgar and open compared to neo-revisionists.

In the past, they classified Jotedars and Mahajans [Jotedars are the smaller feudal landlords and Mahajans are the feudal usurers—Sarbahara Path] as rich peasants other than feudal, denied feudal exploitation of government rent and tax, said Pakistani colonial ruling regime's exploitation over East Bengal as exploitation by the national bourgeoisie, and showed East Bengal society a capitalist society by lessening imperialist exploitation. [2] To prove their subjective analysis, they filled books after books with the rubbishes enough to disturb people.

Like the past time, at present too, they mixed up everything and proved themselves ridiculous and also the fact that they don't know a b c of Marxism.

The People's democracy is the new democracy that means, in feudal or semi-feudal, colonial or semi-colonial society, to create the condition of capitalist development by overthrowing the obstacle of bourgeoisie development – competition of foreign bourgeoisie and obstacle of domestic feudalism – led by the working class. This is the bourgeoisie democratic revolution led by the proletariat. If we term this revolution as contradiction, it has two aspects. One is national revolution, the other is democratic revolution. The aim of national revolution is to free East Bengal by overthrowing foreign bourgeoisie, while the aim of democratic revolution is to overthrow feudalism.

So, the question of independence and democracy lies in the very people's democratic revolution. To add the term independence before people's democratic East Bengal shows theoretical ignorance.

Among the two aspects of people's democratic i.e. new democratic revolution – national revolution and democratic revolution – in the course of social development, sometimes national revolution is principal, while sometimes democratic revolution is principal.

In China, from 1924 to 1936, democratic revolution was principal aspect, from 1936 to 1946, national revolution was principal and from 1946 to 1949 again democratic revolution was principal aspect. At the stage of social development of India, the principal aspect of people's democratic revolution is democratic revolution, i.e. peasantry versus feudalism contradiction is principal. On the other hand, Indian people versus imperialism, social imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism contradiction became secondary.

The Motin-Deben & Co. who was borne from the womb of neo-revisionists, maintained neo-revisionist's idealist metaphysical world outlook. They manifested their idealist metaphysical world outlook by saying East Bengal based revolution, feudalism versus peasantry contradiction as principal contradiction, and independent people's democratic East Bengal. Although they have some difference with neo-revisionists, but that is actually of theoretical bankruptcy, not fundamental. They are the birds of the same feather, though having some difference in color. The neo-revisionists are very much clever, are very much efficient in disguising themselves, and their revisionism is very much consolidated. On the other side, the Deben-Motin & Co.'s excuse is open, vulgar and manifestation of theoretical stupidity.

The Long live Proletariat

Deben-Motin and Co. raised this slogan. This slogan again proves their Trotskyite-Guevarist character.

The contradiction proletariat versus bourgeoisie will finally be resolved through carrying and finishing socialist revolution and realizing communism.

At present, as a class, proletariat is minority and will continue to remain so even till a certain stage of socialist society. In this situation, it has to achieve final emancipation by liberating whole people step by step. In other words, "*Proletarians will not be able to free itself without freeing the whole mankind.*"

When East Bengal society still has not crossed the bourgeoisie democratic stage, they, by saying the long live proletariat slogan, have expressed their old Trotskyite-Guevarist theory of completing bourgeoisie democratic and socialist revolution at a single stroke.

This is totally plain Trotsky-ism and Guevarism. We can start socialist revolution only after completing bourgeoisie democratic revolution; we can arrive at second floor (socialism) only after crossing first floor (people's democracy). By raising the "*Long Live Proletariat*" slogan of socialist revolution during the time of bourgeoisie democratic revolution, they have expressed their Trotskyite-Guevarist character.

Though left in form, this slogan is right in essence. Because, at the present stage of bourgeoisie democratic revolution, by saying of overthrow of the bourgeoisie and their private property, it opposes those masses of people who want to be owner of land through democratic revolution and want to develop national capital by overthrowing foreign capital, and isolate revolutionaries from people, bring defeat for revolution and push masses behind the big bourgeoisie.

The Long Live Revolutionary

This slogan has been raised by the traitor-conspirator Kazi-Rono clique. It is difficult to understand which social contradiction or stage of contradiction they want to resolve by this slogan. This is a splittist slogan which isolate revolutionaries from broad masses and in final analysis, bring their destruction.

The Joy Bangla

Or

The Joy Purbo Bangla?

[Joy means victory and Purbo means East—Sarbahara Path]

At the present social stage, the Joy Bangla slogan is heard in voice of the broad masses. This is a popular slogan.

By Joy Bangla slogan, 6-points Awami League fantasize of greater Bengal i.e. winning greater Bengal by unifying West Bengal with East Bengal. This fantasy will never realize. It is only an illusive imagination.

While chanting this slogan, the general people of East Bengal seek oppressed and suppressed people's victory over exploiters and dream of freedom and democracy.

We, by supporting the struggle of the East Bengal people, lead it and guide it till the end. But we firmly oppose the fantasy of greater Bengal, and also oppose Indian expansionist infiltration in independent East Bengal.

On the other side, along with the broad masses, we support the East Bengal people's national victory and independence, at the same time, right to raise their heads among the nations of world with full of pride. We support common people's national sentiment and patriotism, but we oppose that to be used to meet the interest of bourgeoisie.

So, we can raise the slogan "Joy Purbo Bangla". This matches with the present social development of East Bengal. Clearly it opposes the fantasy of greater Bangla and infiltration of Indian expansionism and expresses East Bengal people's national spirit, patriotism and victory. This is why this slogan ends any type of hesitation. This is the solution of the question of national liberation of East Bengal and solution of national contradiction. It matches with our politics. So, this is correct.

Establish Independent, Democratic, Peaceful, Non-aligned, Progressive Republic of East Bengal!

This slogan completely matches with the present stage of historic development of East Bengal society and this is the program of the present stage of bourgeoisie democratic revolution. This is why it is correct.

Among the two aspects of bourgeoisie democratic revolution, at the present stage of social development of East Bengal, the principal one is national revolution, that is, to free East Bengal by separating and liberating her from Pakistan through armed struggle. The secondary aspect is to overthrow feudalism; at the present stage, to overthrow those feudalists who are against national liberation.

As the question of national revolution is principal, along with the bourgeoisie, the whole nation of East Bengal will support national liberation movement of East Bengal and will take part in it. So, to make their participation easier, the slogan of Democratic Republic of East Bengal has been raised.

This Republic will be established by totally separating East Bengal from Pakistan and ending the exploitation of imperialist bourgeoisie (US and other imperialism and Soviet social imperialism), Bengali bourgeoisie and feudal regime.

The Republic will materialize the great program of the East Bengal Workers Movement, will free the obstacle of bourgeoisie development of East Bengal, finish bourgeoisie democratic revolution and will create the preparation for sure going ahead through the path of socialist revolution.

Therefore, this is correct slogan at the present stage of social development of East Bengal. □

Notes

1. Mao, Selected Works, Vol-I, P-274
2. See the book “The Character of National Economy is Capitalist” written by Motin and Co. ■