

Siraj Sikder Works

Report delivered to the First National Congress of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal



Siraj Sikder

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Comrades,

The first national congress of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal will be considered as an important event in the history of the revolution of East Bengal and the proletarian party of East Bengal. The first congress of the proletarian party of East Bengal is being held at a time when serious change of the society of East Bengal has been made, cadres of the proletarian party of East Bengal have created epic of dedication and bravery and achieved valuable experience in exchange of blood.

For this reason, this congress is very much timely.

Historic process of establishing Proletarian Party of East Bengal

Since after the emergence of class society, the oppressed classes repeatedly rebelled against the exploitation and oppression. Their, those very rebellion and struggle had carried the society ahead.

Since after Mir Jafar, out of greed, had invited British bandits and handed over Bengal and India to them, people of this country, repeatedly rebelled against foreign exploitation and plunder. Those rebellions could not succeed due to lack of correct leadership.

British bandits, for the sake of their capital, created bureaucratic capital. They kept feudalism alive. By depending on feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and their dependent reactionary intellectuals, they exploited and plundered this country.

During that time, the class proletariat entered the political muck of this country. In order to organize and lead the workers peasantry masses, the Communist Party of Indo-Pakistan was borne in early 30s of the Twentieth century. Form the very beginning of formation of this party, the reactionary intellectuals dependent on imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism captured the power of party and misguided party.

Rabindranath was the representative of the reactionary intellectuals dependent on imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Led by Rabindranath, these reactionary intellectuals had captured the cultural sphere of the superstructure of colonial and feudalist India.

Gandhi, who served the interest of imperialism-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, had seized the political field of super structure.

They created public opinion in favor of non-violence non-cooperation and politics of compromise with the imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, from which, the intellectuals who came in proletarian class, could never free themselves. The non-Marxist Thoughts of all those unchanged intellectuals under the cover of Marxist phrase, manifested as revisionism and opportunism. They became tail of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

They failed to lead Telengana Peasants Guerrilla Struggle, Tebhaga Peasants Struggle and countrywide rebellion of 1945-46.

As a result, the British colonial bandits handed over political power of India to their lackey the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, feudalists and reactionary intellectuals who were divided and competed among themselves on the basis of religion.

Because of the political, economic, cultural and religious oppression by the British colonial bandits and their collaborator reactionary Hindu bourgeoisie, feudalist and reactionary intellectuals, the people of East Bengal joined Pakistan.

The ruling regime of Pakistan kept continuing imperialist exploitation, let bureaucratic capitalism develop freely and sustained feudalism by compromising with it. Thus, they kept bourgeoisie democratic revolution unfinished.

At the initial stage of Pakistan, the revisionist communist party had not recognized the social progress that happened as a consequence of East Bengal's joining Pakistan and end of direct rule of imperialism.

They had not taken the program of completely overthrowing imperialism-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and wiping out all the obstacles of national development of East Bengal; rather they raised the slogan of socialism by bypassing the stage of social development and made Trotskyite deviation.

Later, those revisionists followed legal and peaceful parliamentary path. After communist party was banned, they joined NAP [National Awami Party – Translator].

Most of the intellectuals of East Bengal came under leftist influence through the formation of Youth League and its development, Great Language Movement, the later period's formation of Students Union and its development, NAP etc.

But the revisionist leadership failed to make all the intellectuals merge to workers-peasants, make them study and practice Marxism and transform them into proletarian revolutionaries

by ideologically transforming them through steeling them in revolutionary class and national struggle. As a result of not opposing national oppression over East Bengal and not starting armed struggle to overthrow imperialism-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, tens of thousands of intellectuals could not be recruited to party.

Meanwhile, great debate of pure Marxist revolutionaries started led by Chairman Mao against Soviet modern revisionists-led revisionists in international communist movement. In 1964, works of Chairman Mao arrived in East Bengal from China.

Consequently, very rapidly the revisionists were unmasked in front of the proletarian revolutionaries and the ideological preparation of rebelling against the revisionists was created.

At last, to overthrow the revisionists, Chairman Mao called for the Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution "*It is right to rebel against the reactionaries*". Being inspired with that great call, the Marxist-Leninists of India led peasant rebellion in Naxalbari and forged political party of the proletariat of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

The proletarian revolutionaries of East Bengal rebelled against Moni Singh-Mozaffar revisionists. By taking their rebellion as an opportunity, the Huq-Toha neo revisionists, copying Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad, formed Marxist Communist Party and followed the revisionist line of Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad. They betrayed on the national question and the question of armed struggle of East Bengal.

General cadres rebelled against the capitulationist neo-revisionists. By taking that rebellion as an opportunity, the Trotskyite-Guevarist Deben-Bashar, Alauddin-Motin and the conspirator Kazi-Rono deceived general revolutionaries. Meanwhile, the Huq-Toha new revisionists, by naming themselves as Marxist-Leninist, tried to deceive proletarian revolutionaries of East Bengal and India.

The Proletarian revolutionaries rebelled against all those various forms of revisionist capitulationist reactionaries, and on 8 January 1968, formed the "East Bengal Workers Movement", the preparatory organization for establishing the proletarian class representative political party.

The cadres of East Bengal Workers Movement went to rural area to merge with workers-peasantry and to guide them to armed struggle and made example of correct step of ideologically remolding themselves by taking lesson from them (workers-peasants) again.

Some petit bourgeoisie intellectuals were kept in cities to work among the leftist students and others. A section of those betrayed with workers Movement in greed of being leadership. As a result, the Workers Movement lost leadership in mass organization of intellectuals. Representative of these betrayers Nurul Hasan, AKM Fazlul Huq, Mahbubullah at last became various forms of revisionist and opportunist.

The various forms of revisionists of East Bengal by not opposing national oppression on East Bengal, kept people of East Bengal leaderless. The Bureaucratic bourgeoisie, feudalists and reactionary intellectuals of East Bengal took that opportunity and united people on the basis of national question.

The imperialists led by the US imperialist, used the national movement under the leadership of reactionaries, to make pressure upon Pakistan so that she may establish anti-China anti-Communist Indo-Pak Joint military alliance.

As result of the post 25 March fascist activities of the Pak military fascists, the national movement led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, feudalists and reactionary intellectuals got defeated. Many of those took refuge in India.

The Soviet Social Imperialism, in order to establish domination over Asia in competition with US imperialism, neo-colony in East Bengal through India and control in Indian Ocean, used national movement led by the reactionaries via India.

With the help and support of Soviet Social Imperialism, India, at last attacked Pakistan, captured East Bengal and established colony in East Bengal.

The East Bengal Workers Movement took the correct political line of completing unfinished national democratic revolution and solution of national question of East Bengal. On the basis of that correct political line, the correct military line of initiating guerrilla war through annihilation of National enemy was forged.

Works of East Bengal Workers Movement rapidly developed and organization developed in different places of East Bengal.

Chairman Mao said, *"It is armed struggle, by which, party grows, develop and consolidate"*. The Cadres of East Bengal Workers Movement initiated armed struggle with domestic weapons. They, for the first time in East Bengal, threw bomb on reactionary establishment of the Pakistan Council and the US information Centre. Our guerrillas for the first time annihilated national enemy in Fatikchari.

The East Bengal Workers Movement, for the first time, raised present day national flag of East Bengal in Munshiganj, Jhalokathi and other places. The sketch of national flag was prepared by the East Bengal Workers Movement. Bangladesh puppet government at last accepted that flag.

As a result of post 25 March repression, the cadres of East Bengal Workers Movement fell in temporary casualties. But they recovered and gathered again and guided the people of East Bengal to correct path.

In Payarabagan, for the first time in the history of East Bengal, regular armed national liberation force led by the proletariat was borne. While carrying armed struggle in this region, party built regular force, carried political-military work in armed force, carried party work, established political power, distributed lands of national enemies to landless peasants, developed armed organization of people, resolved encirclement and suppression problem, developed armed force, expanded guerrilla war and resolved various other important problems. Consequently, for the first time in the history of East Bengal, Base area was built. All those experiences are very much important for a revolutionary party.

The struggle of Payarabagan became a legend in the whole East Bengal and India.

In the course of that armed struggle, the political, organizational and military line of East Bengal Workers Movement proved correct, total bankruptcy of various forms of revisionists was proved, cadres of organization was steeled in revolutionary practice, armed struggle and united front developed. Thus, material condition for establishing a political party of proletariat ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily was created.

In the meeting of the Revolutionary Council and the meeting of the leading cadres of the East Bengal Workers Movement, the historic decision of establishing the political party of proletariat of East Bengal, the "Proletarian Party of East Bengal" was taken. Thus the Proletarian Party of East Bengal was established in 3 June 1971 and the historic role of the East Bengal Workers Movement ended.

Hundreds of revolutionaries sacrificed their life to establish this revolutionary party of East Bengal. At last their dream has become fruitful.

Various forms of revisionists and the Pak military fascists made all-out effort to smash the East Bengal Workers Movement in its sprout.

Various forms of revisionists made malicious slander, bad name and rumor against the East Bengal Workers Movement and its cadres. Sometimes, they denied the existence of the East Bengal Workers Movement.

The Pak military fascists arrested many cadres and sympathizers of the East Bengal Workers Movement and declared warrant with big money reward for arrest many of them. The Investigation regarding the East Bengal Workers Movement was directly carried by the central intelligence agency under the president of the Pak military fascists, and the military force. Even they brought specialist and equipment from Canada and America.

In Jail, the arrested cadres were questioned to make them reveal information, especially whereabouts of Siraj Sikder to catch him. Many were ruthlessly tortured all the ways. In cantonment, many were tortured and threatened by the Pak military fascists and foreign specialists. All those tortures were carried under the leadership of Brigadier Durrani of Jessor Cantonment.

The arrested comrades were solitarily confined in death row condemn cell. Tough system was maintained so that they can't meet each other. Even for that reason, they were scattered in various Jails.

They tried to trap them in greed to betray with organization.

The Pak military fascists targeted only us as enemy among the leftists and deployed all of their strength against us. The absolute opposition, repression and entrapment by the various forms of revisionists and the Pak military fascists totally failed.

The East Bengal Workers Movement sustained, kept continuing its progress, gained great victory and completed its historic role.

Activities of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal

Within a short span of time, the first national congress of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal was decided to be held. But at that time, the Pak military fascists carried serious encircle-suppress campaign on Payarabagan with its total force of Barisal district with assistance from surrounding areas. On gunpoint, they forced hundreds of Muslim people to take part in that attack.

In face of the serious pressure, cadres of Proletarian Party of East Bengal were withdrawn from Payarabagan.

Under the leadership of our guerrilla units, very soon guerrilla war spread in Gaurnadi, Madaripur, adjacent areas of Payarabagan, Mathbaria, Khepupara, Patharghata, Padrishivpur; Munshiganj, Savar and Narshingdi in Dhaka district, Tangail, Pabna, Faridpur and different places of Khulna district like a prairie fire.

The reactionary bureaucratic bourgeoisie, intellectuals and feudalists of East Bengal sold East Bengal to India and social imperialism. To justify occupation of East Bengal, India established a puppet government by them and used them as food for artillery. They emphasized on annihilating Proletarian Party of East Bengal and its cadres, the Party that is the only obstacle for them to establish colony in East Bengal. They took step to destroy our front by trapping us in fake discussion or by secretly infiltrating or by attacking. They used their mass support in that.

Our cadres failed to use our mass support in open mass struggle; organizing and educating people, keeping our ranks always clean, working being merged with people and educating cadres appropriately in party line. As a result, almost in all the places, our Base Areas were wiped out, many cadres were killed and disappeared, and many weapons were lost.

By attacking us in this way, they proved that when the communication with imperialism is disconnected, the bourgeoisie do not dare to smash communists; rather, they take help from communists to protect themselves. On the other hand, when they have communication with imperialists, they take step to smash communists. Despite, severe losses of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal, party had been able to rearrange and deploy cadres.

In the meantime, the Indian expansionism, in the name of helping liberation struggle of East Bengal, attacked and captured East Bengal, established colony in East Bengal and established its puppet government here.

The soviet social imperialism, its lackey the Indian expansionism and their lackey the six mountain's lackeys transformed East Bengal into an anti-communist anti-China Base.

Thus, the national democratic revolution of East Bengal remained unfinished.

The excuse of the Moni Singh-Mozaffar revisionists of peaceful power seizure by parliament proved totally bankrupt. They took refuge in India and exposed their reactionary character as tail of Indian expansionism, social imperialism and Awami Legue.

The Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, by saying class contradiction as principal contradiction and following the class enemy annihilation line, annihilated people and shook their hands with the Pak military fascists.

The Motin-Alauddin, Deben-Bashar Trotskyite-Guevarists became divided on national question. By saying class enemy annihilation, Motin-Alauddin Trotskyite-Guevarists collaborated with Pak military fascists. The Deben-Bashar Trotskyite-Guevarists and Kazi-Rono conspirators withdrew class contradiction principle and class annihilation line and said national struggle principal without any self-criticism. Having sponsored by Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad, they formed the 'so-called coordination committee'. Various forms of revisionist factions in coordination committee welcomed establishing colony by India in East Bengal, and they welcomed the Indian puppet Bangladesh government. They openly opposed China and became tail of six mountains' lackeys, Indian expansionism, social imperialism and imperialism. They are blindly following Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad in East Bengal. They are the Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad of East Bengal.

The proletarian revolutionaries of the East Bengal Workers Movement and who later was involved with the Proletarian Party, in their four years revolutionary practice, have been able to further more combine universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the concrete practice of revolution of East Bengal, and achieved very much precious experience in ideological, political, organizational and military field.

Political

Correct politics is an organization's life and fundamental precondition for party's development, consolidation and Bolshevization. An organization's political task is to analyze society with dialectical and historical materialism, discover contradictions responsible for its development and its law, guide for solution of those and perseveringly materializing it. Correct politics gives rise to correct military and organizational line; proletarian class and people unite under party's leadership and their victory is confirmed.

Our experience has proved that a political party, however small it may be at first, if there is a correct line, must develop, gets bigger and finally win. Experiences have further proved that in armed struggle and serious revolutionary storm, the face of various forms of revisionism and other opportunism is exposed and their bankruptcy is also proved and they are defeated and condemned.

Political strategy is the solution of fundamental contradiction and tactics is the solution of stage of a contradiction. The East Bengal Workers Movement appropriately put forward fundamental contradictions that are responsible for social development of East Bengal, principal contradiction, solution of contradictions, stage of social development of East Bengal, solution of contradiction of that stage, method of that solution, role of different classes; adopted correct strategy and tactics and applied that.

The political line of the East Bengal Workers Movement advanced through struggling various forms of revisionists' two lines of on the one hand right, and ultra-left which is left in form but right in essence on the other, and its line proved correct by being tested in fire of practice.

The Moni Singh-Mozaffar revisionists tailed behind the bourgeoisie on national question and surrendered to it. On the other side, the Huq-Toha neo-revisionists, the Deben-Bashar, Alauddin-Motin Trotskyite-Guevarists and the Kazi-Rono conspirators abandoned national question; they, by saying feudalism versus peasantry contradiction principal, made ultra-left deviation, that is, by bypassing stage of social development and dragging the future task to present, made Trotskyite deviation, and voluntarily handed over leadership of national question of East Bengal to Awami league—the representative of imperialism, social imperialism, expansionism and East Bengal bourgeoisie and feudalism. Thus, they misguided people and helped making East Bengal a colony of India.

Wrong and capitulationist politics gave rise to their organizational treacherous steps. The Huq-Toha neo-revisionists and the Motin-Alauddin Trotskyite-Guevarists secretly colluded with the Pak military fascists, helped them, became their intelligence department's informer and became Razakar [Razakar, Al Badar, Al Shams etc were the genocidal notorious mercenary local armed forces of Pak military fascists in East Bengal comprised of Islamist party cadres-goons—Translator]. As a reward, the Pak military fascists did not arrest them, if arrested, freed them, did not burn down their houses but let them freely carry open publication and sell those while giving them opportunity of free movement and shelter.

The Deben-Bashar Trotskyite-Guevarists, the Kazi-Rono conspirators and other revisionist factions took shelter in India, colluded with Jyoti Bose-Nambudripad, formed coordination committee, said national contradiction principal and became tail of six mountains.

On national question of East Bengal, only we were the competitor of Awami League. Its proof is in the official paper of Pak military fascists and their activities against us. We represented

the people and progressives of East Bengal who are against imperialism, social imperialism, expansionism and East Bengal bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism.

Despite our small organization, financial limitation, lack of cadres, and inexperience, wherever we worked, we got support of workers-peasants, intellectuals and patriotic masses.

As a result of Pak military fascists' attack, after 25 March, the Awami League totally collapsed and proved its failure to lead East Bengal people in struggle. In such a time of distress of the people of East Bengal, the East Bengal Workers Movement, within a short span of time, developed more than eight guerrilla front in more than five districts, spread guerrilla war to wider regions and historically proved proletariat's capability to lead national question.

Awami League became armed by Indian expansionism, social imperialism and imperialism and started war of national subservience. They took the task of smashing genuine freedom fighters of East Bengal as main task.

The Proletarian Party of East Bengal made analysis of Liberation Force and Awami League fascists, correctly characterized them as six mountains' lackey in documents entitled "Our policy regarding Awami League and various forms of revisionists" and "Six Mountains' Lackeys Disguised as Patriot". In it, party further put forward the correct line of opposing both the Pak military fascists and the six mountains' lackeys.

With the support of the Soviet social imperialists, the Indian expansionists, in the name of helping national liberation war of East Bengal, intervened in internal affair of Pakistan, occupied East Bengal and made her its colony.

Led by the Great People's China, other principled countries and nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and world opposed the intervention in internal affair of Pakistan, attack on Pakistan and seizure of East Bengal by Indian expansionism with the provocation of Soviet social imperialism. As a result of Indian intervention and occupation, our led great struggle of people of East Bengal was obstructed.

In context of emerged situation due to Indian occupation in East Bengal, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal appropriately put forward its strategy and tactics through "Finish the unfinished national democratic revolution", "Present task" and "Open letter".

At the present social condition of East Bengal, the Moni Singh-Mozaffar revisionists, by saying the subservience of East Bengal as independence, are tailing behind Awami League, expansionism, social imperialism and imperialism.

Divided in internal contradiction, the lackey of Pak military fascists, the neo-revisionist Huq-Toha, are making futile attempt to deceive the proletariat and masses of East Bengal and world by posing themselves as revolutionary by saying East Bengal a Soviet colony and Soviet versus East Bengal contradiction as principal. The Pak military fascists' lackey, the Motin-Alauddin Trotskyite-Guevarists became very much isolated. They are trying to recover the crisis by forming so-called Marxist-Leninist named bourgeoisie faction. They are trying to unite with Huq-Toha & company.

The Deben-Bashar and Kazi-Rono conspirators, disguised themselves with the cover of Marxism, are playing the role of Jyoti Bose-Nambodripad in East Bengal, are opposing China and collaborating with imperialism, social imperialism and expansionism.

In present national struggle of East Bengal, we do not have any particular strong bourgeoisie competitor. Yet, because of the contention between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the pro-US section of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, feudalists and intellectuals can take the opportunity of the East Bengal versus India national contradiction and the non-antagonistic religious contradiction between Muslim and Hindu people, may create a counter-revolutionary national conspiracy and adverse condition (These type of counter-revolutionary conspiracy will be very weak compared to past). We should be cautious about such possibilities. Therefore, we have to firmly hold high the national flag and unite broad masses, achieve leadership of people and finish the unfinished national democratic revolution of East Bengal.

Military

In military field, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal achieved many valuable experiences through revolutionary practice.

Right from the beginning, the East Bengal Workers Movement correctly realized that *"Without a people's army, people have nothing". "Political power grows out of the barrel of the gun". "Armed struggle is the highest form of revolution", "Only through armed struggle, the development, consolidation and Bolshevization of party is possible", "Armed force is the main form of mass organization under party".*

The Workers Movement further realized that *"Only through guerrilla war, people can be aroused, organized and their strength can be applied against the enemy".*

Out of that idea that hills and forests are favorable for guerrilla war, the cadres of East Bengal Workers Movement went to Teknaf to merge them with workers-peasantry, and to carry guerrilla war. But as they didn't have any experience of how to start guerrilla war, our cadres took erroneous step of carrying armed struggle by educating lumpen armed gangs in politics in forest.

Later, on the basis of concrete experience of India and Vietnam, party summed up own working experience.

National contradiction is the principal contradiction in East Bengal. From that correct politics, the correct military line of initiating guerrilla war through annihilation of national enemy emerges, that is, annihilating a section of class enemies of peasantry in rural area, who are the national enemy and the eyes and ears of the government. This type of guerrilla war can be initiated with domestic weapons by relying upon own strength.

Our cadres formed guerrilla group in both villages and cities, and within a short span of time, threw domestic bombs on Pakistan Council and US information center. Consequently, it could arouse masses, organize them and cadres could be steeled. The Party entered the path of development through struggle from the peaceful method of development. The petit-bourgeoisie intellectuals and dogmatists who are illusioned of making revolution through luxurious legal narrow trade unionism, accused that attack as left deviation.

In Fatikchari of Chittagong, our cadres organized Tea garden workers and local peasants in guerrilla group and first attacked on a national enemy Mr. Haru. Without using the opportunity of carrying the operation by local guerrillas, our intellectual cadres and guerrillas made that attack. Yet that attack was not against people's aspiration and initiative. That is why it was not a left deviation. People were very much aroused by the attack on Mr. Haru. They supported huge in number and people started to organize in large scale. Despite serious enemy pressure, our work continued.

In Fatikchari, our one cadre along with local guerrillas annihilated another national enemy by domestic weapons. As after 25 March, all the workers of that place took shelter in India, our communication got disconnected with them.

In Dhaka, our cadres attacked on BNR (Bureau of National Reconstruction - Sarbaharapath) and gained broad mass support.

Our organization gained maximum military experience after 25 March. In Payarabagan, for the first time in the history of East Bengal, a regular armed force was built under the

leadership of the political party of the working class, national enemy annihilation campaign was carried, several hundred national enemies were annihilated, and in the course of national enemy annihilation, people were aroused, organized and mass propaganda could be carried among them; arms and money was collected. Party built temporary type of liberated area in about forty eight villages comprised of several hundred thousand populations. There, political power was established, village organizing committee, regular army, village defense force and local guerrilla group was formed. People were organized in mass organizations like peasant liberation cooperative and women liberation cooperative; step were taken to form proletarian party unit by the advanced elements among them, and party unit in military force.

In military force, regular guerrilla unit is comprised of seven members. A guerrilla group is made of a party representative who is familiar as political commissar, a commander, an assistant commander, two scouts and two or four members. Step was taken to form a platoon by three to five guerrilla groups, and a company by three to five platoons. Platoon command was formed with a political commissar, a commander, two assistant commanders and three scouts.

The leadership body of party, military organization, mass organization and political power of our liberated area was Front Area Committee No. 1 which was under higher leadership body bureau no. 2.

Thus, when the six mountains' lackeys fled to India keeping the whole East Bengal people in helpless condition, at that time, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal carried people's resistance in correct path. Through activities, we have proved the truth "*Everything grows out of the barrel of the gun*".

The Proletarian Party of East Bengal didn't combine clandestine party work with open work, that is, the party haven't deployed some cadres to carry clandestine work; despite step of building party unit among the masses, that couldn't be activated due to lack of time. Due to lack of time, low grade and inexperience, more emphasis could not be put in ideological training in army and recruiting party cadres. Due to lack of time, inexperience of cadres in armed struggle and severe repression by the Pak military fascists, alternative rear area of Front No. 1 was not managed to be built by sending cadres to those areas where we worked from the beginning. For the same reason, building party work, making sympathizers and secret retreat area was not possible in areas under attack, and at the same time, step could not be taken to build work in towns, ports and markets adjacent to Front 1 to help its armed struggle. Consequently.....(some words are missing – Sarbaharapath)... got disconnected in

front of Yet, if Front Area 1 had tried to sustain till the end in severe encirclement-suppression, it could sustain without withdrawing guerrillas.

From Front Area 1, a part of our guerrillas retreated to Gaurnadi while the remaining guerrillas sustained in surrounding areas of Front 1.

In Gaurnadi region, our cadres and guerrillas annihilated many national enemies and expanded guerrilla war to Patarhat, Mehediganj, Ujirpur, Dhamura, Muladi, Babuganj, Hijla, Banaripara, Bamna and Galachipa etc areas. About two hundred guerrillas were recruited and massive areas were liberated.

After the withdrawal of encirclement & suppression on Front Area No. 1, our guerrillas expanded guerrilla war to vast areas of Kaukhali, Rajapur, Swarupkathi, Jhalokathi and Barisal Sadar Thana. Meanwhile, five guerrillas extended guerrilla war to Mathbaria region in southern Barisal and immediately guerrilla war was extended to Patharghata and Khepupara. Number of our guerrilla reached several hundred from five, and from five rifles to our weapon collection reached eighty Rifles and guns.

Militarism erupted among Mujiv-Tareq in Front 1, consequently its work was obstructed. First Tareq-Mujiv was ousted from all the posts and was openly posed as negative example. On the basis of investigation by the convener committee, those degenerated individuals were expelled for ever from party and all were called upon to show them as negative example.

Meanwhile, in Bhola, our cadres with their own initiative, initiated guerrilla war; annihilated a lot of national enemies and collected arms.

In Madaripur Subdivision of Faridpur District, our guerrilla war expanded, national enemies were annihilated, arms and guerrillas were recruited.

Guerrilla war expanded in Munshiganj of Dhaka District. Guerrilla war expanded to Savar and Narshingdi areas (In the same district—Translator). In Savar area, guerrilla war was initiated without arms, and at last more than fifty rifles and guns were collected. In the same way in Narshingdi area, a lot of arms were collected.

In Tangail and Pabna districts, our cadres expanded guerrilla war and liberated vast regions, huge arms were collected, a lot of guerrillas were recruited and political power was established.

In this way, in greater regions of East Bengal, a lot of national enemies, Pak military bandits, Razakar and Al Badar were annihilated. Numerous temporary types of liberated areas

developed and in many of those places, lands of national enemies were distributed among the landless peasantry. In most of the cases, national enemies were correctly annihilated, while a few errors might have occurred in some cases due to inexperience of cadres.

In Pabna-Tangail, the Motin-Alauddin Trotskyite-Guevarists, as lackeys of Pak military fascists, in the name of class enemy annihilation, started committing decoity and killing in people's houses. People marked them as dacoit. In vast areas, people themselves took initiative to resist them and beat five of them to death. By the call of people in that area, our guerrillas were compelled to attack Motin-Alauddin's bandit gang with the help of people. At last, they fled from the area.

After 25 March, Awami League and their companions took refuge in India. In East Bengal, their organization collapsed. During that time, many of their cadres, supporters, and members of EPR (East Pakistan Rifles – Translator), Police, Ansar (A state armed force lower than Police – Translator), Bengal Regiment (East Bengal Regiment of Pakistan army comprised of Bengalis – Translator) got united under our leadership.

Awami League and their collaborators reorganized in India and became Indian lackey. They took 'Smash Naxal' line of annihilating us and other patriots who will not agree to them to establish colony of India.

In context of transformation of Awami League, Motia group, Moscow NAP and their collaborators into six mountains' lackeys, our cadres failed to change our policy regarding them, at the same time, regarding our own outside party guerrillas, how to recruit outside party guerrillas and method of working among people.

By not recruiting guerrillas mainly from agricultural workers and poor peasants, they were taken mainly from intellectuals, they were not transformed to party cadre or sympathizer through carrying political education among them and recruitment from such intellectuals who are not party cadre or sympathizer have not been stopped (they are the ones who later betrayed and helped catch our guerrillas, disarmed them and killed them by being motivated by the Six mountains' lackeys); cadres and guerrillas held meeting with six mountains' lackeys, have not properly connected themselves with people and have not carried secret work among them (people).

In areas where we had mass people's support, our cadres and guerrillas, being in secret, have not directed people in mass struggle. As a result, in many cases, our cadres left areas, by only comparing how many arms and men we have.

As a secret party organization, sympathizer and shelter was not built among people and all worked openly and became open by not employing cadres for secret work; all of our liberated areas were lost, many of our cadres lost their lives and huge arms were lost in fascist six mountains' lackey's attack.

That time, some cadres, who lost their balance in critical situation, expressed some disappointing rightist positions, such as, we should depend on foreign help, have to centralize all the strength, guerrilla war is not possible in rural areas etc. These are the manifestation of unchanged intellectuals' reverse role than workers-peasants in stormy situations. Party, through several documents (No 1 & 2) on present situation, timely struggled those positions and put forward the line of depending on workers-peasants at any situation and following material law of guerrilla war by being connected with workers-peasants and relying on our own strength.

At present, we have to raise national and class hatred against the six mountains' lackeys, start guerrilla war through national enemy annihilation and advance by correcting and recovering past errors and limitations and following correctness and success.

The national liberation war of East Bengal will be directed against six mountains' lackeys, Indian expansionism, social imperialism and imperialism. This war will be waged led by us by uniting other patriots. We have to develop it from almost zero, depend on own and people's strength. This is why this war will be protracted and ruthless.

The national liberation war is mainly a war of peasants. Therefore, guerrillas should be recruited mainly from peasants and workers; intellectuals must have to become party cadre who will give ideological- political teaching to workers and peasantry.

We have to carry work secretly, wage guerrilla war, and rapidly educate guerillas in party line to make them party cadres.

By depending secretly on peasants, with domestic weapons, we can initiate guerrilla war through national enemy annihilation; through guerrilla war, we can collect weapons, recruit guerrillas and party cadres, carry propaganda among people, organize people, steel ourselves, terrorize enemy, and it is possible.

Regardless of geographic condition, on the basis of party's valuable experiences, we have to develop guerrilla war everywhere in East Bengal and persist in armed struggle, wipe off all the opportunist thought of developing party without armed struggle, and achieve party

development, consolidation and Bolshevization through armed struggle. We have to build armed national liberation army as the main form of organization.

Organizational

At the time of foundation of East Bengal Workers Movement, comrades absolutely had no experience of building a Marxist party. But inexperience could not frighten us. We persisted in practice, and gained the experience of functioning a political party organization of the proletariat in the course of practice.

At present, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal is very well-disciplined and inside party, there is a solid center. Cadres have resolute and firm confidence on central leadership. Cadres are more or less acknowledged about discipline, secrecy, how to administer organizational units and responsibility of that.

But still cadres are not efficient in method of coming from people and bringing it to people, how to finely guide party committee, administer cadres under their guidance and direct people in open mass struggle.

The East Bengal Workers Movement in its organizational work, maintained law of dialectics of motion of matter, replaced older cadres with more efficient new cadres in charge, threw rotten and took green, which kept the organization living.

In the history of the East Bengal Workers Movement, there are very few examples of factionalism and split-ism inside party. On the other side, the variants of revisionists are torn apart in split-ism and factionalism.

Correct politics establish iron-hard discipline and single center inside a party. The revisionists' betrayal, conspiracy and deceit are responsible for the disunity among them.

At the initial period of formation of the East Bengal Workers Movement, split-ism emerged in Barisal district. There, contradiction intensified between student organizing group and workers organizing group, and organization was about to split. It took serious turn because of the inability of Barisal district leadership in carrying ideological work and they (leadership) had related themselves to any of the two groups.

The central leadership went to investigate that situation and he made them read five articles, especially on correcting erroneous ideas and some documents (included in *Lal Jhanda 2*) [Lal

Jhanda (Red Flag) was party's theoretical organ – Translator] with his view to fix ideological problems before fixing organizationally, and he resolved the contradiction.

In Hajipur in Mymensingh, the vagabond, greedy for leadership, betrayer Sadik and the renegade Asad and his brother joined the adventurist militarist Baby, formed a clique, claimed 'party is correct but leadership is wrong', showed themselves as party administrator and tried to persuade cadres of that area to decoit and anti-party anti people activities. Genuine party cadres and masses defeated their conspiracy and ousted them from the area. At last they became six mountains' lackeys. It caused huge losses to the local party work.

The root of the organizational errors and deviations within party is the manifestation of petit bourgeoisie ideology. Therefore, in order to organizationally clear all the illness, cadres have to master ideological reconstruction and manifestation of proletarian ideology in organizational field.

The East Bengal Workers Movement and the Proletarian Party of East Bengal have taken not unprincipled superficial unity but ideological and political unity as the basis of organizational unity with inside and outside organization proletarian revolutionaries. The meaning of unity by leaving principle and compromising with opportunism is to be opportunist by one's own.

Different times, different questions came of making unity, joint action and coordination with various Marxist named bourgeoisie factions. Always we have firmly opposed the existence of faction and struggled against factionalism, and at the same time, made effort to unify proletarian revolutionaries inside those factions or who are working isolated. With that aim, we made open call for unity of proletarian revolutionaries and held several times meeting with Deben-Bashar and Co.

Along with the development of the East Bengal Workers Movement, to properly organize it, it has studied and practiced the constitution of the Great Chinese Communist Party; especially the present constitution of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal has been composed in light of last four years' experience.

During the time of severe repression by the Pak military fascists and six mountains' lackeys, our party cadres carried organizational activities by neglecting all sorts of suppression even neglecting fear of death, published various documents and reached those to rank and file and people and maintained communication with various levels. This time, other political parties and various forms of revisionists failed to wage any type of organizational activities centralized way. This is the manifestation of our great success and capacity.

In organizational field, we must strengthen ideological training, strengthen discipline and leadership in all level and correctly apply method of leadership. We should abandon the making of rumor, intrigue, violation of order, negligence to discipline and weakening leadership. By firmly applying the organizational line of Chairman Mao, we have to transform all the levels of organization into a fortress of struggle.

The present constitution of the proletarian party of East Bengal has been prepared in light of our experience. You should review the constitution and approve it.

Ideological

Majority of the cadres of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal is form the petit bourgeoisie class. Majority of the people of East Bengal are petit bourgeoisie. Party is surrounded by them.

Therefore, in ideological field, cleaning non-proletarian ideology of the petit bourgeoisie, especially of intellectuals, make them accept proletarian ideology and their ideological transformation is the main problem of the organization.

In order to achieve ideological transformation and proletarian world outlook by the cadres, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal have adopted the following correct method through summation of experience:

To creatively study and practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; merge with workers-peasantry; steel in revolutionary storm.

For ideological reconstruction, the East Bengal Workers Movement and the Proletarian Party of East Bengal is saying three articles, on correcting erroneous ideas inside party, oppose liberalism as very much important and to make the style of always study and practice. To gain success in ideological reconstruction, party prepared Lal Jhanda no 2.

The East Bengal Workers Movement, in case of ideological transformation, did not properly realize the significance of merger with workers-peasants and tempering in revolutionary storm. He or she was said developed cadres, who were able to read some Marxist book, monger some theory and quotation and organize and guide study circle or group comprising of workers or intellectuals.

Numerous intellectuals' coming to organization, and the so-called theoretically developed cadres' activities proves that we have not realized the real significance of merger with workers-peasants and steeling in revolutionary storm in ideological reconstruction.

There are a lot of cadres in our organization, who know theory but that is not connected to practice. By not starting from reality, they start from theory.

The tendency of cadres of reading big books and theory, but inability to apply gives rise to theoretical quarrel isolated from reality. Reading theory by not connecting it to practice is the manifestation of the fool making bourgeoisie society education system isolated from practice. If it is applied in study of theory, its inevitable end is dogmatism.

In the complex struggle in domestic and international class struggle, this phrase monger learner comrades' role become reversal to the workers and peasantry. They become unclear and vacillating. On the other side, the working class is firm and clear.

There are some cadres in the Proletarian Party of East Bengal who have done some practical work, but are satisfied with their narrow experiences, do not regularly develop their quality and working efficiency by combining experience with theory. There are the narrow empiricists. Easily they tail behind the dogmatists.

Between dogmatism and sectarian empiricism, at present, dogmatism is the main danger inside party.

To clear dogmatism and sectarian empiricism, the Proletarian Party of East Bengal has to send the dogmatist cadres to practice, especially they have to be managed to merge with workers and peasantry and work among them (workers and peasantry).

The narrow empiricists must attentively carry theoretical study and review.

Firm step should be managed in ideological front, to unify all the cadres with workers-peasants, make them take part in labor with them full time or part time and steel in class and national struggle.

The Proletarian Party of East Bengal has taken step to merge all the cadres with workers-peasantry. It should be a rule of party to stay in the houses of workers-peasantry, take part in production, work among them and make friendship with them. Otherwise, they should not be given party membership.

In this way, repeated history of transformation of party into a revisionist or petit bourgeoisie party by the unchanged intellectuals must be resisted.

In ideological field, we must regularly struggle various forms of revisionism of inside or outside party and their manifestations. Their faces must be exposed and we must concentrate on our struggle against them.

International

In 1968, the East Bengal Workers Movement, in its theses, mentioned the fundamental contradictions responsible for the development of the present world as follow:

1) The contradiction of the US imperialist-led and controlled imperialist countries and the Soviet social imperialist led and controlled countries versus the oppressed countries and the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

2) The contradiction of the ruling regimes of the US imperialist-led and controlled imperialist countries and the Soviet social imperialist led and controlled countries versus the people of the respected countries.

3) The contradiction among the US-led imperialists themselves and among the Soviet Social Imperialist-led and controlled countries themselves on the one hand, and the contradiction between the US-led and controlled imperialist countries versus the Soviet Social imperialist-led and controlled countries on the other.

4) The contradiction of the US-led and controlled imperialism and Soviet social imperialist-led and controlled countries versus the socialist countries.

The present world is advancing because of the development of the above mentioned contradictions.

The anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America is advancing in a serious pace.

People of Asia, Africa and Latin America have further strengthened their struggle against the intervention, control, influence and oppression of imperialism and social imperialism. Struggle of the people of the countries like Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Palestine have seriously injured imperialism.

The struggle of the people of the very US and the black people's struggle took serious turn. The inter-imperialist contradiction became tense.

The Soviet people and different nations have strengthened the struggle against social imperialist plunder and oppression. The contradiction of Soviet social imperialism versus its lackey states is intensifying.

People's struggle is strengthening against the lackeys' capitulationism.

In order to distribute the world among them, the US imperialism and the Soviet social imperialism are intensifying contradiction between them.

The Soviet social imperialism by following the footsteps of US imperialism, have strengthened its control over India. To establish control over East Bengal, they violated international opinion and persuaded India to occupy East Bengal. They committed that filthy crime to capture raw materials and cheap labor power from here, to establish domination over Indian Ocean and to establish own influence and occupation in US imperialist and British controlled areas.

With that aim, they have formed joint military alliance with the Indian expansionists and sent naval war fleet. Their activities are similar to that of the old Tsars. In competition with the Soviet social imperialism, the US imperialism sent war naval fleet to keep control over India and Bay of Bengal.

At present world, there is risk of world war but revolution is the main tendency.

The great people's China and the anti-US imperialist and the anti-social imperialist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America opposed the intervention by the social imperialist and expansionists on the question of East Bengal and took just step by demanding to hand over the solution of national question to East Bengal people and Pakistan government. The great People's China took the opportunity of contradiction between Imperialism and social imperialism on East Bengal, totally isolated social imperialism and exposed their face.

As a result of success of the foreign policy of Chairman Mao, China gained her just place in United Nations and has further assisted in world revolution by being firm in principle. Under the leadership of the great People's China, the proletariat, revolutionary masses, oppressed nations and states of the world are being united and are marching ahead to finally bury imperialism and social imperialism.

The great People's China has not supported or recognized the establishing of Indian colony and its lackey's puppet government in East Bengal. Rather by giving promise of support to the

great struggle of East Bengal people against social imperialism, expansionism and six mountain's lackey fascists, are greatly helping the South Asian revolution.

People of South Asia must firmly oppose the contention of social imperialism and imperialism in establishing control, intervention and influence, and free themselves by strengthening own unity.

Conclusion

Comrades,

In context of social development of East Bengal society, our political strategy and tactics have always been proven correct in fire of practice.

From the very beginning, we have concentrated on building armed struggle as the main form of struggle and armed organization as the main form of organization.

In organizational field, we correctly applied the Marxist organizational line. As we persisted in armed struggle led by correct politics and military line, the development, consolidation and Bolshevization of the party have been achieved.

In ideological field, in order to remold intellectual cadres, the concept of ideological reconstruction of them have been clear to clearer that is merger with the workers and peasantry, take part in physical labor and then taking lesson from them again.

Because of all those our success, our organization, starting from a few cadres, developed and spread countrywide and only our organization sustained even in the face of absolute repression of the Pak military fascists.....■

(Here the report is incomplete as a few ending part of the report could not be collected—Sarbaharapath)