### Siraj Sikder Works

## **Theses of East Bengal Workers Movement**



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#### Introduction

How shall we apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the condition of revolution of our country? Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought will be the 'arrow' what we shall have to throw with the aim of revolution of East Bengal. Today, those who throw arrow aimlessly and in a confused manner, they can easily do harm to revolution. Marxist named many persons are playing opportunist and counter-revolutionary role by throwing arrow 'in a confused manner'.

Chairman Mao said, "The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyze and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones'".

Why in pre-independence period, the Indian communist party failed to take up leadership in anticolonial and anti-feudal struggle and establish socialism by ending colonial and feudal exploitation?

Why in post-independence period, the East Pakistan communist party failed to make the way of socialism by carrying anti-colonial and anti-feudal struggle? We must mercilessly expose the reasons behind those failures with scientific outlook so that the same mistakes can be avoided in future and the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought followers can be able to play their historic role.

#### Workers of all countries, Unite!

#### **Pre-Independence Period**

In the period of British rule, basic contradictions for social development of India were as follows:

- 1) The national contradiction of Indian people versus British colonialism
- 2) The contradiction of vast peasantry of India versus feudalism
- 3) The contradiction of Indian working class versus bourgeoisie
- 4) The sectarian contradiction of Indian Muslim bourgeoisie, feudal and workers-peasants versus non-Muslim especially Hindu bourgeoisie, feudal and workers-peasants

The Indian bourgeoisie (Muslim and non-Muslim bourgeoisie), from own class interest, demanded independence first. In initial period of independence movement, the Indian

bourgeoisie was united. But relatively less developed Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal noted possibility of extinction by the relatively huge developed non-Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal in unified India. They demanded some opportunity for their own development. Thus, class interest intensified their inner contradiction. In a certain stage, this contradiction took antagonistic form and the Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal formed Muslim League to protect their class interest and demanded separate independent Pakistan state for their own free development.

The Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal used the opportunity of non-antagonistic sectarian contradiction to unite Muslim workers and peasants under their demand and hatched vile sectarian motivation and conspiracy among them. The non-Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal with view to establish unified India and to dismantle Pakistan movement of Indian Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal, hatched vile sectarian motivation and conspiracy among non-Muslim workers and peasants so that they may unite behind them.

The British colonialists too hatched intense sectarian motivation and conspiracy to continue their rule and exploitation by making split in Indian independence movement.

For all those reasons, there broke out sectarian riot in different places and the non-antagonistic sectarian contradiction took antagonistic form. Workers and peasants got united behind Muslim League and Congress on religious basis.

Despite the fact that the split in Indian independence movement made it easy to continue rule and exploitation for the British colonialists, huge losses in Second World War, participation of militant revolutionary patriots in Indian independence movement and development of consciousness of workers and peasants obliged them to hand over power to their supporter and collaborator bourgeoisie class (Muslim League and Congress), by which they could be able to make this subcontinent semi colony through this new regime. In this way, Pakistan and India was created.

#### Why the Indian Communist Party failed to establish socialism by liberating India

In pre-independence period, social condition of India was colonial, feudal and semi feudal. By sustaining the feudal class, through them, the colonialists used to exploit and oppress vast peasantry. This is why anti-colonial national revolution and anti-feudal democratic revolution, that is, national democratic revolution should have been the character of revolution of this country. The Bourgeoisie is unable to make this national democratic revolution. So, historically it is the responsibility of the proletariat and its party to accomplish this revolution. Therefore, this revolution should have been national democratic or new democratic revolution, the aim of

that is socialism and communism. This is a part of world revolution.

To carry and accomplish this new democratic revolution, the proletarian party should have fulfilled the following conditions:

- a. "a well-disciplined party armed with theory of Marxist-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of people;
- b. an army under the leadership of such a party;
- c. A united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party."

The Indian communist party failed to fulfill the above mentioned conditions. As a result, the bourgeoisie and feudalists took the leadership of national struggle; from their own class interest, they divided India on their behalves by taking the opportunity of the non-antagonistic sectarian contradiction and accordingly unifying workers and peasants behind them on religious basis.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, "A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray".

#### **Post-Independence Period**

Following are the basic contradictions that exist for the social development of East Bengal:

- 1) The national contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistani colonialism
- 2) The contradiction of vast peasantry of East Bengal versus feudalism
- 3) East Bengal people's contradiction with
- a) Imperialism especially US imperialism
- b) Revisionism especially Soviet social imperialism
- c) National contradiction with Indian expansionism
- 4) The contradiction of East Bengal working class versus bourgeoisie

#### **Analysis of the contradictions**

## First: The National contradiction of East Bengal People versus Pakistani Colonialism:

Among the Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal, as those of British supporters of Punjab, Sind,

Frontier province, Delhi, Lucknow, Mumbai etc. places were much developed than the Bengali bourgeoisie and feudal (who were very few in number), they naturally captured the leadership of Pakistan movement.

The Hindu bourgeoisie and feudalists of East Bengal used to carry religious oppression apart from economic exploitation, over the East Bengal Muslim bourgeoisie, feudalists and workerspeasants. When the Muslim majority East Bengal became a separate province by the Bengal Partition Ordinance, the Bengali Muslim bourgeoisie and feudalists supported that thinking that it would reduce economic exploitation and religious oppression some extent. But the Hindu bourgeoisie and feudalists opposed the partition as it would obstruct their development. As a result, the Bengal Partition was annulled. So, there was two obstacles in the development of the Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal class, one, the British colonialism, the other is the competition and religious oppression by the Hindu bourgeoisie and feudalists. So, as independence movement was not led by the Communist Party, the creation of East Bengal was historically necessary.

The East Bengal bourgeoisie and feudalists, thinking that they would be able to carry own class development through Pakistan, supported the Pakistan Movement and united Muslim workers and peasants under the Pakistan demand. They joined Pakistan and thus, East Bengal became a province of Pakistan.

As the leadership of the Independence Movement was in the hands of the non-Bengali bourgeoisie and feudalists, the British colonialists handed over power to them. These non-Bengali bourgeoisie and feudalists captured monopoly ownership of the state machinery and got the opportunity of free development of own classes through stationing central capital in Karachi, forming main element of state machinery-the Armed Force by the British colonialist military bureaucrats and starting other parts of state machinery by the civil bureaucrats (most of those military and civil bureaucrats were non-Bengali and supporter of the British colonialists) etc.

This ruling class, from the beginning, tried to exploit East Bengal freely instead of giving autonomy or right of self-determination for her independent national and economic development. Through state power, this ruling class developed itself with the money of Jute, tea, leather etc. of East Bengal and signed various military accords like SENTO, SEATO and different types of economic agreement with imperialism especially with US Imperialism to hasten that development. Thus, Pakistan became a semi-colony. Recently, this ruling class has signed different types of economic agreement with revisionism especially Soviet Social Imperialism.

With the money of East Bengal Jute, Tea, Leather, Paper, Cheap Labor Power, market of about seventy million people and with the help of imperialists, the Pakistani bourgeoisie became

monopoly capitalist. They made East Bengal a permanent field of rule and exploitation.

A big obstacle in ruling and exploiting East Bengal is her independent nationality where language is the main element of this independence. To end this independence of East Bengal as a nationality, the Pakistani ruling class made vile attempt to impose Urdu language in place of Bangla. The Language Movement of 1952 repulsed that vile attempt. At present too, this ruling class is making vile attempt to change Bangla language.

Gradually the resources, cheap labor power and market of seventy million people of East Bengal became inevitable for the development of this Pakistani bourgeoisie and feudal class. In this way, despite for a certain period of time, East Bengal had become a semi-colony as part of Pakistan from the direct colony of British colonialism; there was national oppression and exploitation over East Bengal by the Pakistani bourgeoisie and feudalist ruling regime since the beginning. This ruling regime with the pace of their development, increased national oppression over East Bengal and when their development came in the form of monopoly, they gradually made their ruling system more and more militarist to continue their exploitation, and thus national oppression over East Bengal took colonial form and East Bengal became a colony of Pakistani colonial ruling class. This colonial ruling class themselves are protecting the interest of imperialism and feudalism. That is why Pakistan itself is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

This Pakistani colonial ruling class, by 'the pro-Pakistan collaborator bourgeoisie' of East Bengal and by sustaining feudalism in rural areas, is carrying oppression and exploitation in this country. As result of this colonial exploitation, the development of the middle and the petit bourgeoisie class of East Bengal has been hindered and rural feudal exploitation intensified. Especially, now rural exploitation became massive because of paying back foreign debt and accumulation of capital for industry due to reduction of foreign capital (debt). So, workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie and a section of middle bourgeoisie, i.e., the whole nation of East Bengal are exploited by this exploitation. This Pakistani colonial ruling class hides the colonial character of exploitation through the propaganda of unified Pakistan, single nation on religious basis, so called Islamic culture, East Bengal is a province etc. Various colonial forces of the world make attempt to propagate single country, single nation etc., to hide the colonial character of exploitation. But history proved those' failure. This attempt of Pakistani colonial ruling class is bound to fail too.

#### Second: The contradiction of vast Peasantry of East Bengal versus Feudalism

In rural areas, government employees (Police, Circle Officers), Basic Democrats (BD), Zamindars, rich peasants, evil gentry (lumpen) and upper strata of middle peasants are carrying

feudal exploitation over rural agricultural workers, poor peasants and mass middle peasants. The Pakistani colonial class has sustained rural feudalists and is making all-out effort for their development. This ruling class has intensified feudalist exploitation to accumulate capital and cheap labor power for own development.

In rural areas, feudalist exploitation manifests as increase of land revenue and other rents, not promoting rationing in villages, forming Basic Democracy, providing administrative system to Basic Democrats, not ending share cropping, agreement, contract, usury system but enchaining peasants by debt etc., not controlling flood, not carrying irrigation projects, not abolishing leasing system, not providing pesticide, not providing general education system to all, not promoting free medical treatment etc.

# Third: A) The National contradiction of East Bengal People versus Imperialism, especially the US

The US imperialism on the one hand, is keeping relation and cooperation with the Pakistani colonialists and colluding with a section of the bourgeoisie of East Bengal on the other, and through them, they are making pressure on the Pakistani ruling class. They are exploiting people of East Bengal through debt and direct investment. They are trying to form anti-China and anti-Communist alliance by taking Pakistani colonialists and Indian expansionists. But the Pakistani colonialists, out of their own class interest, are not able to collude with Indian expansionists at present, and at a certain point of own class development, are now compelled to make friendship with Socialist Countries, especially with China.

On the other side, the US imperialism, by taking the opportunity of colonial rule and exploitation of East Bengal, is helping and supporting their supporter bourgeoisie of East Bengal. This proimperialist lackey bourgeoisie are carrying anti-colonial movement. Capitalizing this movement, US imperialism is using it in two ways—on the one hand, they are making pressure on Pakistani colonialists to sign anti-China Indo-Pak treaty and hatching vile conspiracy to make this lackey bourgeoisie separate East Bengal and sign anti-China Indo-East Bengal treaty and in this way, make East Bengal a direct US colony. At present, the pro-US collaborator bourgeoisie is leading 6 point-Awami League.

US imperialism is giving support to religious parties of this country who protect the interest of feudalists. They are the most obedient ally of imperialism.

## B) The National contradiction of the East Bengal People versus Revisionism, especially the Soviet Social imperialism

[In Bangla, this sentence is without subject— Translator] are trying to establish anti-China anti-Communist alliance by taking Pakistani colonialists. They will not support national liberation struggle of East Bengal, because their aim is to exploit Pakistan along with its colony by colluding with the Pakistani colonialists. To dismantle this liberation movement, they will help the Pakistani colonialists so that they may get a share on exploitation over East Bengal. In this regard, it is to mention Biafra, Burma, Vietnam and other countries. The people of Biafra are fighting for liberation from national oppression and suppression. The Soviet social imperialists are trying to destroy the liberation movement of the people of Biafra by supplying arms, fund and cadres to the Nigerian military government, so that they may carry exploitation in whole Nigeria with imperialists. They are hatching conspiracy to suppress the Liberation Movement of Burma and wipe out great struggle of Vietnam.

## C) The National contradiction of the East Bengal People versus the Indian Expansionism

The Indian big capitalist and feudalist government will not support the national liberation movement of East Bengal under proletarian leadership because their aim is to exploit the independent East Bengal under bourgeoisie leadership and get an anti-China anti Communist ally. But the proletarian led liberated East Bengal will be a support to the liberation of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Tripura and liberation of workers-peasants of the whole India. That is why, the Indian Expansionism will try to crush the effort of establishing workers-peasants' East Bengal.

## Fourth: The Contradiction of the Bourgeoisie of East Bengal versus the Working Class

The Bourgeoisie of East Bengal exploits the workers, and among them a section, being lackeys of Pakistani colonialists, is exploiting East Bengal, while another section is imperialist lackey, especially of US. Another section, who is genuine national bourgeoisie, is both anti-imperialist and anti-colonial. The first section of the bourgeoisie of East Bengal is the country-seller, the betrayer, while the second section is the imperialist lackey who by colluding with India, wants to struggle as much as they need national right to develop their class. Massive portion of the bourgeoisie of East Bengal are at present ganged up under their leadership. National struggle can never be completed under their leadership. Apart from hostility, people have friendly relation with them too as long as they oppose Pakistani colonialism. Apart from hostility, people have friendly relation with the third section of the bourgeoisie—the national bourgeoisie as long as they carry anti-colonial anti-imperialist struggle.

At present, the leadership of national struggle is in the hands of pro-imperialist lackey bourgeoisie. End of this leadership can be possible in three ways: (a) If the political party of the proletariat, by firmly holding high the flag of national struggle, inspire the peasantry in anti-colonial anti-feudal armed struggle; (b) If the colonial force surrender to US imperialism, and make anti-China anti Communist alliance, they will be able to crush the national struggle of the lackey bourgeoisie with the support of US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and Indian expansionism; (c) If the colonial ruling class comes in compromise with the imperialist lackey bourgeoisie, the latter's actual betrayal and anti-people character will be exposed.

#### **The Principal Contradiction**

Apart from the above mention contradictions, there are many more contradictions in East Bengal society, but these four are basic. Chairman Mao said, "If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can readily be solved." In anti-Pakistani colonial national struggle, the workers-peasants, petit bourgeoisie, a section of middle bourgeoisie, patriotic rich peasants and zamindars, i.e., the whole nation can be united. Therefore, at present social development process, the national contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistani colonialism is the principal contradiction.

But when the anti-colonial national struggle will reach a certain stage, the US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and Indian expansionism, jointly or separately, by their army, will try to crush people's struggle of East Bengal to protect the Pakistani colonialist class. In that situation, Pakistani colonialism will be shifted to secondary role from principal role in anti-mass struggle, while US imperialism or Soviet social imperialism or Indian expansionism will gradually be shifted to principal role from secondary one. Then, the national contradiction of East Bengal people versus US imperialism or Soviet social imperialism or Indian expansionism will be the principal contradiction. By making newly united front on the basis of that principal contradiction, masses have to be guided to appropriate liberation struggle.

#### The East Bengal Revolution and its character

The East Bengal bourgeoisie and feudalists joined Pakistan for their own development. But the facilities that was necessary for the bourgeoisie development of East Bengal was enjoyed by the

Pakistani colonial class for their own development. As a result, bourgeoisie development of this country was hindered. So, necessary condition needs to be created for bourgeoisie development i.e., end of feudalism and colonialism is needed.

The end of feudalism is possible through democratic revolution and the end of colonial rule is possible through national revolution. So, the revolution of East Bengal will be the national democratic revolution.

At the present era of imperialism and social imperialism, the bourgeoisie cannot accomplish this revolution; rather, within a short span of time, they themselves become the lackeys of imperialism and social imperialism. There is only one force who is able to accomplish this revolution and that is the proletariat and its party. The aim of the proletarian led revolution is not capitalism but socialism. As this revolution is led by proletariat, it will be familiar as national democratic or new democratic revolution, which is a part of world revolution.

A characteristic of this revolution is that this is armed revolution. The main element of the state machinery of the Pakistani colonial ruling class is the military force, Police and law, by which, the colonial ruling class is ruling and exploiting East Bengal. To accomplish this new democratic revolution, this state machinery must be smashed via armed revolution by uniting workers-peasants and other patriotic classes and strata under the leadership of the proletariat, and new state system must have to be established with workers-peasants and other patriotic classes and strata on the basis of workers-peasants alliance under the proletarian leadership. In Chairman Mao's saying, we have to seize political power out of the barrel of the gun.

Another characteristic of this revolution is protracted struggle. Possibility of quick victory is very less in this revolution. The reasons are the disunity condition of the workers-peasants-masses of East Bengal, lack of a correct Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought follower party; the misguiding of people by the revisionist and neo-revisionist party and influence of the reactionary ideology among the masses.

On the other side, the colonial force is unified, their administrative power is consolidated, their administrative system is spread up to rural area through B.D. system, and the fact that imperialism, social imperialism and expansionism will help them. So, at present, power equilibrium is on the side of the Pakistani colonialists. To change this situation, a long period of time is needed. This is why national democratic revolution of East Bengal will be accomplished through protracted arduous war only.

Another characteristic of this revolution is encircling cities by rural areas and capturing cities later. Chairman Mao says, "according to law, revolution starts, develops and win in those places where reactionary forces are relatively weak." So, we must go to rural areas, raise peasants for

guerrilla war and seize rural areas through guerrilla war and establish Base areas. We must encircle cities by seized rural areas and later we must capture cities.

Another characteristic of this revolution is formation of the united front.

By holding high the national flag, and basing upon national struggle, united front must be formed. [Prior to this sentence, there was an opinion regarding Lin Piao, what was decided to omit later. It is to mention that the 1<sup>st</sup> Central Committee of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal led by Chairman Siraj Sikder decided to omit chapters regarding Lin Piao from constitution in its 10<sup>th</sup> Meeting in 1973—Sarbahara Path]

Under the leadership of proletariat, on the basis of workers-peasants alliance, all the anti-Pakistani colonialist patriotic classes and strata must have to be united. Within the united front, the proletarian party must protect its ideological, political and organizational independence and remain firm in principle of freedom and taking initiative and insist on own leadership role.

So, in the united front, the leadership, the freedom and the initiative of the proletarian party must have to be, and the only guarantee of that is a people's army led by the proletarian party. Chairman Mao said, "Without a people's army, people have nothing." This is why the primary precondition of establishing united front is the people's army.

#### **General Policy of the National Democratic Revolution**

- 1. Led by the proletarian party, we must go to such places where reactionary forces are relatively weak and those places that are most suitable for guerrilla war. That means, we have to go to forested mountainous rural areas
- 2. Rural workers, poor peasants and middle peasants should be inspired to anti-feudal anticolonial guerrilla war
- 3. Agrarian Revolution:

To seize lands of the pro-colonial zamindars (Zamindar refers to bigger feudal land lords—Sarbahara Path) and rich peasants and distribute those among agricultural workers and poor peasants

To smash the pro-colonialists of government (Police, Circle Officers) and B.D

To impose ban on changing of share cropper and changing of agreement by the patriotic zamindars, rich peasants and others. At the same time, to implement reduction of exploitation in share cropping and agreement in that case. To firmly carry out land reform in opportune moment

To forge regular army from guerrilla army and forge Base Area

- 5. To establish united front
- 6. To capture rural areas, then, encircle cities by the captured rural areas and at last, capture cities
- 7. To confiscate properties of the Pakistani colonialists, their lackey bourgeoisie of East Bengal, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, all other foreign forces who support colonial ruling class (if they have property in this country), and their lackeys (when they oppose national revolution)
- 8. To form national democratic government in captured areas. This government will impose dictatorship over enemies and democracy among people through democratic dictatorship, under the leadership of proletariat, on the basis of workers-peasants alliance, and with the help of other patriotic classes and strata
- 9. To provide autonomy with right to secession to various minority nationalities; to provide regional autonomy to various tribes
- 10. To provide full opportunity of cultural and lingual development to all non-Bengali patriotic people
- 11. To ensure religious right of the masses

#### **General Policy of Revolutionary War**

- 1. Guerrilla war is the principal form of revolutionary war until regular army is developed
- 2. Red army, comprising mainly of the peasants is the principal form of organization
- 3. Regular army will develop amidst guerrilla war
- 4. War will be protracted and arduous

**Main Task:** To establish Marxist-Leninist and Mao Tse-tung Thought follower political party of the proletariat

#### **Complementary Task:**

- 1) To inspire peasantry to Guerrilla War in anti-feudal anti-colonial struggle
- 2) To form Guerrilla Army comprising mainly with the peasants and carry Guerrilla War.

- 3) To carry Agrarian Revolution
- 4) To forge Regular Army and Base Area

#### **International Position**

Basic contradictions of the present world are as follows:

- 1) Contradiction of the US-led Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism versus the Socialist Countries
- 2) Contradiction among the Imperialists themselves and the Revisionists themselves on the one hand, and contradiction between Imperialism and Revisionism on the other
- 3) Contradiction of the ruling classes of Imperialist and Revisionist countries versus the People of their own countries
- 4) Contradiction of the US-led Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism versus the Oppressed People of Asia, Africa and Latin America

#### **Analysis of the Contradictions**

## 1. Contradiction of the US-led Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism-led Revisionism versus the Socialist Countries

The US imperialism and the Soviet social imperialism think socialist countries especially China as the main obstacle in continuing their rule and exploitation worldwide and redistributing world among themselves as field of exploitation. It is because China, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, is always exposing the real nature of the imperialist and the revisionist exploitation. China is holding high the flag of revolution that is the only path to liberation from that rule and exploitation. The Chinese revolutionary proletariat is giving moral support and practical assistance to the anti-domination and anti-exploitation struggle of the countries and nations of the world. China is leading the anti-domination and anti-exploitation struggle of the world.

That is why imperialism and revisionism are making all-out effort to smash this obstacle. But present world situation is on the side of revolution, masses and socialism, and against imperialism, revisionism and all sorts of reaction. Power balance of the world is on the side of socialism. Therefore, imperialists and revisionists are unable to resolve this contradiction through war. Chairman Mao said, "There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and

the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, 'Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West wind prevails over the East Wind'. I believe it is characteristic of the situation today that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism." For that reason, the imperialists and revisionists are dreaming to restore capitalism by gradually changing the socialist system via making external pressure, blackmail and communicating with the internal collaborators, and trying accordingly.

Initiated and guided by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution has completely shattered the colorful dream of the imperialists, revisionists and internal capitalist lackeys to restore capitalism in China. This Cultural Revolution has showed the path how revolutionaries in revisionist countries can restore socialism by capturing state power through overthrowing capitalist ruling classes. So, the contradiction of the Socialist Countries versus the Imperialist and Revisionist countries exists. But this is not the principal contradiction.

# 2. Contradiction among the Imperialist Countries themselves and among the Revisionist countries themselves on the one hand; and the Imperialist Countries versus the Revisionist Countries on the other

The US imperialism is confining other imperialist countries in various military alliances by terrorizing them with communist horror and in this way, is exploiting them economically. For this reason, there is contradiction between the US imperialism and the other imperialist countries. There is contradiction of interest among the ruling classes of the other imperialist countries themselves.

The Soviet social imperialism is ruling and exploiting other revisionist countries and has confined them in various alliances by terrorizing them with the horror of war so that they may not come out of their grip.

The US imperialism and The Soviet social imperialism contend and collude from their own interest. They are gradually distributing the world among themselves as own influence area for neo-colonial and colonial rule and exploitation. Contention arises among themselves on distribution of areas, and they collude each other to protect their common interest.

So, this contradiction exists. But this is not the principal contradiction.

## 3. Contradiction of the Ruling classes of the Imperialist and Revisionist countries versus the People of their respective countries

The ruling classes of the imperialist and the revisionist countries are exploiting the broad masses of people of own respective countries. They are carrying domination and exploitation in various

places of the world and they had to build massive military force for that reason. That military expenditure comes from the people of own countries, consequently, domination and exploitation over the people is intensifying. In some of the imperialist and revisionist countries, much more domination and exploitation is carried over minority nationalities. The US imperialism is carrying national oppression over the Afro-Americans (Negro). With the help of a few traitor lackeys, the Soviet social imperialism is exploiting minority nationalities.

So, this contradiction exists. But this is not the principal contradiction.

## 4. Contradiction of the US-led Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism versus the Oppressed Nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America

The US-led Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism is ruling and exploiting the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by making them colonies and semi colonies. Their development depends on this exploitation. For this reason, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the rural areas of the world. The Imperialist and Social Imperialist countries of Europe and America that are the urban areas of the world live on exploitation over them. To start revolution in these rural areas where reactionary forces are much weaker than they are in Europe and America, and gradually to capture the whole rural areas and then encircle cities and at last capture cities is a line of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The bourgeoisie of most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have liberated their respective countries from the direct rule and exploitation of imperialism and colonialism. This is a big victory in anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. But this bourgeoisie, for the sake of their class interest, established collusion with imperialist and social imperialist countries and made their respective countries neo-colonies. This is a historic responsibility of the proletariat to finish this unfinished new democratic revolution and thus make the condition for socialist revolution.

When the great liberation war of the heroic masses of Vietnam reached at the stage of completely defeating US imperialism, at that time, the degenerated collaborator of the US imperialism, the Soviet social imperialism is hatching vile conspiracy to wipe this great liberation struggle via farce peace talk.

Yet, anti-imperialist and anti-social imperialist struggle is going ahead intensely in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thai Land, Philippines, Indonesia, Malay, Burma, Naxalbari, Bihar, Congo, Mozambique, Angola, Azania, Palestine, Biafra, Rhodesia, New Zealand, Bolivia etc. places.

The US imperialism and the Soviet social imperialism is the center of the present world reaction. Facts proved that the US imperialism and the Soviet social imperialism is the main enemy of world people.

This contradiction exists. And this is the principal contradiction.

#### The International and the Domestic Communist Movement

The main danger in the international and domestic communist movement is revisionism and neorevisionism. Revisionism led by the Soviet social imperialism restored capitalism in several socialist countries by making quo de 'tat by its bourgeoisie representatives. Through the bourgeoisie lackeys, they are carrying counter revolutionary activities inside those communist parties whose power still they haven't been able to capture, while in some parties they have succeeded to do so. They are hatching vile conspiracy to restore capitalism in socialist countries by internal bourgeoisie representatives with the help of imperialism.

Being trapped in this conspiracy of revisionists, some parties declared that they are following independent path in the international communist movement but actually they are following the opportunist path and they have been compelled to surrender to the revisionists, as there is no middle way between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and revisionism.

At present world, being correct Marxist-Leninist, the Chinese Communist Party and the Labor party of Albania are advancing towards socialism. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist and the Great leader and the Guide of the proletarian class of the present world. [Here there was some lines regarding Lin Piao that was deleted from the works later as we mentioned before—Sarbahara Path]

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung, with his genius, creatively and comprehensively inherited Marxism-Leninism, defended and developed it and raised Marxism-Leninism to a new level." Marx and Engels are the founders of Marxism. Lenin solved important questions of Marxism on guiding the proletarian revolution in imperialist era, for the first time established a socialist state and established Marxism-Leninism. Stalin defended Leninism and resolved some important questions of proletarian revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed Marxism-Leninism of the era of total collapse of imperialism. He resolved how to resist restoration of capitalism in socialist countries and how the proletarian revolutionaries can again capture state power in those countries where capitalism has been restored. He, with his genius, initiated and guided the first Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution in the world. In this way, he raised Marxism completely to a new level and that is of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

"To cross the sea we depend on sailors, to make revolution we depend on Mao Tse-tung Thought". So, the way to recognize the present era revolutionaries is to study, practice and be a good soldier of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

A new type of revisionism emerged in the present international communist movement. They preach Mao Tse-tung in word but oppose in practice. They follow Mao Tse-tung Thought in word and paper but follow revisionism in practice. This is a new conspiracy of bourgeoisie lackeys to deceive masses and revolutionaries by covering their face with the veil of Mao Tse-tung Thought and this is the neo-revisionism.

Present world context is the time to carry great reorganization and repolarization of communist movement. The Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought followers of different countries where revisionists and neo-revisionists have captured leadership are creating new parties and guiding people to the path of revolution under proletarian leadership.

#### Necessity to form new Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought follower Political party of the proletarian class

Chairman Mao said, "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." The conventional Marxist named party in our country got split into two factions as "Pro-Moscow" and "Pro-Peking" name. We need to judge them along with those who came out or ousted from them and the other isolated groups and factions from this point of view.

#### The East Pakistan Communist Party named revisionist party

This party, by correcting all the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, actually became lackey of exploiting classes i.e. colonialist, feudalist, capitalist, imperialist and Soviet social imperialist, and thus misguiding the workers-peasants of East Bengal. This degenerated renegade faction is the follower of economism and Bernsteinism. By confusing the workers-peasants masses, their aim is to materialize the interest of the exploiting class. They are familiar as "Pro-Moscow". They are national enemy of the workers-peasants masses of East Bengal.

#### The East Pakistan Communist party (Marxist) named neo-revisionist party

They are Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought follower in word and paper but revisionist in practice. That means they hoist red flag to oppose the red flag. They do not recognize the Pakistani colonial exploitation over East Bengal and as they don't carry national struggle, they

are familiar as the lackeys of the colonial government to the people of East Bengal. By not taking preparation for armed struggle of national democratic revolution, they are, on the one hand, strengthening the hands of the colonial ruling class, and on the other hand, pushing mass people under the leadership of the US lackey bourgeoisie who are engaged in struggle against the colonial exploitation. By taking "Pro-Peking" name, they are making disgrace to the center of world revolution. They are the neo-revisionists.

#### New groups, factions and isolated revolutionaries

At present, as the situation of the revolution of East Bengal is at the boiling point, so the reorganization of domestic communist movement is going on. As the counterrevolutionary and traitor character of the East Pakistan communist party is gradually being exposed to the party cadres and revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought followers are steadfastly rebelling. In this situation, some opportunist reactionary clique came to catch fish in dirty water.

Through approximate investigation, we can divide them in following sections:

A clique ousted from the neo-revisionist party out of inner quarrel, pose themselves as correct Marxist and follower of Naxalbari. But this group is openly known to all the cadres and masses as lackey of the colonial force.

Another one group is colluding with the neo-revisionists at present. They are a splinter of the degenerated careerist bourgeoisie sect. The group of the conscious cadres is a clique or opportunist, and the group that is power greedy and inferiority complexed is a reactionary collusion of the elements who are opportunist, greedy for post and backboneless.

Another one mentionable group has been ousted from the Marxist named party because of making embryonic party inside party. They are same to the neo-revisionist party in position. They are unclear in national position and theoretically weak.

Another one group actually established a petit bourgeoisie movement in the name of revolutionary communist movement. They tried to hide their actual petit bourgeoisie character by expressing position borrowing from others and saying about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in an aimless manner. They took the position like there will be no contradiction in childhood of party of Deborin theory that was condemned by Stalin and Mao Tsetung long before, so that movement may be trapped in the pockets of several petit bourgeoisie intellectuals. Apart from that, they believe in some vile anti-Marxist petit bourgeoisie theories like close door policy, false monolithism, fear in unity on Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought basis but attraction to keep unprincipled opportunist sacred collusion with revisionists, neo-revisionists and proven traitors, multi-center theory, theory that leadership will remain in the hands of

revolutionary youth, keeping anti-Marxist guerrilla war theory of Che Guevara side by side with Guerrilla war principles of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Though some revolutionaries are trapped by them, soon they will come out from them when they will discover their actual face. Recently they have joined the above mentioned party that has been ousted from Marxist named neorevisionist party because of making embryonic party inside party.

Apart from them, known and unknown many revolutionaries are working isolated, some are working compromisingly while some are uncompromisingly, some are throwing arrows aimlessly.

So, all the revolutionaries who are Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought follower and are practicing accordingly, must fight against revisionism, neo-revisionism and other anti-Marxist ideologies and rebel against them by holding high the flag of "It is right to rebel against reactionaries". Chairman Mao said, "Without destruction there can be no construction. Destruction means criticism and rejection, and this is revolution. It is related with finding truth with reasoning, and this is construction."

Therefore, all the Marxist-Leninist-MaoTsetung Thought followers should establish unity among them and establish a revolutionary political party of proletariat countrywide. Chairman Mao said, "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated enemy."

The East Bengal Workers Movement is an active organization to establish a political party of the proletarian class in this revolutionary theory and revolutionary style, and to materialize the above mentioned program and position.

#### **♦ Long live Chairman Mao!**

#### **♦** Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!

[To make quotations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in English, the translator followed the Internet resources like <a href="www.marxists.org">www.marxists.org</a>, <a href="www.marx2mao.com">www.marx2mao.com</a> etc., and the Chinese and Soviet printed books. In most of the cases, the translator tried to keep those English quotations as it is—Sarbahara Path]