

5th POLITICAL REPORT

PBSP



Political Report/2024

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1. Introduction

More than seven years have passed since the 4th National Congress of the Party in 2017. During this period, a pandemic like COVID-19 wreaked havoc on human society for nearly two years, bringing death, hunger, unemployment, and helplessness—primarily due to the global system itself. Before its impact could subside, the imperialist global system plunged the world into the turmoil of several major wars, the consequences of which are being felt worldwide.

Simultaneously, revolutionary struggles of workers, peasants, and the masses continue in various parts of the world. Additionally, various forms of class struggles, anti-imperialist struggles, nationality movements, women's movements, and other democratic movements are developing and expanding. Some key aspects of the recent developments in the imperialist system that have become increasingly evident over the past years are outlined below.

2. Significant Developments in the International Situation

2.1. Since the beginning of the second decade of this century, China has started playing a **Social-Imperialist** role in the global economy and politics, steadily growing stronger. This has intensified inter-imperialist contradictions to a new level. At the same time, Russian imperialism is challenging U.S. dominance by striving to expand its own influence and authority. The China-Russia alliance aims to redive the world, posing a significant challenge to U.S. imperialism's unilateral dominance.

These developments have altered the U.S.-led unipolar world order that had existed since the 1990s. On one side stands the U.S.-led power bloc, while on the other are China and Russia-led forces—creating a bipolar or multipolar world order.

The influence and role of this inter-imperialist contradiction can be observed in nearly all major global events. This has emerged from the crisis of the imperialist system while simultaneously deepening that crisis further.

2.2. The ongoing economic crisis and recession have led to severe political crises for the imperialists, which have, in turn, manifested through their military adventurism in recent years. The proxy war between two imperialist factions over Ukraine is a direct expression of this crisis. This conflict has further escalated into Israel's renewed aggression and genocide in Palestine. The Palestinian people's national liberation struggle has become entangled in this inter-imperialist conflict, bringing the Middle East to the brink of a regional war.

2.3. The spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and the imperialist system's catastrophic failure to prevent it resulted in the deaths of millions. This disaster was a consequence of the fierce profit-driven competition among imperialists and their tendency to shift the burden of crises onto the common people. The COVID-19 catastrophe was also a reaction to their relentless destruction of the environment. Additionally, it starkly demonstrated their utter failure to tackle inevitable natural disasters.

During the pandemic, even in peripheral countries like Bangladesh, the number of billionaires increased significantly, wealth inequality skyrocketed, nearly 10 million people died,

and hundreds of millions of people faced extreme economic hardship and helplessness. This exposed the extreme anti-people and destructive nature of the system. Combined with the effects of global warming—caused by the imperialists—this system has created a dire existential threat to all of humanity and even the planet itself.

2.4. As a result of the imperialist crisis and intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions, the world is witnessing the Ukraine war, Israel's new occupation and barbaric genocide in Palestine, the looming specter of a regional war in the Middle East, U.S.-China tensions over Taiwan and the South China Sea, and the threat of a third world war and nuclear conflict.

This system has brought the world and people to the brink of unimaginable destruction and catastrophe on the cards of third imperialist war.

In the face of these threats, people must not side with this or that imperialist or reactionary force. Instead, they must counter the preparations of the world war with revolutionary war or preparations for it. If war does break out—whether it is a world war, a proxy war, or a regional conflict—it must be transformed into a revolutionary war to overthrow this reactionary global system. This is the only path forward for the people to liberate themselves from this destructive system.

2.5. The oppressed classes, nations, and people of the world continue their armed and unarmed resistance against the imperialist system. In particular, revolutionary movements in countries such as India and the Philippines persist and advance despite setbacks. The retreat of U.S. imperialism from Afghanistan has once again proven its paper-tiger nature. However, by exploiting the Afghan people's national liberation struggle, the religious-fascist Taliban, another enemy of the people, has seized power. The Palestinian people's fierce struggle for national liberation, important development of the struggles of oppressed ethnic groups and the armed democratic movement against military dictatorship in Myanmar, historic peasants' movement in India, peasant struggles in many countries including Europe, Latin America, and East Asia, massive democratic movements in Iran and Afghanistan (including women's movements), global protests against Israeli occupation and genocide, especially large-scale student uprisings in Western imperialist countries for the first time in decades, the Sri Lankan people's uprising against imperialists- and Indian-backed autocracy, the continued mass struggles against racism and white supremacy in America, women's rights movements in India, and the recent massive popular uprising in Bangladesh against the fascist Hasina-India regime_ all have shaken the global system.

However, due to the absence of a progressive ideology, program, and revolutionary strategy and tactics, these struggles either become confused and misdirected, get co-opted by reactionary factions vying for power, or are manipulated by one peoples-enemy against another. As a result, the working class and oppressed peoples fail to achieve their complete liberation. This underscores the urgent necessity of promoting our revolutionary ideology (Communism), guiding theory (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism), and program (Socialism and New Democracy) more firmly and extensively. The very first step toward this is building revolutionary Maoist parties of the working class, correctly identifying the people's enemies and friends, and organizing anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles—aimed at socialist revolutions in imperialist-capitalist countries and new democratic revolutions in oppressed countries.

2.6. The development of various forms of fascism and autocracy arising from the crisis of the world system, and the increasing failure of bourgeois democracy in confronting them, has become more apparent. The Hindutva facism in India, the fallen Hasina-Awami fascism and subsequent rise of religious fascism in Bangladesh, Israeli Zionism, Islamic fundamentalism in Muslim-majority countries such as Afghanistan and Iran, the rise of neo-fascism in Western countries, and the extreme nationalist and religious fascist barbaric activities in several African

countries-- all highlight the development of a more aggressive reactionary trend to address the crisis of imperialist systems.

The recent results of the U.S. presidential election have clearly shown how much the threat of fascism has increased globally. The victory of an openly fascist leader like Trump simultaneously exposes the failure of bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy, too, is based on the imperialist system in Western countries. Therefore, it is not capable of effectively conducting anti-fascist struggles. Rather, its crises and failures are paving the way for fascism.

In this context, the application of anti-fascist/military dictatorship/one-party dictatorship tactical line is emerging in many places, and it may continue to do so. The revolutionary proletarian party must pay attention to this issue correctly. However, it must also be extremely cautious to avoid falling into the trap or leadership of different forms of fascist/imperialist blocs or even bourgeois democracy.

2.7. In comparison to the objective revolutionary situation mentioned above, the international communist movement remains seriously weak, especially since the ineffectiveness of "RIM."

However, the efforts for its reconstruction in recent years have led and are leading to some significant progress. The major Maoist forces around the world are striving to unite and present a revolutionary explanation of the world situation, attempting to provide the correct revolutionary direction. Its positive development could have a significant impact on the international political situation.

3. South Asian Regional Situation and Domestic Situation Under India's Proxy Hasina-Awami Fascism

3.1. As always, Indian expansionism continues its ill attempts to dominate in South Asia. However, significant inter-imperialist rivalries are also at play here. Particularly, in the competition to increase the influence and control of China and the U.S., Indian expansionism, with U.S. support, is strengthening its anti-China activities. At the same time, in efforts to assert its own leadership in the region, India is sidestepping the U.S. and engaging with Russian imperialism, and even continuing trade relations with China.

To suppress the Maoist movement in India, the fascist military campaigns "SalwaJudum," "Greenhunt," and "Samadhan" have failed over the past two decades. In this situation, since last year, India has launched a new brutal military operation, named 'Kaghar', against Maoists, peasants, and indigenous peoples. The failure of India's efforts to crush the Maoist revolutionary movement, the ongoing ethnic struggles of the oppressed nationalities, especially in Kashmir and the North-east, the struggles of oppressed Muslims, Dalits, indigenous people, and women, the unparalleled struggles of peasants against repressive agricultural laws, and the continuous struggles of workers and students—have all exacerbated the crisis of the Indian ruling class. As a result, this "largest democracy" is now trapped under Hindutva fascism, desperately trying in failed attempts to resolve its own crisis.

However, democratic and human rights forces at all levels in India are putting up strong resistance against the rise of Hindutva fascism. This influence was visible in the recent Indian parliamentary elections also. But it also revealed that Hindutva fascism has built a sufficiently strong base. The recent elections in India also proved that without a Peoples War under a revolutionary program, bourgeois elections cannot establish people's power, and even Hindutva fascism cannot be easily defeated.

3.2. In the entire South-Asian region, the beaurocratic-comprador bourgeois ruling classes, stooges of imperialism, continue to oppress the broad nations and masses with religious and ultra-nationalist fascism, along with various forms of autocratic rule. At the same time, they are

shaken by the various forms of struggles of various sections of the people. Their response to these is the increased use of fascist and autocratic repression.

Against India's Hindutva fascist rulers, the oppressed peasants, nationalities, indigenous peoples, religious minorities, and women are in struggle, as is the broader population. Although the popular uprisings in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh have failed to achieve their desired goals, they have demonstrated the immense power of the people and highlighted the crisis of the imperialist stooge ruling classes and their state. The people of the Maldives have rejected Indian dominance with contempt, though pro-China parties have co-opted that sentiment. In Sri Lanka also, the recent electoral victory of fake Marxists has clearly failed to establish any power for the people. This is merely a failed attempt by the ruling classes to manage their crisis. In Myanmar, the ongoing nationality struggles against the long-standing military dictatorship continue to expose the fragile nature of the state and ruling apparatus.

3.3. India, desperately attempting to control its weaker neighboring countries to resolve its own crisis, which is inserting a significant impact on the domestic politics of our country also. The Bengali ultra-nationalist fascism under Hasina-Awami leadership had been able to maintain its grip on power for long 15 years with the support of India's ruling class and state, now especially by Hindutva fascism. By sheltering the fallen fascist Hasina, it has further exposed the character of Hasina-Awami League as India's stooges, as well as India's desperation to control the politics and economy of this country through its puppets.

3.4. The fallen Hasina-Awami fascism has not only subjected the people at all levels to ruthless exploitation and oppression, but they have also gone to great lengths to eliminate bourgeois opponents through enforced disappearances, murders, extrajudicial killings, so-called crossfires, and the fascistization of the police, bureaucracy, and judiciary. They have even destroyed the bourgeois electoral system. Although they have eventually faced defeat, fascists still hold powerful positions in the state and society. Using these, they are continuing to conspire with India's support to regain power, conducting numerous conspiracies against our people and the country.

Here, a detailed discussion can be made about the fascist and anti-country, anti-people activities of the Hasina regime and the long-standing struggles by various political forces during the 15 years preceding the uprising.

3.5. Hasina-Awami fascists used every possible means to cling to power and evade punishment for their countless crimes. For this aim, They have brutally suppressed people's movements through attacks, false cases, enforced disappearances, killings, torture, and repression. At the same time, they had also applied fascist repression against their bourgeois opponents in the same manner. They completely destroyed the bourgeois electoral system. To silence both the people and the opposition, they not only party-oriented politicized the judiciary but also introduced draconian laws such as the new Cyber Security Act following the Digital Security Act.

In their desperate attempt to hold on to power, they did not just prostrate before India as their master, but also sought the blessings of Western imperialist forces by accepting their economic dominance in every possible way. Due to this, along with the boundless corruption and plunder of the fascists, foreign debt has skyrocketed. Through massive projects, they had sold off national resources and the environment to imperialists, India, and other reactionary forces. The prices of essential commodities have surged abnormally, making life unbearable for common people. To suppress workers' movements, they resorted to gunfire and severe crackdowns at the slightest provocation. After forming the Industrial Police, they enacted the so-called Labour Service Act to further suppress the working class. The extreme level of unemployment left the youth of the country in a state of despair. Instead of ensuring employment opportunities, the regime pushed them towards drug addiction. A vast section of the

general population—including children, youth, students, women, and workers—was handed digital drugs in the form of smart-phones. Violence against women increased dramatically, with Awami godfathers and thugs playing a leading role. Peasants were deprived of fair prices for their produce, as middlemen, brokers, the police, Awami extortionists, and syndicates pocketed the profits. The prices of economic crops such as jute and vegetables remained disproportionately low, while the increase in fuel and electricity prices severely disrupted agricultural production. The regime engaged in massive looting in the power sector. Large-scale capital flight abroad led to banking collapses, severe inflation, and a depletion of foreign reserves, which they then attempted to offload onto the people. They made cosmetic changes to the imperialist-expansionist controlled, distorted, discriminatory, and religion-tainted multi-tiered education system without addressing its fundamental issues. Under the pretext of so-called curriculum reforms, students, teachers, and parents were subjected to reactionary experiments driven by imperialist and comprador interests. This was part of a broader scheme to completely destroy knowledge-based education.

Indigenous peoples across the country continued to face eviction and oppression. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the state and government, driven by ultra-Bengali nationalism, settled impoverished Bengali populations to grab the land and resources of hill communities, fueling ethnic conflicts to serve their ulterior motives. Simultaneously, they instigated divisions and destructive infighting among various indigenous nationalities to pit them against one another.

3.6. The indigenous population in the plains all over the country is not insignificant. Yet oppression on them and their struggles have received little attention in national politics. This is because they are scattered across different regions. However, some indigenous communities are more concentrated in specific areas. The state and ruling class have actively undermined their revolutionary consciousness through religious conversion, NGO activities, co-optation of their wealthy and opportunist segments by bourgeois parties, the spread of drug addiction, and forced migration to India.

Their lands and properties are being seized by aggressive Bengali and religious reactionary forces, as well as by criminal elements, all with the backing of the state and the ruling elites. They also face various forms of ethnic and religious persecution. Tea plantation workers, who are predominantly indigenous, endure semi-serflike exploitation and repression. During the time of Hasina's rule, these communities waged multiple struggles against such conditions, and similar movements hold significant potential in the future.

3.7. Towards the end of Hasina's regime, the increased activities of the KNF (Kuki-Chin National Front) were influenced by the long-standing struggles of oppressed ethnic groups—this is undeniable. However, it is also possible that the ruling class, the state apparatus, and the military adopted a “divide and rule” strategy, manipulating the situation to their advantage. Additionally, there may be conspiracies involving reactionary neighboring states and forces. Using this as a pretext, the military presence in the hill tracts has been expanded, leading to intensified armed repression against indigenous communities.

Any oppressed nationality has the right to demand autonomy and even to raise demand and struggle for an independent state. However, it is crucial for oppressed nationalities to resist becoming pawns of reactionary neighboring states or any of the imperialist powers and instead, advance their national movements through self-reliant struggles. Their true liberation lies in forging an alliance with the new democratic revolutionary struggle of the Bengali peasantry, working class, and people of East Bengal. Only such a strategy can guarantee their national liberation and lead to success. Otherwise, their movements risk being engulfed in reactionary conspiracies.

3.8. On the Rohingya issue also, Hasina's government had played a treacherous, anti-oppressed-nationality role. Instead of supporting the Rohingya people's struggle for self-determination

within Myanmar, the ruling class and the state forced them into a state of perpetual dependence and helplessness.

We had clearly articulated our stance on the Rohingya issue in various statements and publications. We firmly believe that the fundamental task is to openly support the struggle for self-determination of the Rohingya people and contribute to their cause in every possible way. The Rohingya crisis is part of a broader struggle for self-determination involving multiple ethnic groups within Myanmar. It is also linked to the democratic struggles of the broader oppressed masses against the imperialist-backed military Junta. At the same time, it is intertwined with the complex ethnic issues within Rakhine State. Regardless of these complexities, instead of educating and organizing the Rohingya people politically, the UN policy of indefinitely confining them to refugee camps reflects the cruel bourgeois-imperialist approach. The Bangladesh state and government followed the same policy, despite occasionally claiming to want their repatriation—though there appears to be no tangible progress in that direction. Meanwhile, they have also incited aggressive Bengali nationalism over the Rohingya issue, further exacerbating the plight of the Rohingya people. Our task is to expose these deceptions and, as much as possible, work towards politically educating and organizing the Rohingya people within a revolutionary framework.

3.9. As part of the inter-imperialist conflicts in geopolitics, American imperialism, while opposing the Hasina-Awami fascists to some extent and pressuring for the creation of a bourgeois electoral environment, simultaneously kept the Hasina-Awami fascists within its grasp. As a result, the pro-Western imperialist-dependent opposition bourgeois political movement was failing to achieve success. However, the crisis of the Awami fascists was immense—they had become completely detached from the people. Taking advantage of this, American imperialists attempted to bring to power their loyal BNP or a third force supported/controlled by the military bureaucracy. The fall of the Hasina-Awami fascists eventually materialized these possibilities.

3.10. However, for a long 15 years, alongside the ruling Awami League, the opposition bourgeois party politics was also in crisis. Due to the ineffectiveness of the so-called "law-oriented" movement against the ruling Awami fascists, they were largely directionless. Although they had anti-fascist people's support, the absence of any programs for the peasantry or the working class made it impossible for them to mobilize the broad masses into a life-and-death struggle. Furthermore, they faced a dilemma regarding the form of the movement. As part of the existing system, they neither managed to direct their cadres and leaders towards large-scale destructive movements, nor could they defeat the fascist Hasina-India nexus through so-called "peaceful" and "non-violent" movements. Consequently, they were increasingly forced to rely on American imperialism, which, in turn, maintained its ties with both India and the Awami League also. In this situation, the BNP-aligned movement continued to spiral without achieving decisive success.

3.11. In the movement against Hasina-India fascism, two distinct trends emerged. One was the bourgeois trend, which advocated for a "neutral caretaker government," under whose leadership a "neutral" election would be held within the existing system. In contrast, the people's program called for the establishment of a "People's Government" or "Provisional Revolutionary Government" of the peasantry, workers, and the masses. This could have been realized through the leadership of a revolutionary party, with the "forcible overthrow of fascism" via the people's struggle—especially the struggles of workers and peasants. This government would abolish the existing fascism-nurturing constitution, uproot fascism at all levels of society and the state, implement the urgent demands of workers, peasants, and the common people, and organize elections for a constituent assembly that would serve the people's interests.

The major sections of the revisionist petty-bourgeois parties merely echoed the bourgeois demand for a "neutral government and neutral elections." As a result, they continued their traditional tailism of bourgeois politics, as they had done in 1971, 1990, and afterward. In the anti-fascist political program, to cover up their bankruptcy, they did mention some immediate demands of workers and the masses. Through this, they made a futile attempt to distinguish themselves from the BNP-aligned bourgeois forces.

3.12. Even within the people's program, two sub-trends existed. We emphasized the path of rural-based People's War and, in alignment with that, the path of forcibly overthrowing fascism through people's struggles. On the other hand, the anti-people'swar petty-bourgeois anti-imperialist and reformist forces advocated for a "mass uprising". Which effectively proposed a non-threatening mass movement and an economistic approach centered on immediate demands.

For all these reasons, the Hasina-Awami fascists, with the support and patronage of India and the imperialists, managed to sustain their rule for a long period, causing immense damage to the country and the people.

3.13. It was within this suffocating political environment that, suddenly in July, the student movement against quotas swiftly transformed into an anti-government political movement. Through the July-August mass uprising, the Hasina-Awami fascists met their disgraceful downfall. A brief discussion on this follows below.

4. The Fall of Hasina-Awami Fascism and the Subsequent Situation

During and after the movement for Hasina's downfall, our party continuously presented our assessment and appeals to the people through a series of leaflets and political statements. Our activities and their evaluation have also been discussed in the organizational report. Therefore, here we will briefly discuss a few key political points.

4.1. The explosion of intense resentment accumulated among people from all walks of life during Hasina's 15-year-long Awami fascist rule occurred in the July–August student-people uprising. This proves the country's persistent revolutionary situation.

Everyone knows that this movement initially was a reformist demand-driven movement by students against the unjust quota system in government jobs. The student leaders outside the traditional political student organizations clearly labeled it as a "non-political" movement. This trend arose on the one hand from the widespread distrust of large numbers of students and the people toward the tailist student politics of conventional bourgeois politics. On the other hand, the bourgeois "Third Force" was also actively working to depoliticize the movement for their own agenda and conspiracies.

However, in mid-July, the fascist Student League's gang forces and the state police openly launched armed attacks on unarmed protestors and female students on the streets, brutally killing several of them. This incident played a role in igniting flames across the country. Students ousted Student League (a stooge student organisation of the Hasina-Awami fascist Party) from the occupation of Dhaka University halls. In response, the Awami and state forces launched a brutal massacre against them and all groups of students, youths, and the people who stood in support. The movement took on a political dimension. Cracks within the ruling class, particularly within the military, deepened into extreme distrust toward Hasina. Eventually, Hasina was forced to flee to India, aided by military bureaucrats and India.

This mass uprising was the result of a long series of revolutionary, progressive, reformist, and bourgeois party struggles, as well as the continuous struggles of people from all walks of life, against Hasina-Awami's 15-year-long fascist rule.

4.2. However, it must be clearly stated that though the student-mass movement pushed the Hasina government into a severe crisis, this movement alone could not have toppled Hasina's government. As the movement intensified and the government failed to suppress it through police and armed attacks by party thugs, they were forced to deploy the military. However, the military bureaucrats, especially anti-Hasina elements and pro-Western factions, refrained from providing Hasina with full support in this situation. All anti-Hasina factions within the ruling class became active both on the ground and behind the scenes.

As a result, in the final moments, the military-bureaucratic withdrawal of support for Hasina and the collusion of Western imperialists with their loyal factions within the ruling class acted as the primary catalyst for qualitative change. However, without the spontaneous uprising of students and the particularly intense violence from the general poor working-class youth and the masses, this shift in power within the ruling class might not have occurred. They found it necessary to remove Hasina to protect the system from a deeper crisis.

Due to the political unawareness of student leaders and the reactionary political consciousness of a section of them, along with the reformist and/or reactionary politics of bourgeois/petty-bourgeois political parties, the spontaneous mass uprising failed to establish the people's power. Although our party and various revolutionary and anti-imperialist political forces actively participated in this mass movement and uprising and played various roles, they were not strong enough to lead it.

4.3. In this situation, under the pressure of the student-peoples movement and by exploiting it, the so-called "Third Force" of the bureaucratic-comprador bourgeois class, loyal to imperialism—particularly U.S. and Western imperialist agents and military-backed,—came to power. Their main backing came from the military. They used the just aspirations of student protesters for their own interests. This third force took on the task of resolving the crisis of the ruling class and the state apparatus, in which anti-Hasina bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties also joined hands. Through them, an "Interim Government" was formed. Although it was labeled as a government of the mass uprising, in reality, it was merely a transfer of power to a different faction of the ruling bureaucratic-comprador bourgeois class. A section of the so-called "non-political" student leadership also welcomed them, thus handing over the gains of the mass uprising to the disguised enemies of the people.

4.4. In reality, this was the natural outcome. Because from the very beginning, the student leaders exposed their severe political weaknesses (and the reactionary political character of a section of them) by labeling this movement as "non-political." In the face of Hasina's repression and her tactical acceptance of the quota demand, a section of their top leadership, while in captivity, even declared the withdrawal of the movement. Yet, later, they claimed sole credit for Hasina's downfall, thereby burying the positive elements of the mass uprising and bringing forward another reactionary force.

Particularly after July 16, the mass participation of ordinary young people, the common people, and all political parties, including the major bourgeois parties BNP and Jamaat, made the Hasina-toppling movement un-stoppable and violent. BNP (The main bourgeoisie party) and Jamaat (Jamaat is one of the principal Islamist party, which is infamous for their collaboration with Pakistani Genocide in 1971 - Translator) effectively deployed their forces tactfully under the student-banner.

All political forces had already put forward the agenda of Hasina's downfall. Militant students, young people, female students, educated middle-class women, and a vast section of the working people took to the streets, engaging in desperate struggles. In such a situation, and with the support of anti-Hasina forces within the ruling class, they were eventually compelled to declare the political demand of "one-point"- Hasina's removal. So, when they handed over power to the "third force" and actively participated in it under the cover of various militant slogans, it was not surprising.

Thus, the ruling class and the state apparatus have entered a new phase of dealing with the deep crisis created during the Hasina-India fascist era. However, this has also ushered in a new crisis for them. There is no solution to this cycle of crises within this system.

4.5. A section of the so-called “non-political” student leadership, which outwardly led this movement, never raised any program addressing the working class, peasants, or the broader oppressed masses. Yet, as in any just and militant movement, this uprising and mass revolt saw significant participation from urban poor working people, especially young people from these fundamental classes. Still, this movement largely failed to draw in the urban working class, let alone the rural peasantry.

In reality, neither the so-called non-political student leaders nor the major bourgeois parties like BNP-Jamaat had any such goal. This was a massive political weakness of this movement. Because of the rhetoric of so-called non-political movement and the way the educated middle class and bourgeoisie fanned its flames, the movement failed to bring forth any special program for workers, peasants, the poor, women, or indigenous people, nor could such programs gain prominence. As a result, the ruling class’s “Third Force” was able to easily claim the gains of this movement and uprising for themselves.

Thus, politically, this movement and uprising was far behind not only the mass uprising of ’69 or the March uprising of ’71 but also the anti-Ershad military dictatorship struggles and uprisings of the 1980s. However, in terms of militancy and violence against the state apparatus, this uprising surpassed previous ones (except for March ’71). This proves that, far from revolutionary change, even for significant political changes, society and the times no longer permit limiting struggles to peaceful movements.

4.6. Any future mass movement or mass uprising must raise and incorporate the programs of urban workers, the poor, and the rural peasant masses. In practice, the revolutionary political leadership of the working class must be ensured.

At the same time, the people must be made conscious of revolutionary politics, and the mass uprising must be transformed into a planned armed insurrection with the central aim of seizing state power for the people. Without this, there is no easy or shortcut path to establishing people's state power.

4.7. After Hasina’s downfall, the so-called non-political student leadership, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, and the government did not channel the enthusiasm of the struggling students and working-class youth into any positive political direction. Instead, they first engaged a section of the students in temporary political goal-less tasks such as acting as traffic police and street cleaning. Later, they effectively neutralized them. They suppressed the potential uprising of workers, peasants, and the poor masses. At the same time, a section of these student fighters is now being used by the student leadership and their patrons and allies to form a new “King’s Party.” They aim to prolong their power and secure a favorable outcome in any future elections through this party.

4.8. However, by seizing power in this manner, the “Third Force” and its allies have also plunged into a severe constitutional crisis. At different times, different members of this group have made contradictory statements. They are deceiving the people and the militant youth by calling this event the “Second Liberation,” the “New Bangladesh,” the “Second War of Independence,” a “Non-discriminatory,” “Prosperous,” and “Peaceful” Bangladesh, and even a “Revolution.” At the same time, they are continuing Hasina’s fascist constitution and had taken their oath under it. In reality, according to Hasina’s constitution, this government is undoubtedly an unconstitutional, explicitly described as treasonous within the framework of the constitution itself. However, since they do not wish to impose direct military rule at this moment and aim to

prevent further exacerbation of the existing crisis, they are temporarily maintaining the constitution.

4.9. To navigate out of this crisis, some of them are now raising calls to abolish the constitution. They are feeling their own vulnerabilities in the face of the ousted fascists. They want to resolve the constitutional crisis in this manner. They are now making revolutionary-sounding statements about the "Father of the Nation," the 1971 Liberation War, Awami League politics, and India's dominance. They are pushing for the issuance of a declaration of the so-called "July Revolution." In doing so, they have started playing a deceptive game of revolution. Through this, they seek to channel the aspirations and spirit of countless students and struggling masses involved in this uprising into their reactionary politics.

This is akin to cutting the very branch they are sitting on. It is as foolish as hitching a cart behind the horse. It is a suicidal act—standing on the fundamental structure of the system while attempting to undermine its roots. Or, it is nothing more than a conspiratorial tool similar to the JASAD-led "revolutionary" deception of the post-1971 era. The consequences of this may also turn out to be disastrous for them. All of this is intensifying their crisis and fueling internal conflicts, which will only escalate in the future.

True revolutionary-minded youth and intellectuals must be aware of these developments and advance on the path of genuine revolution.

4.10. The Indian expansionists, who had been Hasina's most devoted patrons, reacted with extreme sensitivity to her ouster. They have provided refuge to the fugitive Hasina and are orchestrating further conspiracies through her. Initially, they nearly declared a state of war along the border. They are continuing border killings, which may escalate at any moment. They have begun shedding crocodile tears over the so-called persecution of Hindus, attempting to incite communal riots. They are playing the "Hindu card" through their loyal agents. These efforts are aimed at instigating a counter-coup among the new rulers, their strong supporters within the state apparatus and society, or at least extracting benefits from them. Simultaneously, they are maintaining their relationships with this government, which is backed by Western imperialists. In this way, India is applying pressure while seeking to extract as many advantages as possible from the current rulers.

4.11. This government and its supporters, including a section of the student leadership, are making grand proclamations against fascism. Yet, they have kept Hasina's Awami fascist constitution and president in place for the past five months. They have retained Hasina's army chief. Most of the high- and mid-level officials complicit in Hasina's fascist regime remain in their positions. The bourgeois media and business-industrial elites, most of whom benefited under Hasina's fascism, are still intact.

This government has already proven its failure to eliminate Awami-Indian fascism from society, the state, and politics. They have only removed a few top-level Awami fascists from key positions and prosecuted some Awami leaders to secure their own hold on power. However, they have simultaneously allowed a vast number of Awami fascists to flee the country, enabling them to continue their conspiracies. All forms of semi-feudal exploitation and repression from the Hasina era remain intact in both rural and urban areas. The extreme exploitation of garment workers and other laboring masses continues unabated.

In fact, this government has already begun attacking the legitimate struggles of garment workers, auto-rickshaw drivers, small business owners, indigenous people, and various other working-class and marginalized groups. There have been incidents of garment workers being killed by security forces during protests. The prices of essential commodities continue to rise. Their collusion with imperialists is now blatantly visible. The country is being further ensnared in new debt agreements and other exploitative conditions. Meanwhile, they are not explicitly resisting or eliminating the conspiracies of Indian expansionists unless absolutely necessary.

Instead, they continue to parrot empty rhetoric about "friendship with all" while seeking compromises with India.

4.12. At the same time, through various so-called depoliticization programs, they have exposed their reactionary political character. The primary aim of this is to suppress people's political consciousness—especially revolutionary political practice. Their immediate goal, however, is to eliminate the two main rival factions of domestic bourgeois politics—Awami League and BNP—under what is known as the "Minus Two Formula." They had attempted this once in 2007 through the Moinuddin-Fakhruddin regime, but it failed. Taking advantage of the recent mass uprising, they have revived this formula once again. This represents a different form of fascism, the mask of which must be exposed.

Simultaneously, the government and its allies have taken dangerous steps in preserving and fostering religious fundamentalist fascism. Most notably, they have already rehabilitated the Jamaat-e-Islami—collaborators in the 1971 genocide—and have provided a platform for various other fascist forces to grow.

4.13. Under the guise of "reforms," they have essentially taken on the task of repairing the state apparatus that was severely disrupted by the anti-fascist movement. They are working to consolidate the ruling class while temporarily restraining the Awami fascists for their own safety.

At the same time, they are conspiring to make their factional power permanent. They are trying to shift all their failures and misdeeds onto the so-called conspiracies of Awami fascism—just as Hasina had previously blamed all her misdeeds on fundamentalist and BNP-Jamaat conspiracies. By dangling the illusion of so-called reforms, they are attempting to prolong their illegitimate rule. Phrases like "elections at an appropriate time" or "elections after reforms" are being used to even suspend the usual bourgeois electoral process. This is the same trickery used by Hasina's fascist regime. In doing so, they are also paving the way for the absolute control of power by the military-bureaucratic elite.

Thus, under this government, no fundamental program for workers, peasants, indigenous people, women, students, or other oppressed groups can be implemented. Nor can any meaningful benefit be established in the lives of the people and the country.

4.14. For these reasons, contradictions within different factions of the ruling class are intensifying, and they will continue to do so. As already mentioned, Awami fascists, with India's backing, are engaged in various conspiracies to bring themselves or their allies back to power. Religious fascist forces are escalating their plots. To manage the crisis, the ruling powers might declare a state of emergency. Military bureaucrats, backed by different factions, could seize power directly. Coups and counter-coups could occur. On the other hand, BNP and its allies are intensifying their efforts to secure power through early elections—something the "Third Force" might also accept. However, this will not resolve the systemic crisis. Various imperialist forces and Indian expansionists are also trying to increase their influence and control. Taking advantage of this government's weaknesses, they will make every effort to maximize their own interests.

Amidst this situation, justified movements are emerging from different sections of society—workers, peasants, women, indigenous people, students, employees, and the middle class. However, various reactionary forces are also intervening in these movements to advance their own agendas. We must remain vigilant in this context and be prepared with tactical plans and urgent tasks according to the evolving situation.

4.15. The so-called leftist revisionist and reformist petty-bourgeois parties have become politically irrelevant due to their electoral opportunism—both during Hasina's rule and after her fall. Many of them are clinging to different bourgeois parties in an attempt to maintain their

small existence and secure a share of power and privileges. Even in their reformist/economistic approach, they have remained confined to urban intellectuals, the middle class, and students instead of engaging with the two primary classes—workers and peasants. They have limited themselves to university campuses, press clubs, Facebook debates, and TV talk shows, trapping the new generation and, in the process, trapping themselves as well. This kind of politics has no future.

Taking advantage of the mass uprising, these groups have collaborated with the military-bureaucratic elite and the "third force" to participate in state restructuring. They have welcomed this government as a product of the mass uprising. However, as previously discussed, the outcome of the mass uprising was hijacked on August 5. They are trying to bury this truth and, as the true nature of this government becomes increasingly evident, have begun making mild criticisms of it.

4.16. The current system and their foreign masters had actively nurtured, sheltered, and supported religious ideology and politics. In contrast to bourgeois politics, these religiousists possess some form of an 'ideology,' which is laying the foundation for a different form of fascism. The rise of these religiousists is occurring in place of the bankruptcy of bourgeois 'democratic' politics. Therefore, special caution is necessary in this regard. This is because, beyond its ideological strength, this ideology and politics have increasingly incorporated a significant portion of the peasant and urban working-class/poor population through the expansion of madrasa education. An ideological struggle alone is not enough to counter this. Rather, it can only be effectively confronted by engaging workers, laborers, the poor, and peasants in our revolutionary political programs and, in particular, in the struggle of the people's war.

4.17. This situation has also created an opportunity for the development of revolutionary politics in favor of New Democracy and People's War and against imperialism-expansionism and bourgeois politics. However, it comes with severe adversities and challenges. The path is complex and arduous—especially in the context of the ongoing crisis in the world communist movement. But only this politics can show the path to the oppressed people—workers, peasants, the poor, laborers, oppressed women, indigenous communities, and the common middle class—to overthrow the enormous weight of the ruling big bourgeois class and their imperialist-expansionist masters. It can ignite the light of hope for a New Democratic Revolution.

5. Some of our Important Political Tasks and Line Positions

After the 4th Congress

During the post-4th National Congress period, which was held in 2017, in light of the aforementioned international and domestic conditions, our party had published numerous documents, statements, and pamphlets that provide political analysis, evaluation, and directives on necessary tasks. Below are some key line-based documents of particular importance:

5.1. The document titled **"China is a Social-Imperialist State"** presented our official evaluation after the 4th Congress. This has helped the party, political activists, and the masses understand the current international and domestic situation. It demonstrates how, after Mao's death, the capitalist resurgence following the takeover by revisionists in China eventually transformed into social-imperialism.

5.2. A series of documents were published by the party center during the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic. These documents analyzed the crisis, its causes, consequences, and the internal conflicts and profit-driven competition among imperialists regarding its control and suppression,

as well as the immense sufferings of the people. These guided urgent political actions during the lockdown and enabled the party to remain active alongside the people during that critical period.

The party also placed emphasis on India's blatant intervention and support for the expansion and consolidation of Hasina-Awami fascism during the 2018 and recently held 2024 so-called parliamentary elections, in continuation of 2014 election.

The party had formulated and disseminated several important documents outlining political direction and tasks in the movement for the overthrow of Hasina-Awami fascism. It had acted accordingly. Notably, the August 11 document assessing the uprising and new government formed following the establishment of a new "interim" government led by Dr. Yunus played a crucial role in providing political direction at all levels.

Party has continuously provided statements, pamphlets, and analytical evaluations on significant global events such as the Taliban's seizure of power in Afghanistan, the Ukraine war, and Israel's renewed aggression and genocide in Palestine. These had been presented to the party, political activists, and the masses.

5.3. A crucial document titled "**Program**" has been written to elevate and synthesize the party's socio-economic evaluation and program to a higher level. This document identifies the confusions, deviations, and differences of opinion those had persisted in our movement and party history. It has enhanced our political program to an higher stage.

It provides a proletarian assessment of the historical development of the country by refuting the various nationalist deviations that existed during the foundation stage of the Maoist movement during the 1960s and 70s.

This document importantly highlights the new changes in socio-economic changes condition of the country over the past five decades, incorporating an analysis and evaluation of its neo-colonial, semi-feudal character. Based on this, it lays out anextensive new framework for the New Democratic Revolution in East Bengal today.

This program has been placed within the context of the world revolution, socialism, and communism.

5.4. As a synthesis of five decades of experiences of the country's Maoist People's War, a "**Military Document**" has been drafted, which has helped elevate our line-position and consciousness to a higher level.

At the very beginning, the document engages in an important theoretical discussion on the universality of People's War and its specific form in our country—"*Protracted People's War.*"

It presents a comprehensive summation of the armed revolutionary struggle, i.e. the People's War, under the leadership of the Maoist movement in the country and our party. It includes an assessment of Comrade SirajSikder(SS)-led war of 1971 and the uprisings of 1973/74, Comrade Anwar Kabir(Ak)-led uprisings of the 1980s. This also involves a summation of the lines guiding these struggles.

In the process of drafting this document, and through this document, lessons have been drawn from contemporary Maoist People's Wars. Various military lines and their political deviations have been discussed. Through this, a higher foundation for our current military line has been established.

5.5. On the occasion of the party's 50th anniversary, the special issue of **Sphulingo** (Spark--Party's Political-Theoretical Organ) published in 2022, has played—and continues to play—a crucial role in synthesizing five decades of experiences of the Maoist movement in this country.

5.6. In the process of building a united movement against the *Hasina-Awami fascist regime*, various misconceptions regarding fascism had emerged. Our documents had addressed these issues.

On one hand, these documents had struggled against the *dogmatist deviation* that refuses to recognize the regime as fascist and, therefore, fails to grasp the importance of formulating a tactical approach to combat it. On the other hand, they had also highlighted the weaknesses and deviations of those who label all forms of autocracy—or even all imperialist forces—as fascism. Our struggle had been to clarify these confusions regarding the specificity of fascism.

By identifying the emergence and tendencies of both rightist and leftist deviations within the anti-fascist movement, foundation of a tactical program for the anti-fascist struggle had been laid down.

5.7. During and after the downfall of the Hasina-fascist regime, we have gained valuable experiences in formulating tactical demands and slogans, exposing the character of the regime change, and developing timely tactical approaches. In this process, we identified and exposed both rightist and “leftist” deviations. We remained with the struggling masses, upheld our strategic direction, raised awareness about this among the people, and adapted our tactical approach in response to changing circumstances.

5.8. To clarify our position on various major line struggles within the international communist movement, a document titled “**Debates on the International Line**” has been drafted.

This document discusses the line-differences among Maoists worldwide regarding the formation of a new international organization. Many of the issues addressed in the document are not yet conclusive, but it brings forth fundamental debates and their interpretations—issues that must be resolved for the international organizational process to move forward smoothly. Some of these points are elaborated below.

6. Unity Process and Differences of opinions in the International Movement

Following the collapse of **RIM**, efforts to unify Maoists internationally resumed. Our party has engaged in bilateral relations as well as broader international unity efforts. While our connections with some neighboring parties had progressed, various crises have repeatedly hindered these relationships. However, through international networking, we have participated in joint initiatives with other Maoist parties and organizations—further details of which can be found in the organizational report.

This process was disrupted by the so-called “**Gonzalo Thought (GT)**” followers, who, based on their divisive and sectarian ideology, caused a rift in the unity efforts. In December 2022, they announced the formation of an international organization called **ICL**, in which they in essence upheld **GT** as their foundation. We have disagreements with them on many issues, such as Principally Maoism, Thought, Jefetura, dogmatic one-sidedness in the name of the universality of People’s War, the question of two-line struggle within the Peru Party, the evaluation of the setback of the Peruvian Revolution, the influence of the revisionist **Three Worlds Theory** in assessing the international situation, the anti-RIM activities by factions claiming to represent the Peru Party, and many other issues. A detailed analysis and evaluation of these matters have been presented in our international document.

A detailed analysis and evaluation of these issues have been presented in our international document. **ICL** has not attracted any significant Maoist parties or organizations globally. The process of forming a Maoist international organization is progressing outside of **ICL**, with the participation of major Maoist forces worldwide—including our party.

However, there are still some important differences among these Maoist forces, particularly on:

a) Evaluation of the International Situation

A key issue in evaluating the international situation is how the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions are influencing, utilizing, and infiltrating anti-imperialist or nationality movements. Additionally, the assessment of the forces within these movements, particularly the Muslim fundamentalist/fascist forces, is an important factor.

Another point of contention is whether U.S. imperialism still remains a superpower.

b) Evaluation of GT and the Two-Line Struggle within the Peru Party

c) The Question of Highlighting the Achievements of RIM

Additionally, ongoing debates to achieve consensus revolve around crucial issues such as the universality of People's War, the necessity and practicality of building an international organization, and other related matters.

Thus, while the need for a new Maoist Communist International is strongly felt and genuine Maoist forces are actively working towards uniting to advance this process, there are still significant tasks that need to be accomplished for qualitative success. However, we remain optimistic that serious revolutionary Maoist organizations are well aware of its necessity in the current global context. Hence, they will be able to advance some form of unified effort, a process that is already underway. Nevertheless, for this to succeed, it is crucial to advance the ideological and political debates among Maoists in a healthy manner. We are making efforts in this regard, and key Maoist forces are, to varying degrees, participating in this process.

7. The Question of People's War

At present, our slogan in building People's War is: "Defend, expand, and advance the ongoing flow of People's War to a higher level."

We have had successes in terms of "defending" and "expanding" the People's War, though there have been ups and downs in the process. However, in terms of "advancing it to a higher level," we have not made progress.

Our Party is not only engaged in synthesizing five decades of experiences and educating itself accordingly, but it also has to physically rebuild itself because the older generation is no longer as capable of actively engaging in field-level work for the People's War. They are reaching their limits, while new recruits are not coming in easily. As a result, even the primary tasks of party building is being given with high importance.

At the same time, the crisis in the international revolutionary communist movement and its significant negative impact on the country's leftist movement remain major factors. Alongside this, there is the question of developing the military line in accordance with the country's changing socio-economic conditions—a matter on which there is considerable lack of clarity even within the Party. This is evident in the weaknesses in consolidating and strengthening the PW-stream.

Despite progress in basic tasks, technical procedural errors have caused major setbacks in two regions over the past few years—setbacks that could have been avoided. Moreover, we could have made significant progress in expanding and advancing the ongoing People's War based on our existing achievements. This was especially evident during the fall of Hasina, which further proved the point. However, due to weaknesses in adapting our military activities to the changing socio-economic conditions, we have not been able to make that progress. Our caution in using IT technology is also not sufficient.

One of the key reasons behind our lack of significant progress is the line-based weaknesses and deviations in our approach to the PW-track. As a result, we have not been able to strengthen the People's War as much as we could have.

The PW-track must be at the core of all our mass activities. If party building, national politics, and mass movements are not conducted on the basis of the PW-track, it will have a negative impact on the development of the People's War. Right now, we have such mistakes.

In the recent Hasina-fall movement, our Party played the most correct and most revolutionary role and also gained significant experiences in tactical question, which will have far-reaching implications. This has also left and will continue to leave an important impact on advanced sections of the student-youth movement. Certain important actions under the People's War line were also conducted, as mentioned in the organizational report. However, weaknesses were also present in these efforts. The organizational report has discussed these as well.

Expression of major weakness in our PW-track has also been observed. Given our subjective capacity, we could have undertaken more activities. This has been discussed in our summation and evaluation of our work during the Hasina-fall situation. It is crucial to seriously recognize and overcome this weakness in the PW-track, as it is fundamentally linked to political outlook.

The importance of leap-based actions in advancing the People's War to a higher level was discussed in the last Congress also. This is also connected to the problem of arms procurement, where we are in a weak position. There are weaknesses in our focus and efforts in this regard, which need to be urgently addressed. The Military Commission must work on this with priority.

At the same time, we must take up the task of establishing new People's War Regions. The Central Committee (CC) has recently given importance to this matter. It is essential to firmly grasp, ensure success, and advance this effort.

8. Women Question

In recent times, oppression against women has significantly increased both globally and in our country, taking on diverse forms. Some of these issues have already been mentioned earlier.

In Afghanistan, Iran, and other Muslim fundamentalist countries, women are subjected to various forms of oppression and persecution reminiscent of the medieval era. In Africa, women are extensively oppressed by various ethnic and Muslim fascist forces. The oppression of women over the hijab issue in Iran and the anti-hijab movement in India, along with the ensuing democratic protests by women and the people, have received major media coverage worldwide. This has been a significant achievement for both the women's movement and the broader democratic struggle.

In the United States, the movement for abortion rights continues. Under Trump's leadership, the fascists have openly taken a stance against women's rights, as seen during the last election cycle also.

During the rule of the fallen Hasina regime in our country, incidents of rape, violence against women and children, and various other forms of oppression increased drastically. At the root of these were the unchecked arrogance of Hasina's Awami fascists in power, along with the growing influence of religiousist culture and ideology. Women's attire also became a subject of serious controversy, with reactionary misogynistic propaganda being widely promoted. Even after Hasina's fall, the situation remains unchanged, as the system itself has not been altered.

Religiousists play a significant reactionary role in the oppression of women. In countries like ours, the state and ruling classes protect and nurture these forces. On the other hand, various forms of bourgeois feminism are also active in the field. Under the religiousist and autocratic/fascist state systems, this trend cannot be underestimated. The matter of our tactical unity with such forces must be considered seriously.

At the same time, we must remain vigilant that bourgeois feminism, which basically views the women's question as separate from social revolution, gains support from imperialism and sections of the bourgeois/educated middle class. Therefore, our ideological struggle against it must never be weakened. Unless the women's question is addressed within and as part of the

revolution, it will fail to gain the support of the broader masses of women, including workers and peasants, and the struggle for women's liberation will not advance.

Thus, the women's question must be firmly integrated into the democratic movement of the country. It must be given importance with the correct perspective. Many of our branches, leadership, and organizers still remain weak on this issue. This must be overcome

9. The Question of Maoist Unity

Our party has a line and effort to unify sincere Maoists in the country under a single center based on a higher level of line. However, at present, no significant possibilities seem to be emerging. Various Maoist centers are primarily in a state of decline. Although MBRM, a faction which split from our party, remains somewhat active, their political activities are very limited, and their previous military activities have also weakened. The situation of EBCP(M-L) is even more dire. They are divided into multiple centers, and no progress can be observed from their old ideological positions. The important work that Comrade RaKa (RaKa-- Rakesh Kamal was the leader of a faction of EBCP (M-L). He was murdered by the state machinery in 2008) had undertaken and advanced to some extent does not seem to have made any further progress. Besides, some Maoists are there, who are basically engaged in personal or mass organizational works. They are practically disconnected from or abandoning the fundamental task of addressing peasant issues, rural based PW, or party formation.

The main problem lies in the ideological-political line, which remains entrenched in old understandings. The current debates within the international Maoist movement also have an influence, providing moral support to many erroneous ideas, which in turn prevents self-criticism and course change. Various trends such as the so-called SS-ist, CM-ist, GT-ist, Avakian-ist, and other intellectual-individualistic tendencies persist.

On the other hand, our PW activities have not yet reached a strong position, even though our political and line-based work is solid, showing some results. As a result, it has not yet been able to deliver a major blow to old ideological and organizational fortresses. Due to these factors, the activities of Maoist forces or individuals outside the party continue to diminish.

Nevertheless, our fundamental task remains to build the party based on a higher level of line, advance frontal work, and PW activities, while continuing efforts to advocate for Maoist unity. We must play a role in resisting the depletion or degeneration of the old revolutionary Maoist camp as much as possible.

10. Important Ideological-Political Issues, which Party is now facing

Currently, the important ideological-political problems which party is facing, are as follows-

a) Strengthening the PW-track :

For a long time, we have remained basically at the same position regarding the building and strengthening of PW; unable to achieve qualitative advancement, as mentioned earlier.

Strengthening the PW-track means achieving a qualitative leap in existing PW-regions. Increasing their firepower, enhancing their operational capacity, strengthening the implementation of programs, strengthening mass bases, developing revolutionary mass organizations, and expanding areas of PW. At the same time, it means preparing to launch new regions with special emphasis. Additionally, mass organizational works must be adapted to the secrecy and security methods of the PW-track.

Some steps have been taken in these areas, but they need to be further strengthened and firmly implemented.

b) Establishing a Strong Base Among the Working Class:

The previous congress also emphasized this issue. However, in practice, significant progress has not yet been made, although some work has advanced.

Our work among working class and the poor in urban and town areas is often neglected due to pre-occupation with national political issues. Organizers exhaust themselves in these tasks and alliance-based work, preventing organizational growth.

There is also an ideological reluctance among organizers to remain embedded in working-class neighborhoods and persistently carry out work there. This must be overcome. All possible means must be employed to propagate revolutionary politics. Secret/semi-secret revolutionary political mass organizations must be established to carry out mass propaganda and engage in trade union and ongoing movement-related work.

c) Class Transformation and Reorganization of the New Generation of Full-Timers:

The new generation of full-time revolutionaries will quickly take on leadership roles in building the new type of party and PW forces. Therefore, their ideological reorganization is crucial.

This reorganization means class transformation, which manifests in the following aspects:

- Abandoning old property relations;
- Abandoning old social relations;
- Abandoning old lifestyles.

The ability of young revolutionaries to develop themselves as leaders of the proletarian party depends on these three aspects of reorganization. For young revolutionaries, it is essential to place the interests of the revolution above and beyond personal relationships such as sexuality, love, marriage, and family.

We must emphasize these aspects to ensure they advance. We have weaknesses and deviations among our cadres in these areas.

d) The Leadership Crisis –

The End of the Old Leadership and the Rise of the New:

The departure of the old and the arrival of the new is a self-evident law of nature. However, in regard of our leadership, this process is not so simple. Key leadership at the highest levels of the party cannot be developed overnight. In our case, this issue has a major crisis also. The revolutionary struggle and organizational progress of our party and its leadership have not been continuous. Repeatedly, for various reasons, our progress has been lost. Along with that, we have also lost senior and experienced leaders in different ways. As a result, we have had to rebuild our leadership ranks multiple times, leaving us with significant weaknesses in this area.

As we are now undertaking efforts and processes to establish an alternative leadership structure to Comrade Anwar Kabir, various challenges and crises are inevitable. However, by confronting these with courage, we will once again be able to achieve strong and reliable leadership.

In this regard, the practice of strengthening collective leadership must be thoroughly implemented. The theoretical-political development and ideological reorganization of the new generation of leaders must be given top priority. They must gain experience in the PW-track. At the same time, the skills and expertise of experienced veterans must be effectively utilized.

These are long-term tasks. However, if we grasp them firmly today, we will be able to achieve them. For this, the entire party must be ideologically prepared.

The End