

Theses of East Bengal Workers Movement

By Siraj Sikder

[First published in January 8, 1968; re-published
in rewritten and edited form in December 1, 1968]

Introduction

How shall we apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the condition of revolution of our country? Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will be the 'arrow' what we shall have to throw with the aim of revolution of East Bengal. 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, Indian communist party failed to take up leadership in anti colonial anti feudal struggle and establish socialism by ending colonial and feudal exploitation?

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

Workers of all countries, Unite!

Pre independence period

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

1. The 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. Communal contradiction of Indian Muslim bourgeoisie, feudal and worker-peasants versus non-Muslim especially Hindu bourgeoisie, feudal and worker-peasants

The Indian bourgeoisie (Muslim and non-Muslim bourgeoisie), from own class interest demanded first independence. In initial period of independence movement, 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. In this way, 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 communal contradiction to unite Muslim workers and peasants under their demand and hatched vile communal 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 communal motivation and conspiracy among non-Muslim workers and peasants so that they may unite behind them.

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

For all those reason, there broke out communal riot in different places and the non-antagonistic communal 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 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 feudal class, through them, 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. Bourgeoisie is unable to make this national democratic revolution. So, historically it is the responsibility of 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 part of world revolution.

To carry and accomplish this new democratic revolution, 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 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."

Indian communist party failed to fulfill the above mentioned conditions. As a result, bourgeoisie

and feudal took the leadership of national struggle, from their own class interest they divided India on their behalves by taking opportunity of non-antagonistic communal contradiction and accordingly unifying workers and peasants behind them on religious basis.

Chairman Mao 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. National contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistani colonialism
2. 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. Contradiction of East Bengal working class versus bourgeoisie

Analysis of contradictions

First: National contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistani colonialism:

Among Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal, as those of British supporters of Punjab, Sind, Frontier province, Delhi, Lucknow, Mumbai etc place were much developed than Bengalee bourgeoisie and feudal (who were very few in number), naturally captured the leadership of Pakistan movement.

Hindu bourgeoisie and feudal of East Bengal used to carry religious oppression apart from economic exploitation, over East Bengal Muslim bourgeoisie, feudal and workers-peasants. When Muslim majority East Bengal became a separate province by Bengal partition ordinance, Bengalee Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal supported that thinking that it would reduce economic exploitation and religious oppression some extent. But Hindu bourgeoisie and feudal opposed it as it will obstruct their development. As a result, Bengal partition was canceled. So, there was two obstacle in development of Muslim bourgeoisie and feudal, one, British colonialism, the other is competition and religious oppression by Hindu bourgeoisie and feudal. So, as independence movement was not led by communist party, creation of East Bengal was historically necessary.

East Bengal bourgeoisie and feudal, thinking that they would be able to carry own class development through Pakistan, supported Pakistan movement and united Muslim workers and peasants under Pakistan demand. They joined Pakistan and in this way, East Bengal became a province of Pakistan.

As leadership of independence movement was in the hands of non-Bengalee bourgeoisie and feudalists, British colonialists handed over power to them. Through stationing central capital in Karachi, forming main element of state machinery, the armed force by British colonialist

military bureaucrats and starting other parts of state machinery by civil bureaucrats (most of those military and civil bureaucrats were non-Bengalee and supporter of British colonialists) etc, these non-Bengalee bourgeoisie and feudalists captured monopoly ownership of state machinery and got the opportunity of free development of own classes.

This ruling class, from the beginning tried to exploit East Bengal freely instead of giving autonomy or right of self-determination for its 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 different military accord like SENTO, SEATO and different types of economic agreement with imperialism especially with US imperialism. In this way, 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 labour 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 its independent nationality where language is the main element of independence. To crush this independence of East Bengal as a nationality, Pakistani ruling class made vile attempt to impose Urdu in place of Bangla. Language movement of 1952 crushed that vile attempt. At present too, this ruling class is making vile attempt to change language.

Gradually possessions, 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 certain period of time, East Bengal became semi colony as part of Pakistan from 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 in this way, 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 interest of imperialism and feudalism. This is why, Pakistan itself is a semi colonial and semi feudal country.

This Pakistani ruling class, by '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, development of middle and 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 hide 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. Different colonial forces of world make attempt to propagate single country, single nation etc to hide colonial character of exploitation. But history proved

those' failure. This attempt of Pakistani colonial ruling class is bound to fail too.

2nd: The contradiction of vast peasantry of East Bengal versus feudalism

In rural areas, government employees (Police, Circle Officers), Basic Democrats (BD), Land lords, rich peasants, evil gentry (lumpen) and upper strata of middle peasants are carrying feudal exploitation over agricultural workers, poor peasants and mass middle peasants. 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 to develop themselves.

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

Third: A. National contradiction of East Bengal people versus imperialism, especially US

US imperialism on the one hand, keeping relation and assisting Pakistani colonialists and colluding with bourgeoisie of East Bengal on the other, and through them they are making pressure on 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 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, 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 pro imperialist collaborator 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 collaborator bourgeoisie to separate East Bengal and sign anti China Indo-East Bengal treaty and in this way, make East Bengal a direct US colony. At present, 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. National contradiction of people of East Bengal versus revisionism, especially 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

colliding with Pakistani colonialists. To dismantle this liberation movement, they will help Pakistani colonialists so that they may get a share on exploitation over East Bengal. In this regard, it is to mention Bayafra, Burma, Vietnam and other countries. People of Bayafra are fighting for liberation from national oppression and suppression. Soviet social imperialists are trying to crush liberation movement of people of Bayafra by supplying arms, fund and cadres to Nigerian military government, so that they may carry exploitation in whole Nigeria with imperialists. They are hatching conspiracy to suppress Liberation movement of Burma and wipe out great struggle of Vietnam.

C. National contradiction of people of East Bengal versus Indian expansionism

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

Fourth: Contradiction of Bourgeoisie of East Bengal versus working class

Bourgeoisie of East Bengal exploits workers, and among them a section, being collaborator of Pakistani colonialists, are exploiting East Bengal, while another section is imperialist collaborator, especially of US. Another section, who are genuine national bourgeoisie are both anti imperialist and anti colonial. First section of bourgeoisie of East Bengal are country-seller, betrayer, while second section is imperialist collaborator who by colliding with India, wants to struggle as much as they need national right to develop their class. Massive part of 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 bourgeoisie--the national bourgeoisie as long as they carry anti colonial anti imperialist struggle.

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

Principal contradiction

Apart from above mention contradictions, there are 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, workers-peasants, petit bourgeoisie, a section of middle bourgeoisie, patriotic rich peasants and land lords, i.e., the whole nation can be united. At present social development process, the national contradiction of East Bengal people versus Pakistani colonialism is principal contradiction.

But when anti colonial national struggle will reach a certain stage, US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and Indian expansionism, jointly or separately, through their army will try to crush people's struggle of East Bengal to protect 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 national contradiction of East Bengal people versus US imperialism or Soviet social imperialism or Indian expansionism will be principal contradiction. By making newly united front on the basis of that principal contradiction, masses have to be guided to appropriate liberation struggle.

East Bengal Revolution and its character

East Bengal bourgeoisie and feudalists joined Pakistan for their own development. The facilities that was necessary for 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.

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

At present era of imperialism and social imperialism, bourgeoisie can't accomplish this revolution; rather, within a short span of time, they themselves become collaborator to imperialism and social imperialism. There is only one force who is able to accomplish this revolution and that is proletariat and its party. The aim of 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, what will be a part of world revolution.

A characteristic of this revolution is that this is armed revolution. Main element of state machinery Pakistani colonial ruling class is military force, Police and law, by which, colonial ruling class is ruling and exploiting East Bengal. To accomplish this new democratic revolution, this state machinery must be crushed through armed revolution by uniting workers-peasants and other patriotic classes and strata under the leadership of 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 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 disunity condition of workers-peasants masses of East Bengal, lack of correct Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought follower party; the misguiding of people by revisionist and neo revisionist party and influence of reactionary ideology among masses.

On the other side, 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 Pakistani colonialists. To Change this situation, 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 area, raise peasants for guerrilla war and seize rural area through guerrilla war and establish Base area. We must encircle cities by seized rural areas and later we must capture cities.

Another characteristic of this revolution is formation of united front.

By holding high 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 1st central committee of Proletarian Party of East Bengal led by Chairman Siraj Sikder decided to omit chapters regarding Lin Piao from constitution]

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 united front, proletarian party must protects its ideological, political and organizational independence and remain firm in principle of freedom and taking initiative and insist on own leadership role. So, in united front, leadership, freedom and initiative of proletarian party must have to be, and only guarantee of that is a people's army led by proletarian party. As chairman Mao said, "Without a people's army, people have nothing." This is why, primary precondition of establishing united front is the people's army.

General Policy of National Democratic Revolution

1. Led by 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 anti colonial guerrilla war.

3. Agrarian Revolution:

To seize lands of pro colonial land lords and rich peasants and distribute among agricultural workers and poor peasants.

To crush pro colonialists of government (Police, Circle Officers) and B.D.

To impose ban on change of share cropper and agreement by patriotic landlord, rich peasants and others. At the same time, to implement reduction of exploitation in share cropping and agreement

in that case.

To firmly carry land reform in opportune moment

To develop regular army from guerrilla army.

To develop Base Area

5. To establish united front

6. To capture rural areas. Then to encircle cities by captured rural areas. At last to capture cities.

7. To seize properties of Pakistani colonialists, their collaborator bourgeoisie 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 collaborators (when they oppose national revolution).

8. To form national democratic government in captured areas. This government will impose dictatorship over enemies and democracy over 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 different minority nationalities. To provide regional autonomy to different tribes.

10. To provide all non-Bengalee patriotic people full opportunity to cultural and lingual development.

11. To ensure religious right of 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 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 Tsetung Thought follower political party of proletariat.

Complementary task:

1) To inspire peasantry to Guerrilla war in ant feudal anti colonial struggle.

2) To form guerrilla army comprising mainly with peasants and carry guerrilla war.

3) To carry agrarian revolution

4) To develop regular army and Base Area

International position

Basic contradictions of present world are as follows:

1) Contradiction of US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism versus socialist countries

2) Contradiction among imperialists themselves and revisionists themselves on the one hand, and contradiction between imperialism and revisionism on the other.

3) Contradiction of ruling classes of imperialist and revisionist countries versus people of their own countries.

4) Contradiction of US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism versus oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America

Analysis of Contradiction

1. Contradiction of US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism-led revisionism versus socialist countries

US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism thinks socialist countries especially China as 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 imperialist and revisionist exploitation. China is holding high the flag of revolution that is the only path to liberation from that rule and exploitation. Chinese revolutionary proletariat is giving moral support and giving practical assistance to anti-domination and anti-exploitation struggle of countries and nations of world. China is leading the anti-domination and anti-exploitation struggle of world.

That is why, imperialism and revisionism is making all out effort to crush this obstacle. But present world situation is on the side of revolution, masses and socialism, and against imperialism, revisionism and all sort of reaction. Power balance of 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 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, imperialists and revisionists are dreaming to restore capitalism by gradually changing socialist system through making external pressure, blackmail and communicating with internal collaborators, and trying accordingly.

Initiated and guided by Chairman Mao Tsetung, Great Proletarian and Cultural Revolution has completely crushed the colorful dream of the imperialists, revisionists and internal capitalist collaborators to restore of 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 socialist countries versus imperialist and revisionist countries exists. But this is not principal contradiction.

2. Contradiction among imperialist countries themselves and among revisionist countries themselves on the one hand; and imperialist countries versus revisionist countries on the other:

US imperialism is confining other imperialist countries in different military alliance by terrifying them with communist horror and in this way, is exploiting them economically. For this reason, there is contradiction between US imperialism and other imperialist countries. There is contradiction of interest among ruling classes of other imperialist countries themselves. Soviet social imperialism is ruling and exploiting other revisionist countries and confined them in different alliances by terrifying them with the horror of war so that they may not come out of their grip.

US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism contend and collude from their own interest. They are gradually distributing 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 principal contradiction.

3. Contradiction of ruling classes of imperialist and revisionist countries versus people of their respective countries

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

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

4. Contradiction of US-led imperialism and Soviet social imperialism versus oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America:

US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is ruling and exploiting countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by making them colonies and semi colonies. Their development depends on this exploitation. For this reason, countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rural area of world. Imperialist and social imperialist countries of Europe and America that are urban area of world live on exploitation over them. To start revolution in these rural areas where reactionary forces are not as strong as they are in Europe and America, and gradually to capture whole rural area and then encircle cities and at last capture cities is a line of Mao Tsetung Thought. 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 respective countries neo colonies. This is a historic responsibility of proletariat to finish this unfinished new democratic revolution and thus make the condition for socialist revolution. When great liberation war of heroic masses of Vietnam reached at the stage of completely defeating US imperialism, at that time, degenerated collaborator of US imperialism, the Soviet social imperialism is hatching vile conspiracy to wipe this great liberation struggle through peace talk farce.

Yet, anti imperialist and anti social imperialist struggle is going ahead intensely in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thai Land, Philippines, Indonesia, Malay, Burma, Naxalbari, Bihar, Kongo, Mojambik, Angola, Azania, Palestine, Bayafra, Rodeshia, New Zealand, Bolivia etc places.

US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is center of present world reaction. Facts proved that US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is main enemy of world people. This contradiction exists. And this is the principal contradiction.

International and domestic communist Movement

The main danger in international and domestic communist movement is revisionism and neo revisionism. Revisionism led by Soviet social imperialism restored capitalism in several socialist countries by making quo de'tat by their bourgeoisie representatives. Through their bourgeoisie collaborators, 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 succeed 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 international communist movement but actually following opportunist path and have been compelled to surrender to revisionists, as there is no middle way between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism.

At present world, being correct Marxist Leninist, Chinese Party and Labor party of Albania are advancing towards socialism. Chairman Mao Tsetung is greatest Marxist-Leninist and Great leader and guide of proletarian class of present world. [Here there was some lines regarding Lin Piao that was deleted from works later]

"Chairman Mao Tsetung, 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 founder of Marxism. Lenin solved important questions of Marxism on guiding 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 Tsetung developed Marxism-Leninism in the era of total collapse of imperialism. He resolved how to resist restoration of capitalism in socialist countries and how proletarian revolutionaries can again capture state power in those countries where capitalism has been restored. He, with his genius, initiated and guided 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 Tsetung Thought.

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

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

Present world context is the time to carry great reorganization and repolarization of communist movement. Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought followers of different countries where revisionists and neo revisionist 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 Tsetung Thought follower Political party of 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 other isolated groups and factions from this point of view.

East Pakistan Communist Party named revisionist party

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

Communist party of East Pakistan (Marxist) named neo-revisionist party

They are Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought follower in word and paper but revisionist in practice. They hoist red flag to oppose red flag. They don't recognize Pakistani colonial exploitation over East Bengal and as they don't carry national struggle, they are familiar as collaborator of 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 hands of colonial ruling class, and pushing mass people under the leadership of US collaborator bourgeoisie who are engaged in struggle of anti colonial exploitation. By taking "pro Peking" name, they are making disgrace to the center of world revolution. They are neo revisionist.

New groups, factions and isolated revolutionaries

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

Through approximate investigation we can divide them in following parts:

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

Another one group is colluding with neo revisionists at present. They are a splinter of degenerated lumpen bourgeoisie. The group of conscious cadres is a clique or opportunist, and the group that is power greedy and inferior is reactionary collusion of opportunist clique and greedy for post and are backboneless.

Another one mentionable group has been ousted from Marxist named party because of making embryonic party inside party. They are same to 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 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 revisionist, neo revisionist and proven traitors, multi-center theory, theory that leadership will remain in hands of revolutionary youth, keeping anti Marxist guerrilla war theory of Che Guevar side by side with Guerrilla war principle of Chairman Mao Tsetung. 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 to the above mentioned party that has been ousted from Marxist named neo revisionist party because of making embryonic party inside party.

Apart from them, known and unknown many revolutionaries are isolatedly working, some are working with compromise while some are without compromise, some are throwing arrow aimlessly.

So, all the revolutionaries who are Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought follower and are practicing accordingly must fight against revisionism, neo revisionism and anti Marxist ideology 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."

So, all the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought followers should establish unity among themselves 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."

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

Long live Chairman Mao!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

[From: <http://pbspmug.webs.com/archive.htm>]