

**MARXIST POLITICS IN BANGLADESH : A CASE STUDY**  
**OF THE EAST BENGAL SARBOHARA PARTY.**

**MD. NURUL AMIN BEPARI**

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**Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka**

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Md. Nurul Amin Bepari  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka.



## ABBREVIATIONS

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AL	Awami League
BCL	Bangladesh Communist League
BCP(L)	Bangladesher Communist Party (Leninbadi)
BCP(M-L)	Bangladesher Communist Party(Marxibadi-Leninbadi)
BSP	Bangladesher Sarbohara Party
CCCR	Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries
CPB	Communist Party of Bangladesh
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
CWA	Communist Workers Association
EBCP(M-L)	East Bengal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)
EBSP	East Bengal Sarbohara Party
EBSP(APC)	East Bengal Sarbohara Party (Asthayee Porichalok Committee)
EBSP(SBP)	East Bengal Sarbohara Party (Sarbocho Biplobi Parishad)
EBWM	East Bengal Workers Movement
EPCP	East Pakistan Communist Party
EPCP(M-L)	East Pakistan Communist Party(Marxist-Leninist)
ML	Muslim League
NAP(B)	National Awami Party (Bhasani)
NAP(M)	National Awami Party (Muzaffer)
RCL	Revolutionary Communist League
RGPB	Revolutionary Communist Party of Bangladesh
UPP	United Peoples Party.

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INTRODUCTION

On December 16, 1971, Bangladesh came into existence as an independent and sovereign state through armed struggle led by the Awami League, though the idea of armed struggle was not into the Political basket of Awami League till 1970. It was infact the radical Marxists who wanted to liberate East Pakistan from West Pakistani ruling class through armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. In the absence of a well organized revolutionary Communist Party, however, the leadership of the freedom movement of Bangladesh went into the hands of the Awami League.

But there is no denying the fact that the Marxists radicalized the Politics of Pakistan from its birth. The youth league, formed in 1957, played a radicalizing role among the educated youths of East Pakistan. The historic Language Movement of 1952 was led by a section of the Communists under the banner of Awami League.<sup>1</sup> The radical Marxists also remained dominant when H. S. Suhrawardy became the Prime Minister of Pakistan and pursued a Pro-western foreign policy. They vehemently criticised Suhrawardy's Pro-western foreign policy. In 1967 the Marxists left the Awami League and formed the National Awami Party under the leadership of Maulana Bhasani.

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1. Badruddin Umar, Purbo Banglar Bhasa Andolon O Taikalin Bainiti (Language Movement and Contemporary Politics in East Bengal), Vol. 1 (Dhaka : Bowla Brothers, 1969).

In 1962 International Communist movement was divided into two separate groups viz; Moscow and Peking. This division of the International Communist Movement split the NAP and the Communist Party of East Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1967, NAP split into "Pro-Moscow" and "Pro-Peking" factions. Bhasani became the Chairman of the Pro-Peking faction. In 1970 NAP (Bhasani) was divided into as many as four factions on the question of participation in the general elections of Pakistan. But this was not the end of the matter. The Pro-Peking NAP and the Communist Party of East Pakistan split into at least a dozen factions during and after the liberation war.

In 1967 a young group of Communists under the leadership of Siraj Sikder founded the Mao Tse Tung Thought Research Centre in Dacca. This group formed the East Bengal Workers Movement (EBWM) in 1968. On June 3, 1971, Siraj Sikder formed the East Bengal Sobchana Party abolishing the East Bengal Workers Movement. The EBWM was the first organization that called for the liberation of East Bengal through armed struggle and determined the principal and major contradictions in Pakistan society. Siraj Sikder's Political analysis <sup>became</sup> ~~became~~ <sup>turned to</sup> ~~turned to~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~be~~ realistic when Pakistan military junta attacked the unarmed people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in 1971. Heavily attacked by the Pakistani military junta, Awami League started Liberation War without finding any constitutional solution. In

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2. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh, Dhaka: Bangladesh Books International Limited 1975, pp.12-18, Rumman Ahmed, The problem of Revisionism in the Development of Communist Movement in East Bengal 1948-1971 Asian Affairs, Vol.1, (January-June 1980), pp.120-139.



December 16, 1971 Bangladesh became liberated.

After the independence of Bangladesh, Awami League came to power and established its authority throughout the country. During this time some radical parties became active and tried to overthrow Awami League regime through armed struggle. Among these radical parties the East Bengal Sarbojha Party (EBSP) played an important role. As a result the EBSP and its leader Siraj Sikder became the target of attack by the Mujib Government. After the death of Siraj Sikder the EBSP lost its organizational strength and faced the factional crisis.

In my dissertation I shall be concerned with the ideological, socio-economical and behavioral patterns of the "Marxist Politics in Bangladesh with special reference to the East Bengal Sarbojha Party (EBSP)". In this context, I shall examine the following questions. How did the Marxist Parties grow in Bangladesh? What was the process of division of these Parties into Pro-Peking and Pro-Moscow factions? What role did they play during and after Liberation War? Why did Siraj Sikder form the East Bengal Sarbojha Party? Was he influenced by the Naxalbari Movement in India? What role did the Sarbojha Party play during and after Liberation War? What are the main bases of support for the Sarbojha Party? Why did the party split into so many factions? Why the Pro-Peking groups did not succeed in Bangladesh? What is the future of the Marxist Politics in Bangladesh?

### Methodology of the Study

I have followed historical method in this study. I have also taken help from secondary sources i.e. documents and other writings of the Marxists. I have conducted a survey on Marxist Parties. Its main purpose was to know the socio-economic background and educational status of the party members. Open questionnaire method has been followed to gather information from the members of the political parties. I have also collected information from newspaper reportings, assembly proceedings, Government documents and publications. Finally I have followed statistical analytical method and case analysis method to process and to analyse collected data.

In order to examine above mentioned questionnaires systematically, I have divided my whole work into the following chapters.

- (1) In Chapter I I have discussed the origin and development of the Marxist Politics in Bangladesh till 1983.
- (2) Chapter II has dealt with the formation of the KBMM, the EBSP and its role during the period 1968-1971.
- (3) In Chapter III I have discussed the role of the East Bengal Barobaham Party in the Mujib regime.



- (4) Chapter IV has dealt with the last phase of the Serbohara Party Politics in Bangladesh during the period 1975-1983 and the socio-economic background of the members of the Serbohara Party.
- (5) Chapter V is the concluding Chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

An Over view of the Marxist Politics in Bangladesh.

The Marxists in this sub-continent started their Political journey quite early, founding the Communist Party of India (CPI) in 1920. The CPI was formed in Tashkent on October 17, 1920, with the following members<sup>1</sup>:

- (1) M.N. Roy
- (2) Evelina Trent Roy \*
- (3) Abani Mukherjee
- (4) Rosa Fitingof \*
- (5) Mohd. Ali (Ahmed Hasan)
- (6) Mohd. Shafiq and
- (7) Acharya, M. Prativadi Bayanker.

M.N. Roy and Mohd. Shafiq were elected president and Secretary of the Party respectively. The CPI adopted the principles of the Third International.

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\* Evelina Trent Roy was the American wife of M.N. Roy and Rosa Fitingof was the Russian wife of Abani Mukerjee. The real name of M.N. Roy was Narandra Nath Bhathracharaja.

1. Muzaffar Ahmed, Amar Jivan O Bharatar Communist Party : 1920-1929, (My Life and the Communist Party of India : 1920-1929), Dhaka : Khan Brothers & co. 1977, pp. 42-43.



At the early stage, the CPI was under the direct control of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU). But this control was exercised indirectly through the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB)<sup>2</sup>. After the partition of India a section of young CPI members under the leadership of Sajjad Zahir established Communist Party of Pakistan in 1948. They discarded the old policy of CPI and adopted the Randive line of violent socialist revolution for South Asia.

The youth league, formed in 1951, was the front organization of East Pakistan Communist Party. It played a radicalizing role among the educated youths of East Pakistan. In 1951 a number of Communist Prisoners in Rajshahi Jail formulated a thesis (The Rajshahi Jail thesis) that called for the EPCP to work openly. Then EPCP started working through the Awami League and other popular organizations. In 1952 the CPP played an important role in the historic language movement.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Robert A. Scalapino ed., The Communist Revolution in Asia: Tactics, Goals, and Achievements (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1965), p. 310.

3. Badruddin Umar, Purbo Banglar Bhasa Andolan O Tatkalin Rajniti (Language Movement and Contemporary Politics in East Bengal), Dacca: Mowla Brothers, 1969, Vol. 1.

In 1953 a radical section of the CPP formed Ganatantrik Dal under the leadership of Haji Mohammad Danesh. By 1954 the CPP had been banned all over Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> In 1956 the CPP secretly held its congress in Calcutta that recognized the East Pakistan Communist Party (EPCP) to work as a separate organization. This congress also elected a central committee with the following members.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Monisingh
- (2) Khoka Roy
- (3) Altaf Ali
- (4) Nepal Nag
- (5) Anil Mukerjee
- (6) Shahidullah Kaiser
- (7) Sardor Fazlul Karim
- (8) Mohammed Toaha
- (9) Sukhendu Dastidar
- (10) Chowdhury Harun-ur-Rashid and
- (11) Barin Dutta

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4. Humam Ahmed, The Problem of "Revisionism" in the Development of Communist Movement in East Pakistan. Asian Affairs Vol. 1 (January-June 1980), pp. 120-139.

5. Abu Zafar Mustafa Shadique, Binlobi Prekshapotee Comrade Siraj Sikder (Comrade Siraj Sikder in the Revolutionary Context), Dhaka: Ananda Dhara, 1981, pp. 23-24.



Kumar Maitra, one of the members of this congress moved a proposal that urged freedom movement for the Bangalee nation. Deven Sikder, Nagen Dey and Dr. Maruf Hoassin supported this proposal. But Congress rejected the proposal as it was not supported by the majority members.

#### Formation of the National Awami Party :

Assuming the post of Prime Minister in Pakistan S.H. Suhrawardy Pursued the Pro-Western foreign policy and discarded the demand of "full provincial autonomy" for East Pakistan. As a result, differences between Maulana Bhasani and H.S. Suhrawardy finally came to the surface. Maulana Bhasani did not agree with the policy of the Prime Minister.<sup>6</sup> He called a council meeting of the East Pakistan Awami League at Kagmari and bitterly criticised all kinds of military pacts. He declared, "Till the last breath of my life, I will fight with all my strength against all kinds of military pacts. If some body commands me to support the military pacts, I shall even from my grave say, no!"<sup>7</sup>

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6. Kamruddin Ahmed, A Social History of Bengal, Progoti Publishers, Lalmitia Housing Estate, Dacca-7.

7. Jyoti Sen Gupta, History of Freedom Movement in Bangladesh, 1947-1973, (Naya Prokash Calcutta -6, 1974), pp.98-113.

At Kagmari Conference, Maulana Bhasani demanded "full autonomy" for East Pakistan though Suhrawardy got his foreign policy approved by a vote of 800-60. Being disappointed by the decisions of the council members, Bhasani with nine leftist members of the Executive Committee, resigned from the Awami League.<sup>8</sup> So Kagmari became a turning point in the history of Pakistan Politics.

After his resignation from the Awami League, Maulana Bhasani decided to form a new political party together with the progressive forces of the country. In order to materialize this objectives, he called a convention of all the "anti-imperialist democratic forces" in Pakistan that took place at Rupnahal Cinema Hall in Dacca in 1957. Khan Abdul Ghaffer Khan, Mr. Samad Achasazi, price Abdul Karim, G.M. Syed Nian Iftikharuddin from west Pakistan attended the Convention.<sup>9</sup> This convention formed the National Awami Party (NAP) with the following main Programs :

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8. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh, Dacca: Bangladesh Books International Limited 1975.

9. Muntaz Ahmed, Government and Politics in Pakistan, (Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, 1954).



- (a) an independent foreign policy;
- (b) abrogation of military pacts;
- (c) dissolution of one unit in East Pakistan;
- (d) abolition of the zamindari system in West Pakistan;
- (e) and right of self - determination for the various linguistic nationalities of Pakistan.

Maulana Bhasani and Mahmudul Hoq Osmani were elected President and Secretary of the Organization respectively. The East Pakistan peasants Association and East Pakistan Mazdoor (worker) Federation were its front organizations. The Communists worked through the NAP and its front organizations.

The NAP was born at a time, when there was no bridge between the Communists of East and West Pakistan. So the coming of the NAP became a turning point in the history of the Communist Party. But irony is that NAP was not basically equipped for class struggle. It was far from becoming a party of the proletariat. Rashiduzzaman said, "The NAP did not originate with a Marxist ideology. Maulana Bhasani, the NAP leader, was never a Marxist although his ideas would bring him closer to that particular camp" <sup>10</sup>

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10. M. Rashiduzzaman, *The National Awami Party of Pakistan : Leftist Politics in Crisis in Pacific Affairs: An International Review of Asia and Pacific*, University of California Press, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 Fall 1970, p. 395.

But there is no denying the fact that NAP was a banian tree under which various kinds of Politicians took shelter.<sup>11</sup>

The NAP and the Communist Party in Crisis :

In 1962 International Communist Movement was divided into two separate camps on the question of adoption of Marxism.

The twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party adopted the four main principles for international Communist Movement. These were : (1) Peaceful coexistence of the two world systems (Capitalism and socialism); (2) the practical possibility of prevention of war; (3) the possibility of adopting different roads to socialism in different countries and the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in certain countries; and (4) the denunciation of Stalin. The Chinese Communist Party Vehmently opposed this Soviet formula. As a result, difference arose among the communists over the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. In 1966 the Communist Party of Pakistan became divided into 'Pro-Peking' and 'Pro-Moscow' factions. The ProMoscow faction led by Moni Singh argued that socialism should be established through parliamentary

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11. M. Ayoub & K. Sabrahmanyam, The Liberation War, S.Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd. Nam Nagar Delhi, 1972.



process. They believed that the real strength of the leftists "Spring not from the barrels of guns but from the revolutionary consciousness and unity of the working people".<sup>12</sup> The Pro-Peking wing led by Mohammed Toaha and Sukhendu Dasgupta left the Communist Party on this issue and formed the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist). They advocated in favor of class struggle for bringing socialism. According to them, "power comes from the barrels of guns."<sup>13</sup>

By the end of 1967, the NAP also was divided into Pro-Moscow and Pro-Peking factions. On the national level, the "Pro-Moscow" wing of the NAP was led by Wali Khan, in East Pakistan by Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed and "Pro-Peking" faction was led by Maulana Bhasani. The next split of the NAP (B) came about in 1970 when Yahya regime announced the date of election. Those advocating the formation of a working class Party separated themselves from the NAP and formed new parties. Those staying with Bhasani did so mainly because of their

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12. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Books International Limited, 1975, p. 20.

13. "Power comes from the Barrels of Guns" is a quotation of Mao Tse Tung, Mao Tse Tung, Collected Works (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), Vol. 1.

interest in the elections. Thus when Bhasani withdrew his Party from the elections and demanded independence for East Pakistan in November 1970, a large number of Party leaders, including Haji Danesh and Anwar Zahid, left the NAP. But this was not the end of the matter. The Pro-Peking NAP and the Communist Party were divided into atleast a dozen factions during and after liberation war. These factions are :

- (1) The East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist - Leninist);
- (2) The East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L) led by  
Abdul Haq;
- (3) The East Bengal Communist Party (M-L);
- (4) The Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries  
(CCCR) ;
- (5) The Mythi Group;
- (6) The Hatier Group;
- (7) Bangladesher Communist Party;
- (8) Gono Biploby Party;
- (9) Bangladesher Communist Party;
- (10) Communist Kormi Sogha;
- (11) Gono Mukti Union;
- (12) The East Bengal Communist Andolon;
- (13) Purbancholio Communist Party.



The East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) :

The East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist) was formed in 1967 under the leadership of Huq, Toaha and Sukhenou Dasgupta with the argument that East Pakistan was a semi feudal, semi colonial country. The contradiction was between the people of East Pakistan and imperialism on the one hand and bureaucratic comprador capitalism and feudalism on the other hand. They argued that "people democratic revolution" led by the landless peasants and small landholders is the only means to overthrow this semi feudal and semi colonial system. Being influenced by the Naxalbari Peasants Movement in India the Party imported the term Marxist - Leninist instead of Marxist. So the East Pakistan Communist Party (M) was renamed the East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L). This group worked through the NAP (B) till 1970.







During the period of non cooperation movement the EPCP (M-L) came forward with the thesis that the conflict between Yahya and Bhutto on the one hand and Shiekh Mujib and his lieutenants on the other, was a struggle between the "two boot licking dogs of the American imperialists". The EPCP (M-L) , therefore, Urged the people of East Bengal to fight against both these groups. Toha collected a large number of guerrillas to fight against Pakistani Bahini and Mukti Bahini.<sup>14</sup>

On December 16, 1971, Bangladesh emerged as an independent state. After independence the EPCP (M-L) was divided into two factions on the question of recognition of Bangladesh. One group led by A. Huq, Ajay and Burdendu denied the existence of Bangladesh and left the Party. Another group led by Mohammad Toha and Bashir recognised the existence of Bangladesh and changed the name of the Party into Purbo Banglar Sammudadi Dal (M-L). Analyzing the socio-economic conditions of Bangladesh <sup>in Mujib Period they argued that Bangladesh</sup> was a new colonial country of Soviet Social imperialism through the medium of expansionist India. So the principal contradiction was between the people of Bangladesh and Indo-Soviet axis.

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14. Talukder Moniruzzaman, The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath, Dacca, Bangladesh Books International Limited, 1980), p. 144.

When Ziaur Rahman came to power, Mohammad Toaha lent support to him to resist "Indo-Soviet aggression" during this time Purbo Banglar Sammobadi Dal (M-L) changed the name of the Party into Bangladesher Sammobadi Dal (M-L) and left the line of class struggle which is the basic foundation of Maoist Politics. Addressing a meeting at the WAPDA auditorium, Mohammad Toaha said, "Killing national enemy in the name of Maoist Politics, we have done wrong".<sup>15</sup>

By 1977 Sammobadi Dal was again divided into two factions viz; Toaha-Bashir faction, and Nagen Sarker-Ali Abbas faction. Toaha - Bashir faction advocated infavor of participation of election and open politics. Nagen Sarker - Ali Abbas faction supported open politics rejecting the idea of participation in election. In international field Toaha supported Teng and "Three World Theory" of China whereas Nagen Sarker adopted neutral policy on this issue. <sup>15</sup>

In 1979 Mahfuz Bhuyain disassociated himself with the Sammobadi Dal led by Mohammad Toaha and formed Bangladesher Jano Mukti Party, According to Bhuyain and his Comrades,

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\* The author was present at the WAPDA auditorium.

15. For "Three World Theory" of the China see page no. 59 of this thesis.



"Bangladesh is a neo-colonial country". They believe in western revolution i.e. Political Power should be captured from the cities instead of Countryside.<sup>16</sup> The interesting thing is that they neither support Mao Tse Tung's Thought and Deng Xiaoping's ideas nor oppose them.

On June 13, 1983, Mohamad Toaha, President of the Samabadi Dal, expressed his desires to re-establish relation with the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. whereas Mohamad Yahkub Ali, Secretary of the Party, vehemently criticised Mohamad Toaha for this statement.

#### The EPCP (M-L) Led by Huq

After independence, the EPCP (M-L) split into two factions on the question of recognition of Bangladesh. One faction under the leadership of Abdul Huq, Ajoy and Surendu Dastidar disassociated themselves with Samabadi Dal and retained the old name of the party i.e. the EPCP(M-L). This faction did not

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15. S.P. Huntington in his book "Political Order in Changing Societies" Categories Revolution into two types viz; Western revolution and Eastern revolution. In the Western revolution the revolutionaries come to power in the capital first and then slowly establish their authority over the country side. Working class is the main force of the Western revolution. Lenin and his comrades seized power in the cities first. In the Eastern Revolution the revolutionaries establish their base at the rural areas through armed struggle and gradually expands their control over the cities. The peasantry is the main source of Eastern revolution. Mao and his Comrades first seized power in the countryside.

recognise the existence of Bangladesh till 1978. The theoreticians of this faction argued that Soviet Social Imperialism dismembered Pakistan through the help of Indian expansionism and established social colony in East Pakistan. So the principal contradiction in East Pakistan is between the people and Soviet social imperialism. East Pakistan should be joined with people's democratic forces of Pakistan after liberation from the hand of Soviet social imperialism and national problem of all nationalities including Bengali should be solved within the jurisdiction of undivided Pakistan. In this way A. Huq, Ajoy and Surdendu Dastidar tried to reestablish one united Pakistan.

In 1976, One section led by Surdendu Dastidar quit the Party and formed Bangladesher Marxbadi Leninbadi Party rejecting the line of class struggle. They had supported Ziaur Rahman regime in the name of opposing indo-Soviet axis.

In 1978 Huq - Amjad group recognised the existence of Bangladesh and changed the name of the Party as Bangladesher Biplobi Communist Party (M-L) instead of East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L). They argued that the Principal Contradiction at that time was between the people of Bangladesh and feudalism. They also evaluated Ziaur Rahman as a paid



agent of U.S. imperialism. One small section led by Rashid disagreed with Huq-Anjad on the question of recognition of Bangladesh and retained the old name of the Party i.e. East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L).

In 1980 Huq - Anjad group again split into two camps on the question of "Three World Theory" of China without changing the name of the party. Abdul Huq and his Comrades rejected the "Three World Theory" of China as revisionist. They adopted the line of class struggle as the core of Marxism but regarding Mao's Thought they have recently taken "wait and see" policy, which has already been criticised by Albanian Labor (Communist) party and its leader Enver Hoxa.

Anjad, Jibon Mukherjee and Binal Biswas group adopted the line of open politics supporting the "Three World Theory" of China. According to them the principal contradiction is between the poor peasants and feudalism.

#### The East Bengal Communist Party (M-L)

The East Bengal Communist Party (M-L) was formed in 1969 under the leadership of Motin, Alauddin, Deben Sikder and Abul Basher. The EBCP (M-L) theoreticians argued that Pakistan was a bourgeois state with a capitalist economy.

The establishment of Pakistan was itself a bourgeois revolution.<sup>17</sup> They raised the slogan "Swadhin jono Gonotan-  
trik Purbo Bangla (Independent people's democratic East  
Bengal)". In order to materialize this objective they launched  
a peoples democratic revolution under the leadership of the  
Communist Party, i.e. East Bengal Communist Party.<sup>18</sup>

During the period of liberation war the EBCP became  
divided into as many as three groups. By mid 1971, Deven  
Sikder and Abdul Basher took shelter in India and joined  
the "Bangladesh Jatio Mukti Sangram Sammonoy Committee".  
At the end of the same year they separated themselves from  
the EBCP. A small section under the leadership of Ohidur  
Rahman formed the Atrai Communist Party and participated in  
the liberation struggle. This group established a hold on sev-  
eral thanas of Rajshahi district.

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17. Abdul Samad, Hasean Ali Kollah, Alaeddin Ahmed, and  
Abdul Matin, The Character of the National Economy :  
Capitalistic, (Place and publisher names are not mentioned  
in the book).

18. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Radical Politics and the Emergence  
of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Book International Limited, 1975.



The third Group, led by Matin and Alauddin, saw the liberation war as a fight between the two "bourgeoisie dogs" and adopted the line of killing all class enemies from the Pakistani army through feudal landlord to the Mukti Bahini. They blindly followed the line of Indian Maoist leader Charu Mazumdar and raised the slogan, "Chairman Mao is our Chairman, Charu Mazumdar is the leader of the BECP(M-L)"<sup>19</sup> After the independence of Bangladesh Matin-Alauddin faction retained the old name of the Party and analysing the socio-economic conditions of Bangladesh, came to the conclusion that East Bengal, is a semicolonial, semi feudal country and the principal contradiction is between the poor peasants of East Bengal and feudalism.

In 1974, BECP (M-L) again became divided into two factions on this question of "Teaching of Charu Mazumdar" and the line of armed struggle. One faction headed by Moniruzzaman Tara (Alias Haider) blindly followed the teaching of Charu Mazumdar adopted earlier by the party and Matin Alauddin faction advocated infavour of open Politics rejecting the teaching of Charu Mazumdar. Moniruzzaman Tara and his comrades argued that after finishing East Bengal's revolution, people's Democratic East Bengal should be

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19. Talukder Moniruzzaman, The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath, Bangladesh Book International Limited, Dacca 1980, pp. 146-147.

first united with people's democratic West Bengal, then with the people's democratic India. They claim themselves as the followers of Charu Mazumdar. So this group is commonly known as Pro-Charu Mazumdar (Pro-CM). In 1976 Alauddin Ahmed left EPCP (M-L) and joined the Sammabadi Dal led by Mohammed Toaha. In 1977 Matin, Tipu Biewas and Ohidur Rahman were released from jail and in 1979 formed Bangladesher Communist League (M-L) in collaboration with Bangladesher Marxbadi Leninbadi Communist Party led by Surjendu Dastidar. According to them, "Bangladesh is a semi feudal, semi colonial country and the principal contradiction is between the poor peasants and feudalism". They neither support nor oppose Mao's thought and Deng xiaoping's ideas.

In 1982, leaders of the Bangladesher Communist League (M-L) abolished the Party and formed Bangladesh Biplobi Communist League (Revolutionary Communist League of Bangladesh) in collaboration with Bimal Bissas, Jibon Mukherjee and Anjad.\* According to them, "Bangladesh is semi colonial and semi feudal country". They argued to form a patriotic democratic government and an anti-Russian, anti-American patriotic front.

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\* Bimal Bissas, Jibon Mukherjee and Anjad were the members of the Bangladesher Biplobi Communist Party.



The Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries(COCR)

In 1969, Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Haider Akbar Khan Rono and Bashed Khan Menon formed East Bengal co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. They opined that Pakistan was a semi feudal, semi colonial and semi capitalist country and the main contradiction was between the landless and lower class peasants on the one hand and feudalism on the other. They also put forward a program for "Swadhin Purbo Bengal (Independent East Bengal) through a peasants revolution".

During the period of liberation war Zafar, Rono and Menon had found shelter in India and joined the "Bangladesh Jatio Mukti Sangram Samanwoy Committee" Patronized by Jyoti Basu, leader of the Communist Party of India Marxist (CPM). After independence they formed Bangladesh Communist Party (Lenin-badi) in collaboration with Amal Sen and Kasim Ali. Recognising independent Bangladesh and adopting the line of open politics they first worked through the NAP(B) and, later on, formed the United people's Party (U.P.P.). In 1977 the U.P.P. became divided into two groups on the question of forming front with Ziaur Rahman (ex-President of Bangladesh). Opposing the idea of Front with Ziaur Rahman, Rono, Menon and Amal Sen left the U.P.P. and formed a separate organization in the name of

Workers Party adopting Pro-Soviet Political line. On the other hand, Kazi Zafar joined the front of Ziaur Rahman to resist Bakaslist elements. After elections Ziaur Rahman awarded him the port folio of education ministry for a short term tenure.

### Minor-Pro-Peking Communist Parties

#### The Mythi Group

The Mythi Group was formed in 1968 under the leadership of Agni Provo Mythi with the program of socialist revolution in East Bengal through a national liberation struggle. They argued that East Bengal was a colony of Pakistani imperialism. This group was abolished in 1970.

#### The Hatlar Group

By early 70's Hasim Ali and Subo Rahman disassociated themselves with the Pro-Moscow Communist Party and formed a new group. It was commonly known as Hatlar Group. During the period of the liberation movement they fled to India and joined the Jatio Mukti Sangram Sammonoy Committee.



After the independence of Bangladesh Pro-Peking Communists were split into several groups viz;

- (1) Banglar Communist Party;
- (2) Gono Biplobi Party;
- (3) Bangladesher Communist Party (M-L);
- (4) Communist Kormi Sangha;
- (5) Bangladesh Gono Mukti Union;
- (6) East Bengal Communist Andolon ; and
- (7) Purbeancholio Communist Party (Eastern Communist Party).

Adopting the line of open politics Deben Sikder and Abdl Basher formed Banglar Communist Party immediately after independence. Later, this Party was known as Gono Biplobi Party. In 1976 Gono Biploby Party led by Deben-Bashar, Bangladesher Communist Party (M-L) led by Badruddin Umar \* - Shahriar Kabir, and Communist Kormi Sangha (Communist workers Association) led by Dr. Syfuddahar decided to work jointly. Lateron, they formed Bangladesher Communist Party (M-L). After few days, Deben-Bashar left this organization and joined Bangladesh Gono Mukti Union. In the meantime rest two groups (BCP and CWA) jointly come forward with a new thesis that the character of agrarian economy of Bangladesh is backward capitalism rather than semi feudalism.

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\* Badruddin Umar, joined the BECP (M-L) in 1974, when Motin Alauddin rejected the teaching of Charu Mazumdar.

In 1980, Bangladesh Gono Mukti Union divided into two camps. One group led by Sirajul Hossain Khan joined the Jatio Gonotantrik Party. On the other hand, Beshar group formed Bangladesher Mosdur Party. According to them "the principal contradiction is between the working people and bureaucratic comprador capitalism.

By early 70's Ayub Roza Chowdhury of Mymensingh and Nurul Haq Chowdhury (Mehdhi) of Noakhali formed Purbo Bangla Communist Andolon (East Bengal Communist Andolon) and Purbanchelic Communist Party respectively. Lateron, both these parties were abolished. Now Nurul Haq Chowdhury (Mehdhi) of Noakhali is working through the Gonotantrik Karmi Shibir (Democratic Workers Camp). By mid 70's Biplobi Sorboham Party (Revolutionary proletarian Party), Lal Banglar Communist Party (Red Bengal Communist Party); Biplobi Samajtantrik Party (Revolutionary Socialist Party) Arakan Communist Party came into the surface. By the end of 1983,



Jahangir Alam, a former member of the Bangladesher Communist Party, formed Bangladesher Sammabadi <sup>Tadanto</sup> Andolon (Communist Inquiry Movement of Bangladesh)\*.

At present only three Parties viz; Bangladesher Biplobi Communist Party led by Abdul Huq, East Bengal Sorbohara Party (SBP) led by Anwar Kabir and East Bengal Sorbohara Party (APC) led by Col. Ziauddin are trying to overthrow this government through armed struggle. For this purpose they have created some small pockets at the various parts of the countryside. Most of the members of these parties are younger in age, well-educated having middle class family background.

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\* The author does not have sufficient documents regarding the activities of the five parties viz; (1) Biplobi Sorbohara Party; (2) Biplobi Samajtantrik Party; (3) Lal Banglar Communist Party; (4) Arakan Communist Party; and (5) Bangladesher Sammabadi Tadanto Andolon.

CHAPTER TWO

From East Bengal Workers Movement to East Bengal  
Sarbojaya Party (1968-1971)

The year 1967 was a turning point in the history of East Bengal Politics. This year West Bengal witnessed the historic Naxalbari peasants movement that changed the whole picture of the traditional Communist Movement in India as well as other parts of this Sub-Continent.<sup>1</sup> The same year in Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) a young group of Communists under the leadership of Siraj Sikder came in contact with the teaching of Mao Tse Tung being influenced by the Naxalbari movement. This group decided to fight against the traditional Communists through the weapon of Mao's thought. In order to materialize this objective Comrade Siraj Sikder founded "Mao Tse Tung Thought Research Centre" at Malibag in Dacca in 1967.<sup>2</sup> The founder members of this "Research Centre" were Taher (Azmiri/Bacchu), Shahid (Mahbub), Mahtubullah, Nurul Hasan, Abul Hasan (Altab), Ishaque and Dr. Rafiqul. From the very beginning of its birth it became the target of attack of the leftists as well as rightists.

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1. Mohan Ram, Maoism in India, Delhi, (Vikas Publications, 1971)

2. The Spark (Special issue), The East Bengal Sarbojaya Party (SEB), May 1981, pp. 19-20.



Jamait-i-Islam affiliated mollahs (Maulanas) became alert about the activities of the 'Research Centre' and took several attempts to destroy it. To resist the attack of the Jamait-i-Mollahs Siraj Sikder collected Seven Lathis (sticks) and twelve knives that were made in exchange of 36'00 Taka (Thirty Six Taka). By the middle of 1968 Mao thought Research Centre was abolished.

During this time Siraj Sikder realized the necessity of a revolutionary organization. To meet this necessity the East Bengal Workers Movement was formed on January 8, 1968, at Mir~~ra~~gh village of Karanigong police station in Dacca. The conference was held at the house of a worker of Dacca Jute Mills. It was <sup>a</sup> one-day session. About 45 to 50 followers of "Mao Thought Research Centre" were present at the Conference. The conference unanimously accepted East Bengal Workers Movement Thesis presented by Siraj Sikder. In this thesis he pointed out the major contradictions, principal contradiction, stages of revolution and strategies for the revolution of East Bengal. The thesis determined the following contradictions.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Siraj Sikder, Selected Works, Vol. 1, Chalontika Books House, Dacca, 1980, pp. 5-17.

1. Contradiction between the Pakistani Colonialism and the people of East Bengal.
2. between feudalism and the peasants of East Bengal
- 3.(a) between U.S. imperialism and the people of East Bengal.  
(b) between Soviet Social imperialism and the people of East Bengal.  
(c) between Indian expansionism and the people of East Bengal.  
(d) between the bourgeoisie and the workers of East Bengal.

Members of the "Mao Thought Research Centre" invited Sukhendu Dasgupta (Bashir), Abdul Haq, Mohammad Toaha, Kazi Zafar Ahmed and Rashed Khan Menon to attend at the inauguration ceremony. They did not attend the ceremony, rather they criticised it.

Siraj Sikder formulated this thesis in 1967. He presented this thesis to the leaders of the EPCP(M) and invited them to discuss and debate on it. But the leaders of the EPCP(M) rejected it.

The EBWM made a great contribution to the Maoist Politics in Bangladesh determining the principal contradiction in the then Pakistan society. Because this principal contradiction plays leading role in the development process of a society. 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 be readily solved."<sup>4</sup>

Following Mao's dictum the EBM theoreticians argued that the principal contradiction in Pakistan was between the Pakistani Colonialism and the people of East Bengal. The EBM was the first organization that declared East Bengal as a colony of Pakistan and called for a national liberation struggle against Pakistani ruling class. They advocated for national democratic revolution through armed struggle under the leadership of the proletarian party (the Communist party) because in the epoch of imperialism and social imperialism the bourgeoisie has no right to lead the revolution. The EBM also chalked out a programme for establishing Sovereign, Democratic peaceful Neutral Progressive Republic of East Bengal, uprooting imperialism, social imperialism expansionism, feudalism and all kinds of exploitation.

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4. Mao Tse Tung, Collected Works, Vol. 1.

(Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1995) p.332.

### Organizational Structure :

On January 8, 1968, The East Bengal Workers Movement formed the "Biplobi Parishad" (The Revolutionary Council) with Siraj Sikder and Tahar as Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively. The Biplobi Parishad had a standing Committee with two types of membership viz; full-fledged member and alternative member. Shahid, Nurul Hasan and Abul Hasan were full-fledged members whereas Dr. Bakibul and Ishaque were alternative members. At that time the EBWM had seven whole time workers.

### Guerrilla Activities

The EBWM opened its guerrilla activities through wall writing at the various places in Dacca city quoting Mao's famous dictum: "Power comes from the barrels of guns". By mid 1968, Guerrillas successfully hijacked a cyclostyle machine from an office of Purana Paltan in Dacca City. The operation troop was organized by Hamid, Humayun Kabir, Jalil and Ishaque with three knives and one pistol. It was the first operation in the history of the party. After this operation the EBWM published a theoretical paper "Lal Janda" (The Red Flag).

From 1968-1970 the EBWM intensified underground activities at Jhalakati, Swarupkati, Barisal Town, Gournadi, Nchdiganj, Bhola and Dowfall in Barisal district, Khulna city and



Khalispur in Khulna district, Goalnanda and Madaripur in Faridpur district, Sirajganj, in Pubna, Nagarpur in Tangail, Mymensingh town, Jamalpur, Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Munsigonj in Dacca district. During this time the EBWE recruited workers from various organization. Especially the student union (Menon) became their channel of recruitment. A large number of students from this organization joined the workers movement.

On January 8, 1970. The EBWE hoisted the flag (present national flag of Bangladesh) of independent East Bengal in Dacca city, Munsigonj city and Mymensingh, on the occasion of the second foundation Day Ceremony of the Party.<sup>5</sup> On May 6, 1970 two hand bombs were thrown into the offices of the Pakistan Council in Dacca on the occasion of Karl Marx's birthday. By October, 1970, hand made bombs were also thrown into the B.N.R. (Bureau of National Reconstruction), American information Centre and other places of the country. These activities were the signal of "Direct Revolutionary Action" against the Pakistani ruling clique.

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5. The Daily Purbo Desh - February, 1970. For a detail discussion, see the Spark (Special issue), The East Bengal Sorkobara Party (SEP) May, 1984.

By mid 1970 the EBWM started Guerilla war at the remotest village area of East Bengal through the killing of national enemy. In January 1971, the Workers Movement tested its guerilla attack on Haru Babu, an Assistant Manager of a Tea garden at Potikchari in Chittagong. It was the first national enemy operation in the history of the organization.

### Role of the EBWM in the Liberation War

The elections result of 1970 heralded the death of United Pakistan. After the elections Yahya Khan, Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib failed to determine the fate of unlucky Pakistan through constitutional way.<sup>7</sup> As a result Pakistan became divided into two hostile camps viz. the people of East Pakistan and the ruling class of Pakistan. The conflict between the people of East Pakistan and Pakistani ruling class came to the surface when on March 1, Yahya Khan postponed the forth coming session of the National Assembly. As soon as the news came to East Pakistan over radio, people from all walks of life revolted against the military junta.<sup>8</sup> The EBWM realized the pulse of the boiling situation. So that the leaders of this party quickly decided to form a national liberation front together with the various progressive parties.

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6. The Daily Azadi (Chittagong) January 1971.

7. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh, Dacca: Bangladesh Books International Limited, 1975, p.27.

8. Jyoti Sen Gupta, History of Freedom Movement in Bangladesh



On March 2, 1971, the EBWM published an open letter for the Awami League that urged to form a temporary revolutionary coalition Government with the representatives of all patriotic open and underground parties and a national liberation front, with all of the patriotic elements of the country, on the basis of minimum program of launching a national liberation war. The Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujib rejected the proposal.

On March 25, 1971, East Pakistan's political situation became turmoil. At mid night on 25 March, the Pakistan military launched an attack on the innocent people of East Pakistan. The Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujib himself was arrested and a large number of leaders fled to India. Bullets could not silence the voice of the millions. On April 17, the Awami League formed an exile-Government in India with the blessing of Soviet Russia.

#### Formation of the East Bengal Sarbojaya Party (EBSP)

While the Awami League leaders took shelter in India, the East Bengal Workers Movement decided to resist Pakistan army remaining in the countryside. After March 25, Comrade Siraj Sikar mobilized his organizational strength at Peara Bagan in Barisal. Soon Peara Bagan became a mini-battlefield.

From this base Siraj Sikder launched a guerilla war against Pakistani army that first spread on Ahtghar, Kuriana, Jolabari, Jankati, Kritipasha, Vinrul and Dumaria.<sup>9</sup> On April 30, the EBMM formed the "National Mukti Bahini". This Bahini liberated a vast area of Peara Bagan. For the guidance of this Bahini the "Sarbocho Shamorik Porichalona Mondoli" (The Supreme Military Managing Body) was formed with Siraj Sikder as the President. On June 5, 1971, the EBMM was transformed into the East Bengal Sarbochakra Party at the battlefield of Peara Bagan. Siraj Sikder was elected its convener.

#### Guerrilla Activities of the EBSP at Various Battlefronts

By mid June, Peara Bagan became the main target of Pakistani army. As a result fighting took place between the EBSP and Pakistani military forces. Facing tremendous attack, the Sarbochakra Party's guerrillas backed from Peara Bagan and made various battlefronts in different parts on the country.<sup>10</sup>

#### Front No. 1

Banoripara, Pirozpur, Swarupkati, Jhalokati, Patharghata and Modbaria in Barisal district was under this front. Immediately after the formation of the Sarbochakra Party Banoripara thana as

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9. Talukder Moniruzzaman, The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath, Dhaka: Bangladesh Book International Limited, 1979, p. 148. The EBMM's letter was distributed among the masses.

10. The Spark (Special Issue) The East Bengal Sarbochakra Party (EBSP) May 1981.



was attacked by the party guerrillas. But they fled away by the counter attack of the police Bahani. Later on Shishir (Heru) captured some weapons from this area.

### Front No. 2

Mahtab, Shahin (Alam) and Khasur formed this front with Gournadi, Babugonj, Muladi, Hila and Mehdigonj in Barisal district, and Goshairhat, Damudia, Bhedhorgonj, Kalkini, Madaripur, Palong, Naris, Jajira in Faridpur district. The head quarter of this front was the village of Husnabad at Gournadi Police Station. The guerrilla of this front led by Shahin and Khasru attacked Muladi thana. But they did not get any military advantages from this operation. A small troops led by Shishir captured Mahilarn Razaker camp at Gournadi. By mid July, Pakistani troops heavily attacked the headquarter of this front and easily occupied it.

### Bikrampur Front

Mojeed and Rafique opened a front at Munsigonj in Dacca district. It was known as Bikrampur front.

### Shaver Front

Taher, Palash and Syed formed Shaver front. Some part of Manikgonj sub-division was included into this front. Monindra an experienced guerrilla leader of Peara Bagan battlefield joined this front.

### Tangail Front

This front was composed of two thanas of Tangail (Magorpur and Tangail thana) and some parts of Hanikgonj and Pabna under the leadership of Nazrul. Fazlu was appointed here as a director.

### Pabna Front

Baten opened a front in Pabna, Ullapara, Shahjadpur, Shathia in Pabna subdivision and Sirajgonj subdivision were under this front.

Another front was formed at Bhola subdivision in Barisal led by Khokon and Anis. In this front the EBSP Troops carried an operation at Lalmoan thana in collaboration with Siddique commander ( a local Awami League leader).

The EBSP troops also launched some minor operation in some parts of Mymensingh district and Narsingdi in Dacca district.

### Composition and Function of the Fronts

Each and every front area had some political, organizational, military and administrative functions. Front committee conducted the functions of the front areas. It consisted of a president, Vice-president, Secretary, Assistant Secretary Front Commander Assistant Front Commander and a director of mass communication department. In the front areas Gram Porichalona Committees were formed for the purpose of creating



local administration. These Gram porichalona Committees primarily performed judicial functions.

In some front areas there were platoon with political commissar and cadre school for the teaching of Marxism.<sup>10</sup>

By mid August 1971, the Awami League affiliated freedom fighters returned Bangladesh equipped with sophisticated arms and weapons. The East Bengal Sarbojha Party (EBSP) proposed them to fight jointly against Pakistan army; the Awami League rejected this proposal and started killing the Sarbojha Party Guerrilla Workers.<sup>11</sup> As a result, direct conflict started between these two groups. In October, 1971, the Sarbojha Party circulated a document that called the people of East Bengal to fight against the Awami League, Indian army and Pakistan army. By November 1971, both Pakistan army and Mukti Bahini killed many of the Sarbojha Party's guerrilla workers.

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\* Siraj Sikder and Shahin Alam, *Collected Military Works*. (Unpublished).

11. Siraj Sikder, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, (Chalontika Book House, Dhaka 1980), pp. 58-75.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was also worried about the Political situation of the then East Pakistan. So she decided to liberate Bangladesh through direct military action. Three factors worked behind this idea (1) to place in power the Awami League leadership (2) to solve 10 million refugees problems and (3) to resist Maoist movement in Bangladesh as well as in India. Indira Gandhi, an astute politician, understood the dynamics of liberation struggle in a semi colonial and semi feudal country like Bangladesh.<sup>12</sup> She knew that this type of protracted struggle might develop the consciousness of the working people of Bangladesh and transform the leadership into the hands of the proletarian party (the Communist Party) from the Awami League, a party of the rising bourgeoisie. If the proletarian party (the communist party) could once take over power through armed struggle that might paralyse the government of West Bengal. Most probably Mrs. Gandhi had remembered the great saying of Gokhale: "What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow". So the situation forced her to march the Indian army into the territory of Bangladesh. On December 16, 1971, Bangladesh became an independent and sovereign country.

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12. Tariq Ali, *Explosion in South Asia* in Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma ed. *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia* (Monthly Review Press New York, and London) pp. 449-465.



CHAPTER THREE

The EBSP and the Mujib Regime

After the independence of Bangladesh the Awami League established its authority throughout the Country adopting Indian model of parliamentary system.<sup>1</sup> From the very beginning, the Awami League regime allowed all political parties to function except the Muslim League the P.I.P and other pro-Islamic parties whose leaders collaborated with the Pakistan army during the period of the Liberation War. The Pro-Peking underground Parties were not officially allowed to functions here. But irony was that the real threat to the regime came from the radical opposition parties who had been trying to bring about a second revolution in Bangladesh through an armed struggle.<sup>2</sup>

There were several radical parties in Bangladesh viz;

- (1) The Purbo Bangla Sarbojara Party;
- (2) Purbo Bangla Sammohadi Dal (M-L);
- (3) Bangladesh Communist League;
- (4) Purbo Bangla Communist Party; and
- (5) East Pakistan Communist Party.

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1. Rounaq Jahan, Bangladesh in 1973: Management of Factional Politics, Asian Survey, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (February 1974), pp. 125-135.

2. Talukder Moniruzzaman, Bangladesh: An unfinished Revolution in Enajuddin Ahmed, ed, Bangladesh Politics (Dhaka: Centre for Social Studies 1980), pp. 30-65.

Among these Maoist Parties, the Sarbojha Party theoretically, militarily and organizationally became the main challenge to the Awami League authority. On April 20, 1973, Siraj Sikder formed the Furbo Bangla Jatio Mukti Front (National Liberation Front of East Bengal) with the representatives of the following associations :-

- (1) East Bengal Sarbojha Party;
- (2) East Bengal Patriotic Armed Forces;
- (3) East Bengal Workers and Employees Freedom Association;
- (4) East Bengal Peasants Freedom Association;
- (5) East Bengal Students Youth Freedom Association;
- (6) East Bengal Women, Art, Culture, Newspaper, and Literature Freedom Association.
- (7) East Bengal Minority Nationalities Freedom Association;
- (8) East Bengal Minority Religious Association;
- (9) East Bengal Patriotic Businessmen and Industrialists Association;
- (10) East Bengal Patriotic Ulama Association;
- (11) Representatives of the various patriotic groups and left parties in East Bengal.



To conduct the activities of this front a temporary central committee was made with Siraj Sikder as its Chairman. At that time front worked as a channel of communication between the people of East Bengal and the party. Sarbohara Party was the representative of the working class and the front was the representative of the revolutionary classes and patriotic parties.

The East Bengal Sarbohara Party challenged the Mujib regime calling strike throughout the country on December 16, 1973. Maulana Bhasani openly supported this strike. During this time Sarbohara Party's underground activities spread all over the country. As a result, party recruited a large number of part-time and whole time workers from the various sections of the people. Col. Ziauddin, an army personnel, joined the party. On December 28, 1973, the then president Mohammadullah declared Emergency when the country was facing tremendous threat from the radical marxists.<sup>3</sup>

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3. The Daily Ittefaq (Dacca), December, 29, 1973.

The Awami League Government declared December 16, 1973 as "Victory Day" The EBSP declared December 16, as a "Black Day". According to the EBSP, "On December 16, 1971, expansionist India occupied East Bengal with the help of the social Imperialist Russia and placed Awami League to Power".

During the Mujib regime, the Barbohara Party launched massive operations in different parts of the country. The Party troops established its hold on Dacca, Barisal, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Tangail, Chittagong, Sylhet and Comilla districts.

#### DHAKA DISTRICT

By mid July 1972 the Barbohara Party opened Guerrilla War at Munsigonj for killing the national enemies. A successful bank operation took place in Dhaka city. During this time the guerrilla troops launched an operation on Raider Bazar Bank. By the end of July 1973, the Barbohara Party occupied Lohjong thana. At that time Jabra Police camp and Sauria thana of Manikgonj were occupied by the guerrilla troops.\*

#### BARISAL DISTRICT

By mid August 1972, the guerrilla troops captured Indrohat and Rhasanchar police camp. In 1974, Babugonj thana was captured by the guerrilla troops. At the same time a successful bank operation at Turki in Gournadi thana and unsuccessful Bawfall thana operation were launched by the party.

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\* For detail discussion see, The Spark (Special issue) The East Bengal Barbohara Party (SBP) May, 1981. The Barbohara Party guerrilla troops did not permanently occupy above mentioned thanas and police camps. They occupied it for the purpose of collecting arms and ammunition.



MYMENSINGH DISTRICT

The Sarbojama Party captured Dhanikhola Police Camp at Trishali on August 9, 1972. In November, they operationed a bank at Athara Bari and Barhatta thana. By mid 1974, they launched a successful operation on Gaffer Cha Thana and an unsuccessful operation on Modhon thana. By mid 1974, guerrilla troops occupied patri camp in Tangail.

CHITTAGONG DISTRICT

In November 1972, the Sarbojama Party captured Chandaghana thana in the district of Chittagong and Paroa camp in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

FARIDPUR DISTRICT

In 1972, the Sarbojama Party guerrilla troops occupied Chadpur camp in Faridpur district. They also launched an unsuccessful operation on Shahab Kampur Rakshi Bahin camp.

SYLHET AND COMILLA DISTRICTS

The Sarbojama Party guerrilla workers successfully captured the arms and weapons of the Balagong and Dharna Passa thanas in the Sylhet district and Motlob thana in the Comilla district.

From 1972 to early 1975, the Sarbojama Party shooked the foundation of the Awami League Government by looting thanas and killing national enemies. The party has to lose a large number of workers in the hands of the Mujib's Rakhi Bahani.

### The Political Line of the Sarbojama Party

After the liberation of Bangladesh the EBSP led by Siraj Sikder formulated a new Political thesis evaluating the then socio-economic conditions of East Bengal. This new Political thesis was accepted by the Party's first national congress that held from 12-16 January, 1972, in Dacca. In this thesis Siraj Sikder ~~has~~ identified the various contradictions. These contradictions were :

- (1) between the people of East Bengal and the Indian expansionism;
- (2) between the people of East Bengal and Soviet Social imperialism;
- (3) between the people of East Bengal and imperialism;
- (4) between imperialism, agents of imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, Indian expansionism and their agents.



- (5) between the people of East Bengal and feudalism.; and  
(6) between bourgeoisie and the workers of East Bengal.

The first national congress also accepted the constitution of the party with some amendment. A presidium was formed with seven members to conduct the congress. Siraj Sikder was appointed its Chairman, The congress also elected a Central Committee by secret voting. The office bearers of the Central Committee were as follows :-

Siraj Sikder	- Chairman
Shahid	- Member
Fazlu	+ Member
Abdullah	- Alternative Member
Mojed	- -do-
Sultan	- -do-

Few months after the formation of the central committee, the Sarbojha Party suffered from some sort of organizational setback. During this time it was alleged that Fazlu and Sultan tried to capture leadership through the path of conspiracy in collaboration with Azam, Mohsin and Rizvi. By early May, 1972, the Sarbojha Party central committee expelled Fazlu, Sultan, Azam and Mohsin. In the meantime Shahid, a member of the central committee, was arrested by the police in Chittagong. By early June 1972, Fazlu and

Humayun Kabir were killed by the Party Workers. Humayun Kabir was a lecturer in the department of Bengali at Dhaka University, when he joined the party. The fourth session of the Central Committee that held in July 1972, ousted Habib Rizvi, Salma, Minu and Mensur for anti-party activities. The fourth session of the central committee also re-elected its members. In 1973, Shahid was released from membership of the central committee, while he was in Jail. In August 1974, Mojib was arrested by the police and Rana tried to disassociate himself from Siraj Sikder. Under this circumstances three member central committee faced the leadership crisis. To solve this crisis the Sarbojati Party convened a meeting of the top ranking members in September 1974. This meeting suspended Rana from the central committee and formed two helping groups and coordinators with Matin, Mahbub, Rafique, Rana, Ziauddin and Jyoti. As a result, Siraj Sikder became supreme authority of the party. The year 1975 came with a bad sign signal to the MBSP. The first day of the year Siraj Sikder was arrested and a day after arrest he was killed brutally by the Mujib's Rakhi Bahini. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh, indirectly claimed the responsibility of Siraj Sikder's killing publicly declaring. "Where is your Siraj Sikder?"



CHAPTER FOURRole of the EBSP After the Death of Siraj Sikder :The Split in EBSP

After the death of Siraj Sikder, a tragic phase started in the history of the Sarbojha Party. During this period the party became divided into two factions due to personal conflict and lack of proper communication among the top ranking members.

When Siraj Sikder was killed Col. Ziauddin and Jyoti were at Chittagong Hill Tracts and Motin, Mahtab, Rafique and Rana were in the countryside. On January 12, 1975 Khalil, Atique and Iqram formed a "Coordinating Centre" at Chittagong. In the meantime Motin called an emergency meeting of the "helping groups". Motin in collaboration with Mahtab, Rafique and Rana formed "The Asthaye Sarbocho Sangstha" (The Temporary Supreme Association - OSS). Ziauddin and Jyoti were included into this O.S.S. Motin was appointed coordinator of this O.S.S. During this period O.S.S. killed Atique and expelled Iqram and Khalil from the party. Meanwhile Monsur and Bindu started anti O.S.S. activities. The O.S.S. also killed them. The APC that was established in 1976 criticised the killing policy of this group. \*

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\* For further discussion see, The Spark (Special issue), The East Bengal Sarbojha Party (SBP), May 1981.

On August 15, 1975, the Political atmosphere in Bangladesh became changed. On that day, a dozen of young military officers killed Sheikh Mujib and took over power.<sup>1</sup> The O.S.S. formulated a political analysis in the context of August 1975 change and identified the Mustaque Government as a paid agent of U.S.A. imperialism. In September 1975 police had arrested Motin. As a result leadership of the O.S.S. came in to the hands of Mahbub and Rana. But they joined with Ziauddin taking compromising line.

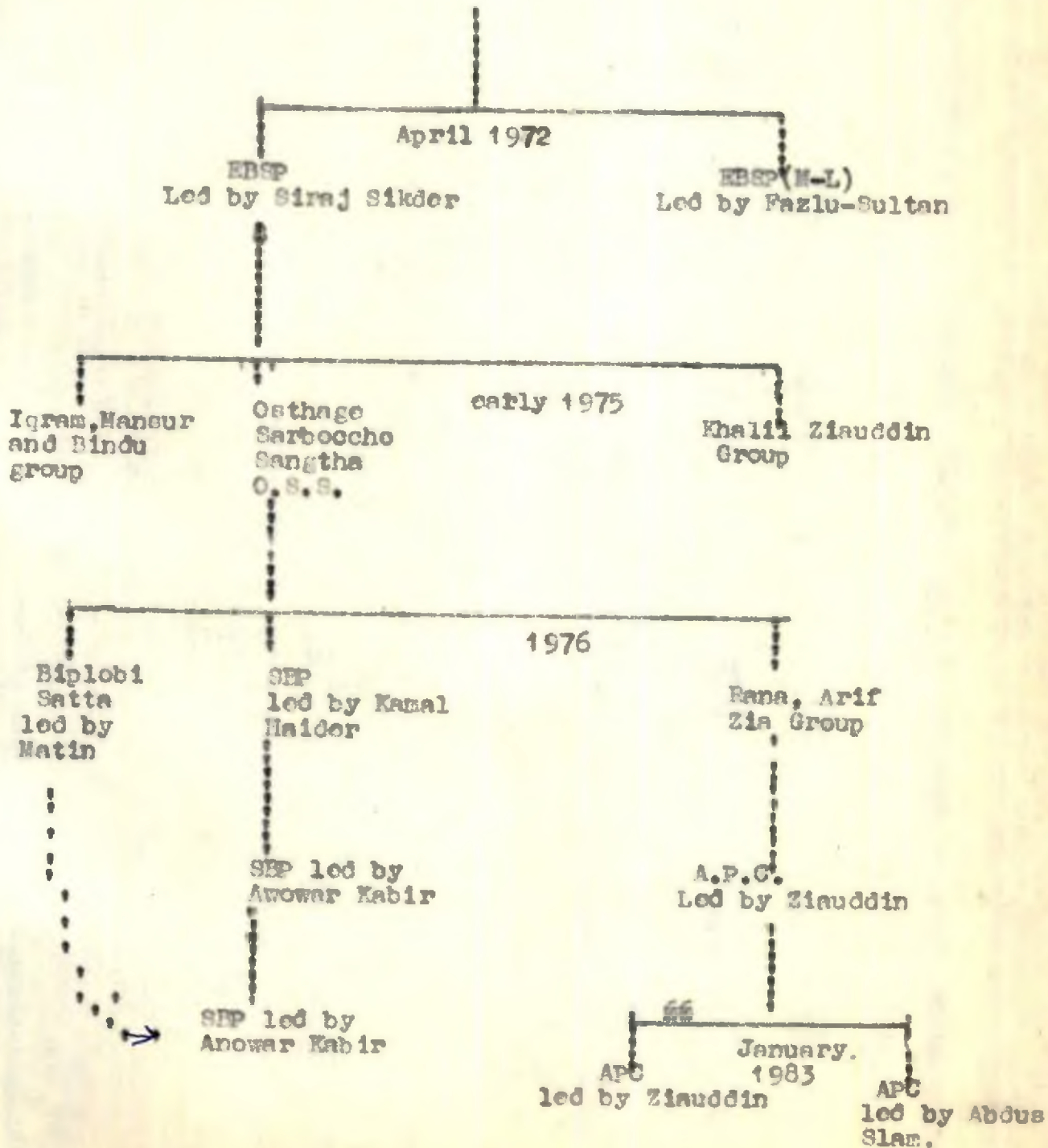
By the first week of January 1976 "Ontor Bartikalini Babostapok Mondoli" (Interim Managing Committee) was formed under the leadership of Kamal Haider (alias Probir Nyogi). By mid February, 1976, it was abolished by an emergency conference and a new body was elected in the name of the "Sarboccho Biplobi Parishad" (the Supreme Revolutionary Council). Kamal Haider was elected its Secretary. On the otherhand, a small section of the party formed Asthaye porichalona Committee in March 1976, with Arif as its Secretary.

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1. For Eastern Economic Review (A weekly Paper), Hong Kong, September 22, 1975.



Diagram 2 Shows the splits in the East Bengal  
Sarbojona Party (EBSP) from 1972-1983.



By June 1976, Motin disassociated himself with the Sarboccho Biplobi Parishad and formed "Purbo Banglar Sarbohara Partir Biplobi Satta Panorudhar Prokria" [Restoration process of the East Bengal Sarbohara Party Revolutionary existence].<sup>2</sup> He criticised APC and SEP clique and reactionary elements.

On 6, December 1976, Kamal Haider was arrested by the police in Dacca. So that the EBSP (SEP) first conference that held in January 1977 reshuffled its high committees. Anowar Kabir was elected acting Secretary. At the end of November 1977, Anowar Kabir became the Secretary of the Party by the decision of the second congress. Second congress also unanimously gave up the ultra left line of Kamal Haider. During this time Motin abolished "Purbo Banglar Sarbohara Partir Biplobi Satta Panorudhar Prokria and joined the Sarboccho Biplobi Parishad".

In July 1979 the "Sarboccho Biplobi Parishad" urged the members of the party to abolish two centres (Asthaye porichalona committee and SEP) in order to establish one centre through "Unity Conference".<sup>2</sup> The APC faction rejected this proposal arguing that the APC has been formed in a correct line while the formation of the SEP is illegal and undemocratic.

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2. The Spark No. 11 (January-February 1981), The East Bengal Sarbohara Party (SEP), pp. 23-32.



In 1980, the SBP led by Anwar Kabir rejected the "Three World Theory of China". The year 1982 is important for the EBSP (SBP). This year Party formulated a constitution on the basis of Marxism Leninism and Mao Tse Tung's Thought. The Sarbajit Party's (SBP) constitution determined the following contradiction in East Bengal. These contradictions are :-

- (1) between the people of East Bengal and imperialism led by U.S.A.
- (2) between the people of East Bengal and Soviet Social imperialism.
- (3) between the people of East Bengal and the Indian expansionism.
- (4) between the vast peasant masses of East Bengal and feudalism.
- (5) between imperialism led by America, Soviet Social imperialism, Indian expansionism and their respective lackeys.
- (6) between the bourgeoisie and workers of East Bengal.

The principal contradiction is between the people of East Bengal and the imperialism led by U.S.A.

The immediate program of the party is to finish the national democratic revolution through armed struggle led by the Proletarian Party (Communist Party). The bourgeoisie

and petty bourgeoisie has no right to lead this revolution. The aim of the revolution is to remove imperialism, social imperialism, Indian expansionism, feudalism and their agents. According to the constitution of the party "East Bengal is a new colony of U.S. imperialism".<sup>3</sup>

The National Congress is the supreme body of the party. It will elect politbureau, local committees and secretary if necessary.

Democratic centralism is the organizational principal of the party. The EBSP believes in peasants revolution through armed struggle. The Sarbojha Party (SBP) bitterly criticised the activities of the Ziaur Rahman's regime through leaflets, pamphlets and circulars. In March 1980, they participated in the prisoners movements in various jails.<sup>4</sup>

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3. The constitution of the Sarbojha Party (Draft) The East Bengal Sarbojha Party (SBP), July 1982.

4. For Prisoners Movement see, Holiday (A Weekly Paper) Dacca, April 13, 1980.



The EBSP (SBP) is active in several thanas in Faridpur District i.e. Madaripur Sadar, Shibchar, Jajira, Bhodargong, Kalkini, Damudia, Haris and Nymensingh Sadar and Muktagacha thana in Nymensingh District. On September 9, 1980 guerrilla troops occupied Barirhat Police Camp in Shariatpur sub-division. In this areas Sarbojama Party has to face J.S.D. affiliated underground workers i.e. followings of Gono Bahini as well as the Combined police and military operation.<sup>5</sup>

After the death of Ziaur Rahman Justice Satter came to power with the blessing of the army generals. Immediately after coming to power Justice Satter legalized his post through the presidential elections. But few months after the election on March 24, 1982 H.M. Ershad, the Chief of the Armed Forces, took over power from Justice Satter and declared Martial Law throughout the country. Military junta banned all political activities. The East Bengal Sarbojama Party (SBP) vehemently criticised the activities of the military regime and urged the people of East Bengal to overthrow this government through armed struggle as well as mass movement.

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5. The Spark, East Bengal Sarbojama Partir Mukhopatra, Sorbocho Biplobi Parishad Kartrik Prokashita, No. 9 (September-October 1980).

The East Bengal Sarbojha Party (Asthaye Parichalona Committee)

The Asthaye Parichalona Committee was formed in March 1976 under the leadership of Arif and Ziauddin. In July 1977, Arif and Rana, the Secretary and a member of the Central Committee, respectively, were arrested by the police. So that Ziauddin became the active Secretary of the Party. By mid 1978, Arif and Rana were released from Jail. After being released from jail they advocated in favour of open mass party line. For this reason, party ousted them and elected Ziauddin as the Secretary.

At the early stage of its formation, it did not differ with Sarbojha Biplobi Parishad on the ideological ground. Both these factions upheld the political line of Siraj Sikder i.e. Marxism Leninism Mao Tse Tung's Thought. Ideological differences between these two factions came to surface in 1977 when the moderate group took over power in China. This group tactfully avoided the line of class struggle, and "Three World Theory" of Chairman Mao Tse Tung. Albanian labor party headed by Enver Hoxa first rejected the "Three World Theory of China" as anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist. Following the road of Albanian Labour Party the APC rejected the "Three World Theory of China" in its sixth session held on July 30, 1979. The Sarbojha Party APC evaluated "Three World Theory of China" in the light of Marxism and Leninism and came to the conclusion that contradictions determined by Lenin was still vital. These contradictions are :



- (a) between the working class and the bourgeoisie;
- (b) between the oppressed people of the countries Asia, Africa and Latin America and imperialism;
- (c) contradiction among the imperialists;
- (d) contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system.

The Sarbojati Party APC rejected the "Three World Theory" on the following grounds :-

(1) Three World Theory has discussed only the contradictions among the imperialist powers denying the rest three contradictions.

(2) The method of class analysis has not been applied to the study of historical development of a society. Whereas class struggle between the exploiter and the exploited remains the motive force of history. The leaders, enemies and friends of revolution are determined by the method of class analysis.

(3) Under certain circumstances the feudal classes and the comprador bourgeois classes of the neo-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can play revolutionary and progressive role but as a class they are reactionary. But the Three World Theory considers them as revolutionary.

(4) Among the imperialist powers, <sup>the</sup> U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the main enemies of the people. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are equally aggressive because imperialism by its very

nature is aggressive. But the Three World Theory considers the U.S.S.R. as number one enemy of revolution.

(5) Division of the World into first, second and third world is anti-Marxist.<sup>6</sup>

The Sarbohare Party APC argued that the main purpose of the "Three World Theory" was to reject class struggle. It became clear when Peking Review published an article on Fundamental Change in China's class situation. According to this article.

"To day the hostile classes have ceased to exist. Under the powerful dictatorship<sup>5</sup> of the proletariat, the class enemy can no longer grow into a fully developed reactionary class and openly confront the proletariat. Therefore, class struggle in the days to come will no longer be a struggle between classes as a whole as it was historically. This is why it is no longer necessary for us to adopt the form of a country wide mass class struggle in our struggle against them".<sup>7</sup>

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6. "The Three World Theory" in the light of Marxism, The East Bengal Sarbohare Party (APC), August, 1979.

7. Peking Review, (A Weekly Paper) November, 23, No. 47, 1979.



The year 1981 is important for the Sarbojha Party for many <sup>years</sup> various. This year the party chalked out a program for national democratic revolution and national front. The thesis also determined the various contradictions of East Bengal on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse Tung's thought. These contradictions was :-

- (1) between the people of East Bengal and imperialism;
- (2) between the peasants of East Bengal and feudalism;
- (3) between workers and bourgeoisie;
- (4) contradiction among the agents of imperialism i.e. comprador bourgeoisie, feudals etc.

According to this thesis, the stage of revolution in East Bengal is national democratic.\* From the point of view of national democratic revolution the principal contradiction in East Bengal is between the people and imperialism and feudalism.

The Sarbojha Party APC formulated a program in 1981 for the national democratic revolution. The major points of the program are given below :-

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\*The task of National Democratic Revolution is to destroy Imperialism, Feudalism, Comprador bourgeoisie and the Bureaucratic Capitalism i.e. the big bourgeoisie and then to establish New Democratic State. The last task of the Socialist Revolution is to abolish Private Property and the establish Socialist Society.

- (1) To form a Government of the working people and patriotic people removing imperial and feudal elements;
- (2) to cancel all unequal treaties with foreign states;
- (3) to establish democratic rights of the people and equal rights of all minorities;
- (4) to recognize the right of all nationalities;
- (5) to confiscate all foreign capital, nationalize heavy industries, and to distribute land among the landless and the poor peasants free of cost;
- (6) to give equal status to all men and women;
- (7) to introduce national democratic education system;
- (8) to develop a new culture;
- (9) to keep militia (A Bahini of the workers and peasants) for national security;
- (10) to provide job security of workers and employees;
- (11) to provide facilities of food, clothing, shelter health and education for every one.

In order to complete the national democratic revolution, the Sarbajam Party APC chalked out a program for the formation of national front. The programs are as follows :-

- (1) To establish an independent, democratic peaceful neutral and progressive republic by uprooting the agents of imperialism.
- (2) Peaceful neutral foreign policy.



- (3) Strong patriotic armed Bahini for the creation of free motherland and her defense.
- (4) Materialization of land reform program on the principle of land to the landless.
- (5) Introduction of national democratic education system.
- (6) Freedom and equal right of woman.

In 1981 the Sarbojaya Party (APC) also determined the friend and enemy of the revolution in East Bengal on the principle of class analysis method.<sup>8</sup>

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8. The Political Thesis of the East Bengal Sarbojaya Party (Draft The EBSP (APC), 1981.

According to Marx, "Class is an aggregate of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production in antagonistic relationship with other groups." Marx distinguished the entire society into two classes viz, bourgeoisie and proletariat. According to Marx, landowner is a part of bourgeoisie but peasants are not a class. Lenin also did not recognize peasants as a class. Stalin in 1950, first told that peasants are a class in being not full fledged. Then Mao Tse Tung first recognized peasants as a class. He also recognized the poor peasants as a revolutionary class. In this connection he said:

Without poor peasants there can be no revolution. To reject them is to reject the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution.

Mark Marx, Das Capital. Vol. III (Moscow, Progress publishers 1974).

R. Bendix and S.H. Lepset: Class Status and Power (ILLINOIS Free Press 1957) pp.26-35.

Mao Tse Tung: Selected Works, Vol.1 (Peking, Foreign Language Press 1975).

S.R. Schram, The Political Thought of Mao Tse Tung (New York, Frederick A Praeger 1969).

Classes in East BengalLeader friend and enemy of the revolution

(a) Industrial Proletariat	Leader of the revolution
(b) rural proletariat and poor peasants	base of the democratic struggle in rural area
(c) lower middle peasant	friend of the revolution
(d) middle peasants	vacillating friend of the revolution
(e) rich peasants	can make unity on the question of national democratic revolution
(f) juddhar and Mohajan	friend of the revolution
(g) lumpen proletariat in the urban area	friend of the revolution
(h) lower middle class in urban area	friend of the revolution
(i) middle class	vacillating friend of the revolution
(j) upper middle class	rightest faction
(k) national bourgeoisie and businessmen	can make unity on the national question of national democratic revolution
(l) comprador bourgeoisie and businessmen	enemy of the revolution

The Sarbajna Party (AFC) theoreticians argued that East Bengal is a neo-colonial and semi-feudal country. The principal nature of imperialist exploitation in the neo-colonial East Bengal is finance capital.



In 1981, the Sarbojha Party (APC) evaluated its activities from 1968 to 1974 and came to the following conclusions :-

(1) During the period of Pakistan the principal contradiction was between the people and imperialism, whereas the party led by Siraj Sikder determined the principal contradiction between the people of East Bengal and Pakistani colonialism.

(2) In Mujib period the principal contradiction was also between the people and imperialism, whereas, the then party theoreticians determined the principal contradiction between the people of East Bengal and Indian expansionism.

(3) Formation of East Bengal based Sarbojha Party was wrong. Because at the time of its formation East Bengal was part of Pakistan. As a result Sarbojha Party led by Siraj Sikder had taken nationalistic line being isolated from internationalism.<sup>9</sup>

The Sarbojha Party (APC) evaluated Siraj Sikder as a petty bourgeois nationalist. This group also rejected the importance of historic Language Movement of 1952 on the nationalistic ground. They have decided to abstain from observing "Shahid Day" (21 February).<sup>10</sup>

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9. For more analysis see, East Bengal Workers Movement and East Bengal Sarbojha Party's Activities from 1968-1974 (a draft document), The East Bengal Sarbojha Party (APC), April 1981.

10. The Spark, No. 5 (May, 1982) pp.14-16.

In 1982, the Sarbojama Party (APC) rejected Mao's thought considering anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theory. According to them, "The Philosophy of Mao's thought is mechanical, logical and empirical, politics is revolutionary nationalist and economy is haphazard and aimless". They evaluated Mao as a nationalist not a communist. It should be noted here that Enver Hoxa and his labor party first evaluated Mao's thought as anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist in 1978. Recently the Asthaye porichalona Committee (The Temporary Managing Committee) led by Ziauddin has decided to evaluate Stalin's contribution to Marxism and Leninism.

On January 20, 1983, Abdus Salam, a member of the central committee disassociated himself with the Sarbojama Party (APC) led by Ziauddin on the question of present political line. By the end of 1983 the Sarbojama Party (APC) led by Ziauddin changed the name of the party as Bangladesher Sarbojama Party.

### Guerrilla Activities

The Sarbojama Party (APC) led by Ziauddin has established some hold in several thanas of Faridpur, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tract, Jessore, Kushtia and Bogra district.

On January 25, 1979, the guerrilla troops launched an operation at Kalkini thana in Faridpur district. By 1983, guerrilla troops intensified their activities in several pockets of Bogura, Pubna, Barisal and Chittagong districts. They are now trying to overthrow this military regime through armed struggle with weak organizational strength.



Socio-Economic Background of the Members of the Sarbojara Party

I have collected these data through interviews with 45 part time and 45 full time members. My data indicate that most of the members of the Sarbojara Party were younger in age, well-educated and belonged to the lower-middle class and middle class families.

Table - 1Age of the Members of the Sarbojara Party.

Type of Member	Age 15-20	Age 21-25	Age 26-30	Age 31-35	Age 36-40	Age 41 & above	Total
Part time	17 37.78%	21 46.67%	5 11.11%	2 4.44%	11 -	11 -	45
Full time	6 13.33%	15 33.33%	10 22.22%	7 15.57%	5 11.11%	2 4.44%	45

Table 1 indicates that most of the members of the Sarbojara Party belonged to the younger age group. About 96 percent part time and 69 percent full time members were below thirty years of age. Only 4 percent part time and 31 percent full time members were above thirty years of age.

Educational Background of the Members of the Sarbojara Party

Type of Member	Below S.S.C.	S.S.C.	H.S.C.	Bachelor Degree	Master Degree	Total
Part time	12 26.66%	15 33.33%	8 17.78%	7 15.56%	3 6.67%	45
Full time	6 13.33%	16 35.56%	11 24.44%	8 17.78%	4 8.89%	45

Table 2 shows that 33,17,15 and 6 percent part time members respectively were Secondary School Certificate, Higher Secondary Certificate, Bachelor Degree and Master Degree holders. Similarly, 35,24,17 and 8 percent full time members respectively were Secondary School Certificate, Higher School Certificate, Bachelor Degree and Master Degree holders. If we compare the full time members and part time members figures we can find that full time members possess better schooling.

Table - 3Occupational Background of the Members of the Sarbojara Party

Type of Member	Landless peasants	Industrial workers	Student	Teacher	Doctor	Engineer	Service	Business	Total
Part time	3 6.67%	5 11.11%	25 55.56%	4 8.89%	2 4.44%	1 2.22%	2 4.44%	3 6.66%	45
Full time	5 11.11%	7 15.57%	29 64.44%	2 2.44%	Nil	2 2.44%	Nil	Nil	45



Table 3 indicates that the majority of the members of the Sarboham Party belonged to the lower-middle class and middle class families i.e. Student, Teacher, Doctors, Engineer, petty service holders and businessmen. Only 8 percent landless and industrial workers were part time and 12 percent landless and industrial workers were full time members. The majority of the part time and full time members were school and college going students.

Table - 4

Previous Involvement in Politics by the Members of the Sarboham Party

Type of Member	New Comers	Awami League	ML and other Islamic parties	NAP(B) and others pro-Peking Parties	NAP(B) and other Pro-Moscow Parties	Total
Part time	16 35.56%	4 8.89%	9 20.00%	13 28.88%	3 6.67%	45
Full time	9 20.00%	3 6.67%	10 22.22%	18 40.00%	5 11.11%	45

Table 4 shows that a large number of the members of the Sarboham Party were recruited from NAP(B) and Others Pro-Peking Parties i.e. 28 percent part time and 40 percent full time workers were the supporters of the Pro-Peking Parties. New comers were the second largest group. Nearly 35 percent part time and 20 percent full time workers were new comers. They had no previous political experience. Nearly 20 and 22 percent

part time and full time members respectively were the supporters of the ML and others Islamic Parties. Most probably this group of supporters joined the Sarbojha Party to take revenge against the AL regime. During and after the liberation war Pro-Islamic Parties were suppressed by the AL leadership. A small number of workers were recruited from AL, NAP(M) and others Noncow Parties. Only 17 percent (part time and full time) workers were recruited from these parties.

Table - 5

Religious Background of the Members of the Sarbojha Party

Type of Member	Muslim	Hindu	Total
Part time	31 68.89%	14 31.11%	45
Full time	35 77.78%	10 22.22%	45

Table 5 indicates that the majority of the members of this Party were recruited from the Muslim Community. Only 31 percent part time and 22 percent full time workers were recruited from the Hindu Community.



The preceding chapters have dealt with the role of the Marxist Parties in the then Pakistan and Present Bangladesh in historical context. The Marxists for the first time openly raised the demand of "full provincial autonomy" for East Pakistan under the leadership of Maulana Bhasani in 1957. This demand for provincial autonomy later gave birth to Bangladesh led by Awami League. There were many reasons why the Marxist Parties failed to lead this liberation movement. The first was that the Pro-Peking Marxists under the leadership of Maulana Bhasani played a wrong game making alliance with Ayub Khan, a military dictator. The second was that when Awami League articulated the Politics of East Pakistan through the Six Point programme, the NAP(B) isolated itself from the people of East Pakistan by vehemently criticising it rather than giving a correct alternative program. They also failed to understand the depth of public sentiment. In 1971, they were organizationally unprepared to lead the liberation struggle. At that time Marxist Parties were divided into many factions and sub-

factions and lost their organizational strength. They also lost their goodwill among the people of East Pakistan because of China's support for the West Pakistani military regime and their wrong strategies of killing Awami League affiliated Freedom Fighters. Older leadership were also unable to realize a new revolutionary situation. Their theories and methods were outdated.

After independence of Bangladesh, several Marxist Parties became vocal and active to overthrow Mujib regime through armed struggle as well as mass movement. Among these Parties, the East Bengal Sarbojha Party led by Siraj Sikder played a vital role determining the principal contradiction between the people of East Bengal and the Indian expansionism. As a result, most of the anti-Indian elements took shelter under the umbrella of Sarbojha Party. The Party was also able to recruit a large number of young educated guerrilla workers from middle class and lower-middle class families. During this time its guerrilla workers had created some pockets at the sub-divisions level in Bangladesh. They



shook the very strong foundation of Awami League by killing national enemies (Specially the Workers of Awami League) and looting thanas and Rakkhi Bahini Camps. By the end of 1974, the Sarbohara Party became a main challenge to the Awami League regime. So the period 1972 to 1975 was the most creative one for them.

But after the death of Siraj Sikder the Sarbohara Party gradually lost its sharpness and became divided into two major factions. At present both these factions are trying to overthrow the military government led by H.M. Ershad through armed struggle (See Appendix).

Like other Marxist Parties, the Sarbohara Party activities are localized and support is limited to a section of the intellegentsia. Except for a few pockets, they have no support among the industrial workers and poor peasants whose inter<sup>e</sup>ests they claim to uphold.

Naturally question arises regarding the future of the Marxist politics in Bangladesh. My impression is that no capitalist government will be able to solve the deep-rooted economic and political problems of Bangladesh. They will be compelled to <sup>use</sup> force to maintain this system. If such situation continues for a long time there is the possibility of a great upheavel that may bring about a new system of governaent in the country.



Appendix -1

The East Bengal Sarbohara Party (former East Bengal Workers Movement) uses 'East Bengal' instead of 'Bangladesh'. "Bangladesh" in its literal sense means the land of Bangalis and, thus, includes West Bengal. Sarbohara Party leaders argued the East Bengalis, within their own territory and with their own languages, economic and social system, and distinctive culture, had evolved historically as a distinct nation different from other nationalities of the Indian sub-continent. See, Purbo Banglar Ashomapto Jatio Ganatantrik Biplob Sampanna Karar Karmasuchi (Program to complete the Unfinished National Democratic Revolution of East Bengal) Published by the Central Committee. Purbo Bangla Sarbohara Party (n.d.) pp. 1-3.

APPENDIX - II

SOME BASIC POINTS ON PURBA BANGLA SARBOHARA PARTY  
AND  
THE PRESENT COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF PURBA BANGLA

(Written for the true Marxist-Leninist parties, organisations and individuals, of the whole world outside Purba Bangla Revised and Reprinted, May, 1983).

(At present our homeland Purba Bangla as a state is known as Bangladesh).

Purba Banglar Sarbohara Party is the party of the proletariat of Purba Bangla. Its theoretical basis is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

The Party was built up through a process.

At first, in 1967 with a view to studying and propagating Mao-Tse Tung Thought and on this basis making a correct analysis of the social condition of Purba Bangla an embryonic organisation, "Mao Tse Tung Chinta dhara Gobeshanagar" (Mao Tse Tung Thought Research Centre) was formed on 8th January, 1968 a preparatory organization, "Purba Bangla Gramic Andolon" (East Bengal Workers Movement), aiming of the formation of a correct party of the proletariat, was founded, which after a period of three years and a half had successfully ended its mission giving birth to "Purba Banglar Sarbohara Party" on 3rd June 1971.

All the above three organizations were founded by Comrade Siraj Sikder and it was his dauntless leadership that led our party forward upto 1974. On 1st January, 1975 he was apprehended by the then fascist Mujib Government and the following day, i.e. on 2nd January, he was brutally done to death by the same.

After his death, some erroneous lines emerged in our party and caused grave losses and splits. Thus a period of disasters began and it was not until November, 1977, when Comrade Anwar Kabir has been elected Secretary of "Shak Sarbohara Biplobi



Parishad" (Supreme Revolutionary Council), the Centre of the party, that this diastorous period came to an end.

Up-till now, Comrade Anower Kabir holds the same rank.

It should be mentioned that our party from the every begining has been an underground armed revolutionary party.

#### SOME OF THE PRESENT BASIC LINES OF THE PARTY

According to the assessment of our party, Purba Bangla now is neocolonial, semi-feudal country and its present stage of revolution is National Democratic Revolution. The following six are the basic contradictions, which the development of the society of Purba Bangla hinges on :

- (i) National Contradiction between the Imperialists, headed by American Imperialists and the people of Purba Bangla.
- (ii) National Contradiction between soviet Social Imperialists, and the people of Purba Bangla.
- (iii) National Contradiction between Indian Expansionists and the people of Purba Bangla.
- (iv) Contradiction between feudalism and the vast present masses.
- (v) Contradiction between the Imperialists headed by America, the Soviet social imperialists and the Indian Expansionists and their respective lackeys.
- (vi) Contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class of Purba Bangla.

\*Purba Bangla, at present, being an American neo-colony and the Military Fascist, Government of Erahad being an American puppet, the top one of the above contradictions is the principal contradiction.

The basic strategic principles and tactics, which our party puts into practice are as follows :-

- \* Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle, while the building up of a revolutionary army is the Central task.
- \* Armed struggle primarily begins in rural areas by annihilating the National enemies, who are tyrannical, extremely detested by the people and who acts as police agents: At first, irregular small and underground guerilla units are organized, class line and mass line are followed strictly, and then developing and expanding the armed struggle and armed organisations step by step the work in rural areas is raised to the next higher stages gradually.
- \* "Employ the strategy of guerilla warfare, develop the armed struggle step by step, first liberate the rural areas, then encircle the cities to finally occupy those", such is our capturing the political power.

In a word, our party, at the present stage of national democratic revolution has adopted basically the politics and strategy of new democracy drafted by Chairman Mao.

Our party also consider that due to the specific geographical and social condition of Purba Bangla, a correct co-ordination between armed and mass struggle, between illegal and legal work, between underground and open work, between liberating the rural areas and staging armed-mass uprising in cities all these are very important and indispensable things to be followed for the successful conclusion of the revolution in our country.



THE PREVIOUS ANALYSES AND APPRAISALS OF THE SOCIAL CONDITION  
OF PURBA BANGLA

Our party had made the following analyses in the respect :

• In 1977 the whole Indian subcontinent was exempted from the direct British colonial domination. Nevertheless, instead of achieving genuine independence and democracy, two semicolonial and semi-feudal countries, India and Pakistan came into being.

• Purba Bangla was included in Pakistan and was termed as East Pakistan.

The political power of Pakistan has been completely gripped by the bureaucratic comprador capitalist and the feudal class of west Pakistan. They, instead of letting the national development of Purba Bangla advance unremitantly, initiate a ruthless national oppression, which was intensified day. The people of Purba Bangla as such launched and sharpened various forms of movement against it.

• In absence of any correct revolutionary party, the people of Purba Bangla, since mid-sixties, began to rally around Awami League, the party of the big Bengali comprador Bourgeoisies and the feudals, which had put forward the six point programme to manipulate the national contradiction to their evil end. The struggle of our people grew more and more intensified.

Through this process, such a situation had developed when in the struggle for the right to self determination of the nation of Purba Bangla, there was no other alternative left than taking up the line of struggle for the session from

Pakistan. Purba Bangla was turned into practically a colony of Pakistan (i.e. of the then west Pakistan).

\*The beginning of 1971 marked the development of mass struggle against the Pakistani colonial oppression at this highest phase. On 25th March 1971 the fascist Pakistani army unleashed an all-embracing armed invasion against our people and the people as well rose in arms for the complete emancipation of their mother land.

\*Awami League, at this crucial juncture, having thoroughly betrayed the cause of motherland, nation and people, breathlessly fled away to India. The Indian Expansionists avail themselves of the chance. They put Awami League into their pocket and to shatter the National Liberation war of our people on its halfway and realise their own expansionist design, invaded Pakistan towards the end of 1971, being backed by Soviet Social Imperialists. On the 16th December, 1971, they occupied Dhaka and placed the Mujib Government of Awami League to the power.

This, on the 16th December 1971, Purba Bangla, our homeland, was transformed into a colony of India from that of Pakistan.

\*The events of 1971, had reduced the American influence over this country to a great extent as against establishing Indian and Russian control over it. Hence the American Imperialists to take time by the forelock had been "Lying in Wait". In 1975, when the anti-Mujib and anti-Indian mass and armed struggle of our people had experienced a temporary setback and a political vacuum had been created, the American Imperialists, taking advantage of the situation and manipulating people's extreme hatred towards Mujib regime, staged a



Military coup. They overthrew Mujib Government and placed its own lackey Mustaque to the power. Thus our motherland was converted into a new-colony of America.

There after, there were many twists and turns and a few more Military coups. Ziaur Rahman Government, the American faithful dog, however was able to stay in power for several years until Zia himself was done to death by a frustrated Military coup in May, 1981. Then came the pro-American Zia Sattar Government, which was toppled down on the 24th March 1982 by an Army coup of Ershad & Co. At present the American puppet fascist Ershad Government is rulling the country. So our motherland is still an American neo-colony.

#### WHY WAS INTRODUCED A NEW PROCESS OF PARTY BUILDING ?

During 1968, claiming to be genuine Marxist-Leninist, there were a few parties in our country. In spite of that by founding "Purba Bangla Sramik Andolon" comrade Siraj Sikder, initiated a process of building a new party of the proletariat; but why ? a brief discussion on the history of the communist movement of our country would possibly provide with the answer.

During mid-sixties, the waves of the great struggle in the international areas under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party and Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism headed by Khrushchev shook up the communist movement of Purba Bangal too. The sincere workers of the then East Pakistan Communist Party which was led by Pro-Khrushchev revisionist gang Moni Sign and Co., severed their relation to the revisionist party and the leadership and in 1967 being led by Hoq,

Toaha and Sukhendu Dasgupta organized a new party, namely Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist). But this new party, since its birth, began to follow a neo-revisionist line.

They did not wage and carry through any explicit ideological and political struggle against the modern revisionism headed by Khrushchev and against Moni Sing revisionists in our country. They failed to put into practice the fundamental teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin on national and colonial question and totally negated the existence of any national oppression of the Pakistani ruling class over Purba Bangla (then East Pakistan). They failed to discover that, in course of long ruthless national oppression, and, due to specific political, geographical conditions of Purba Bangla such a situation was created, when the only way-out would have been the secession of Purba Bangla from Pakistan. And they failed to realize that in such a situation, Purba Bangla was turned practically into a colony of Pakistan. So, they failed to put forward the political line of organising armed national liberation struggle against Pakistani colonial oppressions. They even failed to realize the great teaching of Chairman Mao that in any stage of revolution, among a number of basic contradictions, there must be a principal contradiction. They kept their eye closed to the need of determining the principal contradiction. In one time they even preached that Mao Tse Tung Thought was the doctrine of the national leader of China.

As to the line of armed struggle they deviated from the teaching of Chairman Mao. Instead of preparing themselves for armed struggle they ~~had~~ were engaged in open reformist work within the frame-work of Bhasani NAP, a petty bourgeois reformist party. Upto 1970 they had been totally engaged in that reformist work. In 1970, though they took to the line of armed struggle, yet they began following blindly the Indian experiences.



As regards organisation they totally gave up the practice of the principle of democratic centralism. With respect to inner-party-relation they made an unbridled practice of factionalism and unprincipled compromises. In true sense the Communist Party of East Pakistan (N) (afterwards EPCP (ML) was nothing more than a petty bourgeois hotch potch with its neo-revisionist line.

In such a situation it was not feasible on one's part to develop a genuine communist movement in our country without unleashing a severe struggle against all these multifarious brands of revisionism and neo-revisionism. It was Comrade Siraj Sikder who took up the gauntlet.

Comrade Siraj Sikder made the following five points the pivot of his struggle :

1. Whether or not, Mao-Tse Tung Thought would be conceded as the suitable development of Marxism-Leninism for the present epoch and the theoretical basis of the party.

2. Whether or not, the brilliant teaching of Mao Tse Tung Thought that in any society among a few basic contradictions, there must invariably be a principal contradiction, would be conceded and put into practice.

3. Whether or not, in analysing the national problem of our country the teaching of Leninism would be taken as the theoretical guideline, and "concrete analysis of the concrete contradiction" this fundamental Marxist theorem would be acted upon.

4. Whether or not, the strategy of armed struggle and guerilla warfare on the basis of Mao Tse Tung Thought would be resorted to.

5. Whether or not, the party would be built upon the basis of democratic centralism. One of the fundamental questions of Leninism.

Taking these five points as the focus, Comrade Siraj Sikder waged a sharp struggle against all sorts of revisionism. The Pro-Khrushchev Maná Sing gang in the meantime was unveiled. So the struggle of Comrade Siraj Sikder was spearheaded mainly against the neo-revisionist lines, which had been upto then not unmasked. The neo-revisionists of that time though had opposed the Soviet revisionists to some extent, yet they could not raise themselves above the revisionist trends of the past.

Comrade Siraj Sikder and the genuine revolutionaries with him were firmly against any conciliation with the revisionist and neo-revisionist lines. So they initiated a distinct process of party building through the formation of Purba Bangla Sramik Andolon (East Bengal Workers Movement) in 1968. Comrade Siraj Sikder resolutely groups, such as Communist Party of Purba Bangla (Led by Matin, Alauddin, Deben, Bashar), co-ordination committee of the communists of Purba Bangla (Led by Kazi Zafor, Rano, Menon & Co.) etc. arose out of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (ML) through factional feuds mainly with the same neo-revisionist lines. Comrade Siraj Sikder carried on struggle against them. The events of 1971 completely demonstrated that the line of Comrade Siraj Sikder was correct. "Purba Bangla Sramik Andolon" also in the meantime had developed its organisational network to some extent over a part of the country. So, by 1971, all the requirements for building a party of the proletariat of Purba Bangla were basically fulfilled. Hence on 3rd June 1971, the birth of the "Purba Bangla Sharbohara Party" (Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla).



## SOME POINTS ON PARTY HISTORY

Even since its birth, "Purba Bangla Sramik Andolon" the preparatory organization of our party had upheld the line of liberating our motherland from the Pakistani colonial claw and all other foreign exploitations through armed struggle and had strived to organize the people accordingly. But at that time as it was in its incipient stage it could not obtain a nation wide influence.

\*In 1971, the people of Purba Bangla Jumped into armed struggle against Pakistan for the complete national Liberation while Awami League turned ~~turned~~ Indian Agent. At that time our party, instead of fleeing away to India, developed armed struggle within our own territory on the basis of self reliance. We formed our own regular army and established some primary base areas.

\*Towards the end of 1971 the Awami League "Muktibahini (Freedom Fighter) being equipped with arms from India entered in huge numbers into the country. They

They broke into our areas and placed prime importance over annihilating us rather than over fighting the Pakistani army. Our party being small at that time, could not withstand the attacks. As a consequence all the base areas were lost and our party had to act upon a new tactic of retreat. At that very instant India invaded Pakistan and snatched Purba Bangla from it, reducing the same into her own colony. Thus began a new phase of our party work and struggle.

\*After "Bangladesh" had come into being, our party kindled the sparks of armed struggle over the whole country in 1973 and 1974 against the Indian puppet Mujib Government. This brought our party country-wide reputation and popularity. The Mujib Government as well launched a severe suppression against us, which caused damage to our party work.

\* Following the killing of Comrade Siraj Sikder on January 1975 party's difficulties and disasters were further aggravated. A gang of counter-revolutionary conspirators made their appearance publicly. In addition, Ziauddin and some others began factional activities. On the other hand, our party, in handling all these anti-party activities, slipped down to a wrong 'left' line. As a result, by mid 1976 the party was divided into three factions.

\*Our centre "Sharbocho Biplobi Parishad" (Supreme Revolutionary Council) since 1977 guided by Comrade Anwar Kabir, initiated a correct process of summing up of the past experiences and gradually was able to draw many fundamental conclusions regarding party's past activities. We made sincere and principled efforts to reunify the whole party. As a result one of the splitted factions, having abolished itself was united with us.

The remaining part, with its centre "Asthaco Parichalana Committee" (Provisional Leading Committee) led by Ziauddin instead of rectifying its errors and making self-criticism of its factional activities, imported a wrong line, 'Left' in form, but right in essence, turned down our proposal for unity and initiated a process of gradually negating the past correct lines of our party. As a consequence, all our endeavours for unity with them failed.



At present, with the same signboard "Purba Bangla Sarbojha Party" they are maintaining separate existence and have totally repudiated party's past political analyses.

In the recent past, they have completely repudiated Mao Tse Tung Thought and having labelled it as anti-Marxist unleashed an open attack against it..

Due to their present political ideological stand, our differences with them have been the fundamental ideological and political differences, i.e. differences over some of the basic questions of Marxism-Leninism. So, the question of unity with them into a single party at present does not arise.

\*Now, when the Ziauddin group has completely, given up party's previous correct political and ideological lines drafted by Comrade Siraj Sikder, taken such a stand as opposed to the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and very recently has thrown off Mao Tse Tung Thought, we think it is our organisation led by "Sarbojha Biplobi Parishad" (Supreme Revolutionary Council), which can only inherit the legacy of Purba Banglar Sarbojha Party. So, we demand our organization to be the genuine Sarbojha Party of Purba Bangla, which after suffering many setbacks, caused by some of the party's previous mistakes as well as splits and wrong lines following the death of Comrade Siraj Sikder, was however able to halt the decaying process by 1978, and start a fresh advance since then.

At present, our party organisationally is not strong; yet it is in an ascending process. In various rural areas, armed struggle under our party's leadership is developing afresh. In industrial areas too, our party has begun to spread its organisational network. What is more important is that, on the theoretical plane and question of lines our party at present is much more developed and explicit than before.. Ideologically

REGARDING OTHER PARTIES IN PURBA BANGLA WHO CLAIM THEMSELVES  
AS MARXISTS

At present, there are many other parties in Purba Bangla which claim that they are Marxists. Some of them claim that, they follow Mao Tse Tung Thought.

In our following discussion we shall exclude those parties which have always been opposed to Mao Tse Tung Thought and which follow the footsteps of Russian revisionists (Such die-heart pro-Russian agents as Moni Sing gang, J.S.D. etc, and a bit moderate pro-Russian parties as Bone-Menon and co. etc.).

Among these who claimed or claim to be the followers of Mao Tse Tung Thought, some are open and some are underground.

The open groups are mainly engaged in reformist legal activities with the following signboards:

1. Sanyabadi Dal - Led by Md. Toaha
2. Sanyabadi Dal - Led by Ali Abbas - Dilip Barua
3. Biplobi Communist League - Led by Abdul Matin - Tipu Biswas.
4. Majudra Party - Led by Abul Dasher
5. Janamukti Party - Led by Mahfuj Bhuiyan
6. United People's Party - Led by Kazi Jafor Ahmed.

All of the said open parties except No. 6, in their past, in one time or another, followed the politics of armed struggle and underground activities. But all of them, after having suffered setbacks and losses gave up their former lines and turned open reformists.



\*One of the open groups, namely Communist Party of Bangladesh (M-L), Led by Badruddin Omar and Co., recently, giving up Mao Tse Tung Thought, has in the main accepted Albanian Line, although, as for labelling Mao Tse Tung as counter revolutionary, and on some other points, they are in disagreement with the Albanian Party.

\* Now we shall discuss the lines of the underground armed organisations all of which in past, claimed themselves to be the followers of Mao's Thought.

Besides our Party, there are three other parties of this type, namely :

1. Purba Banglar Sarbojha Party (A.P.C.) Led by Ziauddin
2. Biplobi Communist Party of Bangladesh (M-L) Led by Abdul Haq.
3. Communist Party of Purba Bangla (M-L).

(The third groups demands that they are followers of the teachings of martyr Comrade Charu Majumdar, the former leader of the Communist Party of India (M-L). That is why they are known as pre C.N. group).

All the existing time, none of the above mentioned parties is so strong. Except for our party and the splitted faction of Ziauddin, the top leaders of all the above mentioned open and underground parties, in upto 1967, were in the then 'Communist Party of East Pakistan (M-L)'. In different times, there were divisions among them: As a result, they have been drawn to the present state

\*Besides, these open and underground parties, various small reading circles, groups etc. are found every now and then to be organised in the University campuses, which have hardly any significance.

THE MAIN POINTS OF PRESENT DEBATE ON LIFE AND THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS

(i) The Question of Armed Struggle

Besides our party and the three other underground armed groups, the remaining all consider the work of open mass organization and open mass struggle their only work at the present time. However, when the present Martial Law government of Ershad has snatched all the opportunities for open work, the above mentioned open parties have been engulfed by all most total passivity.

Contrary to them, our party and the three other armed underground groups hold the view that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle and it shall remain the same for the whole period of National Democratic Revolution.

(ii) The Question of Socio-Economic Condition

Whether the Agricultural Economy of Purba Bangla is mainly semi-feudal in character or something else, this is at the present time an important point of debate. Janamukti party (Led by Khafuj Bhuiyan) and the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Led by Badruddin Omar & Co.) do not concede the existence of semi-feudal Economic in Agriculture. According to Janamukti Party, the Economy of our country is pre-capitalist and neo-colonial, while the Badruddin Omar & Co. consider it undeveloped capitalist.



All the rest, open and underground groups including our party, regard the Agricultural Economy as basically to be of semi-feudal character.

As to this issue, a considerable amount of vacillation and indecision is being observed recently within the left intellectual circle.

(iii) The Question of the Teaching of Comrade Charu Majumdar, the former Leader of CPI (M-L).

As to this issue, the debate at present is insignificant, only one of the underground groups, the Communist Party of Purba Bangla (M-L), still firmly advocates that the Teachings of Comrade Charu Majumdar must be accepted as party's guiding theological tenet. All the remaining groups at present, oppose this notion. But it should be mentioned that almost all these groups, except our party, in their past, in one way or another, proclaimed themselves to be disciples of Comrade Charu Majumdar and followed blindly the Indian model. Our party, from its inception opposed this sort of tailism or blindly copying the foreign experience. At the same time, we have always spoken in favour of learning creatively from the Indian experiences and applying those to the soil of Purba Bangla accordingly to its concrete condition. It should be mentioned that, most of the groups now consider the line of Charu Majumdar petty bourgeois terrorist line. We oppose also this revisionist undecided view. We reckon Comrade Charu Majumdar as a revolutionary Communist Leader who has made a very important positive contribution to the Indian revolution. The task of summing up of all his lines and works devolves on the Indian Communists.

(iv) The Question of National Contradiction with the India Expansionists.

At the present time, it is only our party which consider that the contradiction between the people of Purba Bangla and the Indian Expansionists is one the basic contradictions. All the other groups either do not consider so or remain tight lipped on this issue.

(v) The Question of Secession From Pakistan

During the period of Pakistan, it was only our party that upheld the line opposing the national oppression and brought to the fore the question of determining the principal contradiction. In addition, it was only our party at that time, that pointed out clearly that the contradiction between the people's of Purba Bangla and the Pakistani colonialist ruling clique was the principal contradiction and brought the line of secession from Pakistan and establishment of an Independent Democratic Purba Bangla. All the other groups at that time were opposed to our view. Now, also the Ziauddin groups opposes this previous line of our party. They all at that time possessed the view and still do the same that upto December, 16th, 1971 the correct stand would be to remain with Pakistan and make a whole Pakistan wide revolution.

However, some of the left groups after 25th March 1971, instead of remaining within the country and fighting the Pakistani army on the basis of self-reliance fled into India and taking resort to India spoke of the 'Independence' of Purba Bangla. They at that time did not oppose the Indian expansionist. In this way, their deeds helped the Indian expansionists.

(vi) The Question of Determination of the Principal Contradiction at the present time.

Between national and domestic contradiction, which one is the principal this is a long enduring debate in our communist



At the existing time, among the underground parties, we and the Ziauddin group (and also Omar group) consider the national contradiction (i.e. contradiction with the American Imperialism) the principal contradiction. The Hqu-group and the Pro-C.M. group regard the contradiction between feudalism and the poor peasant masses as the principal contradiction.

Among the open parties, also, there are diversity of opinions, according to Majdur party (i.e. Bashar group) the contradiction between the labouring people and the bureaucratic comprador capitalist class form the principal contradiction at the present time. Most of the open groups during Zia-Sattar regime (1976-81) considered that contradiction with Indo-Soviet axis the principal contradiction. Having imported this line they took a soft attitude towards Zia-Sattar fascist Government. Some of them even openly supported the Government. A few even became Ministers in Zia's cabinet.

\*Apart from these fundamental question, there arose new points of debate after the expiry of Chairman Mao. Those are, the lines of present Chinese Leadership, Three World Theory, and the line of the party of labour of Albania (PLA). Below are given the accounts.

NEW DEBATES AFTER MAO'S DEATH

(1) On the Present Line of C.P.C.

Our party explicitly holds the view that the present Chinese leadership is neo-revisionist. They have given up Mao Tse Tung Thought and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and to conceal their roguery they have brought forth a new distorted explanation of Mao Tse Tung Thought. They have also repudiated the brilliant Marxist thesis, "Class struggle is the keylink". The present party of China has been turned in to a neo-revisionist fascist bourgeoisie party.

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The other three underground groups also consider that the present chinese leadership is neo-revisionists.

All the open groups, except Badruddin Omar group, support the present chinese leadership, or remain silent about this mis-deeds. Omar groups consider chinese party revisionist. We and the pro-C.N. group at the same time uphold the "Four" of the so-called "Gang of Four". The other groups do not uphold them.

(11) On Mao Tse Tung Thought

Our party firmly held high the banner of Mao Tse Tung Thought. Ever since the preparatory phase of our party, we have been carrying through resolutely the view that Chairman Mao has developed Marxism Leninism to a new level of development and that Mao Tse Tung Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch. Particularly in the present stage of things, we think, when attacks on Mao Tse Tung Thought are being conducted from various corners, the sacred task of holding high the red banner of Mao Tse Tung Thought with doubtless determination has been a crying need.

The pro -C.N. group is also resolved on upholding Mao Tse Tung Thought. According to the latest information, the Haq group has repealed accepting Mao Tse Tung Thought as their theoretical basis. Ziauddin group has repudiated Mao's Thought and having labelled it as anti-Marxist has launched an open attack.

Badruddin Omar group has abandoned Mao's Thought to be its theoretical basis, but as for labelling Mao as counter revolutionary it differs with the Albanian party.



(iii) Concerning the Albanian Line

\*We and the Pro-C.M. group regards the line of P.L.A. as Trotskyite-revisionist line.

\* Concerning this points, no opinion of Haq-group have yet been found.

Ziauddin group considers that the Albanian party is correct in the main. But it is also heard that over some points, they have differences with the Albanian party.

\*Some of the open groups, as regards this point, express their loyalty to the present chinese leadership, while some other remain mum. The position of B adruddin Omar group has been stated before.

(iv) Concerning the "Theory of Three World"

\*In the present International situation, we consider, the division of the world into three, provides a tactical line to handle the contradictions among states to drive into a corner and to expose the two super powers, American and Russian Imperialists. This grouping is feasible and ought to be made according to the principles of peaceful coexistence, which is a component part of the foreign policy of the proletariat. Such a tactical approach is quite in conformity with Leninism and Mao Tse Tung Thought.

\*The present revisionist chinese leadership, on the other hand, having distorted the tactical concept of dividing the present world into three worlds, preaches a so-called "Three World Theory" which is out and out a revisionist fallacy. They avow this line as the general line of international Communist Movement. Through this line they advocate that even the reactionary governments of the third world countries can be counted within the rank of principal anti-imperialist

forces. In these way they intermingling the reactionary governments and oppressed people together. Thus they have brought forth a line of class-conciliation. Their so called "Three World Theory", which to them is the general line of international communist movement, infact offaces all the prevalent fundamental class contradictions of the present world. In this way the line which under the banner of "Three World Theory" the chinese revisionists propagate, is an anti-revolutionary line and serves the vasted interests of the imperialists.

\*As to this point, we consider the Albanian line an ultra left line, The Albanian line does not understand the present international reality, Having regated the tactical three world division this ultra left line in true sense creates some conditions favourable to both the super power, and also to the chinese revisionists.

\*Haj group, Ziauddin group and Badruddin Omar group on this question, have basically accepted the Albanian stand.

\*The stand of Pro-C.N. group as to this question has not yet been known.

\*All the open groups as regards this question uphold the line of present chinese revisionist leadership.

#### ON REALIZATION OF UNITY

We think that the sincere proletarian revolutionaries in our country are now divided by their attachment to different political parties which claim to be Marxist and that is why the realization of unity of all these revolutionaries into a single proletarian party is still a problem to solve.



But we are at the same time clear enough that in the way of bringing about this unity a resolute and expressive continuous struggle against all sorts of revisionism and neo-revisionism is indispensable. Our party ever since its birth has been carrying on this sacred responsibility.

\*Besides the above said unity of the proletarian revolutionaries into a single party, our party holds a different attitude towards this unity of all the patriotic forces. It is our firm view that in the present stage of National Democratic revolution, there must be the unity of all patriotic parties, groups, classes and individuals into a national liberation front. But the realization of this unity shall come of through a process. So, at the present stage we are specially keenly desirous of establishing close ties and understandings with the three afore-said armed revolutionary groups in this respect. But in spite of our efforts in this regards they have not made any positive responses as yet. As much as we know of them, they do not clearly understand the differences among different types of unity. They confuse everything. They even do not understand that the realization of unity is not a matter of a day's effort, rather it is a process.

Due to their vague conception of unity, they throw cold water on our call for unity or united action.

\*In addition, to participate in the day-to-day movements, our party has adopted specific line of issue-based unity. In open mass struggles, in the event of any "National" or "Democratic" political issue, we take measure to form issue-based unity with all the possible political forces in order to create board-based temporary unity against the principal enemy. The other left political parties have not yet been heard to put forward any definite line or statement in this regard.

\*Being our lines for realizing different types of unity very flexible, and at the same time, due to our line of unequivocal struggle against all sorts of revisionism we hope, we shall be able to continue our gradual advance towards establishing the long-desired unity of all the proletarian revolutionaries into a single party and of all the patriots into a single front.



### CONCLUSION

We are keenly desirous of establishing fraternal ties with the true Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations abroad. Particularly, following Chairman Mao's death, when in the international arena there has been initiated an international polemics over the questions, such as "Three World Theory", the "Albanian line" and "the line of C.P.C.", we consider the formation of these relations very important.

Our party is now relatively small and girded up by many limitations, our knowledge of the present state of the international communist movement is not so rich. We want to overcome these shortcomings. The above mentioned statement has drafted only with the aim to providing the fraternal Proletarian parties, groups and individuals abroad with a brief understanding of the communist movement of our country, so that they can also take initiative to form connection with us.

All our documents are written in Bangla (Bengali) language. We are very eager to have the documents of the parties of other countries.

We hope, through the exchange of documents, our knowledge about each other will be enhanced and in this way we want to establish closer ties with the other fraternal parties abroad.

Long Live the unity of true  
Marxist-Leninists of the World  
Proletariat of the whole world unite  
Long Live the invincible Marxism-  
Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

Addendum :1

On 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations' Joint  
Communique

We consider the "Joint communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations" basically correct. We support and firmly uphold this correct stand.

We think, in the present juncture of temporary setbacks of the world communist movement, this 13 parties statement has played, is playing and will be playing a historical role in determining a correct line of International Communist Movement and on this basis bringing about unity among the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the whole world.

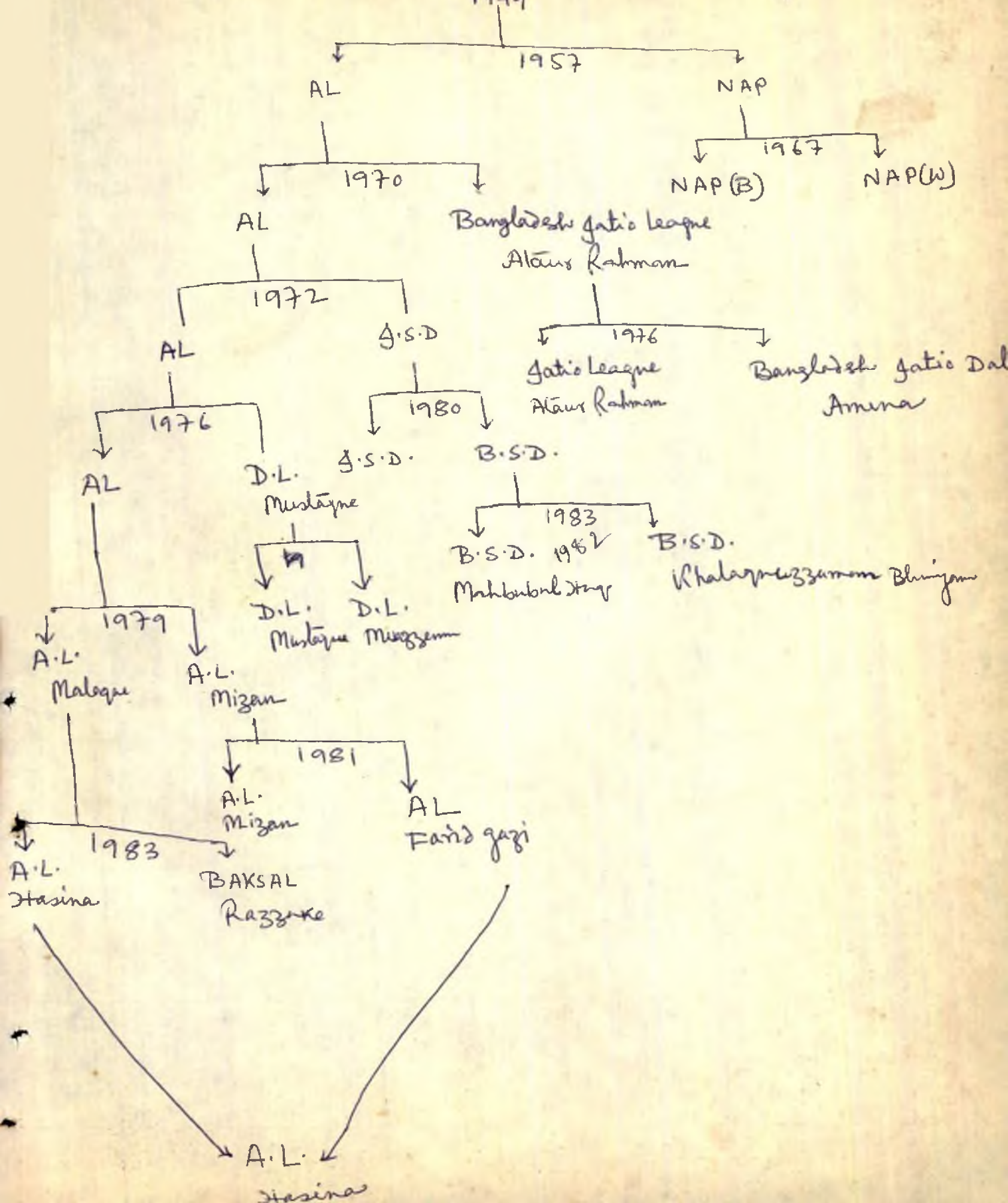
We feel a revolutionary urge and necessity to involve ourselves in this great joint effort and we will play pertinent role in this regards.

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# Continuous Splits in the Awami League from 1947-19

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