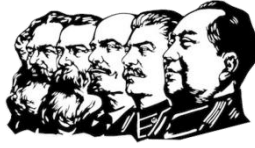


Workers of the World— Unite!



Response to Iqbal's Document

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Mofakkhar Chowdhury

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Comrade Mofakkar Chowdhury
(1940 - 16 December 2004)

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Foreword

This writing was originally prepared from the anti-revisionist position of the **Communist Party of East Bengal (Marxist-Leninist)**. Earlier, in 1972, the party had organized the historic 'Atrai Armed Peasant Struggle.' The Party had been built upon the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (at that time, Chairman Mao Zedong's revolutionary contributions were considered the third stage of Marxism and referred to as "Thought"). At the same time, within the semi-colonial, semi-feudal socio-economic context, accomplishing an agrarian revolution was seen as central to completing a people's democratic revolution oriented toward socialism and communism. The path chosen for this revolution was **Protracted People's War**—whose core essence was to form a peasant army of landless and poor peasants under the leadership of the working class in rural areas, establish 'liberated zones' or base areas through guerrilla warfare, and gradually capture cities. This required the overthrow of local class enemies (including the annihilation of class enemies), building an armed people's force to confront the state apparatus, and transferring power to peasant committees. This revolutionary politics was guided by the **Naxalbari Peasant Struggle** and the teachings of **Comrade Charu Mazumdar**. The Communist Party of East Bengal (M-L) was committed to developing class struggle across its organizational areas nationwide under this revolutionary line. In such a context, under **direct attack from the fascist Mujib government and the state forces of Indian expansionism**, many of the Party's leadership were martyred or arrested. U.S. imperialism and the then-social-imperialist Soviet Union also began playing roles in national politics. Simultaneously, the revolutionary peasant struggle of Naxalbari also suffered a setback. The martyrdom of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the great Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leader of the subcontinent, and the temporary defeat at Naxalbari dealt a grave blow to the revolutionary politics of East Bengal and the broader subcontinent. As in India, revisionists in East Bengal also began attacking the revolutionary line once again. Revisionist tendencies began growing **within the Party itself**. A section of the Party leadership started to **abandon the**

revolutionary line by first rejecting the teachings of Charu Mazumdar and the path of the Naxalbari peasant struggle—the politics of protracted people's war, guerrilla warfare, and the establishment of liberated zones through annihilating local class enemies. On **February 11, 1973**, Subrata Bal, then a CPI (M-L) leader from Tripura, was arrested in Dhaka along with the then secretary of the party, Iqbal. Subrata Ball had already become revisionist and abandoned revolutionary politics. He and Iqbal, from inside prison, formed a circle promoting **anti-agrarian-revolution politics**. Wearing the mask of Chairman Mao Zedong Thought, this **neo-revisionist clique** stood in opposition to the Party's revolutionary politics and began sending revisionist documents to the Party. Iqbal's document was essentially modeled on various writings of Subrata Ball. The revolutionary comrades of the Party, inspired by the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**, upheld the path of Naxalbari and the agrarian revolution and responded from inside prison with a reply to Iqbal's revisionist document. Eventually, Iqbal and his followers formed a separate center. The revolutionary section of the Party was then led by **Comrade Moniruzzaman Tara** as its secretary. This document by **Comrade Mofakkhar Chowdhury** presents the history of the Party's anti-revisionist struggle in the post-1972 period.

Central Organizing Committee
CPEB (Maoist)
03 October 2025

Response to Iqbal's Document

"Catastrophe is a continuous form of upsurge." Those who fail to realize this truth are the 'despairing revolutionaries'. Driven by the illusion of easy victory, they allow themselves to be carried away by spontaneity. This, in turn, breeds a militaristic tendency within them. As a result, in the first stage, they engage in military adventurism; in the second stage, they become militarily conservative; and in the third stage, they fall into escapism. These despairing revolutionaries perceive revolution as a feast, an essay-writing exercise, a painting, or mere embroidery. They do not study Mao Tse-tung thought, which is why they fail to apply this science correctly. Their failure in application leads to setbacks, and shamelessly, they shift the blame onto others. In their desperation for self-preservation, they adopt the most despicable bourgeois ideas and begin to view the party's line and policies as incorrect.

Recently, Comrade Iqbal has presented a document within the party. In this document, he blames the party's political and organizational line for recent setbacks. **However, our party follows Comrade Charu Majumdar's political and organizational line. We believe that strictly adhering to Comrade Charu Majumdar's teachings is the correct application of Mao Tse-tung thought in the specific conditions of East Bengal. Moreover, we believe that setbacks arise from the incorrect application of Charu Majumdar's line. These setbacks, in turn, give rise to revisionism within the party. The revisionists then blame the entire party's policies for the failures.** This is the fundamental difference in our perspective compared to Comrade Iqbal's. In response to Comrade Iqbal's claims, we are attempting to clarify our position.

Attacks on the political and organizational line of our great teacher, Comrade Charu Majumdar, are nothing new. Long before Comrade Iqbal, many attacked this line and won the trust of reactionaries, ultimately finding refuge in the lap of imperialists. We know the fate of Jyoti Basu, Utpal, Asit, Parimal, Nagi, Satyanarayan, Asim, and others. We are concerned about Comrade Iqbal's future. At one time, hardline revisionist Jyoti Basu was falsely presented by the imperialists as a follower

of Mao. They criticized him as a Maoist but never pointed out that his line was actually revisionist and anti-Mao. In contrast, ever since the Naxalbari uprising, both domestic and foreign reactionaries have been relentless in their criticism of Comrade Charu Majumdar, claiming that his line is anti-Mao, adventurist, and counterrevolutionary. As if domestic and foreign reactionaries have long desired a correct revolutionary party to lead the revolution in India! The reality is that Comrade Charu Majumdar stood in the way of fulfilling their reactionary desires. That is why they murdered this great revolutionary teacher in fascist fashion. In this act, they relied on revisionists lurking within the party. By assassinating the great leader, they aimed to destroy revolutionary leadership. When that failed, they shifted to spreading the claim that Charu Majumdar's line was incorrect to create despair among revolutionary masses. In this endeavor, too, they relied on revisionists hiding within the party.

Comrade Iqbal has now joined the chorus of domestic and foreign reactionaries, along with revisionists of various shades, in opposing Comrade Charu Majumdar. Due to his limited theoretical grasp of Marxism, Comrade Iqbal has failed to understand Charu Majumdar's revolutionary line. This failure made him an easy target for anti-CM revisionists. He does not realize that revolution cannot be stopped by external attacks—it requires internal sabotage. That is why reactionaries always seek to plant agents within the party. Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were not only in the Chinese Communist Party but also in the parties founded by Marx and Lenin. They exist in India's party as well as in ours. Denying this fact is essentially denying class struggle.

The statements presented by Comrade Iqbal in his document are nothing new. Party members have been familiar with these arguments for a long time. Since the formation of the CPI (ML), reactionaries have been continuously propagating these views. When we hear these same reactionary echoes in Comrade Iqbal's voice today, we cannot remain silent. His arguments amount to nothing more than old wine in a new bottle.

Ideologically

Comrade Iqbal has accused us of dogmatism, claiming that we label all incorrect lines as revisionist. This accusation reveals his failure to grasp the lessons of the Cultural Revolution. He forgets that revisionism today holds authority and controls a powerful state apparatus. Influenced by such forces, he has come to view the party's line as incorrect. Meanwhile, Subrata Baji, who has influenced him, has cunningly avoided addressing this issue. As a result, they fail to distinguish between a political line and deviations.

We recognize only two lines: the revolutionary proletarian line and the counterrevolutionary bourgeois line—that is, the Marxist line and the revisionist line. Deviation is not the same as a political line. In applying the correct line, both left and right deviations can occur. But these deviations themselves stem from revisionism. Therefore, left deviation is, in essence, rightist in nature. This is the fundamental lesson of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Revisionists refuse to accept this lesson. They separate Mao's ideology from Marxism-Leninism, and we must wage an uncompromising struggle against this dogmatism.

Comrade Iqbal states, "In our country, the incorrect line is revisionist ideology, which in today's era is a reactionary ideology." His statement suggests that all incorrect lines in our country stem from revisionism. However, this is not entirely true. Comrade Iqbal has a habit of distorting statements. Previously, in his writings on the principal contradiction, he falsely attributed his own views to Comrade Ho Chi Minh. Now, he is distorting the words of our great teacher, Comrade Charu Majumdar. Where Charu Majumdar said "revisionism", Comrade Iqbal has modified it to "revisionist ideology".

A true communist cannot have the slightest doubt about Comrade Charu Majumdar's statement that "the incorrect line in our country is revisionism." Only hardline revisionists refuse to accept this. Does Comrade Iqbal wish to align himself with them? He rejects the idea that all incorrect lines in our country stem from revisionism because he believes that, aside from the Marxist line and the revisionist line, there could be other lines. He argues that incorrect lines could arise from left or right deviations rather than revisionism.

Comrade Iqbal should study the fundamental Marxist distinction between a political line and a deviation. If he does, he will realize that what Comrade Charu Majumdar stated was already articulated by Chairman Mao long ago. Both right and left deviations harm the revolution. However, left deviation is less harmful than right deviation. Not only do we hold this view, but Chairman Mao himself stated it: *"Revisionism or right-opportunism is a bourgeois trend of thought. It is even more dangerous than dogmatism."*

So, will Comrade Iqbal and his allies, who argue that both right and left deviations are equally harmful, still claim to uphold Chairman Mao's teachings? We cannot speak for him, but we are certain that the revisionists do not uphold Mao, as they have long clarified their stance on this matter—and now, they have used Comrade Iqbal to introduce it into the party.

On Authority

Comrade Iqbal wrote, "Opposing authority in general means rejecting the Communist Party and its politics." Therefore, *fearing they might become anarchists, they do not oppose authority in an ordinary way—but rather, in an extraordinary way!* This is why they see us as anti-Marxist and proponents of servility when it comes to the question of authority. For example, when we say, *"China is the headquarters of the world revolution, the Chairman of China is our Chairman, we will accept and analyze China's statements, and internationally, the authority of Chairman Mao and Charu Majumdar must be recognized,"* they take issue with it. But just as a bear wields a hoe clumsily, Comrade Iqbal's limited knowledge of Marxism leads him to misuse Marxist terminology in a similar way.

We do not claim that China is the leader of the world revolution. Comrade Iqbal will not find such a statement in any of our documents. **What we say is that China is the headquarters of the world revolution and that Chairman Mao is its leader. Marxism is a science. Lenin developed this science further and elevated it to Marxism-Leninism. The great Mao Zedong inherited Marxism-Leninism and creatively developed it further. Mao Zedong Thought is the highest form of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Mao is today's Lenin. Those who do not accept**

this truth are revisionists. Those who sought to recognize Marx without accepting Lenin were discarded into the dustbin of history. Similarly, those who refuse to recognize Mao as the leader of the world revolution today will find themselves in the laps of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. If one acknowledges Mao as the leader of the world revolution, one must also accept the Chinese Communist Party, under his leadership, as the headquarters of the world revolution.

Comrade Iqbal and Subrata Bal refuse to accept this. They argue that doing so would mean submitting to the Chinese Party and create a misconception of "leader party" and "follower party." But Marxism is a science, and not everyone is equally adept at applying it. One's position is determined by their mastery of this science. The perspective that seeks to determine who is the leader and who is the follower stems not from broad-mindedness but from narrow ambition.

To mislead cadres, Comrade Iqbal does not outright deny the question of international authority within the Communist Party, but he evades it in an extraordinary way. By saying, "China has undoubtedly upheld the banner of revolution," he diverts from the real question. Our question is: why only China? Many countries have upheld the banner of revolution.

Comrade Iqbal objects to the statement "China's Chairman is our Chairman." His reasoning is that the chairman of one country cannot be the chairman of another. This shows that Comrade Iqbal sees the Communist Party not as a class party, but as a national party—hence, he suffers from bourgeois nationalism. He forgets that **the Communist Party is not a national party, but an international party. The statement "China's Chairman is our Chairman" strikes at bourgeois nationalism and strengthens internationalism.** But Comrade Iqbal lacks the Marxist understanding necessary to grasp this. Like Subrata Bal, he sees Mao merely as "China's Chairman", whereas we recognize Mao as today's Lenin. Therefore, we will continue to call him Chairman Mao. When Comrade Iqbal opposes this, he reveals his narrow bourgeois nationalist viewpoint.

Comrade Iqbal claims that accepting and analyzing China's statements is non-Marxist and idealist. He has the audacity to compare it to religious preaching, arguing that it is

akin to saying, "Accept that God exists; you are not intelligent enough to prove otherwise." Does Comrade Iqbal even have his senses intact? How can he make such comparisons? **Unlike religious faith, which cannot be proven, Mao's statements are based on a rigorous scientific process.**

Mao became Chairman through a historical process—one that neither we nor Comrade Iqbal have yet undergone. Whether we will undergo it in the future is yet to be determined. But does Comrade Iqbal recognize the vast difference between Mao's level of thought and ours? **Established scientific theories must first be accepted before they can be analyzed. Mao's ideology is an established science, and therefore, it must be accepted first and then analyzed.** Our knowledge of Marxism is extremely limited. If we attempt a detailed analysis of Mao's statements before accepting them, we will never reach a conclusion. We will waste decades debating whether China was wrong about the Bangladesh question, whether the Soviet Union was revisionist or social-imperialist—just like Deben, Basharⁱⁱⁱ, Amal, and Jafar did—misleading many revolutionary cadres into despair.

Like Subrata Bal and other colorful revisionists, Comrade Iqbal refuses to recognize Mao's ideology as an established science. That is why he refuses to accept China's statements before analyzing them; instead, he insists on analyzing first and then accepting. For his information, Mao himself said that every Communist should ask "Why?" But at the same time, he also emphasized absolute obedience to the Party's directives. **The purpose of asking "Why?" is not to doubt or disbelieve the Party, but to deepen one's understanding. If every directive is met with skepticism, then even the necessity of revolution itself could be questioned. Understanding the rationale behind directives enhances political consciousness. Therefore, accepting directives before analyzing them is neither idealism nor servility. Not understanding a directive and blindly following it is servility, but analyzing and accepting a directive after grasping its significance is pure scientific thought.**

Comrade Iqbal perceives Mao's authority as personal authority. We, however, understand Mao's authority as the authority of his ideology. While Comrade Iqbal sees this as

organizational authority, we do not. We recognize Mao's authority in political and ideological terms. **Only reactionaries separate Mao from his revolutionary line.** By evaluating things from a reactionary worldview, Comrade Iqbal makes the same mistake.

Without following the teachings of Comrade Charu Majumdar, it is impossible to apply Mao Zedong Thought to the specific conditions of East Bengal. That is why we recognize Charu Majumdar's authority. His authority is not personal, but represents the correct application of Mao's ideology in the Indian subcontinent. Even reactionaries understand this. And because they understand it, they couldn't destroy his revolutionary authority even after assassinating him. Thus, they now rely on the hidden revisionist Subrata Bal within the Party. They seek to establish his counterrevolutionary revisionist authority as a substitute. This treacherous individual is nothing but a replica of Khrushchev. Just as Khrushchev called Stalin his papa while he was alive, this bourgeois trickster did the same with Charu Majumdar. And now, under the directives of his masters, he is not only sowing divisions within the Communist Party of India, but also trying to create confusion within the Party in East Bengal.

This social-imperialist agent claims to attack dogmatism, but in reality, he is attempting to transform the Party into a revisionist one. Mao long ago warned about such right-wing opportunist revisionists: *"They mouth Marxist phrases, and they attack dogmatism, but in reality, they are attacking the very essence of Marxism."* Comrade Iqbal has fallen into the trap of the social-imperialist agent Subrata Ball and has become his victim.

On Armed Struggle and Mass Movement

Comrade Iqbal has once again presented the same old, worn-out, fabricated arguments of rightist revisionists regarding armed struggle and mass movements. **Comrade Charu Majumdar was not against mass movements and mass struggles.** It is a well-recognized truth among Marxists that legal work must be linked with illegal work. In the past, while coordinating open and secret work, we linked illegal activities with legal ones. Thus,

our work was primarily legal and open. **There is a fundamental difference between the perspectives of revolutionaries and revisionists regarding armed struggle and mass organizations. In a semi-feudal country, revolutionaries build mass organizations and mass movements through armed struggle, whereas revisionists dream of building armed struggle through mass organizations and mass movements. In other words, they do not want armed struggle to develop.**

Comrade Charu Majumdar was the first to provide guidance on building mass organizations and mass movements in the specific conditions of India from a revolutionary perspective. Therefore, the reactionaries have no limits in attacking this line. Educated in the teachings of Comrade Charu Majumdar, we are committed to building mass movements and mass organizations through armed struggle. The revolutionary peasant committees that emerge from armed struggle are, in fact, mass organizations. This was precisely how mass organizations were established in Hunan. Due to being trapped in revisionist ideas, Comrade Iqbal fails to realize this. He perceives Comrade Charu Majumdar and us as being against mass movements and mass organizations. I urge Comrade Iqbal to study Charu Majumdar's writings *On Guerrilla Action*, *Notes on the Crop-Cutting Movement*, and *Our Work Among Workers*. Only then will he understand that the great leader never opposed mass movements and mass organizations.

Comrade Iqbal, do you understand what it means to study? One can read simply to gain knowledge, but studying is different. **Studying means acquiring knowledge and applying it. Only that knowledge which is currently applicable and necessary for application should be studied.** Because he fails to distinguish between studying and mere reading, Subrata Bal memorized Mao's four volumes but still wishes to return to the politics of so-called mass movements, mass organizations, and trade unions. Despite reading extensively, he has learned nothing. He remains distant from practice, and when faced with problems, he does not repeatedly study the necessary sections of Chairman Mao's writings. He does not repeatedly study three key writings of Chairman Mao and apply them in his own life. Comrade Iqbal's analysis of armed struggle and mass struggle is

essentially an expression of the revisionist perspective that seeks to build armed struggle through mass organizations and mass movements.

In attempting to justify his revisionist perspective on mass organizations, Comrade Iqbal has peddled a vile revisionist theory regarding the two strategies in two different social systems. He has gone off-topic, like singing hymns to Shiva while husking paddy. Instead of discussing the level of democracy in our country, he has shown off his scholarly knowledge by describing the system of capital, labor, and commodity production. Like revisionists, he has used theoretical jargon to obscure the real truth. Lenin called such bourgeois lackeys "learned fools." We are not calling Comrade Iqbal a learned fool, as we are well aware of his level of thought and theoretical knowledge. However, we have evidence that the real proponent of this two-strategy-in-two-systems argument is Subrata Bal. So, if anyone deserves to be called a learned fool, it is him.

Comrade Iqbal fails to see the comprador or agent character of our ruling bourgeoisie. He expects semi-democracy from these agents and compradors. Through this semi-democracy, people like Amal Sen^{iv} are supposedly building a revolution from the bottom. He, too, wants to build a revolution from below. We, on the other hand, will first establish bases in the countryside. Does Comrade Iqbal accept this truth? Is feudal dominance not fully present in the countryside? Can the people's authority be established without breaking this dominance? Can a people's army be built without armed class struggle? Can people's authority be established without a people's army? If Comrade Iqbal sincerely searches for answers to these questions, he will realize that through armed class struggle, after crossing a certain stage, we will become a formidable force. At that stage, we will certainly incorporate those who come through mass struggles into our forces. Even those within the bourgeois military who wish to join us will find our doors open. We are already implementing this method in Rajshahi. However, apart from Rajshahi, this method cannot be applied elsewhere at this moment. If we try to apply this method before the struggle reaches a certain stage, we will lose our

initiative and independence. We will drift into spontaneity, fantasize about easy victories, engage in bourgeois tailism, and inevitably, without even realizing it, create another so-called liberation army like that of Bangladesh.

Regarding Annihilation

Comrade Iqbal has raised questions about annihilation. This question is not new. The line of annihilation of class enemies is a great line in the specific conditions of India. All kinds of reactionaries and revisionists are attacking this great line of the Party. They are making desperate attempts to uproot the entire foundation of the Party. We believe that the annihilation of class enemies is the pivotal point of armed peasant struggle in our country's rural areas. **Annihilation of class enemies does not mean individual assassination. It means eliminating the political, social, and economic dominance of the enemy.** Comrade Iqbal believes that there is no mass line in the great leader's line of annihilation. Therefore, in his view, this line is individual terrorist action. From which worldview is Comrade Iqbal judging the mass line? If he judges from a bourgeois worldview, he will certainly not see a mass line in Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line. Because **what appears as the mass line from the proletarian perspective is labeled as a terrorist line from the bourgeois perspective.** Before annihilation, the politics of seizing state power must be propagated. After this political propaganda, squads must be formed from among the landless poor peasants. Mao Thought is the political philosophy of the proletariat. When the landless poor peasant embraces this philosophy, they can internalize it and transform into new people. They participate in the annihilation of class enemies. Comrade Iqbal must remember that when the landless poor peasant becomes politically conscious, they do not annihilate personal enemies; they annihilate class enemies. And they do so depending on their class. Therefore, the class line must be firmly upheld in annihilation. This is the teaching of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. This teaching is not about individual terrorism—it is about red terror. Since the exploiting classes dominate society, they propagate this as individual terrorism. Comrade Iqbal, too, does not see a mass line in this. Because he prefers to go with the tide.

But Comrade Iqbal should know that communists go against the tide. In the present society, feudal authority prevails. Their culture is the dominant culture of society; this is the tide of society. Those who go with this tide can never undertake the painstaking task of politically awakening the landless poor peasantry. Because of being entrenched in the bourgeois perspective, Comrade Iqbal has judged the annihilation line from a bourgeois viewpoint. That is why he, like bourgeois revisionist reactionaries, has labeled the great leader's line as secretive assassination and terrorist action.

Comrade Iqbal does not understand guerrilla tactics. He is inclined toward armed struggle through open mass organizations and mass movements. That is why he considers guerrilla-style annihilation of class enemies as secretive assassinations. He does not realize that secret assassinations lack any political consciousness. Whereas, in the great leader's line of annihilation, landless poor peasants do not participate unless they are inspired by the Chairman's ideology. When the landless poor peasant becomes politically conscious, they do not eliminate an individual; they annihilate a representative of the class, as a representative of their own class. When Comrade Iqbal calls this annihilation terrorism, whose interests is he protecting? We know that the landless poor peasants have been crushed underfoot for generations. The culture, civilization, and heritage of this society are all their contributions, yet they have no respect or dignity in this society. They are subdued by brute force. This brute force is state power. With the strength of this power, the exploiters have sustained their terror over the people for ages. This terror is the repression, persecution, and violence imposed on the oppressed people to keep them from joining the struggle for dignity and rights. In short, this terror is white terror. The exploiters have subjected the people to this terror for ages. When the working masses join the struggle to destroy this brute force of the exploiters, when they fight for their dignity and rights, the exploiting classes suddenly proclaim their commitment to non-violence. They scream "terrorism! terrorism!" at the top of their lungs. We call this red terror. Can those who do not believe in red terror be communists? Alongside white terror, we create red terror. Which class is suffering from terror in the great leader's annihilation line today? Certainly not the

working class or the landless poor peasantry, but the ruling class that seeks to uphold this man-eating system. Is Comrade Iqbal worried about them? Otherwise, why does he call the great leader's line of annihilation a secret terrorist line? Comrade Iqbal prioritizes weapons over the people, yet he claims that "Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line expresses distrust in the people." Instead of trusting the landless poor peasants, Comrade Iqbal relies on his bourgeois-feudal associates to make the revolution. That is why he cannot grasp the political significance of annihilating class enemies with indigenous weapons. **If annihilation begins with firearms, it emphasizes sacrifice less; without sacrifice, an excessive reliance on weapons grows instead of the people. This eliminates the mass line.** Comrade Iqbal, with the support of petty-bourgeois romantic revolutionaries, favors annihilation with firearms. But this certainly does not contain the mass line. The Chairman has called this the "activities of roving rebels". The great leader's annihilation line is not the activity of roving rebels. To comprehend Comrade Charu Mazumdar's great annihilation line, I urge Comrade Iqbal to read Lenin's *Where to Begin*. Then he will realize that it is incorrect to say that disaster is inherent in the great leader's annihilation line. The failures in implementing the great annihilation line due to petty-bourgeois romanticism are what cause setbacks.

Regarding the Military Line

There is no need to respond here to Comrade Iqbal's statement on the military line. Our Party's position on the military line is already outlined in the documents of the Military Bureau. This line will be further enriched through our experiences. However, we must ask Comrade Iqbal : the line you have proposed has not yet been accepted by the Party. It will be determined by the vast cadres of the Party in the future whether to accept it or not. A line that has not been accepted by the Party cannot be implemented. Before implementing a political line, where did Comrade Iqbal find the military line? Did he borrow it from Subrata Bal?

Regarding Democratic Centralism

Comrade Iqbal has made childish and ignorant statements about democratic centralism. Regarding discipline, he has cited four principles and attributed them to Mao Zedong's views on democratic centralism. These four principles are:

1. The individual is subordinate to the organization.
2. The minority is subordinate to the majority.
3. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
4. The entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Anyone who violates this discipline disrupts the unity of the Party. Comrade Iqbal has not mentioned whether we have violated this discipline. Rather, we know—and have ample evidence—that Comrade Iqbal has repeatedly and arbitrarily violated Party discipline. The very document he has presented to us makes him guilty of breaching discipline. This document itself reached us through a violation of centralism. Moreover, there are several other smaller incidents, which we can present if necessary. In the name of democratic centralism, Comrade Iqbal wants to introduce ultra-democracy within the Party. In other words, he demands ultra-democracy in the Party to justify his opposition to the revolution. He wants to introduce debates within the Party on whether Mao or Khrushchev was correct, aiming to postpone decisions. In organizational matters, Mao emphasized ensuring democratic life while maintaining centralized leadership. He stated: *"The lower Party organizations must thoroughly discuss the directives of the higher organizations so that their significance is fully understood and methods of implementation can be determined."* This is why questioning "why" is necessary. But why does Comrade Iqbal hesitate to ask "why" in order to understand and implement directives? Instead, he demands "why" as a pretext for disobedience. This is why he is an advocate of ultra-democracy within the Party. It is not unusual for some comrades, like Comrade Iqbal, to mistakenly believe that once a line is rejected by the Party, it can never be raised again. Or that if the Party is engaged in armed struggle, internal ideological struggle weakens the Party. Comrade Iqbal may not know this, but our Party leadership is aware of Mao's teachings on this matter.

Without ideological struggle within the Party, armed struggle cannot intensify. Similarly, armed struggle sharpens ideological struggle. Our Party leadership understands this truth. But like an ostrich burying its head in the sand, Comrade Iqbal assumes that because he sees nothing, others see nothing either. Regarding democratic centralism, Comrade Iqbal has made an interesting remark: "Since your opinion has not been accepted—since it has been rejected by the Party—you must change your opinion and consider the Party's decision as your own; otherwise, you will be expelled from the Party." Such an attitude is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and contrary to Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Iqbal, do you have any understanding of the Party forum? In your document, you mentioned Mao's four principles of discipline twice, yet you failed to grasp their essence. The majority's opinion and decision must be accepted as the Party's decision and must be implemented. **One cannot arbitrarily spread personal opinions outside the Party forum, as that would violate centralism, breed factionalism, and create multiple centers within the Party. Anyone who violates these rules and discipline has no right to remain in the Party. This is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.**

Regarding the Document Published in *Frontier*

Comrade Iqbal considers the statements published in *Frontier* to be correct, aligning with Peking and CPI (ML). When discussing the statements in *Frontier*, I am repeatedly reminded of the great leader of the Indian revolution, the martyred Comrade Saroj Dutta. His famous quote comes to mind: "*When someone who was a scoundrel suddenly stands up as a father overnight, one must understand how dire the reactionaries' situation has become.*" Comrade Iqbal considers the statements in *Frontier* to be correct, whereas we believe that they bear clear marks of the long-standing conspiracy by reactionaries to lead the Indian revolution astray. To prove that the great leader's line was wrong, domestic and foreign reactionaries have ultimately resorted to invoking China. Those who fail to see the comprador or agent character of the bourgeoisie in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, those who expect partial

democracy from compradors, will naturally consider Frontier's statements to be correct. This is because they seek a "correct revolutionary line" with the help of the bourgeois press. We do not consider Frontier's statements to be correct. They reflect a loss of faith in one's own class and a desperate chase after the bourgeoisie for revolution.

For Comrade Iqbal's awareness, the statements that he and Frontier are now raising in the Party were resolved long ago by great China. The articles *China's Chairman is Our Chairman*, *China's Path is Our Path* and *Move Forward by Summarizing the Experiences of India's Peasant Struggle* were published in Peking Review. If we ever feel the need to respond to Frontier, we will republish those articles exactly as they appeared in Peking Review. We believe that these two articles, approved by China, encapsulate the fundamental essence of the CM (Charu Majumdar) line. The very points of the CM line that revisionists inside and outside the Party are currently criticizing are already addressed in these articles. Therefore, Comrade Iqbal's claim that the CM line inherently carries the seeds of its own destruction is utterly vile.

Comrade Iqbal views revolution as a "banquet" or a "painting exercise". That is why he fantasizes about easy victories. He does not understand the protracted nature of the struggle. His perspective on struggle is *Victorious*—in other words, utopian and delusional. From this idealistic and metaphysical thinking, he applies an anti-CM reactionary revisionist line, dreaming of building a regular army of 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers in just six months. This is laughable. Regarding those who advocate the theory of quick victory, Chairman Mao has said: *"These friends have good intentions and are indeed patriots, but while their aspirations are very high, their judgments are wrong. If they act according to these wrong judgments, they will inevitably hit a brick wall."* Chairman has called the theory of quick victory empty talk and an attempt at cheap gambling.

Therefore, we do not view the idea that "setbacks are necessary" in a mechanical way. To free the Party from Comrade Iqbal's *Victorious* (utopian) thinking, setbacks are necessary. These setbacks will break the illusion of easy victory from the minds of comrades. They will help distinguish between

correct and incorrect lines. By waging an intense ideological struggle against Comrade Iqbal's incorrect line, comrades will improve in qualitative terms. The Party will be further consolidated politically, organizationally, and ideologically, ultimately leading the revolution to victory. Therefore, we believe that intensifying ideological struggle in a principled manner at every level of the Party is the sacred duty and responsibility of every comrade.

17 February 1974

Endnote (Ours)

ⁱ **Iqbal** – Mr. Tipu Biswas, party name 'Iqbal', was arrested in 1973 in Dhaka as the then General Secretary of the party. Inside prison, he adopted a revisionist line, deviating from Charu Mazumdar's teachings and the Naxalbari agrarian revolutionary path. Gradually, he dismissed Mao Zedong's contributions as the third and essential development of Marxism-Leninism. He labeled then-capitalist China as "socialist", adopted Deng Xiaoping's revisionist line, became a follower of the Three Worlds Theory, and opposed Protracted People's War. Although he adopted the mass uprising path, by 1991 he began participating in elections and took various rightist positions. In the late 1980s, he even recognized the Soviet social-imperialist regime as a "socialist country with errors and deviations". He later formed a neo-revisionist group called the **Communist League** through unity with other opportunist groups. This tendency continues today through various alliances and splits under the open front named **Jatiyo Gono Front** (National People's Front).

ⁱⁱ **Subrata Bal** – Then a CPI (ML) leader from Tripura. Arrested in Dhaka on February 11, 1973, while returning from Kolkata, along with then CPEB (ML) General Secretary Iqbal. Later he formed a party named **CPI (ML) [PCC]** and took a revisionist stance.

ⁱⁱⁱ **Deben Shikdar, Abul Bashar** – In 1968, Deben Shikdar was the General Secretary of the Communist Party of East Bengal, and Abul Bashar was a central committee member. In June 1971, although inspired by the teachings of the Cultural Revolution and the agrarian revolutionary path of Naxalbari, he opposed the line of "class struggle as primary". They stayed in India during the war. Later, amid processes of splits and realignments, Deben Shikdar formed the **Majdur Party**. Although he initially opposed Khrushchevite revisionism during the global communist debates, by 1971 he had adopted revisionist positions. Abul Bashar eventually became a leader of the Workers Party.

^{iv} **Amal Sen** – A leader of the Tebhaga Movement and of the then EPCP (ML). In 1971, he opposed the line of "class struggle as primary" and stayed in India. He did not consider India an expansionist state, nor did he consider the Soviet Union social-imperialist—rather, as socialist. Later adopted an electoral, revisionist position. Under his leadership, Workers Party participated in elections during Ershad's regime. He was President of both the Communist League and later the Workers Party. He stood firmly against the Naxalbari path and the Great Cultural Revolution, siding with Chinese revisionism.