

Our Tasks in the Present Situation

International

In the analysis of the present world situation, the Special Congress and its political resolution have been guided by the Theory of Three Worlds, first propounded by comrade Mao, the great teacher of the international proletariat.

1. Two Super powers are the common enemies of the world people.

Rejecting the theory of SN-Nandi that Soviet social imperialism is the only enemy of the world people, the political resolution has clearly declared :

“Both the super powers (Soviet Union and USA) are engaged in a frenzied arms race in air, seas and land and in all parts of the world and therefore are the common enemies of the world people, including the Indian people.”

Applying the theory of differentiation, the political resolution has declared that.

“Taking the world situation as a whole, Soviet Union is on the offensive and United States is on the defensive”, that “Soviet social imperialism is the chief source of war danger today” and that “Soviet Union is a greater danger to the world people including the Indian people, than US imperialism”.

How to combine both these tasks— the task of fighting against both the super powers and the task of defeating the conspiracies of the Soviet Union for third world war ?

The political resolution has proposed a three—point programme to achieve this. It says :

- Mobilise the people in support of all people's struggles against colonialism, sem-colonialism, neo-colonialism, against imperialism and social imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two super powers—Soviet Union and USA—the common enemies of the world people, taking the Soviet Union as the greater danger to the Indian people, both nationally and internationally.

- Taking Soviet Union as the chief source of war danger today, mobilise all the forces that could be united, including the forces of USA and Second World countries and their allies in India, to defeat specific Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head.
- Combine these two struggles, advance the revolutionary movement, step by step, and bring about an international united front against the Soviet Union, by uniting all the forces that could be united, including the forces of USA and the Second World countries and their allies in India and defeat Soviet social imperialism if it dares to start Third World War."

This is how our Party has combined both tasks — the task of fighting both the two super powers, and the task of defeating the conspiracies of Soviet Union for World War. This three-point programme, distinguishes our Party from the position of some other revolutionary groups. While they recognise that both the super powers are the common enemies of the world people and Soviet Union is the greater danger, so far they are not specific as to how they will combine these two tasks. Even on specific issues of Soviet aggression, whenever and wherever it raises its head, they are not bold enough to say that the international proletariat should utilise the contradictions of the imperialist powers, particularly between the contradictions of the imperialist powers including USA to defeat specific acts of Soviet aggression, as in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Our resolution is very specific on this question.

At the same time, the political resolution has rejected the concept of international united front with USA against social imperialism, here and now.

The political resolution has clearly stated that only by combining the first two tasks and developing the revolutionary movement in the world, step by step, an international united front including USA, can come into existence to defeat Soviet Social imperialism, if it dares to start Third World War. It will not come by begging US imperialism as SN-Nandi combine wants to do.

The three tasks of the Party on the international situation have been based on the experience of the International proletariat under the leadership of Stalin before the Second World War.

2. Fight against the appeasement policies of the West, including USA.

The political resolution has also noted how, even after Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, USA and the West European countries, par-

ticularly France and Germany, inspite of taking certain steps of strategic nature, are still in essence following a policy of appeasement towards Soviet aggression and how such a policy only helps in the war plans of the Soviet Union.

The political resolution has noted how "certain vaccillating and moderate elements in the National Liberation movements and certain reactionary elements in the Third World countries" are being used by Soviet social imperialism in its drive for world war and world hegemony.

The Party has called for a struggle against both these tendencies.

3. Attitude towards China

Assessing the possibilities of attack on People's Republic of China, the political resolution has declared :

"This is an imperialist era. In this era, war between imperialist powers is a definite possibility. Though the contradiction between Socialist China and Soviet Union is a basic contradiction, still Soviet Union cannot think of a direct attack on Socialist China now, before occupying or controlling the intermediate zone between Socialist China and Soviet Union. However, surprise attacks on Socialist China by the Soviet Union cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the two super powers are feverishly contending for world hegemony. So, for the Soviet Union, US imperialism has become the main and immediate enemy which it has to defeat in a new world war. It is also true that even if a new world war starts between the two super powers, ultimately the war will reach Socialist China because China is the basic opposition to Soviet ambitions for world domination".

Rejecting all lies and slanders against Socialist China, the political resolution has declared that "People's Republic of China, a base of world revolution, is supporting the National Liberation struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America against both the super powers".

In another context, the Special Congress has declared "We are of the firm opinion that China is a socialist and a Third World country, a base for world revolution. It is the proletarian international duty of all Marxists-Leninists to defend Socialist China from all attacks".

It has further said :

"The CPC, founded and nurtured by comrade Mao is the vanguard of the present international communist movement. We firmly believe that the general orientation of the present CPC leadership is basically correct, particularly its upholding of the Three World Theory propounded

by comrade Mao. Their opposition to both the Super powers — US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism — taking Soviet social imperialism as the greater danger, their allout struggle for the preservation of world peace and postponement of a Third World War, taking Soviet Union as the chief source of war danger today, full support to National Liberation struggles of the Third World countries against all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and forms of hegemonism, their struggle for building socialism on the basis of the four modernisations”.

It has also said :

“Proletarian Internationalism does not and should not mean blind obedience of one Party to the decisions of another of another Party. Proletarian internationalism means agreement on the general orientation of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, defending socialist countries from all attacks, and resolving all differences between fraternal parties on the basis of comradely discussions, at the same time avoiding all antagonistic polemical public debates.”

4. On Iran-Iraq War

On Iran — Iraq war, the political resolution has declared :

“The recent war between Iran and Iraq over their border conflict is very unfortunate and harmful to the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people against Israeli aggression and social imperialism. The interests of the Third World countries demand immediate cease-fire by these two countries, immediate withdrawal of their troops to the original border and solving their disputes through negotiations. Any prolongation of this conflict widens the scope for interference in the internal affairs of these countries, in a strategic area by the two Super powers and a re-alignment of the forces in this area under the hegemony of the two super powers endangering the cause of the Arab and Palestinian people and the peace of the world”.

National situation

5. Role of the two super powers in India

Referring to the national situation in India, the political resolution has said that “the present international situation, the present crisis of world capitalism, the rivalry of the two super power for world hegemony and the struggle of the Third World countries against imperialism and social imperialism are having a great impact on the internal situation in our country”.

It has further said that “the policies of the successive big bourgeois-big landlord governments have led to an ever-growing and acute economic

crisis—both industrial and agricultural—in our country. They have reduced our country to an abject dependence on the Soviet Union and USA.”

It further says :

“Today Western imperialist powers, particularly USA, have a dominant position in private sector, import-export trade and loans to the government. At the same time, they are trying to penetrate into the public sector. The Soviet Union maintains a dominant position in the public sector. At the same time it is trying to penetrate into the private sector.”

“The Soviet Union controls the public sector, the commanding heights of our economy. It has acquired a near monopoly in the supply of military hardware to our Army. It has ‘Friendship’ Treaty – in essence a military, treaty with the Indian government.”

“These three factors have given to the Soviet Union a dominant and key position in the economic, political and military life of our country.”

6. Soviet Union is the greater danger.

Noting the strong economic and political strength of the two super powers in India, the political resolution says :

“US imperialism has got strong economic power in India to influence the internal and external policies of India to a certain extent” and that “it is certain that the rivalry between the two super powers for hegemony over India will further intensify, no matter what changes take place in India’s economic relations with either of them inspite of the pro-Soviet Indira Congress government coming to power in the Centre in the recent mid-term poll.”

The political resolution further states :

“While seeing the strong position on USA capital and that of the other Western imperialist countries, we should also see that Soviet Union, having dominance in the Public Sector, near monopoly of supply of military hardware to our Army and the Indo-Soviet Treaty and with the present pro-Soviet Indira Congress government in the Centre, has an upper hand over the other imperialist powers, including the USA.”

The political resolution has also said that the presence of large Soviet troops in Afghanistan is being utilised to pressurise the Indian government to better serve the Soviet line both internally and externally and that in today’s conditions, the danger of our country becoming the neo-colony of the Soviet Union is greater today.

Basing on this analysis, the resolution has stated that Soviet Union “is therefore a greater danger to our people, both nationally and internationally and a greater enemy of our people”.

7. Conflicts, contradictions and deep divisions among the ruling classes.

Noting the rivalry of the two super powers for hegemony over India, the political resolution says :

“This rivalry takes the form of greater investments of the Soviet Union and USA, greater economic, political and military penetration and thus establish their hegemony over our country. Both are trying to convert our country into their respective base against other countries in Asia. This danger is greater today from the Soviet Union with the pro-Soviet Indira Congress government coming to power in the centre in the mid-term poll.”

In further says: “Both the super powers are feverishly creating their own respective political lobbies in India in the various political parties in India, both regional and national, and try to get them to power and thus be in a better position to influence the internal and external policies of the country in its favour”.

“US imperialism, while mainly depending on Bharatiya Janata Party and certain powerful sections in the old Janata Party, is trying to create its own lobbies in other political organisations, both national and regional, particularly in the Indira Congress, Congress (U) and Lok Dal”.

“The Soviet Union, while mainly depending on Indira Congress, the CPI and CPM, is trying to create its own lobbies in all other big bourgeois, big landlord parties, both national and regional”.

“The Second World countries, particularly the West European countries are also trying to create their own lobbies in all the big bourgeois, big landlord parties, in order to protect their own interests in our country. Upto now they do not have any recognised political party, national or regional, which mainly represent their interests. These elements are to be found, at present, in the various big bourgeois, big landlord parties, at the national and to some extent in the regional parties too”.

Noting that this rivalry of the imperialist powers, particularly USA and Soviet Union, is leading to conflicts and contradictions of the ruling classes in India, the political resolution says.

“The growing economic and political crisis in the country, the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, the rising struggles of the various sections of the people, and above all the growing rivalry of the two super powers for hegemony over India, have intensified the contradictions and conflicts in each ruling class party and groups, leading to deep divisions in each of them continuously”.

The political resolution has also noted how the "Congress had already faced three major splits" and how, "the Janata Party too could not escape from the same fate."

Explaining the nature of the conflicts, contradictions and deep divisions in the ruling classes, the political resolution says.

"The pro-US lobby, particularly represented by the Bharatiya Janata Party, while depending mainly on USA to get to power in the country is also for friendly relations with the Soviet Union and is ready to give economic and political concessions to Soviet social imperialism as shown by its previous practice".

"The pro-Soviet lobby of the ruling classes, particularly represented by the Indira Congress, while mainly depending on the Soviet Union for maintaining its power, is also for friendly relations with USA and other Second World countries".

8. Attitude towards major ruling class parties

Describing the character of the various ruling class parties, the political resolution says.

"The Indira Congress, both by its internal and external policies, has again proved to be a pro-soviet government which has been giving more and more economic and political concessions to the Soviet Union. The agreement with the Soviet government for the purchase of armaments to the tune of Rs. 1,400 crores, the recognition of the puppet Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea, its repeated avowments that Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is only a response to outside interference in that country—all these confirm the pro-Soviet character of this government. The decision of USA government to continue to supply Uranium for the Tarapur plant also shows how this pro-Soviet government continues to maintain friendly relations with USA. The continuing change of this government towards events in Afghanistan also confirm that the contradiction between this government and the Soviet Union is only a friendly contradiction. It has refused to take any steps to improve its relations with Socialist China. On the other hand, its recognition of the puppet regime in Kampuchea only resulted in the worsening of this relationship".

"On the opposition side the Janata Party still further fragmented itself with the formation of the Bharatiya Janata Party dominated by the earlier Janasangh elements. The disintegration and continuous fragmentation of the old Janata Party only confirms the anti-people character of this party.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is dominated by the pro-USA sections, the Janata, Lokdal, Congress (U), consist of both the pro-USA and pro-Soviet and pro-Second World lobbies".

While noting that all these parties are ruling class parties, the big bourgeois, big landlord class parties, and that all of them are wedded "to the maintenance of the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in our country", the political resolution has seen the greater danger among them and declares :

"The Soviet Union and its allies, the present Indira Congress government, the leadership of the CPI and CPM with their revisionism, and support to Soviet Union, and the pro-soviet elements in other parties, should be taken as the greater danger. In the context of the present world situation, when the danger of a new world war from the Soviet Union is increasing, in the present context when the danger of our country becoming a neo-colony of the Soviet Union has grown, the presence of pro — Soviet Indira Congress government in the centre and in the majority states, and the CPM and CPI in [the opposition faithfully serving the interests of the Soviet Union, constitute the greater danger and are the greater enemies of the Indian people".

9. Attitude to revisionists and neo revisionists—the CPI and CPM

Why do we say that CPI and CPM should be treated as the greater enemies of the Indian people in the present situation ?

"The CPI and CPM with their revisionist leadership have proved themselves to be true to their salt. They have most shamelessly supported the fascist repression of Indira Gandhi against the just struggles of the people of Assam, Tripura and other North-Eastern states, thus paving the way for fascism. Both of them have again and again declared that they are not for any confrontation with the Indira Congress government at the centre. They shamelessly support Soviet aggression everywhere, including Afghanistan. Their opposition to the Indira Congress government is fictitious and are only trying to pressurise the Indira Congress government to serve the interests of the Soviet Union better. Their slogan of the so-called 'Left and Democratic Front' has turned out to be only a front of pro-Soviet forces, is nothing but a bourgeois alternative to Indira Congress to come to power in the Centre, with the support of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is encouraging this process of development to pressurise the Indira Congress government to further its own interests."

In spite of this characterisation, the political resolution clearly states :

"This means that while the edge of all people's struggles should be mainly directed against the Indira government both in the centre and the states, we should ideologically and politically expose the revisionist leadership of CPI and CPM and their subservience towards Soviet social

imperialism and thus win the masses behind them for Agrarian Revolution.”

Differentiating the leadership of the CPI and CPM and their followers, the political resolution clearly directs that “we should always seek to unite the activists and the mass organisations behind the pro-Soviet forces, particularly the revisionist and neo-revisionists at the village, factory and educational institution level, for united struggles of all the people concerned, on the immediate struggles—both economic and political, and thus win them over for struggles inspite of the opposition of these parties.”

10. Intensify the people’s struggles on the basis of united front.

While taking the pro-Soviet forces either in power or in opposition as the greater enemies of the Indian people, the political resolution has rejected the theory of a general political united front with the pro-USA and pro-Second World forces against the pro-Soviet forces, at present. The political resolution clearly states :

“For unity between the working class party and sections of the ruling classes, there should be a common basis. Such a common basis will come, when any super power makes aggression on our country, or in the period of fascist repression supported by one super power, as it happened during the period of Indira’s Emergency or when our country is converted into a neo-colony. During such periods, there will be common basis for general political united front between the working class party and that section of the ruling classes opposed to the particular super power to a certain period, and to a certain extent.”

The political resolution has warned :

“But today our struggle is for Protracted People’s War, for the destruction of imperialism, bureaucratic monopoly capitalism and feudalism. So any section of the ruling classes will not unite with our Party to build Agrarian Revolutionary movement”. Why ?

As the political resolution states :

“Both pro-USA and pro-Soviet big bourgeois, big landlord classes are all expansionist in general, particularly towards our neighbours”.

Because of this expansionist nature and the concrete situation existing in the Indian sub-continent, even “the pro-USA sections of ruling classes” are “for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, for maintaining the Indo-Soviet ‘Friendship’ Treaty” and are prone to give more and more economic and political concessions to the Soviet Union as proved by the actions of the Janata government while in power”.

"The pro-USA sections all follow anti-people policies, serving the interests of imperialism and social imperialism and adopt bloody repression to crush the people's struggles".

Thus while rejecting the general political united front with the pro-USA and pro-Second World forces in the country, peddled by SN-Nandi-Gurubaksh, the political resolution has also rejected the theory of certain revolutionary groups in the country, of being equi-distant between the pro-Soviet and the pro-USA and pro-Second World forces. The political resolution clearly states :

"But at the same time we should utilise the contradictions of the two super powers and those of the various ruling class parties and groups, the central government and the provincial governments, ruling class parties and revisionists, from issue to issue, both economic and political to advance the revolutionary movement, taking the Soviet Union and its allies as the greater danger."

How to utilise these contradictions of the ruling classes ? The political resolution says :

In conducting the immediate struggles of the people, economic and political, "we must utilise the various contradictions of the two super powers, and their allies. These contradictions should be utilised from issue to issue, both economic and political, consistent with the general political line of the Party, of taking Soviet Union as the greater danger, both nationally and internationally and Soviet Union and its allies in India as the greater danger, wherever they are, whether in power or in opposition",

What are the issues on which united front struggles could be conducted ? The political resolution says :

"In conducting these immediate struggles of the people, economic and political, we must utilise the present contradictions and conflicts of the pro-Soviet and pro-USA forces and Second World countries, and unite with pro-USA and pro-Second World countries who are now in opposition on such issues as civil liberties, on the immediate issues of the people, economic and political and above all against the predominance of the Soviet Union in India, against Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head, particularly now in Afghanistan, against all concessions to Soviet Union's efforts to convert our country into its neo-colony and Indira Congress government's connivance at these efforts and its plans for world war".

Explaining the basis for such united front struggles on various issues, the political resolution states that since the pro-USA and pro-Second World countries "are now in opposition" and so "the possibility of united front with pro-US and pro-Second World countries against Soviet Union's aggressive policies and its dominance in

India have grown and we should utilise these possibilities to advance the people's struggles and thus advance the revolutionary movement in the country".

The political resolution has explained how these united front struggles and our struggle for Agrarian Revolution will lead to the formation of People's Democratic Front under the leadership of the working class.

Warning the Party about the necessity of maintaining the independence of the Party in these united front struggles, the resolution states :

"In the states, while mobilising the people against government under the leadership of the pro-US lobby, we should warn the people against the danger of the pro-Soviet lobby coming to power in some label or other".

"While mobilising and uniting the people including the pro-US sections for struggle against government under the leadership of the pro-Soviet lobby, under whatever label, we should warn the people about the danger of Pro-US lobby coming to power."

"In conducting the immediate economic and political struggles of the people, we can unite with the pro-US sections against the pro-Soviet sections on certain issues. At the same time, at present, we cannot have general political united front with any section of the ruling classes.

"While uniting with pro-US sections against the pro-Soviet sections, we should expose the vacillating and subservient role of these sections towards US imperialism and their anti-people policies".

Thus one could see that on such important issues like the role of the two super powers, and their lobbies in India, while rejecting the concept of a general political united front with pro-USA sections against the pro-Soviet lobby at present, it also rejects the concept of trying to be equidistant between both the lobbies or treating them as equal enemies which is nothing but sectarian. The resolution has called for utilising the contradictions of the ruling classes on the immediate issues of the people, both economic and political, both national and international issues, from issue to issue, and thus intensify the people's struggles and utilise these struggles to advance the revolutionary movement in the country. This demarcates our Party from the position of some revolutionary groups in the country.

11. Agrarian Revolution and elections

The political resolution has rejected the concept of a general boycott of all elections, taking the level of the consciousness of the people and the

level of the revolutionary movement and has decided to "continue to participate in the elections". It has also said that "the question of participation in elections, where, when, and in what form should be decided in each election".

On the other hand it has also rejected the policy of election alliances with ruling class parties and others, which is bound to lead to a parliamentary path.

Basing itself on the teachings of Lenin, the political resolution explains the aims of our participation in elections "to extensively propagate the politics of Agrarian Revolution, and the political line of the Party among the people, to extend and consolidate our mass base among the people. If in this process of struggle, we win some seats in elections, we will utilise that position to achieve the same aims."

It has further said :

"Our participation in the elections should not lead to strengthening of election illusions in the people, but should help in dispelling the same. It should help in preparing the people for further revolutionary struggles after the elections."

While participating in the elections, we must boldly tell the people that elections under the present big bourgeois, big landlord constitution will not lead to any basic changes in the present society and that only People's War could lead to such basic changes in the society".

Rejecting the concept of election alliances with ruling class parties, the resolution clearly states :

"We should, as a general principle, participate in the elections on the basis of our own strength. We should not have any election alliance or adjustment of seats with any ruling class parties, national or regional, CPI and CPM. We can have alliance or seat adjustments with, or support only those who support our struggle for armed Agrarian Revolution or those who support our New Democratic Revolution".

"We should not have any illusions that our Party could share power with any section of the ruling classes and their parties, regional or national under the present big bourgeois, big landlord constitution."

12. Full support to the just struggle of the Assam people

Fully supporting the just struggle of the Assam people, the political resolution says :

"The Assam situation is a reflection of deep resentment of the Assam people with their economic backwardness which has been the result of the policies of the successive governments both at the Centre

and the states. It is significant to note that almost all the political parties in Assam, both national and regional, instead of leading the people for the destruction of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, which is the real source of economic backwardness, vied with one other in championing the regional demands and rousing chauvinism against the Bengali people. Some other organisations tried to rouse the Bengali chauvinism against the Assam people.

13. Fascism and the struggle for civil liberties

The political resolution clearly states :

“Fascist repression or parliamentary democracy as practised by the big bourgeois, big landlord class parties in our semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, at present, are two methods used by them to suppress the rising struggles of the people, as the crisis demands. It is the economic and political crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system that determines which method the ruling classes of our country will adopt—fascism or parliamentary democracy, as the situation demands.”

“Any ruling class party, Indira Congress, the Janata or the Lokdal alliance, faced with the growing economic and political crisis and internal dissidence and growing people’s struggles will not hesitate to resort to fascist repression as Indira Congress did in 1975. It is the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system which is the source of fascism and bloody repression and without destroying the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system through a Protracted People’s War, we cannot destroy the source of fascism and bloody repression.”

At the same time it warns :

“This does not mean that there is no difference between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism—the two methods of bourgeois rule”.

“There is a qualitative difference between these two methods of government rule in suppressing the people’s struggles”.

It has also said :

“Of course, we must struggle for the preservation and extension of civil liberties available under the bourgeois democracy. Under conditions of bourgeois democracy, we must utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes from issue to issue, economic and political, and advance the revolutionary movement”.

“Under conditions of fascism, we must unite with all those that could be united to conduct a political struggle for civil liberties. On the basis of struggle for civil liberties we must build the anti-fascist front consisting of all those subjected to fascist repression”.

“This struggle to build the anti-fascist front should be linked with the main forms of struggles — the armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggle and thus advance the whole revolutionary movement”.

“We must understand that our struggle against fascism is a part of the anti-imperialist struggle, aimed against the dominant imperialist power supporting that fascism”.

Noting the growing danger of fascism at present, the political resolution has warned:

“What we are now faced with is that the Indira Congress has come to power both in the Centre and the majority states. This is the government that has already tasted Emergency rule earlier. This government is already arming itself with all sorts of special repressive measures to suppress the growing people’s struggles in the country. Arrests, lathi charges, banning of public meetings, tortures of political opponents, destruction of people’s property, false cases, Disturbed Areas Act, Preventive Detention, mass shootings are again becoming the common features as it is happening in Andhra, Assam and all other North-Eastern States. On top of all this now comes the National Security Ordinance giving powers to the States to detain any person without charges, merely on suspicion. The last 9 months of Indira Congress rule indicate that it is invariably moving towards fascism again. With growing economic and political crisis in the country, with growing contradictions of the ruling class parties and groups, with growing dissidence inside Indira Congress itself, with the growing super power rivalry in the country, the Indira Congress is bound to resort to fascist dictatorship in some form or other. The situation demands that we should build a powerful people’s movement for civil liberties, here and now, uniting with all those that could be united and block the road towards fascism again”.

14. Link the people’s struggles with the struggle for People’s War

The Special Congress has rejected the path of individual terrorism or the so-called path of ‘annihilation of class enemies’. At the same time it has rejected all versions of policies of class collaboration. The Party has called for following the mass line in all struggles. It has said that “we must be more vigilant in adopting the mass line in conducting the immediate struggles of the people, drawing the people in all phases of the struggles and the resistance struggles, uniting with all the forces that could be united on each issue, both economic and political, including the forces of the pro-US and pro-Second World forces”.

It clearly states that struggles of the various sections of the people the workers, peasants, students and government employees, on their immediate economic and political issues should be combined with extensive propagation of revolutionary politics of Agrarian revolution.

The Special Congress has also called upon the Party to link the struggle against the two super powers, the struggle for Peace, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles, the immediate struggles of the people, the struggle for civil liberties, the participation in the elections and the struggle for united front, should be linked with the struggle for Armed Agrarian Revolution and People's War. This has been taken as the key task of the period.

Taking the peasant struggle as the main struggle, the political resolution has declared :

"The main direction of the party work should be consciously oriented towards building revolutionary peasant movement. Selection of strategic areas, concentration of cadres, formulation of fighting and agitational slogans with extensive discussions of the peoples of the area, mobilising the peasants for struggles on these issues, building the peasant organisations, arming of the people with the locally available weapons in the anti-feudal struggles from the very beginning, organising the village volunteer organisations, people's resistance to landlord-police-goonda violence and repression and thus create, develop and defend areas of sustained resistance and thus advance to the establishing of the base areas in the country side."

Detailing the tasks on the workers' front, the political resolution declared :

"In building the trade union movement, our main direction should be to build the revolutionary trade union movement i. e. politicalisation of the workers, ideological and political struggle against legalism and economism, worker-peasant unity, volunteer organisations to resist police-management goondaism and repression, and building of the secret party among the workers. Only thus we could unite the workers and make it the conscious leader of the New Democratic Revolution. The main concentration should be in strategic industries."

This orientation of our Party, based on the experience of the last 12 years of struggle is a demarcation from both class collaboration and sectarian policies, negative left adventurist policies of all types.

15. Struggle for the unity of the Communist Revolutionaries

Rejecting all negative, sectarian and factional attitude towards unifying all the Communist Revolutionaries, the political resolution says :

"Uniting all the Communist Revolutionaries in a single party, and People's War is still one of the important tasks of the Party.

We should unite with other revolutionary groups, on all immediate economic and political struggles of the people. Unite on those issues on which an agreement is possible, leaving the other issues for the future.

While uniting with other revolutionary groups on an agreed programme, we should consistently carry out a political and ideological but friendly struggle against their wrong policies and ideology on certain issues.

Taking a positive attitude towards other revolutionary groups, who accept Socialist China as a base of the world revolution, who accept Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and who accept the path of People's War, uniting with them on the immediate, issues of the people, friendly criticism against their wrong policies and advancing the Agrarian Revolutionary movement in the country should lead to the building of a single Party—the CPI (ML).

We must ceaselessly carry on a political and ideological struggle based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought against both right and left deviations, both inside and outside the Party, taking the right deviation as the main danger at present”.

16. Build a strong CPI (ML) to face all twists and turns

The political resolution has warned the Party :

“The coming period is a period of growing economic and political crisis in the country, of growing people's struggles and growing repression. Today no ruling party in power either at the Centre or the states can rule this country without 'special' powers and police measures to suppress the people's struggles. In the coming period, repression on people's struggles is bound to increase”.

“So, while utilising the present legal opportunities to the maximum extent possible, while intensifying the struggle for civil liberties, the main orientation of the Party should be to build a Party that could meet all twists and turns of the situation”.

Fully confident of the future, the political resolution has declared:

“The coming period is a trying period for our people, our country and our Party. In spite of the elections, and the establishment of the present government, the economic and political crisis in the country is bound to get intensified. The super power rivalry for hegemony over India is bound to increase.

The contradictions and conflicts of the ruling class parties and groups are bound to get intensified. New re-alignment among the big bourgeois, big landlord parties, including the Indira Congress, are bound to take place — all leading to greater instability of the ruling classes again. The discontent of the various sections of the people

is bound to get intensified. We are on the eve of a big people's upsurge to change the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in our country. The revolutionary situation is getting better both in our country and world."

"It is true that Indira Congress has come to power in the Centre and the majority states with a big majority. If the situation demands with the support of the Soviet Union, the Indira Congress is bound to resort to fascist dictatorship to suppress the rising tide of people's struggles. But the people too are now more experienced as to how to resist it. In particular, as far as our Party is concerned, our main people's base in the country has increased. Our cadres have greater experience in conducting people's struggles and in sustained resistance struggles. The Party cadres are politically and ideologically trained better to face the new situation, and with correct political line, by keeping to the mass line, and conducting people's struggles on the basis of the united front, we can advance the Agrarian Revolutionary movement in the new situation".

Rejection of all policies of class collaboration, rejection of all sectarian, negative and left adventurist concepts, a consistent application of the mass line are the specific features of the decisions of the Special Congress. A correct programme, a correct political resolution, a correct orientation towards Agrarian Revolution, a consistent struggle for united front on various issues ultimately leading to building the People's Democratic Front are the specific decisions of the Special Congress, which will go a long way in advancing the revolutionary movement in the country, in the present situation.

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