

## ON THE SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

[The following is a translation of a section of the Bengali version of the Political Report adopted by the Second Congress of the CPI(ML)—the first Congress of the pro-Charu Majumdar and anti-Lin Piao group led by Vinod Mishra. The Report was placed at the Congress by Vinod Mishra on February 6, and was unanimously adopted on February 8, 1976. The words within the brackets and the footnotes have been supplied by us.—*Editors* ].

Standing on the brink of their doom, imperialism and social-imperialism are beset with crises, at home and abroad. The world-wide rivalry of the two super-powers for world hegemony—with Europe as its centre—has assumed acute form. Under foul tactics of “relaxation of tensions” they are hatching many a sinister conspiracy to start a world war. In regard to this rivalry, the U.S. imperialism is in a defensive position and the Soviet social-imperialism is in an offensive position. With a greatly increased stockpile of nuclear weapons, the social-imperialists today are enormously increasing their military preparations and are day-dreaming of swallowing the

world in a gulp. Their naked armed intervention in Angola proves that they have become desperate. Thus the danger of a world war has become a stark reality and the Soviet social-fascists are the most dangerous source of this war.

But the main feature of the international situation today is not this war conspiracy. Today the main feature of the international situation is "the emergence and strengthening of the Third Power". The victory of the national liberation struggles in small countries like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is the victory of people's war against modern revisionism—the victory of Mao Tsetung Thought. The significance of this victory: "A weak nation can defeat a strong nation, a small nation can defeat a big one. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history." The rising tide of revolutionary mass movements is sweeping across various capitalist countries as a result of enormous progress in struggles of peoples of the Third World. The governments of the countries not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America but also elsewhere have become vocal against the two super-powers. Under the leadership of the great land of China, all these forces are advancing along the path of forming a world-wide united front. "In the international situation this is entirely a new trend, not witnessed before." "Many events have occurred which have no precedent."

The Chinese Party under the leadership of Chairman (Mao) has become stronger and has firmly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat by deepening further the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. Struggling against modern revisionism in various countries of the world, the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces are developing, getting organized and gathering strength.

In all respects, we are living in the historical era witnessing the total transformation of this wicked world, this worn out,

disgraced and obsolete world, and the emergence of a new world free from all filth, waste, destruction and horror of death.

In our country, armed with the atom bomb, the reactionary Government of India—a satellite of Soviet social-imperialism—has adopted an aggressive nationalistic policy befitting a sub-super-power. It is intensifying its effort to devour the neighbouring countries and is stepping up activities against them. Thousands of Soviet specialists are controlling the entire defence organisation of the country. Burdened with war efforts, the country has been thrown into the abyss of permanent and acute economic crisis. The exploitation and oppression of Indian masses have assumed a terrible form. To save themselves from people's outbursts all over the country against this exploitation, the social-imperialists are striving to build up a "powerful centre" making a "hero" of Indira Gandhi. Today with the promulgation of the "emergency" the Indira Government has exposed itself in its naked, armed, counter-revolutionary appearance.

But already its expansionist policy has faced massive resistance. The recent changes in Bangladesh are a great debacle for the Indira Government. Inside the country the tide of victory over Pakistan has receded; under the leadership of our Party, the poor and landless peasants in different areas of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have risen up in armed struggle against the age-old ruthless political repression, terrible oppression and economic exploitation of the landlord class. The armed peasant upsurge in Patna, Bhojpur and other areas of Bihar, in particular, has become an object of terror not only to the bosses in Delhi but also to their masters in Moscow. On the other hand, this struggle has obtained support from the great Chinese Party of Chairman (Mao) and China. It has also been hailed by the revolutionaries of many other countries. Advancing along the (path of) armed struggle in the face of the countrywide upsurge of the Indian masses, we have laid the foundations of a People's Democratic India.

The completely nationalist character of the armed struggles for self-determination by different nationalities has undergone a change ; these struggles have reached the stage of forming unity with the armed class struggles of the Indian masses. The demand for self-rule in Tamil Nadu has gained powerful support. As a result of further intensification of scramblings among the various imperialist groups inside the country, a great split has occurred in the reactionary armed forces. The reactionary Congress regime of the Indira clique has been reduced to a small group isolated from the broadest masses of the people. So "it is possible to build up the broadest possible united front against the Congress regime".

In such an excellent revolutionary situation when under our Party leadership the armed peasant struggle has created a mass upsurge, has taken the form of liberation struggle of the Indian masses and is advancing, "it is our duty to advance with the task of building the Party among broad basic people and to build up a united front with the broadest section of the people on the basis of struggles." In order to build up the Party among the broad basic people we shall have to build up the Party on a firm class basis—a task which can be accomplished only by conducting campaigns of assaults against the mobile enemy forces.

We have launched attacks on the mobile enemy forces and have started building a regular army. The initiative of the peasant masses is taking the form of an upsurge following the birth of the regular army. We shall have to closely watch these upsurges and form revolutionary committees to lead them. For example, the recent hartal at Punpun was also an upsurge.

But despite attacks on mobile enemy forces, we have not yet been able to organize campaigns of assaults on area-wise mobile enemy forces. In certain areas, deviating from the objective of organizing this campaign, we have mechanically tried to expand our regular army and have failed. We must realize that this campaign of ours is a political campaign direc-

ted towards the aim of "establishing people's state power through people's war". So, only by leading struggles of a high level against the "ideology of roving rebel bands" and "flightism" is it possible to organize this campaign. Only by organising this campaign shall we be able to carry on mass movements of the peasant masses and to combine the mass movements with the armed struggle through revolutionary committees. Only thus will develop people's guerilla war, and step by step a well disciplined and vast regular army, a large number of local armies and people's militia will grow up and base areas will be developed.

So it is exceedingly important today to arm the fighters from the class with the class outlook, the political outlook and to establish them deep within the class itself. The close link between the regular army and the people is the key to organizing revolutionary committees of a high level.

Comrades !

The class war that we are leading is gradually becoming more and more ruthless. The enemy is desperately resorting to "encirclement and suppression" in order to destroy the armed units of our People's Liberation Army. Unless we are able to raise the level of political consciousness of fighters, develop vigilance of a high level and make all-out preparations, our units will not be able to wage surprise attacks on the enemy forces and break the "encirclement and suppression" by wiping out a part of the enemy forces. And failing to do this we shall not be able to preserve our main force and the leadership. On this question, spontaneity has been the cause of much of our loss. We must keep it in our mind that to become victims of the enemy's surprise attack and to lose initiative are manifestations of ideas opposed to guerilla war.

The Party (branch) inside our regular army must study the laws of enemy's "encirclement and suppression" and discover the laws breaking them. For that we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's military writings with Comrade Charu

Majumdar's revolutionary outlook in command ; and on that basis we must make the commanders conscious.

Apart from one area, one unit and one squad, we must put all our efforts towards building a one-man 'nucleus' with a view to developing a particular commander. In all situations he must creatively integrate the Party line, with his 'Living idea'. All the tasks ought to be brought in tune with the central task. The fighters have to be linked with production ; the cadres and fighters must be taught to observe the "Three-Eight Principles"\* to the letter, so that they are able to build close relations with the people. The fighters have to be trained expeditiously to enable them to discharge political responsibilities of the Party. Thus under the Party's leadership the regular army will become well disciplined.

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\* "The Three Main Rules of Discipline are as follows :

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.

- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are as follows :

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives."

[“On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention—Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army” (October 10, 1947), *Selected Military Writings*, 2nd ed., P. 343.

—Editors ]

Those who are willing to join the regular army must be admitted. We must find out the creative method of speedily educating them politically. Then only we shall be able to preserve them and the regular army will grow into a vast force.

From our experience we have seen that where struggles have been confined to the stage of annihilation of class enemies only, and where we have not been able to establish the revolutionary committees as the State power of the masses by strengthening the People's Liberation Army, the reactionary government has distributed lands of the annihilated class enemies amongst the peasant masses and thus made sinister efforts to complete *our land reforms* with a view to blunting the edge of fighting consciousness of the peasant masses for seizure of power. Therefore, in addition to developing our struggle, seizing crops under the leadership of revolutionary committees, reducing rent in general and redistributing the lands of the annihilated class enemies, we must undertake the responsibility of total land reforms area-wise.

Under the impact of armed peasant struggle, today the working class is holding its head high in different areas and is coming forward to discharge its responsibility as leader of the revolution. We have been able to build up Party organizations within the working class in various basic industrial undertakings. But our work among workers is not yet adequate. Within the working class we must further intensify the struggle against the petty bourgeois outlook. Only in this way can we get from the working class good organizers who will rally the broad working class, the poor people and the petty bourgeoisie of the urban areas in the resistance struggle and will perform the role of worthy political advisers of the People's Liberation Army in the villages.

Our base areas are symbols of the united front of worker-peasant-middle class masses opposed to the Congress regime. It is by consolidating and extending these that the united front will be consolidated and developed. Gradually the non-working sections of the people will also unite with us.

These base areas are also the bases of our cultural revolution. So, the People's Liberation Army will have to be transformed into a cultural army as well, repudiating, on the cultural question, all revisionist points of view opposed to class outlook—opposed to armed struggle. In this way alone the struggle initiated by the revolutionary youths and students against the feudal-imperialist culture will be united with the revolutionary struggles of the peasants and our people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal culture will develop vigorously.

[Source : *Liberation* (Bengali), a mouthpiece of this group, Vol. 1 No. 1, February 1976.]