

in action implies unity between revisionists and Marxist-Leninists is, objectively, tantamount to making a present of that state and its people to the revisionists, instead of isolating the revisionists. While appreciating the innumerable obstacles that stand in the way at present, for the immediate realisation of the slogan of united action between the Soviet and Chinese governments, and while entertaining no such illusions that such united action can materialise if the struggle to realise it is carried on in the manner the Soviet leaders are at present carrying it on, we do cherish this concept and eagerly work for its materialisation, so that the bleeding Vietnamese people might in their just war of national liberation together with the states of the socialist camp rout the armies of imperialist intervention.

ON THE ISSUE OF CORRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES

The relations between fraternal Communist Parties and the Marxist-Leninist principle that should guide these relations are a very important question. In theory all appear to accept that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, that there should be no false idea of so-called high-ranking and subordinate Parties, that there can be no interference in the internal affairs of other Parties and that they should build their Party-to-Party relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance. But in actual life and experience this salutary principle is often violated, and such violations, when they take place, from big Parties and Parties in state power, become all the more grave, striking hard at the very principle of independence and equality of fraternal Communist Parties.

The second important question, of course, closely connected with the first as stated above, is regarding the relation between the foreign policy of socialist states in regard to one or the other capitalist state and the internal policy of the Communist Party operating in the concerned capitalist state.

It is an accepted Marxist-Leninist dictum that not-

withstanding the identity of aim between the different Communist Parties of the world, the tactical positions of all these parties need not necessarily be identical, even on the same concrete question. Any number of examples from the history of the world Communist movement can be cited to show the absolute correctness of this proposition. All attempts to disregard such exigencies and dub these tactics as the tactics of the 'dualists' and as tactics of defeating the 'monist' action of the world working class were ridiculed by Lenin, while showing the inner consistency in the pursuing of different tactics by different proletarian parties, based on the concrete conditions of the arena of their operation.

This issue of divergence in the tactical positions of different Communist Parties gets all the more complex and emphasised when it becomes a question of tactics to be pursued by the Communist Parties in state power and the Parties still struggling for power. Proletarian internationalism makes it obligatory for all the contingents of the struggle for socialism and against imperialism, and it the world Communist movement to support each other in applies equally to the Parties in power as well as the Parties without power. But, as aptly put in the report of the Seventh Congress of the Third International, "this identity of aim by no means signifies that at every given moment there must be a complete coincidence in all acts and on all questions between the tactics of the proletariat and Communist Parties that are still struggling for power and the concrete measures of the Soviet proletariat and the CPSU which already have power in their hands in the Soviet Union".

All Communists should bear this in mind during their work while, of course, guarding against the opportunist and class-collaborationist distortion of this dictum, distortion with a view to rallying behind one's own bourgeois government and in opposition to one or the other socialist state and thus adopting a national-chauvinist outlook outright abandoning proletarian internationalism.

Here, again, all this is admitted in theory while in actual practice an irresistible tendency is frequently manifested—the tendency of subordinating the internal class policy

of the Party without power to that of the needs of the foreign policy relations of one or the other big socialist state and its ruling Communist Party.

Unless and until these two serious errors are rectified, real, durable and lasting fraternal relations and unity between the world's Communist Parties, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is inconceivable.

A working class party can play the role of revolutionary party only if it is firmly based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, only if it can, as correctly put by the CPC, "use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and know how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country", and does not "parrot the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad", and "becomes a hotch-potch of revisionism and dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principles".

It should be emphasised that if certain individual contingents of the international Communist movement prove immature or weak in discharging the tasks as described above, they can get over these weaknesses by learning from their own mistakes and through their own experience, in the main, and no outside Party, however big and experienced, can substitute itself for this task, and hence it is extremely harmful to try to dictate, and guide the work of another Party. It is all the more so in the case of big Parties in power, as it would, first, subject the Parties in question to the reactionary slander of being 'led' by either Peking or Moscow, and, secondly, such attempts prove harmful as the political-tactical line thus imposed, more often, is not based on the concrete study and painstaking investigation of concrete class relations obtaining in the country in question. Such interference may be permissible in extraordinary circumstances, when a Party and its political line goes completely on to the wrong track, when friendly fraternal criticism is rejected and when

there is no other alternative left except to openly express criticism. However, this should be an exception.

Our Party notes with extreme regret that this sound proletarian internationalist principle which should guide the relations between Parties is violated by big Parties, of course, either under the pretext of some creative Marxism of theirs or under the totally erroneous notion that they alone can think, not only for themselves, but for all other Parties of the world. The glaring example is the leadership of the CPSU, after its 20th Congress, which began to assert that its thesis is the programme for the entire world Communist movement, and used and is using all its might to force it on every other Party in the world. Another big Communist Party, the CPC, which correctly pointed out and fought against this dangerous tendency on the part of the CPSU leaders and is bearing the main brunt of fighting modern revisionism, is also, sometimes, found to disregard this principle. Our Party, while modest enough to learn from the achievements and mistakes of all other fraternal Parties of the world, should guard itself against any such outside interference and jealously defend its independence and its independent political line. Any departure from this sound principle and practice would prove disastrous to the unity, growth and progress of our Party.

CARRY ON THE FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM, GUARD AGAINST LEFT-SECTARIAN DEVIATION

Before closing the present document dealing with modern revisionism as the main danger in the international Communist movement at the present juncture, our Party cannot be oblivious of the fact that there also exist certain dogmatic and left-sectarian trends in some Parties on certain issues connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. While fighting against modern revisionism as the main danger facing the world Communist movement as well as our Party, it cannot but seriously warn itself against slipping into left opportunism and sectarian errors.