

IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Since the Sixth Congress of our Party, which took place almost immediately after the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, the international communist movement has been passing through bitter and prolonged ideological controversies. These controversies which came out into the open in 1960 assumed particularly serious dimensions with the publication of an alternative general line for the world communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the form of its June 14, 1963 letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

The National Council of our Party critically examined and appraised this general line as a clear repudiation of the unanimously worked out common line of the world communist movement embodied in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. The attempt by the CPC leadership to push this alternative line and impose it on the fraternal parties created an unprecedented situation and brought the international movement almost to the brink of a split. That situation, unfortunately, still continues.

Like many other fraternal parties, our own Party too was seriously affected by this ideological offensive of the CPC leadership and its open call for splits. Splitting activities which have accompanied the propagation of this alternative line have been sought to be justified in the name of purity of Marxism-Leninism.

When the collective line of the world communist movement was thus openly challenged and assailed, it became naturally incumbent upon Marxist-Leninist parties to defend the common line—the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. This became necessary not only for discharging their responsibilities towards world communist movement, but also for carrying out their tasks as national contingents of that movement in their respective countries.

The ideological struggle for upholding the Declaration and the Statement in the face of open attack on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of China became inseparable in the capitalist world from the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This has been confirmed by the experience of our own Party and the ideological struggles it has had to wage within its ranks.

The alternative general line of the CPC leadership found its most crude and destructive expression in relation to our country. Disregarding the fact that India is a nonaligned country adhering to the peace zone, to which China was allied by principles of Panchsheel, the Chinese armies made massed military attacks across the MacMahon Line in an attempt to solve the India-China border problem by armed force.

This had already been preceded by open interference by the Chinese Party in the affairs of our country in the form of pronouncements about the character of the Indian government which went contrary to the declared decisions of our Party at its Vijayawada Congress. Chinese aggression against our country was followed by open slanderous attacks against our Party and call to split it, in the form of the article "Mirror for Revisionists".

The narrow-nationalistic and chauvinist attitude taken up by the Chinese leadership on the border question and its attempt to solve it by armed force caused a major setback to our democratic movement as it created opportunities for the forces of domestic reaction to strengthen themselves and gain vantage positions in the country's political life. This made the struggle against the erroneous ideological and political positions of the CPC leadership all the more urgent in the case of our Party.

As far back as 1959, our Party had drawn the attention of the CPC leadership to their incorrect attitude towards the border question. We subsequently raised the question at the 81 Parties' Conference as well.

It was under such circumstances that our Party came out openly to refute the Chinese line, save the democratic movement of our country from the disastrous repercussions of that line and defend the integrity and unity of our Party.

The National Council of our Party took note of the June 14 CPC letter and reaffirmed our Party's firm adherence to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The Council repudiated the positions of the CPC leadership. In its report "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement" the National Council of our Party again comprehensively discussed the ideological issues and placed its views for discussion by the entire Party as part of the preparation for the Seventh Party Congress. This report has been discussed by many Party conferences at different levels and the discussions have given general approval to the positions taken by the National Council on all questions of principle.

The Seventh Congress notes with satisfaction that these conferences have once again reaffirmed, through free and frank discussions, the Party's complete identification with the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties in upholding the programmatic documents of the world communist movement—the Declaration and the Statement.

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to recall that the Fourth Congress of our Party had acclaimed the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a new stage in the international communist movement. Later, the National Council of the Party similarly highly appraised the decisions of the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement were acclaimed warmly in the ranks of our Party.

At the same time it must be emphasised that no effective steps were taken to conduct any ideological discussion among the Party ranks with the result that, despite formal acceptance of the conclusions of the CPSU Congresses and of the two Moscow meetings of the world communist movement, the Party ranks remained by and large in the dark as to their full meaning and significance. The ideological struggle within the Party was not undertaken, not even when the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 were being challenged by a section of the leadership within the Party. Further until mid-1963 even crucial documents on vital issues of the

world movement including a full and proper report of the proceedings of the 81 Parties' Conference as well as of the stand of the Indian delegation on the Sino-Indian border question were not made available to the ranks of the Party. This failure to draw the Party members into discussions on ideological issues contributed in no small measure in making the Party vulnerable to alien trends and splitting activities.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party deems it necessary to emphasise the supreme importance of drawing the entire Party ranks into ideological discussions, organised on the basis of making all important material available to the entire Party ranks, of conducting principled ideological struggles within the Party and equipping and strengthening the entire Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On the basis of the pre-Congress discussions which have taken place in the ranks of our Party the Seventh Congress deems it necessary to sum up and conclude the results of these discussions by restating and re-affirming the positions of our Party in regard to the major issues of controversy, namely, the character and significance of the new epoch, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, national-liberation movement, national democracy, forms of transition to socialism, cult of personality, the unity of the socialist camp and world communist movement.

In regard to all these vital questions, our Party disagrees with the positions taken by the CPC leadership and considers its alternative line as a repudiation of the line of the world communist movement. In the course of the discussion within our Party, the positions of the CPC leadership have been appraised as dogmatic and disruptive and spelling out great dangers for the world communist movement as a whole and particularly for the communist parties in the capitalist countries, and the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence. Both in theory and practice, the line of the CPC leadership suffers from narrow nationalistic and even chauvinistic distortions.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI attaches the greatest importance to the correct understanding of our present new epoch. The definition of the epoch is essential for the working out of

the strategy and tactics of the movement as a whole and equipping every Marxist-Leninist party for fulfilling in the most effective manner the revolutionary role assigned to it, in all countries and in all situations.

It is of fundamental importance to recognise that the main content of our epoch is transition from capitalism to socialism. Similarly, it is also to be understood and accepted that the most distinctive feature of the present epoch is that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. It is not correct, therefore, to describe the present epoch merely as an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The main content of the present epoch and its distinctive feature have given rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. Our own experience is that the refusal to fully accept the definition of the epoch given in the Moscow Statement results in dogmatism in theory and sectarianism in practice. It comes in the way of utilising new opportunities for advancing the cause of the working class and the democratic movement.

The Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the definition of the epoch as given in the Moscow Statement and enjoins upon all Party ranks to keep this definition constantly in view in the context of theoretical work and practical activities of the Party in the mass movements of our country.

The Seventh Congress of the Party rejects all theoretical propositions that are based on the denial of the fact that the main contradiction in modern society is that between capitalism and socialism. Even before the world socialist system came into existence, this was the main contradiction and it is now immensely sharpened and has become all the more pronounced as a result of the advent of socialism as a world system and of the advance of the contemporary international working-class movement.

The focal points of world contradiction are naturally concentrated where the most powerful and organised forces of socialism stand face to face against the forces of imperialism. This means that the contradiction between the world socialist

system and the world capitalist system constitutes the focus of the contradictions of modern times.

It is incorrect to treat the contradiction between imperialism and the national-liberation movements, notwithstanding all their revolutionary potentialities, as the main contradiction of our time. Hence it is also not correct to say that the focal points of the world contradictions lie in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national-liberation struggles against imperialism are in progress, even though these may be areas where imperialism is most vulnerable.

These national-liberation struggles are delivering shattering blows to imperialism but then the fact remains that the decisive role in the world revolutionary process today is played most definitely by the working class and its chief creation—the world socialist system. Our own experience in the struggle against overcoming the legacies of imperialism and in achieving economic independence confirms this understanding.

The Moscow Declaration highlights the importance of the emergence of the “peace zone” comprising the socialist countries and newly-liberated nonaligned nations. Our Party fully acknowledges the positive role of this peace zone in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. The Party Congress considers that it is the duty of all communists, to work for expanding and strengthening the peace zone.

To negate or even underestimate the role of the peace zone is to restrict and weaken the anti-imperialist struggle, the common front against imperialism. The stand of the CPC leadership in this regard, particularly in relation to India, which is a vast country in the peace zone, means a virtual negation of this concept. Worse still, it weakens and undermines the peace zone instead of expanding and consolidating it.

Our Seventh Congress rejects the concept of the so-called “intermediate zone” put forward by the CPC leadership as contrary to the understanding of the Declaration and the Statement. It is one thing to recognise that inter-imperialist contradictions do exist and are growing, and to utilise those, but it is quite a different matter to put forward, out of this, the concept of the “intermediate zone”.

This erroneous concept which separates the USA from other imperialist powers and puts the latter in the same category with the non-imperialist capitalist countries and even newly-liberated, nonaligned nations, overlooks the military blocs created by the imperialist powers such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO and underestimates the dangers posed by the imperialist bloc.

This unrealistic and artificial concept also underplays the neo-colonialism of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan and so on. It goes without saying that the spearhead of these imperialist alignments and their military blocs and their bases is directed, first and foremost, against the countries of the socialist camp as also against other countries, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese theory of the "intermediate zone" in reality weakens the struggle against imperialism. Not only that, in practice it has been a cover for the most opportunist and unprincipled alliances in the field of foreign policy. The most crude expression of this has been the policy of China towards Pakistan, China's open tributes to the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan, her defence of Pakistan's membership of the SEATO imperialist war bloc, and her indirect support to Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir in the name of self-determination.

One of the most important questions over which the controversy in the international communist movement has arisen is that of world war and peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI entirely endorses the call of the international communist movement to regard the fight for peace as the prime task of all communists. Our Party fully recognises the new possibilities which have grown and are further growing day by day for preventing a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. The correlation between the forces of peace and those of war and aggression is constantly changing in favour of peace and against war. Hence it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to put equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and of its breaking out.

All this, however, does not mean that imperialism has changed its aggressive nature, or that the danger of war does not exist,

or is not serious. It only means that the forces have arisen in the world arena today which can, by their united efforts, curb imperialism and prevent it from unleashing another world war.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI stands on all fours with the rest of the communist movement in maintaining that the only alternative to destructive war is peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and looks upon the struggle to compel imperialist powers to accept this as of vital importance for freeing mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear war and for ensuring durable peace. Peace is clearly an ally of socialism and of progressive causes.

The experience of our people in their struggle against imperialism and for national regeneration has fully confirmed this proposition.

In the struggle for peace, the greatest role is naturally assigned to the countries of victorious socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence has been very aptly regarded as the "cornerstone" and "foundation" of the foreign policy of socialist countries. It is but logical that this policy of peaceful coexistence should be regarded as the general line of the foreign policy of all socialist countries. Nonacceptance of this by any socialist country cannot but lead to serious mistakes of adventurism in foreign policy and weaken the struggle against imperialism and for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Seventh Congress of our Party understands the slogan of complete and general disarmament as a fighting slogan of the masses and rejects the defeatist view that it is an "illusion" to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. It fully endorses the confident line of the world communist movement that by active and resolute struggle, imperialism can and must be made to meet the demand for disarmament.

The struggle for disarmament helps weaken and isolate the imperialists and the reactionaries and strengthens the position of all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In this connection, our Party is in full support of

the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty and looks upon it as one of the most significant achievements of the peace movement.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the defiance of this Moscow Test Ban Treaty contribute to the heightening of international tension and encourages the nuclear arms race and spread of nuclear weapons. The Chinese explosion of an atom bomb in defiance of the Moscow Treaty has led, in the case of our own country, in strengthening the hands of the pro-imperialist reactionaries to clamour for making the atom bomb in India or alternatively to seek the nuclear umbrella of the Anglo-American powers.

The Seventh Congress of our Party totally rejects the view that the struggle for peaceful coexistence weakens the struggle for national liberation and the class struggles in the capitalist countries. The truth is that peaceful coexistence is itself a form of class struggle in the world arena between capitalism and socialism. It most definitely implies ideological, economic and political struggle. Peaceful coexistence only means that disputes between socialism and capitalism in the international arena must not be sought to be resolved through recourse to arms and war. Socialism does not need war to triumph.

Our experience confirms that peaceful coexistence creates favourable conditions for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries and the liberation movement of the peoples. It should not be lost to the view that a large number of Afro-Asian countries have won their political independence precisely under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

In their turn, the class struggle and the national-liberation movement promote the cause of peaceful coexistence. It is an utter distortion of the common line of the world communist movement to suggest that peaceful coexistence means abandonment of class struggle or conciliation with imperialism. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence demands the intensification of the struggles of the working class and all the peoples fighting for national liberation.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI fully recognises the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The national-liberation movement is

a component of the one and same revolutionary process, other components being the struggle of the working people in the socialist countries for building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working people in the capitalist countries and the general democratic movement. All these merge into a powerful single current that ensures destruction of imperialism and world capitalism. The interconnection between all these forces is of fundamental importance for the success of the world revolutionary process.

Contemporary events are amply proving the correctness of the Moscow Statement that world socialism has contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. It has been seen in our own country as in other newly-liberated countries that world socialist system constitutes a reliable shield for independent national development. But for the disinterested economic assistance India receives from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the independent development of our national economy and its reconstruction under the plans would not have been possible in the face of imperialist pressures.

The rapid victories for national liberation and the consolidation of the newly-won freedom are ensured by international working-class and the socialist system. It follows, therefore, that in the interest of the national liberation itself as for the larger cause of worldwide struggle against imperialism, the bonds of the national-liberation struggles with the international working class and the socialist camp have got to be constantly strengthened. Any step that weakens these bonds is contrary to the position of the world communist movement and in fact objectively serves the ends of imperialism.

To approach the question of national liberation not as a component of the world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working-class movement is wholly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

It should perhaps be reiterated here that national liberation is not completed with the attainment of political independence. Hence the revolutionary and progressive forces in the newly-liberated countries have got to be organised in a common united national democratic front for carrying out the unfinished tasks

of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, for winning economic independence and for national rebirth.

The CPC leadership attacks socialist aid to underdeveloped countries, especially to India, on the plea that it helps imperialism. But the actual experience in our country speaks otherwise. Socialist aid helps in building an independent economy thereby enabling our country to resist imperialist pressures.

What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is that such newly-freed countries can advance along the non-capitalist path even without the existence of any sizeable industrial proletariat.

Significant socio-economic transformations which are in progress in Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali etc., deserve special attention. These newly-liberated countries are advancing not along the traditional capitalist path but more and more on non-capitalist lines, each however with its own peculiar features and its own correlations of class forces. In quite a few of such countries, the non-working-class democratic elements are playing a far more radical and revolutionary role than what was anticipated even a few years ago. Forces objectively working for the victory of Marxism-Leninism are emerging even outside the stream of the traditional communist movement.

The working-class and the international communist movement are securing new and powerful allies and the prospects of non-capitalist development and then of transition to the road to socialism are becoming brighter. Their success naturally depends on the development of a broader outlook and flexible policies on the part of the communist parties and democratic forces in building the broad united democratic front and fully exploiting the new opportunities.

Ours is the most advanced capitalist country among the newly-independent nations. Having regard to the new possibilities as mentioned above, basing ourselves on the Moscow Statement, our Programme holds the view that the perspective of national democracy is valid for our country and that, given the proper fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in the present stage of our revolution, national democracy may provide a peaceful transitional form for advance to the road to socialism.

This perspective arises primarily from the shift in the balance

of world forces expressed in the socialist system becoming the decisive factor in the present stage of world development. Further the achievements of the socialist camp as well as the disinterested and exemplary help which it renders to the newly-independent countries including India are revolutionising the minds of millions of people.

Serious limitations and crises of the capitalist path of development and all-round discrediting of this path, the existence of a powerful working-class movement with militant traditions and political experience and peasant movement with old traditions, and its great possibilities, radicalisation of the middle-class elements profoundly influenced by the ideas of socialism, the growing contradiction and differentiation within the national bourgeoisie sharpened by the growth of monopoly—all these greatly augment the possibilities for putting our country on the non-capitalist path.

For us in India, the struggle for the non-capitalist path and national democracy is indeed the struggle for forging a broad national democratic front based on the firm worker-peasant alliance and on mass struggles against imperialist strongholds, semi-feudal relics in our economy and for breaking the power of the monopolies. It is through such struggles in both economic and political spheres that a major shift in the balance of class forces has to be brought about for the establishment of national democracy and change over to the non-capitalist path of development.

On the question of the form of transition to socialism, the Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the understanding and approach of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The standpoint of our Party in this respect is in full conformity with the line of the world communist movement.

The Declaration and the Statement point to both peaceful and non-peaceful possibilities but do not merely stop at that. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the correlation of world forces in favour of socialism, the possibilities for peaceful transition are growing. It is therefore incorrect to equate the twin possibilities.

However, in what form the transition will take place in this

or that country depends upon a whole complex of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. Communists should be ready for all possible twists and turns in the situation.

As far as our Party is concerned, it has long acknowledged the possibilities of peaceful transition and, indeed, has been working for strengthening these possibilities.

The key to utilisation of the opportunities for peaceful transition, for transforming parliament into an instrument of people's will lies in the defence of the democratic rights and liberties under our present parliamentary system through mass struggles and in constant struggle for broadening and expanding democracy in all spheres of our socio-economic life.

Peaceful transition does not mean abandonment of the class struggle or the militant mass revolutionary movement. On the contrary, peaceful transition is ensured by sharp class struggles based on the maximum possible unity and mobilisation of the popular forces under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

The pre-Congress discussion within our Party has endorsed the understanding and approach of the National Council on this question, elaborated in the ideological document "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement".

Our Party is in complete disagreement with the one-sided dogmatic approach of the leadership of the CPC which ridicules the concept of peaceful transition as "historical idealism" and advocates the non-peaceful way as the only way for transition to socialism. The position of the CPC leadership on this question is an open repudiation of the Declaration and the Statement.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI reaffirms its full support to the struggle against the cult of personality and its harmful consequences initiated by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

It was an act of courage on the part of the CPSU leadership to have boldly launched the struggle which not only unleashed a new mass initiative in the Soviet Union but which injected a new spirit into the entire international communist movement. The Seventh Congress records its deep appreciation of the great strides that have been taken in the Soviet Union and the socialist

countries in the restoration of socialist legality and Leninist norms.

The phenomenon of the personality cult was not limited to the Soviet Union alone. It developed in other socialist countries and had similar repercussions in communist parties outside the socialist countries. The CPC leadership continues to glorify it even today.

Considering these developments, the Seventh Congress is of the opinion that a comprehensive examination of the various historical and personal factors that lead to the emergence of the cult is necessary not only for understanding the phenomenon fully but for a thorough and faster eradication of all its consequences.

The emergence of the personality cult can in no way negate the basic and historic superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The dazzling advance of socialist industry, science and culture have already proved this in practice beyond doubt. The cult of personality however distorts and vitiates socialist democracy. The struggle against the cult is a struggle for a constant broadening and deepening of democracy in every sphere of socialist life, social, political and cultural. The question of speeding up the process, including helpful institutional changes, calls for consideration.

The unity of the countries of the socialist system is the most decisive force for guaranteeing success in the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The strength of the socialist system arises from the unity of the socialist countries. It is precisely this unity which invests our present new epoch with tremendous revolutionary possibilities and creates new opportunities for the world revolutionary movement.

In the recent period, the unity of the socialist community has been very seriously impaired. Bitter ideological polemics among the ruling parties in these countries have arisen and have been projected into the sphere of state relations. This has emboldened the imperialists who now set great store by the disunity among the countries of the socialist system and bank on the possibility of splits in the world socialist system, for the furtherance of their aggressive designs.

The dangerous outcome of the disunity of the socialist camp stands out in the boldest relief in the increasingly aggressive moves of the US and other imperialist powers in Vietnam and other countries of South-East Asia, Cyprus and Congo, as well as in the intensified drive of the US and West German imperialists for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force.

The responsibility for the present state of disunity in the socialist camp rests on the leadership of the CPC. The CPC leadership has repudiated the common line of the Declaration and the Statement including, in particular, the guiding principles laid down in the Statement for developing cooperation between the socialist countries and for strengthening the great socialist community of nations.

The restoration of the unity of the countries of socialism, the common united actions by them in the struggle for peace and against imperialism and its aggressive moves, have assumed primary importance. The restoration of unity among the fraternal communist and workers' parties and the peoples in the socialist countries is possible on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The objective possibilities do exist for overcoming these difficulties. For these it is, of course, necessary to work out concrete steps and policies, concentrating more on what unites them in common struggle rather than what divides them.

The Seventh Congress of our Party naturally welcomes the initiative which the CPSU and others have time and again taken for the cause of restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Unfortunately, these initiatives have been met with a negative response from the leadership of the CPC.

Certain questions pertaining to the international division of labour and planning among the socialist countries have lately come up. The mutual fraternal assistance and all-round cooperation on the basis of complete equality between the socialist countries in the interest of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole are essential for the victory of the cause of the international working class.

This objective is also accepted by all, but, in practice, difficul-

ties have currently arisen in the actual implementation of this objective. Difficulties are, however, not insurmountable. Given the proper attention to socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism and firm adherence to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, solutions to these problems can be found.

It is possible that the leadership of the ruling communist party of this or that socialist country may deviate from Marxism-Leninism and advocate and pursue certain wrong policies for a time. But a socialist country does not cease to be a socialist country merely because of such deviations or wrong policies.

Whether a country is socialist or not is to be determined by the fundamental fact as to which class is in power and who owns the means of production, distribution and exchange. Hence it is wrong to treat People's Republic of China or Albania as anything but socialist states. Whatever the differences and however serious they may be, the question of excommunicating a socialist country whose leadership has deviated from the common line does not at all arise.

It is also necessary to emphasise that Yugoslavia is a socialist country since it is a socialist state by the same criteria and that it should be considered a member of the socialist community.

It is, however, necessary on the part of the parties of other socialist countries and the world communist movement as a whole to uphold the correct line of the movement and offer necessary criticisms. But such criticisms must be conducted in a fraternal spirit and must aim at helping those who have committed mistakes to rectify them. In this context, there is every need for forbearance, patience and flexibility in the interest of the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement.

The strength of the world communist movement lies in the unity and cohesion of its ranks, and indeed unity of all communists in each country. The pre-Congress discussions within our Party have been marked by the desire for unity of the international movement on the part of the mass of our Party members.

It is, however, to be realised that it is not enough merely to

express sentiments for unity; the problem now is one of correctly understanding what makes for unity and of determining concrete steps for achieving this objective. The unity of the world communist movement, as a whole, is secured, first and foremost, by the unity of the ideological platform, of identity of views on theoretical and practical questions of struggle against the common enemy.

Further, the cause of unity demands that all communist parties submit to international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. Observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and the carrying out by each party of the international commitment accepted by it in relation to the movement as a whole, as laid down in the Moscow Statement, constitute the criteria of international discipline.

In approaching the question of unity of the world communist movement, it has to be realised that it functions today under vastly altered circumstances.

The conditions in which national communist parties have to function and their vastly enhanced responsibilities demand full freedom for each national party to work out its own policies in relation to its specific problems within the framework of an agreed international line and nonintervention by any party in the internal affairs of other parties. The unity of the international communist movement can now be based only on the full recognition of this reality, not only in theory but in practice.

Clearly, this calls for a great sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of each communist party. If, in the exercise of its sovereignty, a communist party flies in the face of the commonly accepted international line, it is bound to result in the path of disruption and, necessarily, with the passage of time, the path of narrow nationalism and chauvinism. Such a path is totally alien to the most elementary principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, such a problem does face us today for which the Chinese leadership, most of all, is responsible.

Normally, open polemics between communist parties are to be avoided and solutions of differences are to be sought in accordance with the principles and conclusions laid down in

the Moscow Statement. But when a communist party or a group of parties openly repudiate the common line, violate international discipline and seek to impose their views on others, such open polemics may become inevitable for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world communist movement.

But polemics must be conducted in a sober, principled and fraternal way with a view to helping the rectification of mistakes, overcoming the differences and restoring the unity of the movement. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to develop common action on anti-imperialist and anti-colonial issues and on the issues of the struggle for peace, disarmament and so on.

The question of achieving unity is not confined to bringing back the Chinese leadership and its supporters into the common fold.

There are differences even among CPs that solidly support the general line of the 81 Parties' Statement. The primary method of overcoming them is, of course, bilateral and multilateral talks between the parties concerned. In this connection, meetings of representatives of CPs that have to deal with common problems have been suggested. Such bilateral and multilateral meetings will not only help solve these particular differences, but also contribute to the unity of the international communist movement.

As far as the unity of the communist party and communists of a given country is concerned, this cannot be ensured and maintained unless all the party members submit to the fundamental principles of communist organisation and, particularly, the principle of democratic centralism based on full internal party democracy.

Ideological and political differences within a communist party, however serious they may be, must not be allowed to lead to a split. Solutions to differences must be sought within the party itself and in conformity with Leninist organisational principles of the party.

Life itself has demonstrated that the main obstacle hindering the further advance of the world communist movement is dogmatism and left-sectarianism, while the danger from revisionism

also remains. The overcoming of dogmatism is only possible through the use of the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to boldly analyse the new reality that constantly emerges and to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

In view of the present unfortunate attitude of the leadership of the CPC, our Party has no illusion that the differences within the international communist movement are going to be easily overcome. However, the Seventh Congress is confident that fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, will ultimately prevail and the leadership of the CPC and others who have broken away from the common line will rectify their mistakes and return to the common positions of the movement.

The Seventh Party Congress naturally shares the view that the open polemics for which the leadership of the CPC is responsible must be ended in the interests of the unity of the world communist movement and appreciates the efforts made by the CPSU in that direction.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI endorses the proposals for holding the world conference of all communist and workers' parties and it expresses its most earnest hope that such a conference, with the goodwill and cooperation of all fraternal parties, will succeed in restoring the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.