

# CPI National Council Resolution

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At the conclusion of its eight-day session in Delhi the National Council of the Communist Party of India adopted on February 12 the following resolution On Certain Ideological Questions Affecting the Unity of the International Communist Movement:

of modern times in a new way as the 81-Parties Statement emphasises.

"The situation demands", as the Statement says, "ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism."

The maintenance of world peace on the basis of peaceful co-existence of States with different social systems is the crucial historical task of the epoch. A real possibility of achieving this objective has arisen as a result of the new correlation of forces.

Peaceful co-existence is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world arena. Peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between the two world systems create favourable conditions for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries, for national liberation struggles and for strengthening nation-

the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence to the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for socialism. The struggle for the preservation of world peace and the promotion of the cause of peaceful co-existence necessitate firm adherence to principles combined with flexibility of tactics, as well as negotiations and mutual concessions. While formally affirming its adherence to peaceful co-existence, the leadership of the Communist Party of China, however, op-

Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Cuba only after Kennedy was obliged to give an open assurance that neither the USA nor its allies would invade Cuba, the leadership of the Communist Party of China attacked the withdrawal as a sacrifice of the sovereignty of Cuba and as a retreat and capitulation before imperialism. They even went to the length of comparing it with Munich.

The attitude taken by the leadership of the Communist

strategy and tactics of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. For this, one must guard against both dogmatic and revisionist distortions of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The balance of world forces has shifted in favour of socialism and the socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in determining the course of development. This unleashes new forces for advancing the struggles for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The new balance of forces deepens the crisis of capitalism and enhances the sweep and militancy of popular struggles in the capitalist world. Intensifying all the contradictions of world capitalism, it creates new allies for the world proletariat and new opportunities for isolating arch-warmongers and reactionaries. Imperialism alone no longer determines the course of world developments and the forces have arisen which can curb warmongers and imperialists.

This creates the opportunity of preventing world war and

and for strengthening nation-

## ON CERTAIN IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS AFFECTING UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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CERTAIN major political-ideological questions have come up very sharply before the international Communist movement in recent months. The question of the unity of the movement and the restoration of norms of relations between Communist Parties is causing serious concern. The intensity and gravity of the differences are far greater today than what they were prior to the 81-Parties Conference at the end of 1960.

The present differences and conflicts have arisen primarily from the violation by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour of the common understanding of the international Communist movement as contained in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 of the Communist and Workers' Parties. These violations involve both ideological principles and practical questions relating to war and peace, peaceful co-existence, forms of transition to socialism and the role of the newly-liberated non-aligned nations. They also involve the questions of relations between the Socialist countries and non-aligned nations in the common struggle for world peace, national liberation, and against imperialism.

At the root of these violations and the incorrect positions of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour is their dogmatic and one-sided understanding of the definition of our epoch. The correct understanding of the epoch is essential for working out the

maintaining peace, bridling imperialist aggression, defending co-existence and non-alignment, achieving a peaceful transition to socialism without civil war in a number of capitalist countries, and even securing national liberation by non-military methods in subject countries where favourable conditions prevail. A number of colonial and dependent countries have won their independence in the recent period under conditions of peaceful co-existence and of peaceful competition between the capitalist and socialist systems.

These developments have opened up opportunities of solving the cardinal problems

at independence, and for the struggle for democracy and socialism. This further enables the revolutionary and progressive forces to isolate the most bellicose elements among the imperialists and reactionary forces within each country and find ever new allies in the common struggle against imperialism and for progress. The national liberation struggles and the struggles for democracy and socialism in their turn strengthen the worldwide struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China, however, takes an erroneous position in that it counterposes

poses certain steps necessary for the implementation in practice of the policy of peaceful co-existence. This has been particularly demonstrated recently during the Caribbean crisis.

It should be patent to all that Soviet stand in the Caribbean crisis halted the invasion of Cuba by the USA. It preserved the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba. It kept the flag of socialism in Cuba flying. It saved humanity from thermo-nuclear disaster.

This has heightened the prestige of Communism in the eyes of all peace-loving humanity.

Yet, despite the fact that

Party of China over the Caribbean issue, when mankind stood on the brink of thermo-nuclear war, is totally wrong and has nothing in common with the understanding of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Its entire wrong understanding on questions of peace and war was sharply revealed in its attitude towards the Caribbean crisis.

Strengthening the unity of the socialist and the newly independent countries, the unity of the camp of peace, is one of the vital tasks of the international Communist movement set by the 81-Parties Statement. The socialist countries have an important part-

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The National Council of the Communist Party of India in Session; Chairman Dange speaking.

(Photo J. Ballabh)

















# U.S. Resumption of Nuclear Tests Seeks To Torpedo Geneva Talks

Four days before the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee started its session in Geneva the United States announced that it had resumed underground nuclear tests. President Kennedy had announced suspension of these tests on January 27 to facilitate test ban talks as he had claimed.

THE new nuclear blasts, started on February 8, will undoubtedly, complicate the talks in Geneva, and hinder the reaching of agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, as well as the entire work of the 18-Nation Committee, says a statement issued by TASS, the Soviet News Agency, in Moscow on February 11.

The TASS statement says: Uptill now there was hope throughout the world that not a single nuclear weapon test would be held in 1963 and that it would become the first year of a full prohibition of such tests for all time. In its resolution of November 7, 1962, the 17th session of the U. N. General Assembly called for the ending of nuclear tests from January 1, 1963.

In connection with this resolution the Soviet Government declared its determination not to conduct nuclear explosions, given that the Western powers do the same.

The actions of the United States, that has resumed underground nuclear tests, show that the U. S. Government is ignoring the decision of the General Assembly on the ending of nuclear tests from January 1, 1963, which expresses the aspirations of all the peoples.

The resumption by the United States of nuclear tests throws light on the reason why the United States and other Western powers did not give their support to the above-mentioned decision of the U. N. General Assembly. What had been concealed has now come into the open and one sees now with particular clarity the reasoning of the U. S. Government in its approach to the new proposals of the Soviet Government on the prohibition of nuclear tests, stated in the recent messages of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchov, to the President of the United States, John Kennedy.

## Soviet Concession

Although it is well known that national means of detection are sufficient to control the ban over nuclear tests, the Soviet Union agreed to the holding of 2-3 inspections a year and the setting up of automatic seismic stations on the territories of all the nuclear powers to supervise the prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests.

The new Soviet proposals were received throughout the world as a manifestation of goodwill and as an important constructive step towards solving the nuclear test ban problem, a step making possible an early agreement on

ending nuclear tests. The artificial obstacles raised by the Western powers which have hitherto blocked the conclusion of a nuclear test ban agreement were thereby removed.

The Soviet Government had agreed to the U. S. Government's request for talks to

discuss the Soviet proposals, because it was confident that an early agreement could be reached on the basis of these proposals which meet the position of the Western powers halfway.

However, these talks, held in the second half of January in New York and Washington between the representatives of the USSR on the one side, and those of the United States and Britain on the other, did not yield positive results.

This is explained by the fact that the main concern

of the U. S. Government was not to search for ways to agreement, but to prepare for resuming nuclear weapon tests. That is precisely why in New York and in Washington the American representatives did not try to reach agreement on the basic disputed questions that are hindering the conclusion of a nuclear test ban agreement, although there was every opportunity for this.

The new nuclear blasts were heard in the United States on

the eve of the resumption in Geneva of the work of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee. They, undoubtedly, are complicating the talks in Geneva and are hindering the reaching of agreement on a nuclear test ban, as well as the entire work of the 18-Nation Committee.

The resumption of underground nuclear tests gives impetus to a new nuclear arms race. The Government of the United States bears full responsibility for the possible consequences of this step.

## ON CERTAIN IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS AFFECTING UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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to play in strengthening such unity. Departures from the understanding of the 81-Parties Statement are gravely injurious to the execution of this task.

### Border Conflict

The India-China border conflict raises certain very vital questions of application in concrete practice of the understanding and propositions of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement. Instead of pursuing the Leninist policy of treating the India-China border question as of secondary importance, and the question of peaceful relations with India as most important, China pursued the conflict to a point of committing aggression.

Compared to the Cuban crisis which involved the question of a world war, the India-China conflict looked a small affair, with small arms. But it involved the two biggest countries of Asia. It too had the possibilities of flaring into a larger conflict involving bigger powers. The Anglo-American imperialists and their reactionary allies would always strive to set these two big countries at loggerheads. This is all the more reason to pay heed to the propositions of the 81-Parties Conference. In our view, the Communist Party of China did not pay heed to them.

Was the Communist Party of China taking a correct attitude as to how a Socialist country should solve its border question with a non-aligned peace-loving democratic country like India? Was the manner and method of raising or pursuing the dispute with vast armies in action, becoming of a great Communist Party, ruling the destinies of a great people? Was the behaviour of the Communist Party of China consistent with the principles of peaceful co-existence es-

pecially with a non-aligned country which is in the peace camp? Was it not showing, despite being a seasoned and ruling Communist Party, extreme forms of nationalism in quarrelling about such borders and territories, thereby impairing the growing friendship between the great peoples of India and China and facilitating the manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction?

The assessment of the leadership of the Communist Party of China about the Indian situation in some vital respects is contrary to the common understanding of the world Communist movement. The Communist Party of India has repeatedly rejected these characterisations and assessments as subjective and a gross distortion of reality.

This attitude of the leadership of the Communist Party of China towards India, which is contrary to objective facts and their Marxist-Leninist evaluation, is yet another example of the violations of the unanimously agreed understanding of the world Communist movement. We know from our own sad experience what a tremendous damage it has caused to the progressive forces within our country, to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity and of the common struggle against imperialism.

Like all other fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of India is seriously concerned about restoring the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. But at the same time, it is firmly of the view that in order to maintain such unity, it is essential for every Marxist-Leninist Party to loyally adhere to the principles of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960, to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The unity of the world Communist movement is urgently called for in the interests of waging common struggle against imperialism and for the cause of peace,

national independence, democracy and socialism, on the basis of the unanimously agreed programme as chalked out in the two Moscow documents. The violations by the leadership of the Communist Party of China of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, as well as proletarian internationalism do not make for such unity. On the contrary, they help to divide and disrupt the movement.

Far from taking steps to rectify their mistakes and return to the common positions of the world Communist movement, the leadership of the Communist Party of China persists in its dogmatic errors. It characterises the majority of the fraternal Parties, which loyally adhere to the Moscow documents as a "revisionist majority". Such an attitude cannot but harm the cause of the unity of the international Communist movement.

The denunciation of the Communist Party of India and its leadership by the leadership of the Communist Party of China provides one more evidence of their open violation of the norms of proletarian internationalism and of relations between fraternal Parties.

### Question Uppermost

The question of resolving these differences and restoring the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is naturally uppermost in the minds of all Communists. Our Party shares the profound belief of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that what unites the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, all Marxist-Leninist Parties, is incomparably bigger and more signi-

ficant in comparison with existing differences.

Several Parties, including our own, have proposed that another world Conference be called after a proper and thorough preparation. Our Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution on this subject in its meeting of December 1962.

Comrade Khrushchov in his speech at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has suggested that the first step towards the convening of such a Conference is to stop polemics in the press on the disputed questions.

Our Party is also happy to note that the CPSU has expressed itself in favour of calling a new meeting if the fraternal Parties deem it expedient. The CPSU rightly pointed out that it is necessary to give time a chance to do its work. For, it would help Communists to see who is right and who is wrong, to clear away the extraneous and irrelevant stuff heaped on the passion of polemics, to make clear the views which really require discussion and agreement.

Our Party is fully conscious that in the struggle against forces of peace and socialism, the camp of imperialism pins special hopes on aggravation of divergences within the international Communist movement, on the split of the world socialist system. Imperialist reaction is seeking by all means to sow dissension between the Communist Parties. The Marxist-Leninists, all genuine internationalists counter the schemes of imperialist reaction by the invariable desire for the unity of their ranks, for strengthening the entire front of struggle for the cause of peace and progress.

The unity of the international Communist movement is vitally necessary for the victory of the proletariat both in each country and on an international scale.