

## IDEOLOGICAL RESOLUTION

The Seventh Congress of our Party, which has gone on record as the Congress of Revolt against Revisionism inside the Indian Communist movement, directed the newly elected Central Committee to organise inner-party discussion on the ideological questions, so that our Party might be enabled to come to its independent conclusions on the ideological issues under debate in the Communist movement of the world. This directive of the Party Congress could not be implemented so far because of the wholesale repression let loose by the Congress Government under the Defence of India Rules immediately after the Congress and also due to the preoccupation of the entire party with mass struggles and the country's fourth general elections after the release of Communist detenus in the middle of the year 1966. The first C. C. meeting held after the general elections were over instructed the P. B. to take immediate and necessary steps to organise the inner-Party discussion as enjoined by the Seventh Congress.

The Party Programme, the Resolution on Tasks and the Political-Organisational Report adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Party represent the new class strategy and tactics of our Party, strategy and tactics which have squarely settled accounts with the right-opportunist and revisionist ideological-political positions, as far as they cover the Indian situation. Similarly, the Declaration of the Party, putting the revisionists outside the pale of the genuine Communist movement in India while carrying with it the heritage of the revolutionary working class movement in the country, the adoption of an amended Party Constitution and the election of the new central Party bodies, had settled accounts with the revi-

sionists in the matter of organisation. Let it be emphasised that these are no small victories in our struggle against revisionism, as they constitute the bedrock of our Marxist-Leninist ideological-political unity, and go a long way in assisting the entire Party in its further struggle to clear the confusion prevailing on certain other key ideological issues connected with the international Communist movement, of which, it goes without saying, ours is an integral part.

What does it mean when we assert that the conclusions arrived at and incorporated in our Party Programme, the Resolution on Tasks, the Political-Organisational Report and other resolutions of the Seventh Congress constitute the bedrock of the Party's ideological unity? On a series of pivotal theoretical and ideological issues connected with the Indian revolution we sharply demarcated ourselves from the crassest class-collaborationist and utterly revisionist line propounded by the Dangeites, while firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist ideological-political standpoint. To put it sharply, there is not one single basic question connected with the Indian revolution on which we and the revisionists do not stand diametrically opposed to each other. Their class characterisation of the post-independence Indian state and government, their assessment of the internal and external policies of the new government, their critique of the capitalist path of development and the advocacy of a non-capitalist path and National Democracy, their study of the prevailing class contradictions in the country and their understanding of the present stage and strategy of our revolution, their estimation regarding the role of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie in the struggle against the capitalist path and for a non-capitalist path, their understanding of the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony over the democratic revolution, their interpretation of the peaceful and non-peaceful paths of development and their possibilities, their assessment of the role of foreign monopoly capital in the Indian economy on the one hand and the role and place of socialist aid in influencing the economic development of our country, their estimation of the state sector and its character and, above all, their assessment of Congress agrarian reforms have

nothing in common with our Party's analysis and understanding. In this connection, it is very pertinent to note that the positions taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the fundamental questions connected with the Indian Communist movement completely coincide with those of the Dangeite revisionists; and this is corroborated by a spate of statements, articles and writings in the Soviet press which are widely distributed in India, by a series of steps and actions of the Soviet government regarding Indian affairs, by the massive and demonstrative support displayed at the revisionist party congress by a host of fraternal delegates from abroad under the leadership of the CPSU, and by their wholehearted endorsement of the Dangeite party programme and policy resolutions as Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist. Under the circumstances, the ideological-theoretical understanding and unity that have enabled our Party to evolve its own Party Programme, that aided it to settle the questions of strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, and that gave courage and confidence to break with the Indian revisionists, do certainly stand in good stead to project this correct understanding to the remaining ideological issues still under debate and to arrive at correct independent conclusions. It is such faith and confidence that have guided us in conducting the present inner-Party discussion on the ideological issues.

Then, what are the still remaining theoretical-ideological questions round which controversy is centered in the international Communist movement and on which our Party is called upon to take its stand? They, besides the issues already clinched in our Party Programme, concern the questions of the class assessment and evaluation of the New Epoch, the issue of war and peace in the present period, the concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the forms of transition to socialism, the assessment of the different fundamental contradictions of our epoch and the place and role of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movements at the present stage, the assessment of Stalin and his leading role in the building up of the socialist Soviet Union after Lenin and in guiding the world Communist

movement, the attitude towards Titoism and Tito's Yugoslavia, the substitution of the concept of a people's state and a party of the whole people in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the working class in the Soviet Union, the added emphasis on material incentives in the Soviet Union, and the correctness or otherwise of the concept of unity in action against imperialism between different socialist states whose state and Party leaders have come to hold diametrically opposed views on a series of ideological-political issues of the day. Together with these ideological issues, there have arisen serious differences on a series of organisational concepts and practices, such as inter-party relations between different contingents of the international Communist movement, the inter-state relations between different states of the socialist world and also the relations between the Communist Parties in state power and those which are not in state power. Such in brief are the basic ideological issues around which furious controversies and conflicts have arisen in the world Communist movement, and our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, is duty-bound called upon to express its opinions and take a clear-cut stand on them.

At the outset, the Central Committee wishes to unequivocally state that after a careful study of the developments in the international Communist movement and the world socialist camp during the last ten years and more and viewing them from its own direct experience of the Indian Communist movement during the same period, it is firmly convinced that modern revisionism has been and does still remain the main danger to the world Communist movement, notwithstanding the fact that there have been certain dogmatic manifestations, in individual parties and on individual propositions, precepts and actions. A look at the present world Communist movement and the socialist camp would convince anybody that it is sharply divided, its unity disrupted, and it is plunged into a serious crisis—a crisis that has virtually paralysed the initiative of the world Communist forces in successfully resisting and rebuffing the offensive let loose by the world imperialists—chiefly the U. S. The root cause for this sad state of affairs cannot but be directly traced to modern revisionist

theories as advocated and practised by the leadership of the CPSU. The consolidation and further rapid advance of the world Communist movement is inconceivable without waging a principled and determined fight against this menace of revisionism in all its manifestations, and conducting a sustained struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and the principled unity of the international Communist movement.

## NEW EPOCH

It was more than half a century ago that Lenin, analysing the growth and development of free capitalism into monopoly capitalism, observed that "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat". Since then mighty changes have taken place, and a totally altered correlation of class forces has come to exist now. Two world wars, socialist revolutions in a number of countries comprising more than a third of the world's population and the formation of a formidable socialist camp, the rapid disintegration of the old colonial system and attainment of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the former colonial countries, the growth of powerful Communist and Workers' Parties in several countries, etc., have taken place. All this took place after Lenin's thesis that "the era of socialist revolution is beginning". The present epoch certainly needs to be reassessed and redefined in the light of the tremendous changes that have taken place and will, of course, have to be redefined in strict conformity with Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Ours is certainly a new epoch, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development, an epoch of national liberation and socialist revolutions, an epoch of rapid decay and disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of titanic class battles between the forces of moribund capitalism and of socialism and national liberation revolutions, and an epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.