CHAPTER II

THE PROGRAMME AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA TOWARDS INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

It is alleged that the Communist Party of India is not a national party. It is only a unit of international Communism. It is controlled from Moscow with scant regard to the realities of the Indian politics and the interests of the Indian citizens. It was Stalinist so long as Stalin was alive and it changed its loyalty to Khrushchev after he assumed the leadership of the Soviet Union and Communist China. The right wing of the Communist Party of India continues to be loyal to the Soviet Union in its lead of international Communism, but the left wing is inclined to favour China and assert its adherence to Stalinism.

The CPI began to function with Marxist totalitarian outlook and is based on the principles and philosophy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, who are the authoritative source of Marxism.

By the Russian resolution, the first successful socialist resolution in history Indians had learnt a lot about Lenin and Communism. They realised the significance of the resolution and teachings of Lenin on the Indian Working class and national

2. Taufiq Ahmad Nizami, The Communist Party and India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1971, p.3.
3. Ibid., p. 7.
movement. They also realised that side by side with the Congress it was necessary to organize the Indian Working class independently by and on the basis of its revolutionary class struggle which constitute the essence of Marxism. All these, in course of time led to the establishment of the Communist Party of India.

The aims of the party were, participate in the broad national movement organized by the Indian National Congress and forging the working class leadership in the freedom movement. They were considered necessary for the achievement of independence from colonial rule and India's furtherance towards socialism. Such were the causes which led to the formation of the Communist Party in 1924.

Between 1925 and the beginning of the Second World War the Communist Party enhanced considerably in terms of its membership activities, and mass influence. The party's secret objective, however, appears to be the weakening of India's power and influence by fermenting internal troubles and the undermining her friendship with Britain and U.S.A.

At the end of the Second World War the Communist Party of India sought to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of Indian nationalists, who had refused to support the war efforts of the Allies.

3. Ibid., p. 107.
After the war the Indian Communists renewed their support for the Independence movement, which finally ended the British rule in 1947.

On the auspicious occasion of Independence, the Communist Party of India declared that it would "join the day of national rejoicing and would place itself shoulder to shoulder with the national movement for full independence."

On August 15, 1947 India became Independent on the basis of the Mountbatten Plan. The Communist Party welcomed this plan as a great step forward. P.C.Joshi was the leader of the C.P.I. at that time. Under Joshi's leadership the Communist Party of India supported continuously Nehru's policies. But this policy of cooperation with the Government resulted in agitation and Joshi found himself under great criticism. The Communists in India and abroad refused to admit that Indian independence had in fact been won. At that time Stalin's favourite, A.Zhdanov, addressing the comingforward (Communist information Bureau) in Warsaw, indicated that India was still a colony, though American power was advancing there at the expense of British. The Indian Government was, it appeared a puppet of the British Americans. And then

1. People's Age (Bombay), August 3, 1947, pp. 1,6.
the Indian Communists withdrew their partial support from the Nehru government. In 1948 the Central Committee of the CPI declared that the neutrality of Nehru was a mask to cover collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists.

Meanwhile Nehru’s foreign policy aimed at throwing the CPI into political wilderness. The CPI in the face of its active support for Nehru’s foreign policy, could not develop a systematic war movement against the government. On foreign policy the Communist Party had two voices. On the one hand, Hiren Mukerjee, the then deputy leader of the Communists in the Lok Sabha said that India possessed a moral initiative in World Affairs and that Nehru had from time to time exercised it with “positive courage.” On the other hand, the then deputy leader in the Upper House, P. Sundarayya, described Nehru’s foreign policy as a “pale reflection of that of Anglo-American imperialists.”

1. People’s Age, March 21, 1948. R.P. Dutt, who guided the CPI for a long time, compared the role of Nehru to that of Chiang Kai Shek. Also see, T.A. Nizami, Communist Party and India’s foreign policy, op. cit., p. 86.
3. New Age (New Delhi), May 23, 1954.
4. The Times of India (New Delhi), May 24, 1954; The political resolution adopted by the CPI at Madurai in 1954 had given a generally negative appraisal of Nehru’s Government foreign policy. It said "......the situation does not warrant that democratic forces should give general, overall support to governmental policies even in the international sphere. This is because the Indian Government does not follow consistently a policy of peace and democracy. The foreign policy of the Government is subject essentially to the influence of British Imperialism." CPI 3rd Congress, Political Resolution, Delhi, C.P.I., 1954, pp. 6-7; also see, Marshall Windmiller “Indian Communism and the new Soviet line,” Pacific Affairs, Vol. XVLX, No. 4, December 1956, p. 348.
India's role in Indo-China for a negotiated settlement on disputes, Chao-Nehru declaration and the enunciation of Five principles of Panch Shila and its opposition to South East Asia Treaty Organization, SEATO, made the Communist Party of India to approximate with the Government.

In June 1955 while Prime Minister Nehru was touring the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPI adopted a resolution representing a compromise between the contending factions. The party's position on foreign policy thus emerged was --- "India has been playing a great role in the World Wide battle for the preservation of peace --- a role that has heightened India's international prestige and evoked in every patriotic Indian a sense of national pride .... The Communist Party which has been fighting for a consistent policy of peace, welcomes and supports this orientation and will strive to further strengthen it." With the Governments increasing friendship with Socialist Countries from 1955 onward, the CPI seem to extend its full support to the foreign policy of the Government.

The Communist Party of India stood for socialism, anti-imperialism and world peace and supported the anti-imperialist


2. In a Press Conference on June 29,1955, Ajoy Ghosh, the then General Secretary of CPI, said "We think that present foreign policy has enhanced the prestige of India all over the world and has enabled her to strengthen her independence. Therefore we support it." New Age (New Delhi), July 3, 1955, p. 13.
policies of the government. The CPI believes that India can preserve its independence only by adhering to the policy of peace and anti-colonialism. In an Address to the Press Conference in 1961, Ajoy Ghosh declared: "Our basic assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is a foreign policy of peace non-alignment and anti-colonialism."

In 1964, the two rival groups in the CPI came to a open clash which resulted in the formation of two parties, the CPI and the Marxist Communist Party. The 'Marxist-Communists' have declared that the Congress was their main enemy. The leftist view of India's foreign policy can best be summed up in the words of its leader Sundarayya when he said: "A correct characterisation would be, our foreign policy is tuned to suit the interests of the Indian ruling class, that is capitalist landlord government — is one of play between two camps. From 1947-63, it leaned towards imperialist camp. Since 1953 up-to 1958, its policy was pro-socialist camp. From 1958 onwards, it leaned towards imperialist camp again. In practice Nehru government kept its interests in view and changed its foreign policy once in favour of imperialist camp and at another time towards socialist camp. It played between camps. It looks

1. Ibid., December 24, 1961, p.9.
upon it as farce, a failure and deviation from the basic principles laid down in the pre-independence and post-independence periods and points out that congress is determined to subserve the interests of the capitalists and landlords and in the bargain imperial the freedom of our people. As regards the foreign policy they believe that the country must follow a determined and consistent foreign policy of solidarity with Afro-Asian, Latin, American and other peoples fighting against imperialism; that closer friendship must be promoted with all socialist and progressive regimes; and that bold initiative should be taken to bring India's relations with our two neighbours the People's Republic of China and Pakistan back to normalcy.

The Communist Party of India in regard to foreign policy of the country aims at:

1. Strengthening India's foreign policy of peace and non-alignment based firmly on anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism and on friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

2. More effective stand against racialism and break with the British Commonwealth.

1. Ibid., October, 1966.

3. Full diplomatic recognition to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), German Democratic Republic (GDR), Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and upgrading of the Indian missions in these friendly countries to ambassadorial level.


5. Upholding of the Tashkent Declaration and constant effort to normalise Indo-Pak relations in the Tashkent spirit.

6. All possibilities are to be explored for breaking the present deadlock in India's relation with the People's Republic of China.

7. Strengthening of India's solidarity with Afro-Asian countries, especially with the U.A.R. and other Arab peoples defending their freedom against Israeli aggressor and U.S. imperialism.

8. Effective measures to defend national interest against neo-colonialist drives and pressures.

The Indo-Soviet Treaty, signed on 9 August 1971, has brought about new directions in India's foreign policy. The CPI leader, Bhupesh Gupta described the treaty as "historic".

The cherished principles of peace, friendship and co-operation


were firmly enshrined in it. It was a charter of practical action in the service of peace and security of the region and of the world peace.

Mr. Jyoti Basu, of the CPM, welcomed the treaty as it brought India closer to socialist countries. Welcoming the friendship treaty the CPM leader A.K. Gopalan urged the Government to strengthen India's relations with its Asian neighbours, particularly China. Mr. Gopalan particularly welcomed Article IX of the Treaty which provide that the Soviet Union would abstain from giving armed assistance to any country at war with India. He hoped that the terms of this Article would act as a deterrent to the Sabre-raging of President Yahya Khan. Mr. Gopalan also stressed that his party attaches great importance to Articles III and VI which provide for the further development of trade between the two countries. This should help India to change the present pattern of its primary dependence on the Western powers. He held that Article III which talked about colonialism and racialism should also ensure that there would be no vacillations and wobblings in India's foreign policy. He hoped that the Indian Government would aid the process of elimination of colonialism by the immediate recognition of the People's Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Sihanouk Government of Cambodia.

1. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), August 10, 1971.
2. Ibid.
NON-ALIGNMENT:

India's foreign policy of non-alignment is a product of evolution for the past twenty four years. At its beginning fears and apprehensions were cast about its validity in the present nuclear age. But however, as it took shape, it proved beneficial not only to India but to world peace and security. Realising this, many newly independent countries in Asia adopted the policy of non-alignment. The Communist Party of India did not support the policy of non-alignment at its beginning. It bitterly complained that the Government carrying out the foreign policy of British imperialism. But After 1955, it changed its attitude and extended its support to the foreign policy of the Government. Since then, the CPI has been wholeheartedly advocating the policy of non-alignment. Bhupash Gupta, leader of the Communist group in the Rajya Sabha speaking about the policy of non-alignment said: "India's policy of non-alignment and friendship among nations is correct and every day its correctness is being proved."

To the Communist Party of India non-alignment is a primary instrument for the achievement of the basic objectives of world peace and co-operation. To the CPI the policy of non-alignment, means, an anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism aiming at strengthening world peace and mutual co-operation between

sovereign nations. It also consider that friendship with the socialist countries is necessary and indispensable part of non-alignment. Hiren Mukerjee, speaking in Parliament on November 8, 1962 affirmed his Party's faith in non-alignment and said, "Non-alignment is something which has not dropped from skies; non-alignment is not something which has been thought out by the Prime Minister. Non-alignment is an ideal which has gripped us, because it has been implicit in the way in which after freedom we have been trying to built our country. Non-alignment is implicit in the way in which we are planning for a socialist society."

The Communist Party of India asserts that the policy of non-alignment is in the best interest of the country. Such a policy will help India in safeguarding its national independence, democracy building the national economy.

The CPI (M), however, believes in validity of non-alignment but feels that the class essence of non-alignment, however, comes in the way of the Government of India in pursuing a fully and consistently anti-imperialist foreign policy. With the aggression of China on India the foreign policy pursued by the government has now reached a stage of crisis. The CPI (M) believes that the chinese aggression completely reversed India's foreign policy of non-alignment and India now passed into the

It ands of Western powers, especially under the U.S. imperialists. E.M.S. Namboodiripad (CPI, M) remarked that "...... India has lost the large amount of goodwill from the non-aligned countries in the Afro Asian world - a goodwill which was the biggest asset to our government and people during the middle of the 1950's. No longer do they look upon India as their friend and guide, as they did in the years of Bandung and after." Niren Ghosh, CPI (M-L) said in Parliament that India's foreign policy had taken a pro-imperialist reactionary turn in recent years. One needed a microscope to find out what now remained of the non-aligned policy of the Government.

In such a situation, when the non-aligned policy is variously attacked by imperialism and right reaction, the Communist Party of India thinks that the defence of the policy of non-alignment becomes naturally the most vital issue for the whole nation and its future. The National Council of the CPI regards this as the key task in the present political situation and will play its due part in building the unity of all democratic forces for further strengthen the policy of non-alignment.

2. The Statesman (Delhi), August 9, 1966.
3. Resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, New Delhi, CPI, February 5-12, 1963.
4. Ibid.
The CPI believes that non-alignment has brought honour and glory to our country, it has strengthened its independence and sustained the healthy growth of democracy. Non-alignment has been India's most powerful shield in defence of her national independence against imperialist pressures and machinations. And by this India could gain the sympathy of all peace loving countries throughout the world.

At the time of the seventh congress, December 1964, the first after the historic split in the party, the CPI characterised non-alignment as a "positive and progressive policy."

The CPI thinks that the success of non-alignment has been due to the support given to it by the Socialist countries of the world. India's efforts to built up its independent potential has also been of special assistance to our people, in defending the nation's territorial integrity and independence and our foreign policy of non-alignment.

The Communist Party of India thinks that "the new escalation of aggressive activities of imperialism, particularly of U.S. imperialism, demands that our non-alignment policy is strengthened and based firmly on active and consistent anticolonialism."

1. Ibid.
3. Resolution of the National Council of CPI, Delhi, CPI, August 1965.
salt, if we love our freedom, and honour, if we want to be respected in the freedom loving world, if we want economic and social progress in our country, we have to strengthen and not weaken the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial content of non-alignment."

The CPI believes that the support given by U.S.A. to the policy of non-alignment has also helped in its progress and success. The new Indo-Soviet Treaty, which marks the beginning of a new phase of India's foreign policy criticised bitterly on the grounds that it is not in conformity with the policy of non-alignment. But CPI, as against other opposition parties generally welcomed the treaty and thinks that it is not against the spirit of non-alignment. Hiren Mukerjee while supporting the treaty observed that it was entirely in conformity with India's policy of non-alignment. This treaty enabled India to shed the "cold feet mentality" and take a bold step both in national and international matters.

DISARMAMENT:

The Communist Party of India firmly believes in the general and complete disarmament. It believes that disarmament

2. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), August 11, 1971.
has become a most vital issue for the future of humanity as a whole. It thinks that disarmament is the road to a lasting peace. It can misuse by the imperialists of the people's wealth and knowledge for the production of weapons of mass destruction and for world domination. Disarmament can help to make available the riches of the earth and genius of man for the development of economy of the countries, for the raising of living standards and for the well being and prosperity of peoples.

The CPI strongly favours for a total ban on weapons of mass destruction. "It views the development of monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction which, if used in new war, can cause unheard of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins, it considered disarmament as the most urgent and important."

Declaring peace its primary task, the National Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to all the units, members and supporters to work unitedly with all others interested in peace and disarmament ensure the early achievement of the demand of the Indian people for total universal disarmament and for agreements among the great powers on the most vital issues

The Communist Party equally pleads for a ban on nuclear tests. The signing of Nuclear Test Ban Treaty by India was regarded by the Communist Party of India as a great step towards establishment of peace and disarmament. It expresses its sense of satisfaction that the Government of India was among the first countries to sign the Test Ban Treaty. The Communist Party urges the government of India to extend its full support to all proposals which could ensure further progress towards disarmament and, in particular, immediate efforts for the banning of the underground tests, for the non-aggression pact between the NATO and War Treaty Powers and for the establishment of nuclear free zones in various regions of the world.

The realization of this objective, to CPI, would mean elimination of all the possibilities of waging war. The banning of manufacture of nuclear weapons and testing, the abolition of military blocs, the elimination of war bases on the far foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments—all these would, according to CPI, pave the way for general and complete disarmament.

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COLONIALISM AND RACIALISM

Anti-colonialism has played a dominant role in the evolution of India's international policy before and after the achievement of national independence. It is considered as one of the main planks of India's foreign policy. The nature and intensity of India's interest in question of colonialism could be gauged from the deep interest India has taken in the struggle for the independence of the former Italian colonies, such as Libya, and Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Indonesia, Malaysia etc.

The Communist Party of India is the chief opponent of colonialism and racialism. It has always stressed the important role played by India in world affairs in defence of peace and against colonialism and appeals the government to be firm in its stand on anti-colonialism.

The CPI believes that by demanding the withdrawal of the US and British forces from Lebanon and Jordan, the government of India had correctly expressed the feelings and demands of the Indian people, who consider colonialism as a great evil.

The action taken by the government of India to liberate Portuguese was also welcomed by the Communist Party of India and it promised its whole hearted support to any action by

1. New Age (New Delhi), August 24, 1958.
the Government of India which helps to make the Portuguese imperialists quit Goa without delay.

The Communist Party of India had also proclaimed itself to be the Champion of racial equality. It reacted strongly towards the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Government of South Africa. The National Council of the CPI sent its heartly greetings to the People of South Africa, "bailing against the most bestial forms of racialism." The Council praised the Government of India for taking an active part "to ensure the expulsion of the racist, barbaric and oppressive South African government from all the UN bodies."

India's role in regard to Kenya and towards the U.S. action against Cuba was considered hesitant and not in keeping with India's traditions by the Communist Party of India. The Political Resolution adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Party stated that the Government of India has failed to take a consistent stand on issues of anti-colonialism. The resolution said that the Government of India "takes too long a time to take a correct position and even then the position is not always sufficiently firm." As a pointer, it mentioned the

2. These greetings were sent on the occasion of the observance of 'South African Freedom Day' on June 27, 1963.
Government's hesitation to recognize the Algerian Provisional Government which created a feeling in the Afro-Asian nations that India was back sliding and trying to soft-pedal the fight against imperialism and its un-seemly haste in offering sugar to the U.S.A. The manifesto of the Party demanded that the Union Government should denounce the U.S. military aid as an unfriendly act. The CPI, Marxist, believes that India's stand on colonialism and racialism is weak and says that India is playing a role of imperialism. It thinks that India has gone to the U.S.A., and U.S.A. dragging India into their neo-colonial net, and find fault with India's foreign policy to take effective step against war provocations and colonialism. Contrary to this the CPI believes that the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, is in the main, a policy of peace non-alignment, anti-colonialism. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses' and compromises but as a whole the main character of the policy has been preserved, and lent it support to the Government whenever it followed a firm and consistent policy against colonialism.

1. The CPI, though, requested the Government of India to recognize the Algerian Provisional Government and to help the government to lodge their strong protest against the "brutal policy pursued by the French Government" against the Algerian people." New Age (New Delhi), January 8, 1961, p.14.

2. T.A. Nisami, op.cit., p. 130; also see, Fornightly News Digest, October 1961, p.584.

Since the time of its attainment of independence India remained a member of British Commonwealth. "We join Commonwealth" said the late Prime/ Nehru in his speech in the Indian Constituent Assembly on May 16, 1949, "obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance." This was the understanding and expectation on the basis of which the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference held in London on April 27, 1949 for the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth of Nations. "Commonwealth", said the then President, Radhakrishnan, "means for us complete independence and informal association, sharing of ideals, though not of allegiance, of purpose though not of loyalties, common discussion which lead to better understanding of our problems and not binding decision which restrict the independence of the member states." Today the illusion stands shattered, "Quit Commonwealth" has become truely — and irresistibly — a national demand. The very mention of this name evokes a national anger though out the length and breadth of the country. The Commonwealth has become a symbol of shame and treachery.

2. Nehru on his return from Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference he told Parliament on January 31, 1950, "India has decided to continue her association with the Commonwealth of nations", Fortnightly News Digest, New Delhi, November 1961, pp. 678-79.
The Communist Party of India opposed India's link with the British Commonwealth from the very beginning. The Communist Party thinks that India's Commonwealth link has been utilized to deceive our country, sometimes take us unawares and general to undermine and blunt or vigilance and opposition. India's association with the Commonwealth was condemned by the CPI as a "great betrayal", a "great national blunder", "greatest mistake" subserving the interests of the imperial powers.

The Communist Party of India through its pamphlets and resolutions strongly criticized the association of India with the Commonwealth. In its political resolution adopted at Madurai Congress, the CPI said:

"A fully free India outside Commonwealth and outside the imperialist influence will be a great factor for world peace and the freedom of all Asian and colonial peoples."

Moving a resolution in Rajya Sabha, the Communist member, Mr. Satyan Mazumdar lamented over India's association with the Commonwealth and held that such a union has helped the "British Imperialism to delude the world" and also "delude the people of its own country."

The CPI (M) believes strongly that India should quit Commonwealth and develop new relations with the neighbours and Afro-Asian countries. The election Manifesto of the CPI (M) also bears testimony to this.

The CPI opposes India's association with Commonwealth for many reasons. It condemns the continued facilities being given to the British to send Gurkha soldiers to Malaya and the failure of the government of India to condemn strongly the British atrocities in Cyprus, in Kenya and other parts of their empire. The Suez crisis of 1956 further added to the bitterness to its opposition to the Commonwealth. The Communist leader, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that Britain by its aggression on Egypt and by the blockade of the Suez Canal has "created crisis in India's economy ....." He added "Why should our friends ask us to continue in this association which has injured our prestige, which has injured our economy, which offends our conscience and offends our prestige in the world."

The Communist Party in its 1957 party programme said, "our membership of 'British Commonwealth, whose leader Britain is one of the leaders of the NATO and SEATO, the Chief organizer of the Baghdad Pact and the oppressor of the vast masses of colonial peoples, is inconsistent with our policy of peace with our anti-colonialism, with our opposition to military blocs.

Moreover, in view of the indignities which are heaped on our people in South Africa and several other countries of the Commonwealth, to remain in the Commonwealth violates our national dignity." The Party will intensify the struggle for severance of India's struggle with the British Commonwealth.

In the recent Indo-Pak conflict British imperialism has set yet another new record. At that crucial time British government had nothing to say and preferred to sit with light lips because it than suited both Ayub Khan and the British Plans. and this only indicate that British support to Pakistan on the Kashmir question commenting on this Shupesh Gupta observed: "India's bitter experience with the Britiheres over this one single question of Kashmir would provide enough justification for coming out of the Commonwealth which is led by Britain."

The British chauvinism towards the Commonwealth countries came out in its true colours at the time of the Suez crisis of 1956. In the Congo, Angola and elsewhere the British Government is invariably on the side of the colonialists. Even recently the lukewarm British attitude on the South Rhodesian question also condemn by the C.P.I.

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2. Ibid., p. 41.
The C.P.I., believes that by her membership of the Commonwealth India has not gained a single thing for herself or for others. She has, however, lost a good deal both materially and morally and by quitting it India would sustain no loss. It argues that Commonwealth membership is inconsistent with India's economic and political freedom and that it linked India with the Western bloc.

However, most of the Communist Party's condemnations of the Commonwealth is emotional and a reaction to imperialism. It considers its condemnation the fulfilment of the task of Marxism - Leninism. The Communists of India believe that for beginning a new chapter in the life of our awakened nation we must quit Commonwealth here and now. This will be a reaffirmation to our resolve to live with honour and also a renewal of our faith in the destiny of our great country.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA:

It is a common knowledge that for many centuries the neighbouring countries India and China had lived in peace and friendship. After India achieved independence in 1947 and the Chinese revolution triumphed in 1947, good neighbourly

relations again prevailed between the two countries. In 1954 both the countries signed the well known five principles of peaceful co-existence - the Panch Shila.

The first armed clash on the Sino-Indian frontier began in mid 1962 and tension mounted in India against China. And again all hopes of India's maintaining good relations was belied. When China launched a massive attack on India, violating all rules of international morality and abandoned the 'Five Principles of Panch Shila'.

From its very inception the Communist Party of India supported the Communist Government of China. On the border conflict with China in 1962, the attitude of CPI was in favour of China. It completely refused the possibility of an armed clash with China. It believed that Socialist China can never commit aggression against India. On the question of aggression the Central Executive Committee of the CPI, at Calcutta session, had said, "the Central Executive Committee......is confident that socialist China can never commit aggression against India, just as our country has no intention of committing aggression against China."

1. *New Age* (New Delhi), October 4, 1959, p.5.

2. Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, Calcutta, September 25, 1959; also see, *New Age* (New Delhi), April 21, 1963; The same faith was also indicated by the Communist Party of India in its Meerut Session of the National Council of November 1959.
Its stand on the Mac-Mohan Line in 1959 was that the boundary was drawn by the British in 1914, who did not observe all the principles of Panch Sheel that we proclaim now. It held that the area south of Mac-Mohan Line is now a part of India and should remain in India. On the Mac Mohan Line the party believes that Chinese were not right in not accepting it as India's boundary. As regards the Western border it pleaded for friendly discussions so that the territorial line could be redrawn.

The CPI supported the policy of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of making all efforts to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the border dispute. The National Council in its resolution on 12 May 1960 expressed its feeling of satisfaction, that following the recent talks between the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the Chinese Peoples Republic, there has been some lessening of tension in the relations between the two countries. It asserted that cooperation and friendship between India and China have not only given world the Panch Sheel and the Bandung spirit, but indeed profoundly influenced the course of history in the entire Afro-Asian region and strengthened the larger cause of world peace.

1. The Statesman (Delhi), November 16, 1959.
2. At an invitation of the then Prime Minister of India, the Premier of People's Republic of China Chou En-Lai, arrived in Delhi on April 19, 1960 to discuss certain differences relating to the border areas between the two countries.
On November 20, 1961 Ajoy Ghosh issued a statement condemning the Chinese probe in Ladakh. He said, "such acts specially in context of the dispute already existing cannot but heighten tension and further embitter the relation between the two countries. "We demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We XI demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again."

The September - October clashes and the subsequent massive invasion of the Chinese forces of Ladakh and Mac-Mohan Line Sector threw the whole country out of its various mood of expectations of the cessation of tension. War seems to have become inevitable and was already at the door step. The hopes of the CPI were also belied. The Chinese aggression led to an ultimate rift and division of the CPI into two distinct groups - Left and Right, each claiming its CPI as the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party. They were divided on the issue of India-China conflict. The Left is inclined to support China in its stand, while - the right wishes to follow the line of the Soviet Union in the matter.

The CPI (M) refused to accept that China committed an act of aggression in defiance of international law. It did not seem to attach any importance to the integrity of India. It went on propagating that China, governed by the great people’s revolutionary government can never be the aggressor. They accepted the Mac-Mohan Line as the border in the eastern sector and where they differed was on the vital question of whether China should be openly branded as an aggressor or not, and they fought against the use of the word “aggression” in relation to China.

The CPI believes that China has committed aggression against India and is called aggressor. The resolution adopted by the National Council of the Party on November 2, 1962 was a turning point in the history of the Party. It acknowledged that the crossing of the Mac-Mohan Line by China indisputably constitutes aggression and violation of our territory. The resolution has evoked total denunciation from the Chinese leadership. The Party gave its full adherence to the Prime Minister’s call of national unity for national defence. It pledged itself to ‘participate fully in all activities for the promotion of national unity, defence and strengthening of the morale of the people.’

2. Resolution adopted by the National Council of the CPI on November 2, 1962, *Now Age* (New Delhi), April 21, 1963, p.3.
The Party disapproves all proposals that seek to leave India's defence at the mercy of other countries. It generally agree with the approach of Prime Minister Nehru and his warnings against dependence of foreign countries for the supply of arms and equipments. The imperialists hope that once India gets involved with them through military aids, they will be able to undermine her foreign policy of non-alignment and her independence.

The Party thinks that the defence of non-alignment, at such a crucial time has become more apparent because it thinks that it is the policy of non-alignment which provides the conditions for obtaining the maximum military and economic assistance from all sides without political strings. The party is confident that once the supporters of non-alignment are united, there is no power on earth which can swerve India from this policy and this undermine its independence and future.

Both the CPI and the CPI (M) advocated a negotiated settlement of the India China border conflict. The CPI supported and welcomed the Colombo proposals. Dange, Chairman of the Party said "the Communist Party of India welcomes the

mediation of the non-aligned six nations and acceptance of these proposals in toto by the Government of India. The cease-fire on either side and acceptance of the Colombo proposals by India and the accepted acceptance by China should lead to negotiation for the peaceful settlement of border dispute." A.K. Gopalan leader of the Party, said, "We find Colombo Conference proposals with the clarifications constitute, a reasonable basis of starting negotiations, consistent with our honour and our vital interests." The CPI considered China to be of nuisance value and dangerous to India's security and find a solution to India China problem on the conditions that China accepts Colombo proposals, according to CPI it is in the interest of the Indian people and a country as a whole to explore all avenues for a peaceful settlement with China either directly or through the good offices of friendly new powers and propose 'no-war pact' to China. The CPI did not think the acceptance of Colombo proposals by China necessary and asked the government not to insist on having the Colombo proposals as the only basis, for negotiations.

1. New Age (New Delhi), February 17, 1963, p.3.
With the ideological split in the Party in April 1964, the CPI turned out to be a severe critic of the Chinese Government. It openly accused Communist China of 'unleashing aggression' on India and betraying the cause of internal communism and socialism. The main plank of the CPI's criticism of the Chinese government was that its policy towards India strengthened the hands of the 'reactionary forces' in India and forced the government to accept military aid from West. The Party, however, stood for a negotiated settlement of the problem. The Party believed that the border dispute between the two countries could not be settled by force, it could only be settled through peaceful negotiations to find a political solution. Forceful settlement of the dispute would be detrimental to the Asian-solidarity the solidarity of newly-liberated countries against the neocolonialist plotting of the imperialists, and to our own national interest. S.A.Dange feels that since the Colombo proposals are dead and gone, they cannot be said to occupy any more historical stage for a peace treaty between the two countries. He appealed the three countries - India, China and Pakistan - "to meet at the highest level directly through a friendly mediation and arrived at a treaty of permanent peace and friendship in the

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1. The split was the natural consequence of the ideological rift between Moscow and Peking which reached its climax in March 1963 when the China claimed for themselves that they and not Russia were the true heirs of Lenin and Marx.

2. Settle with China, Calcutta, CPI Publication, April 1966, p. 2; also see People's Democracy (Calcutta), March 20, 1966 (Editorial), "Observe April 10 as Day for Settlement with China."
interest of the Asia and world peace." The CPI (M), "India to enter into negotiations without any condition. B.M.S.Nambodripad said that, "continuance of the state of war, would force India to pay a price whose extent and impact could not always be seen." B.T.Ranadive CPI (M), called upon the Government of India to take the initiative for a dialogue with China without insuting on adherence to the Colombo proposals, on the vacation of aggression prior to the talks on the Sino-Indian problem. He said that mere repetition of adherence to Colombo proposals, when the sponsors of these proposals themselves do not look upon them as something sacrosanct, is politically incorrect and wrong. The Marxist leader B.M.S.Nambodripad insists the Indian government to re-establish friendly relations with China. He said "our basic, position is that India should have good relations with all the socialist countries. She has now established such relationship with the Soviet Union. She should not now delay such an establishment of reapprochement with China as well." The Communist Party stands for a reapprochement between India and China on the basis of peaceful settlement of all the inter-border disputes. Such a step, the party thinks is im-

1. The Statesman (Delhi), May 18, 1960.
inevitable for establishing peace in Asia.

**INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS:**

Differences between the two countries, viz. India and Pakistan originated since the very birth of Pakistan following the Mountbatten Plan. For nearly 25 years India has sought to normalise her relations with Pakistan on the basis of territorial status quo. Pakistan despite the lapse of 25 years, has in response shown nothing but unremitting hatred towards India.

The Communist Party of India has always stood for Indo-Pak friendship and for the honourable settlement of all disputes by willing the two countries through bilateral talks and negotiations. It believes that peace between the two countries from all points of view, is necessary and all efforts should be taken towards this end. In its 1951 programme the Communist Party of India said, "The unbalancing of the integral economy of India caused by the division of country, the strife between Pakistan and India, which enables the reactionary ruling circles to divide the people and provides the American and British imperialists with opportunities for intervention, as in Kashmir, and for increasing their domination over both, will be overcome by a firm alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between India and the state of Pakistan." The CPI believes that so long

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1. *Programme of the CPI, adopted by the All India Party Conference, Bombay, CPI, Publication, October 1951, p.22.*
as India and Pakistan are at loggerheads, it is difficult to keep the imperialists away from Asia. It has also advocated for friendly relations between the two countries for economic reasons.

The CPI, in its political resolution adopted at the fourth congress of the CPI in 1966, said that CPI would work for improvement of relations with Pakistan, for settlement of outstanding issues through peaceful methods and friendly negotiations, a no-war pact, and establishing cordial economic relations between India and Pakistan dislocated by partition, for removing all barriers that stand in the way of mutually beneficial relations between the two countries and for promoting cultural and other activities to strengthen the bonds of brotherly relations between them. Again in its 1967 election Manifesto, the CPI spoke of the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Communist Party of India strongly condemned the imperialists for keeping up the tension between India and Pakistan and wanted friendship with the people of Pakistan and settlement of Kashmir issue by peaceful and democratic means without interference from "imperialist power."

1. *New Age* (New Delhi), May 6, 1966, p.4.
The Communist Party bitterly criticized the U.S. aid to Pakistan and U.S. Pak alliance in the SEATO. Hiren Mukerjee condemned the U.S. Pak pact as a squalid conspiracy to complicate India-Pakistan relationship and to exacerbate Indo-Pakistan disputes. A resolution passed by the Central Committee of the CPI on 7 December 1963 said: "This pact is in continuation of the policy of American war mongers to surround the Soviet Union, China and the people’s democracies in Europe with war bases for launching a third war..... Having been thwarted in their game of seizing Kashmir through their military and diplomatic machinations, the American war mongers are now making the state of Pakistan as their jumping ground." It stressed the need for the development of a powerful campaign against U.S. blackmail and for Indo-Pak friendship, Asian solidarity and world peace. It whole heartedly support the rejection of SEATO by the Government of India. Hiren Mukerjee characterized Nehru’s rejection of SEATO as a positive contribution to peace. He said that SEATO and Baghdad Pact were, "links in a wide chain of conspiratorial acts against the peace and freedom of Asia." It considered SEATO as a threat not only to peace but to freedom as well and as 'a menace to peace in Asia.'

Like the CPI the CPI (M) is also in favour of friendly relations between the two countries. It believes that the two neighbours cannot afford to live as enemies and good relations between them alone could lead to the progress of the two countries and the welfare of their people. The CPI (M) also condemns the Baghdad Pact and SEATO. According to it, the pacts constitute a threat not only to India but to all free nations of Asia. The constant supply of arms by the US to Pakistan is sure to intensify the already intensified Indo-Pak tension.

The Communist Party of India denounced the U.S. aid to Pakistan as an unfriendly act of the U.S.A. towards India and said that every effort must be made to rouse world public opinion against U.S. military build up in Pakistan. In a speech in Parliament on April 28, 1965, Hiren Mukerjee said, "It should be remembered that the United States remains Pakistan's principal international patron. Even in the matter of supplying India rather out of date aircraft which Pakistan already has got in plenty, the United States is firmly opposed because that might offend the susceptibilities of the United States has consistently armed Pakistan with modern weapons, while refusing to supply them to India." He again said "Let us try and Concentrate all our resources to defeat Pakistan's military

1. T.A.Rizvi, op.cit., p. 159.
manouvre both in the camp of Afro-Asian countries and in the camp of Anglo-American powers. Let us clear of the ugly role particularly of such countries as the United States, the U.K. and its friends.......

When the Indo-Pak war intervened in 1965 and the national defence became an overriding issue, the CPI while calling upon the people to resist Pak aggression built upon a powerful campaign to expose the hands of Anglo-American imperialists behind it. A number of demonstrations against American and British establishment were organized by the party.

Supporting the call that India should quit Commonwealth, Mr. Mukerjee criticized the shabby behaviour of the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Wilson and said, "no wonder there is today a powerful clamer in all patriotic circles that we should no longer be a member of that mockery and make believe Commonwealth of Nations ....... we can be friends without bowing princes and without permoving all other ceremonial functions which are necessitates by this Commonwealth." 

The Party came out against all suggestions to extend war to East Pakistan. While standing by national defence when the fighting was on the party laid stress on the need for peaceful


2. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 25, 1965.
settlement through direct talks between India and Pakistan. "India," Mr. Mukerjee said, "should be ready to meet Pakistan and to discuss matters directly and to come to settlement." He again said that "Pakistan has known that militarily it cannot take Kashmir. Pakistan ought to have a settlement in a civilized manner. It cannot come through the instrumentality of U.N. as it is at present continued that is why we can have a settlement of our own."

The attitude of the CPI Left towards the Indo-Pak war was determined by the stand of China on the issue. It supported both India and Pakistan in their efforts against each other. It did not regard Pakistan as an aggressor. The then Prime Minister Shastri warned against the "double talk" indulged in by the left communists who, he said, equated India and Pakistan on the current conflict between the two countries. "The Left Communists were saying that both India and Pakistan were correct in their stand on the issue. Such an attitude was totally opposed to the national policy and the United opinion in the country," said the Prime Minister Shastri. As the Prime Minister considered CPI (M) anti-national, the CPI Left, leader E.M.S.Nambodripad sent a letter to the Union Home Minister saying "The Chinese entry (if it take place)

1. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 25, 1966.
2. Ibid., October 19, 1966.
would not make the slightest difference to our general line of support to the Government defense efforts. He said it was a "slander against our party when your government and our political opponents accused us of being prepared to help the Chinese in their attack on India. We are at once with the rest of the people for the defense of national territory,"

In a rally organized by the CPI the Communist criticized the Western powers for giving arms to Pakistan the sole factor which instigated Pakistan to attack India.

The Communist Party of India was very critical of the U.N. role and formed it mainly responsible for fermenting dissensions between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. Shri A.K. Gopalan, said in a parliamentary speech in 1952 that "The main object of UN today is not to see that there must be a plebiscite. They want to utilize all their resources. They want to divide the people into Hindus and Muslims, their interest today is that Kashmir and Jammu must be divided. There interest is not for the solidarity of Jammu and Kashmir is a part of India. They want a division of Jammu and Kashmir, they want to see that the division take place by some way so they say there must be plebiscite."

1. The Statesman (Delhi), September 17, 1965.
2. Ibid., September 20, 1965.
While supporting the Government stand on Kashmir, the CPI demanded the withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from the security council. H.K. Mukerjee speaking in the Parliament said, "We have had this question hanging before the Security Council for four or five years, and what has happened? We have very good reasons to think that predominant forces in the United Nations has been trying all these years to exploit the Kashmir situation, to keep the question hanging in mid air to have no settlement of the Kashmir question and if necessary to be in a position to utilize certain territories in Kashmir for their own war mongers and war purposes."

Again he said in Parliament in 1957, "The country certainly support, the Prime Minister's policy on this point especially in regard to Kashmir......We suggest that perhaps it is better that we withdraw the Kashmir issue from the Security Council."n

As far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, the National Council of the CPI is of the view that the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent state of the Indian Union is not negotiable. It believes that the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir

1. Ibid., col. 5862.
including the part occupied by Pakistan is a part of the Indian Union.

The CPI vigorously opposed the Kashmir issue being made the subject of vote in the Security Council or the UN General Assembly. It said though Kashmir acceded to India in accordance with an Act of British Parliament, the Anglo-Americans have consistently questioned the validity of the accession. Every time the question of Pakistan aggression against Kashmir has come up before the Security Council of the U.N. The Anglo-American spokesman have made the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from Kashmir conditional on India agreeing to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N.O. auspices, meaning their own supervision. According to the CPI the increasing reliance on imperialist aid has enabled the Anglo-American imperialist to increasingly interfere in India's dispute with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir.

When the Tashkent Declaration was signed under the mediation of Premier Kosygin to solve the Kashmir question and to settle the disputes between the two countries the CPI National Council hailed it as an event of great historic significance not only for the peoples of the two countries, but for all peace loving nations. According to it the Tashkent declaration opened

broad vistas for constructive efforts for the ending of all outstanding problems and for building up friendship between India and Pakistan on solid and indestructible foundations. The Communist Party of India went among the masses to explain the historic significance of the Tashkent agreement. The great role of the Soviet Union and the tremendous constructive potentialities of the Tashkent spirit to improve Indo-Pak relations and also fought against the anti Tashkent propagandist. The CPI (M) no doubt supported the Tashkent Agreement because to them, now, India and Pakistan could discuss their problems without imperialist presence, without the danger of the imperialists exploiting and exasperating the differences to dictate their own terms.

The CPI (M) supported the retention of special status for Kashmir within the Indian Union. It believed that removal of such a status would only put further hurdles in the way of a settlement with Pakistan. On Indo-Pak relations over Kashmir R.M.S. Namboodripad advocated a realistic stand i.e. Kashmir should be considered a part of India with a special status. He said, that restoration of normal peaceful relations with any country with which we were at war would require of us an attitude of

give and take. The CPI (M), demanded the release of Sheikh Zb
Abdullah and his inclusion in any talks on the future of
Kashmir. This, in its view is the only way out for solving
the Kashmir problem.

The CPI believes what would seem necessary is that there
should be serious attempt to find solution to the internal
problems of Kashmir and for this talk with Sheikh Abdullah, who
undoubtedly is a powerful force in Kashmir, must be renewed in
all seriousness. But the solution has to be found with-in the
framework of the unalterable fact that Kashmir is an integral
part of the Indian Union.

With regard to Kashmir the Communist Party of India
demands a lasting accord with Pakistan on the basis of recogni-
sing the existing cease-fire line as the international boundary
with mutually agreed adjustments.

As the Kashmir question is still unsettled, it is absolu-
lutely necessary to solve the problem for the welfare and well
being of the country. The CPI continuously stressed the need for
the settlement of all differences between the two countries
ensuring thereby peace in the region. During the India-Pakistan
conflict in 1965 and again in 1971 the CPI supported all measures
for strengthening the defence of the country but at the same time
it wanted that goodwill should prevail between the two countries.

2. Ibid., June 16, 1966; also see T.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 169.
3. Political Report adopted by Eight Congress of the CPI,
   op. cit., p. 48.