


**RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDIA**



**New Delhi, 5-12 February 1963**

**COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION**

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**ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION**

Over three months ago, when the National Council met and our country was gravely concerned over the question of the border conflict, the aggressive actions of the U. S. imperialists against Cuba led to a crisis which brought mankind to the brink of a thermonuclear disaster. The world was faced with the gravest crisis of the recent period. The Caribbean crisis became the most crucial issue and its peaceful solution became imperative for averting the impending world catastrophe.

After the failure of their Bay of Pigs invasion to overthrow the Socialist Government of Cuba led by Dr. Fidel Castro, the American imperialists, despite Soviet warning that it would help Cuba at all costs and with all means, prepared for another invasion, this time a full-scale one, with regular American armed forces.

Anticipating this, the Soviet Union had fully equipped the Cuban army with modern weapons and trained it. And in order to build effective defence, a Soviet missile force was also stationed in Cuba.

The imperialists made the presence of Soviet missiles and the supply of Soviet arms to Cuba the pretext for the new invasion. If the invasion had really begun and the atomic weapons on either side had gone into action, a thermonuclear world war would have become inevitable, bringing

death and destruction of millions of lives throughout the world. To avoid a thermonuclear world war and at the same time, to bridle the adventurers of the warmongers was the key question before the world. On 27th October, Fidel Castro informed the Soviet Union that the crisis had reached its peak and the invasion and war may begin any moment.

At this crucial moment, sense dawned on the U. S. imperialists. If the missiles were withdrawn, they would not invade Cuba. The Soviet Union replied that if the U. S. imperialists gave the promise that they would not invade Cuba themselves or through any Latin American country, the Soviet Union had no need to keep the missiles there and would withdraw them. President Kennedy gave the promise, the missiles were withdrawn and the invasion of Cuba and world war were averted. The whole world felt relieved and thanked the Soviet Union for it.

The Government of the Soviet Union, and Premier N. S. Khrushchov in particular, displayed remarkable initiative and wisdom in meeting the American challenge and solving the Caribbean crisis in the interest of peace and freedom. The world war which seemed imminent was averted and the policy of peaceful co-existence once again triumphed mainly because of the wise Soviet initiative.

The defeat of the U. S. imperialists over Cuba has immensely strengthened peace and freedom-loving forces in every country. The imperialist camp was in disarray and the contradictions of imperialism further accentuated.

At the same time, the Caribbean crisis also emphasised the need for vigilance against imperialism and for developing the struggle of the masses on the widest possible scale for defence of world peace.

When the Chinese forces launched their massive offensive, violated the Indian borders and thus committed aggression, the National Council of the Communist Party of India considered the grave situation and adopted its resolution of November 1, 1962. The Council affirmed its full support to Prime Minister Nehru's appeal for national unity in defence of the country. The Council notes with satisfaction the

great positive role this resolution has played at a most critical period in the life of the nation and of the Party.

It was more or less at the same time as the Caribbean crisis that the military operations on our borders which the U. S. and other imperialists were assiduously trying to exploit in order to enlarge the conflict and embroil India and China in a prolonged war, came to an end following the Chinese cease-fire and the *de facto* acceptance of it by the Government of India. This opened new prospects for a peaceful solution of the border question so that our country could devote all its energies for development of our economy and for promoting the well-being of our people.

After the cease-fire, the Central Executive Committee of the Party met twice to review the situation and it adopted its resolution and statement. These have enabled the Party, in the changed situation, to intervene in favour of a peaceful solution of the border question and against imperialism and the forces of Right reaction which openly intensified their attacks against India's basic policy of non-alignment and her peaceful approach to the India-China border problem. The Council congratulates all those Congressmen and other patriots who have courageously defended non-alignment, despite pressures and provocations, and thus upheld the honour and the independence of our country.

Since the National Council last met in November, the situation has radically changed, warranting a new orientation in popular patriotic efforts. The unilateral cease-fire by the Chinese forces and their withdrawals, the acceptance in fact, of this cease-fire by the Government of India and finally, the acceptance by the latter of the Colombo proposals of the six friendly non-aligned Powers for direct talks between the representatives of India and China have brought about a new, favourable turn in the whole situation and created favourable prospects for a peaceful settlement through negotiations. In this connection, the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep admiration and gratitude in the name of all peace-loving humanity to the six friendly non-aligned nations and particularly to the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo

Bandaranaike, for their great initiative and efforts so that this tragic conflict between India and China comes to an end. The Council also attaches particular significance to Prime Minister Nehru's statement that, should direct talks between India and China fail, the Government of India would be prepared to refer the border dispute to the Hague Court or some other form of adjudication. This should emphasise the desire of the Government of India for a peaceful solution.

The National Council extends its full support to the Colombo proposals and welcomes their acceptance in toto by the Government of India. The stand of the Government in this respect is wholly consistent with the dignity of the nation and with its fundamental interests and as such it deserves the whole-hearted active support of all patriotic Indians. When Prime Minister Nehru and his Government are being viciously attacked by reactionaries for this wise and honourable stand, it becomes the duty of progressive forces and all right-minded men to rally in support of these policies.

It is hoped that the Chinese Government will take the due note of India's position and find its way to an early acceptance of the Colombo proposals together with the clarifications. This step is urgently called for in order to further consolidate the cease-fire and promote negotiations between the two countries. Any further delay in accepting the proposals in full on the part of China only facilitates the manoeuvres of imperialism and the forces of Right reaction which are interested in keeping the conflict and tension alive and who are stubbornly opposed to negotiations.

At the present moment, the prospects of early negotiations naturally depend on the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals. It passes one's comprehension that the Government of the People's Republic of China which had publicly signified its "positive response" to and "acceptance in principle" of the Colombo proposals should have now thought fit to put forward certain reservations which cannot but cause disappointment and anxiety as they delay peaceful

negotiations and speedy settlement of the dispute. The National Council urges upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to reciprocate India's acceptance of the Colombo proposals by a similar act on its part without any further delay.

The National Council is of the view that not only must negotiations begin immediately, but once they begin, every effort must be made to avoid protracted negotiations and arrive at a speedy settlement in keeping with the honour of our country and in consonance with the Bandung spirit. Protracted negotiations and cold-war atmosphere are fraught with harmful consequences for both the countries. It has been amply demonstrated how imperialists and reaction within the country thrive on such atmosphere and seek to destroy India's basic policies and deal a blow to the democratic and progressive forces. The continuation of this tension and cold-war climate cannot but seriously hinder the independent growth of our national economy and our democracy.

The Council regrets that sometimes even the top Government leaders indulge in speeches of a bellicose nature. This goes to help the reactionaries to keep up the tension. It fervently appeals to all concerned to bring about an end to this ruinous cold-war atmosphere. It is confident that the resumption of negotiations would immensely contribute to clearing up this climate.

During the crisis created by the Chinese aggression, India's policy of non-alignment was put to a severe strain. It has been viciously attacked by imperialism and Right reaction, which see in the abandonment of this policy, the fulfilment of their dreams. Non-alignment has brought honour and glory to our country; it has strengthened our independence and helped the independent development of our economy; it has helped the growth of our democracy and facilitated the struggles of the masses for their rights and interests. Non-alignment has been India's most powerful shield in defence of her national independence against imperialist pressures and machinations. It has won India

the love and sympathy of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

This policy has stood the test of even the present crisis. It is precisely for these very reasons that the imperialists abroad and reaction at home have today singled out non-alignment as the main target of their attacks. In such a situation, the defence of the policy of non-alignment becomes naturally the most vital issue for the whole nation and its future. The struggle to uphold this policy and defeat all attacks against it is a part and parcel of the struggle for our national independence and national honour, for the interests of our working people and for democracy. The National Council of the Communist Party of India 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 strengthening the policy of non-alignment. The Council 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 thus undermine its independence and future.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India draws the attention of our people to the grave threat posed today by Right reaction to India's independence and democracy and, indeed, to the entire gains of our democratic movement. During the past three months, these forces have grown in strength and become very active in the political life of the country. Forces of Right reaction which are also entrenched in the State apparatus and the administration have also grown stronger and improved their position to carry on subversive activity. Not only did they, inspired by U. S. imperialism, bring about the removal of Defence Minister Krishna Menon but they even went to the length of demanding, both openly and covertly, the removal of Prime Minister Nehru from the Government and leadership of the nation. These forces are today violently opposing the Colombo proposals and advocating India's virtual surrender to the Western camp. They demand the "liberation" of Tibet and work up war hysteria. Their tall talk about defence is only a camouflage for furthering such patently anti-national,

anti-democratic ends. Our people can ignore this danger of Right reaction only at the nation's gravest peril.

These Rightist reactionary forces today are, however, represented not merely by such parties as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party and the powerful groups of Rightist elements within the Congress itself. In this period when the future of the country and of our democracy hung in the balance, the leaderships of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party betrayed the democratic movement and unashamedly went over to the side of Right reaction. Together with the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh, they formed a joint front to attack Prime Minister Nehru and his policy of non-alignment, as well as against the country's democratic movement. This political defection of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party leaderships has added strength to Right reaction and damaged our democratic movement. The inglorious role of the leaderships of the PSP and Socialist Party deserves condemnation by all those who stand for democracy and socialism.

The National Council of the CPI earnestly appeals to all sections of our patriotic people, to all forces of democracy, especially those within the Congress, to exert the utmost vigilance against this challenge and unite in common struggles to meet it with all our might. Only such unity and united struggles can defeat the ambitions and plans of Right reaction.

The recent experience has revealed some serious deficiencies in our national defence. These deficiencies must naturally be overcome and our defence potential reinforced and improved. The Communist Party has always viewed the strengthening of our national defence as an integral part of strengthening our independence itself so that the security of our land becomes invincible. The Council disapproves all proposals that seek to leave India's defence at the mercy of other countries. It generally agrees with the approach of Prime Minister Nehru and his warnings against dependence on foreign countries for supplies of arms and equipments. Modern defence industries must be built within our country and our armed forces equipped with re-

quisite weapons manufactured in our own factories. It is from these considerations also that the Five-Year Plan must not only be carried out but further strengthened, especially in respect of the vital projects like heavy engineering, power, oil, transport, etc. Without a strong modern industrial base, no country can ever venture to have a self-reliant powerful modern defence.

In this connection, the National Council cannot but take the most serious note of the latest manoeuvres of U. S. and British imperialists to entangle India into their systems of military aids, etc. and exploit her difficulties to put pressures on her foreign and domestic policies. The reported proposals about the so-called "air umbrella", for the use of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands by them for this purpose, and their demand for retaining in their own hands operations control of certain types of weapons and equipments supplied to India—all these cannot but cause grave concern. For, all these impinge on India's sovereignty and her national interests and the Government of India should outright reject all such proposals. 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. Experience of all countries has shown that imperialist military aid is never disinterested or without evil designs.

Further, their designs are once again demonstrated over crude U. S. and British pressures on the Government of India to hand over Kashmir. They even went to the length of demanding that Kashmir Valley be handed over to Pakistan. It is regrettable that the Government of India is displaying certain vacillations and weaknesses in the face of such pressures, instead of taking a firm line against these imperialists who are primarily responsible for the unhappy Indo-Pak relations. Time and again the U. S. and British returned to the Kashmir issue in the Security Council to malign India and provoke Pakistan against our country. It is the Soviet veto and the stand taken by the Soviet Government in the Security Council which have foiled that imperialist game.

As far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, the National Council is of the view that the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union is not negotiable. The U. S. and other imperialists are interested in turning Kashmir into their military base against India and other neighbouring countries and it is the sinister considerations that lie behind all their pretended solicitude for Indo-Pak accord. The Communist Party of India has always stood for Indo-Pak friendship and for the honourable settlement of all problems between the two countries through bilateral talks and peaceful methods.

Faced with Chinese aggression, the Government proclaimed national emergency, suspended certain fundamental rights under our Constitution and enacted the Defence of India Act. The Government assured and it was also thought by people, that these Emergency and other extraordinary powers would be used solely for defence purposes. Experience of the past three months has belied this hope. For, there is enough evidence to show that these powers have been wantonly used for launching an all-out attack against the Communist Party as a whole, which constitutes the main Opposition in our parliamentary system, the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other democratic organisations.

About 800 Communists including about 50 members of the Party's National Council, 10 Members of Parliament and about 40 members of different State legislatures, trade unionists and other leaders of the democratic movement have been arrested and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules. These extraordinary powers are further used to intimidate the workers and employers, victimise them and subject them to harsh rules and regulations. In some cases, they have been used to paralyse the work of the trade unions and kisan sabhas despite their vigorous support to defence efforts. In a number of States, emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules have been invoked to cripple the Communist Party.

The National Council strongly protests against these arrests and use of the Defence of India Rules and other emergency powers against the democratic movement. The

Council demands the immediate release of all Communists, trade unionists and others who have been detained without trial. It demands the end of the use of the emergency powers against democratic organisations of the people in order to intimidate and harass them. Although workers and other sections of the toiling people have voluntarily contributed in labour and cash to Defence Fund, the emergency powers are used even against them to make compulsory collections. Small trade and industry have been made to suffer as a result of dislocations and abnormalities created in trade and commerce under the impact of emergency.

At the same time, the National Council recognised that powers under the emergency have been used for some positive purposes also, such as curbs on forward trading, speculation, etc.

When the Government failed to mobilise private gold hoards of the rich under the Gold Bond Scheme, it did not use the emergency powers to take over the well-known gold hoards of even ex-rulers such as the Nizam of Hyderabad. While the Communist Party does stand for drastic measures against gold smuggling and the use of such smuggled gold to conceal blackmarket profit by speculators and monopolists, it cannot, however, approve some of the measures under the Gold Control Order which cause harassment of the small artisans, jewellers and goldsmiths and come in the way of small savings by poor and middle-class families.

It is necessary for the Government, in view of all this, to reconsider the whole question of the emergency, instead of continuing it indefinitely so that the normal functions of the Constitution, as well as the rights under it, are not kept in abeyance indefinitely. In this connection, the Council cannot but take serious note of the fact that the emergency has, in fact, invested executive and the bureaucracy with extraordinary powers which are being abused, causing serious damage to our Constitution and our democratic life. Advantage has been taken in the name of emergency by big business to make further inroads into our economy and to secure new concessions. In the name of emergency,

financial and other assistance to cultural activities have been reduced.

The National Council expresses its concern at the Government pronouncements which indicate that additional economic burdens are going to be placed on the common people. The Communist Party is conscious that the requisite resources must be found for defence and economic development. The budget proposals and the economic policies of the Government need to be so formulated that the resources lying with the rich can be adequately and effectively tapped. Measures such as review by the States of their costly prohibition schemes, suspension of privy purses to the wealthy ex-rulers, etc. should be adopted. The present situation emphasises the urgency of nationalising banks, which alone can enable the State to effectively mobilise and use the financial resources for planned development of the country. To meet the crisis in the development of our economy, as also for augmenting resources, it is necessary to nationalise such industries as mining, sugar and jute.

When imperialist pressures and machinations against India are growing and the forces of Right reaction, backed by imperialism, have become such a potent threat, the country's democratic movement naturally needs a political and practical orientation to meet this dangerous situation. Such orientation lies in uniting all progressive and democratic forces and, above all, the forces supporting the Communist Party with those that are with the Congress and take an anti-imperialist and democratic position. The defence of non-alignment has become a rallying ground for all such progressive and patriotic forces.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction and confidence that more and more Congressmen are coming forward to actively fight for the cause of non-alignment and against the forces of Right reaction. By all accounts, this is a very encouraging and positive development in our political life. Further, this also underlines the great possibilities, given the correct orientation and approach, of building up united struggles, the fulfilment of all national tasks at all levels and throughout



the country. The Council fully recognises that no powerful movement in defence of non-alignment, against Right reaction can be built in today's conditions without bridging the gulf that divides the democratically-minded Congressmen on the one hand and other democratic forces such as are represented by our Party on the other. In the supreme interests of the nation, it will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party of India to overcome this division.

In cooperation with all democratic forces, including, in particular, the democratic-minded Congressmen and supporters of the Congress, the Communist Party will in the coming period strive to build nationwide united campaign:

To support the Colombo proposals and the stand of the Government of India in regard to them and for settlement of the India-China border question consistent with the honour and self-respect of the nation;

To support the nation's basic policies of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, Afro-Asian solidarity and anti-colonialism, democracy and strengthening the economy of the country through planned economic development with main emphasis on heavy industries and the public sector;

To expose the policies of Right reaction and mobilise the people in unremitting united struggles against them in every sphere of our public life;

To resist all imperialist pressures on India and all attempts to entangle India with the Western systems of military aid in the name of strengthening defence;

To strengthen the defence capacities of our country through increasing rapidly our own industrial potential and expanding defence industries;

To mobilise resources for building a strong and independent Indian economy by placing the burden mainly on those classes which can afford to pay and not on poorer sections;

To strengthen the national unity and national integra-

tion and oppose all communal, disruptive and fissiparous tendencies;

To defend the economic interests and democratic rights of the people;

To prevent use of Emergency powers and Defence of India Rules against the democratic movement;

To secure the release of the Communists, trade unionists and others who are detained without trial.

In order to discharge these responsibilities, it is imperative to strengthen the Communist Party and its work among all sections of the people and also to strengthen the mass organisations.

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

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

"This 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 struggles in the capitalist countries, for national liberation struggles and for strengthening national 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 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, opposes 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 the 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 thermonuclear disaster.

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

Yet, despite the fact that 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 Party of China over the Caribbean issue, when mankind stood on the brink of thermonuclear 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 to play in strengthening such unity. Departures from the understanding of the 81-Parties Statement are gravely injurious to the execution of this task.

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—especially 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.

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 significant 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 should 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.

### ON RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern and indignation at the continued detention without trial, under the Defence of India Rules, of about 750 members of the Communist Party. These include 10 Members of Parliament, about 40 members of different State legislatures, members of municipal and other statutory elected bodies, trade unionists and kisan sabha organisers and other leaders of the democratic movement.

The National Council protests against this misuse of emergency powers by the Government in order to suppress and weaken a major political party of the country which has come out unequivocally for resistance to Chinese aggression on India and which has devoted all its efforts during the last 3½ months to the cause of strengthening national defence. Despite this, massive arrests and detentions of Communists have been carried out, over 900 Party members have been detained since the proclamation of emergency, hundreds more have been arrested under State Security Acts, and entire State and District Committees of the Party have been virtually paralysed and their functioning disrupted.

This sweeping attack on the Communist Party is in striking contrast to the lenient attitude displayed by the administration towards Rightwing, reactionary parties, groups and individuals who have been given a free hand to carry on anti-national propaganda and activities directed against basic national policies as accepted by Parliament and even against the Prime Minister's person.

All this clearly indicates a vindictive attitude towards the Communist Party which cannot but arouse the concern of all democratic and progressive-minded people. In the case of certain State Governments and district administrations, anti-communist repression is also dictated by personal grudges and local political rivalries. In many cases, arrests have been made on the basis of false complaints to the police

by employers and local Congress leaders. The National Council most vehemently protests against the action of the Government in still continuing to make arrests in some States like West Bengal, U. P., etc., even now, nearly three months after the cease-fire on the India-China border.

The National Council further draws the Government's attention to the extremely serious complaints pouring in from all States regarding ill-treatment of the Communist prisoners. Barring a handful, the rest of them, whether detenus or under-trials, have been classified as Div. II under-trial prisoners, on a par with common criminals, and their representations for superior classification as political prisoners have been repeatedly rejected. Universally respected, veteran leaders of the Party with decades of patriotic service to their credit are among those subjected to this callous treatment.

In many cases, facilities for regular interviews with relatives and friends are denied. The prisoners are not permitted to receive books and papers deposited for them at the jail gates. Even essential articles of clothing are not supplied by the jail authorities and toilet articles have to be purchased at the prisoners' own cost. With the exception of one State, nowhere have family allowances been granted for the dependants of the detenus.

The National Council is pained to find that in some States, even seriously ill prisoners suffering from chronic diseases like cancer and heart trouble are not being released despite official assurances that their cases would be sympathetically considered.

Communist detenus from Tripura and Assam have been transported to the far-off Hazaribagh and Berhampore jails, thereby isolating them physically from their near and dear ones. Even before the Tripura detenus were transferred from Agartala, they were not permitted interviews with anyone nor was any information regarding their welfare given by the authorities.

The National Council cannot find words to express its indignation at this type of callous treatment towards political prisoners which is contrary to the entire traditions of

the political movement in our country. It betrays the Government's utterly wrong attitude towards the Communist Party which has played a positive role in the defence of the motherland against Chinese aggression. The National Council repudiates the idea that the prisoners can expect justice only on the basis of the Government's own reviews of individual cases from time to time. Such reviews have proved to be arbitrary and infructuous. The National Council, therefore, demands of the Government at the Centre and in the States that, not individual cases, but the entire policy of repression against the Communist Party be reversed and all prisoners be released immediately and unconditionally.

Pending release, all the Communist prisoners, whether detenus or otherwise, must be given their proper status of political prisoners and placed in superior class. The same applies to non-Communist trade union, kisan and other workers of the democratic movement. Full facilities for interviews, supply of books and papers, clothing and other essential personal articles, etc., should be provided. Dependents of the detenus should be given adequate family allowances. Prisoners suffering from serious illness must be released, without any delay. The Tripura and Assam detenus should be permitted to return to their respective States.

The National Council calls upon all units of the Party to organise immediately a mass campaign for the release of the political prisoners and to mobilise public opinion in favour of this demand through all suitable forms. The National Council further appeals to Congressmen and progressive individuals to take up the cause of the political prisoners as a democratic issue and to demand their speedy release.

## ON WESTERN PROPOSALS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its serious concern at the reported terms and conditions alleged to have been recently stipulated by the Government of the USA and UK with regard to their arms supplies to meet India's defence requirements.

According to these reports, which have been widely publicised in leading Indian dailies and have not yet been contradicted by the Government of India, the Western proposals include the following:

- 1) That the operational control of certain types of military equipment and specialised weapons given to India should remain, not in Indian but in foreign hands;
- 2) That an 'air umbrella' should be provided over India by foreign air forces, employing foreign pilots and technicians, but based on Indian airfields and installations; and
- 3) That India should permit such foreign air forces or aircraft carriers to be based on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The National Council is strongly of opinion that such proposals, if correctly reported, are inconsistent with India's declared policy as repeatedly explained by the Prime Minister, of developing our own independent defence potential in consonance with the country's sovereignty instead of becoming dependent on foreign agencies. Further, the reported Western proposals contain within themselves the danger of foreign military bases being established on Indian soil and of India getting involved, willy-nilly, in certain types of military agreements inconsistent with the policy of non-alignment and our national interests.

The National Council considers such proposals to be dangerous and, therefore, objectionable. Development and strengthening of our country's defences should not deviate from the principles of purchasing arms without strings, operational control in Indian hands, no foreign bases of

foreign military forces on Indian soil, independent development of India's basic defence potential, and non-involvement in military pacts.

The National Council urges upon the Government of India to allay the fears and suspicions aroused on this score in the public mind by the spate of inspired reports regarding Western proposals brought by the US-UK-Canada Defence Mission to New Delhi. The National Council resolves to send a deputation to the Prime Minister to seek further clarification in this regard and to explain the Party's point of view thereon.

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#### ON NATIONALISATION OF FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES IN CEYLON

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes that the Ceylon Government sometime back took the welcome step of nationalising the oil installations belonging to foreign concerns. It agreed to pay reasonable compensation to the oil companies. The oil companies of the Anglo-U. S. imperialists protested against nationalisation but later on they started negotiations with the Government of Ceylon in regard to the amount of compensation. They demanded very high amounts as compensation. The Ceylon Government, however, refused to agree to the amounts which the Anglo-American companies demanded.

At this stage, the Government of the U. S. stepped in and refused to give Ceylon the aid which they had promised, thereby putting her into economic difficulties and intimidating her with submission to the demands of the Oil monopolies.

The Communist Party of India congratulates the Government of Ceylon on the stand which they have taken and for not being intimidated by this U. S. pressure. Ceylon

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is a friend of India and as such should be supported by India in her resistance to foreign monopolies and independent economic development. Also as a member of the Afro-Asian nonaligned bloc of countries it should be supported by all the Afro-Asian countries.

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#### ON COMMISSION FOR PARTY HISTORY

Question has been raised before the National Council that the Council organise a review and discussion about revisionism and dogmatism inside the CPI. It is all the more necessary since such discussion has arisen in the international Communist movement with regard to the correct application of the understanding of the 81-Parties Statement.

In our Party also this question has been raised in some documents from time to time.

The National Council is of the opinion that to discuss the past of the Party in terms of deviations of revisionism and dogmatism, without at the same time presenting them within the framework of the work and achievements of the Party as a whole would not be useful and healthy for the unity and further development of the Party.

The National Council is of the opinion that a short outline of the history of the Party's origin, growth and development, its achievements and failures, should be prepared for the education of Party members. It would also help to present a correct picture of the Party to the millions of the democratic masses who support the Party, as evidenced during the Parliamentary elections.

Decisions to this effect were taken in the past by the Central Committees of our Party. But for various reasons they were not implemented.

The National Council, therefore, appoints the following

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Commission to draw an outline of Party history, which while recording our achievements and failures, should also state our deviations of revisionist or dogmatic character.

*Commission:* Comrades (1) S. A. Dange, (2) E. M. S. Namboodiripad, (3) G. Adhikari, (4) S. V. Ghate, (5) P. C. Joshi, (6) C. Rajeshwar Rao, and (7) Somnath Lahiri.

The Commission will co-opt or utilise the services of Comrades Muzaffar Ahmad, B. T. Ranadive, P. Sundarayya when they become available and such others whom they consider necessary to help in their work.

The National Council expects the Commission to make its report in about six months' time.

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#### **ON VIOLATION OF INTER-PARTY NORMS BY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India puts on record its grave concern at the unwarranted violation of inter-Party norms by the leadership of the Communist Party of China vis-a-vis the Communist Party of India.

In recent months, the public attack launched on the Communist Party of India by the Chinese press and radio have crossed the bounds of honest expression of differences between two Communist Parties. The Chinese Party press, Hsinhua News Agency and the Peking Radio have been carrying on a slander campaign against our Party, its leadership and particularly against the Chairman of our Party, Comrade S. A. Dange, by name.

They are denouncing the leadership of our Party as a "revisionist clique" and as "self-styled Marxist-Leninists."

They are encouraging a split in the Communist Party of India by constantly referring to one section of the Party as "internationalist" and "militant", and another section as "nationalist" and "agents of the bourgeoisie".

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They are accusing the leadership of our Party of having got Party comrades arrested and of exploiting the emergency for factional ends.

The National Council indignantly repudicates these allegations which, apart from being slanderous, are directed at creating split and disruption in our Party.

The National Council earnestly appeals to the leadership of the Communist Party of China to put a stop to this wrong and factional method which violates the agreed mandate of the 1960 Moscow Statement on relations between fraternal Parties.

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#### **ON DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES INSIDE THE PARTY IN WEST BENGAL**

The National Council has heard the reports of the Chairman and the General Secretary on the critical situation inside the Party in West Bengal.

The National Council of the CPI expresses its grave concern at the growing indiscipline and disruptive activities on the part of a large number of Party members, including certain prominent leaders of the Party in West Bengal. While numerous members and supporters of the Party, as well as most of the Party units in various localities have done commendable work under the guidance of the provisional State Secretariat during the emergency, it is regrettable that there are Party members who have taken an attitude of non-cooperation with and obstruction of the work of the Provisional Secretariat and opposition to carry out the directives of the National Council. Quite some sections of Party members, aided by some leaders, are found to be indulging in spreading unfounded and slanderous allegations against the leadership of the Party. Some have gone as far as organising rowdyism in Party meetings, the most extreme

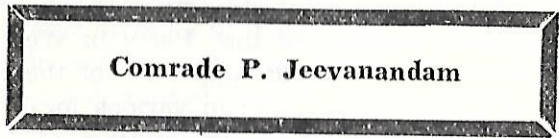
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and vulgar manifestation of which was demonstrated in the general body meeting addressed by the Chairman and the General Secretary in the Muslim Institute Hall on Calcutta on the 20th and in the Calcutta DC office on 21 January 1963. All this indicates a serious breakdown of all norms of Party discipline and accepted principles of Party organisation.

The National Council is pained at these disruptive activities in which many responsible Party members are involved and condemns the same as harmful to the Party and helpful to the enemies of the Party. It calls upon all these comrades to think seriously the real import of their conduct and give up such activities forthwith.

The National Council calls upon all members and supporters of the Party as well as all Party units in West Bengal to carry out the tasks laid down by the Secretariat of the National Council and the leading Committee of the State for implementing the decision of the National Council. They are further called upon to eliminate all manifestations of all disruptive activities so that an atmosphere is created for the restoration of normal state of affairs inside the Party in West Bengal and Party unity based on the political line of the Party and its organisational principles can be achieved as quickly as possible.



**Comrade P. Jeevanandam**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sorrow at the sudden death of Comrade Jeevanandam, a member of this Council and one of the leading comrades of the Party in Tamilnad.

Comrade Jeevanandam's death is a great loss to the Communist Party as a whole and to its unit in Tamilnad in particular.

Comrade Jeeva dedicated his whole life to the cause of the people of Tamilnad for more than 30 years continuously.

He was a great orator, poet and writer respected by all the patriotic sections of the Province. The Council places on record the great services he has rendered throughout his life to the growth of the Communist Party and pays its homage to the departed leader. The Council conveys its deep sympathy to the bereaved family.