

Resolution of the National Council of the C.P.I.*

**Adopted in New Delhi Meeting on
October 31–November 2, 1962 on Armed Conflict
between India and China on Border Dispute**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi in the present grave period of national emergency, appeals to all sections of the Indian people to unite in defence of the motherland against Chinese aggression. The Communist Party joins hands with all our patriotic people who stand behind the Prime Minister's stirring appeal for national unity in defence of the country.

The National Council pays its humble tribute to the remarkable heroism of our soldiers in the face of extreme odds. The National Council salutes the memory of those

* This resolution of the National Council of the C.P.I. was entitled: "Unite to Defend Our Motherland Against China's Open Aggression".

India-China Border Dispute took a drastic turn in the form of an armed conflict from October 20, 1962 and the Chinese Armed Forces crossing over McMahon Line entered deep into Indian territory in the North-East with practical rout of Indian Army in the area and this development created a very serious situation in national and international plane and tremendously roused the public opinion in India against People's Republic of China. The Chinese Government thereafter declared an unilateral 'cease-fire' and withdrew the Chinese Armed Forces beyond McMahon Line vacating the aggression. The Union Government of India, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, immediately resorted to arrests of notable Communist leaders including Muzaffar Ahmad, A.K. Gopalan, B T Ranadive, P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, M. Basavapunniah, Harekrishna Konar, Krishnapada Ghosh and many others, without trial under the Defence of India Rules, and kept them in prison confinement for a long time

sons of India who have given their precious lives for the defence of our borders.

The last few weeks have seen an unprecedented mass upsurge of our people against Chinese aggression and for the defence of the country. In various parts of the country, State and District Committees of the Communist Party have joined hands with other patriotic forces to mobilise and unite the masses for national defence.

In violation of the solemn undertakings given by the Chinese Government during the last three years, not to cross the McMahon Line, Chinese armed forces in large numbers have openly crossed this international frontier and are today in many places inside Indian territory. The Chinese forces have also simultaneously launched big offensives against our positions in Ladakh.

The claims which have again and again been put forward by the Chinese Government on the grounds that the McMahon Line is 'illegal' because it was the result of an agreement made at a time when British imperialists ruled over India, are completely untenable and on no account can such arguments justify their launching aggression on India. The crossing of this line, under any excuse or pretence whatsoever, indisputably constitutes aggression and violation of our territory.

The National Council congratulates the members and supporters of the Communist Party who have joined the national defence efforts in large numbers and participated in different forms of patriotic actions.

The National Council calls on every Party member and supporter to intensify his efforts in support of the defence of the country—in unity with all people.

The National Council extends its full support to the position taken by Prime Minister Nehru in regard to the conditions for the opening of negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute. India had all along declared its willingness and its desire to settle the border dispute by peaceful negotiations, and even today, in the face of the invasion of our territory, the Prime Minister reiterated his willingness to

negotiate with the Chinese Government, while taking all the necessary measures for the defence of the country. But such negotiations can take place obviously on the basis of the withdrawal of the Chinese forces at least to the positions they held before the present aggressive actions began—that is, as the Government of India has suggested, to the positions held before 8 September 1962.

The National Council of the Communist Party appreciates the efforts of friendly countries and governments to end the present conflict and pave the way to negotiations. It appeals to them and to all progressive and peace-loving forces in all parts of the world to throw their weight in favour of stopping of hostilities, to secure the withdrawal of Chinese forces as proposed by the Government of India so that an atmosphere for negotiations is created.

It should now be clear to all that the continuation of this conflict disrupts Afro-Asian solidarity, weakens the common struggle against imperialism and for national independence, and threatens world peace.

While defending the sacred soil of our country from aggression, our people are conscious of the fact that a full-scale war between two such big powers of Asia is a disaster that everyone must exert his best to avoid.

The National Council totally rejects and repudiates the characterisation made by the Chinese authorities in their press and radio propaganda, of Prime Minister Nehru as 'an agent of the U.S. imperialists' and the leader of 'reactionaries' and an 'expansionist' and of the Government of India acting as a 'tool of U.S. imperialism' in order to secure more dollar aid.

The Communist Party in its Sixth Congress at Vijayawada had already stated that the Government of India under the leadership of Nehru, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment and of opposition to war and colonialism; it is not expansionist nor serving the interests of U.S. imperialism, though there have been errors in the consistent execution of such a basically correct policy.

In his broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Nehru has

reiterated that India will continue to pursue a policy of non-alignment. The Communist Parties of the world have again and again acknowledged the contribution to peace of the non-aligned countries and particularly India.

As long ago as last December, our late General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh publicly repudiated the wrong Chinese understanding of the character of the Indian Government and the policies pursued by it.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India never expected a socialist country like China to settle a border dispute with India by force of arms, and make astounding claims against a country which is engaged in peaceful consolidation of its newly-won independence, which belongs to the peace camp, which follows a foreign policy of non-alignment, which has all along maintained friendship with China, and whose Government is run by a parliamentary democracy and not a military dictatorship.

The behaviour of socialist China towards peace-loving India has most grossly violated the common understanding in the communist world arrived at the 81 Parties' Conference in 1960 in relation to peaceful co-existence and attitude to newly-liberated countries and the question of war and peace. Socialist China has fallen victim to narrow nationalistic considerations at the cost of the interests of world peace and anti-imperialism, in its attitude towards India.*

By its wrong and mistaken attitude, the Chinese Government has facilitated the strengthening of rightwing reactionary parties and groups in this country, strengthening of the opponents of non-alignment. The result of Chinese aggression has been to give a tremendous fillip precisely to these forces.

The reactionary forces seek to take advantage of the situation created by the Chinese aggression, to make India give

* By a decision of the National Council this paragraph was omitted from the text released to the public and the press. This is, therefore, the first time that the full text of the resolution is being made available to the public

up its policy of non-alignment, foment war hysteria and drag India into the imperialist camp. To this end, they are spreading panicky rumours and slanders to discredit the defence administration and leadership; they are openly accusing the Government and the Prime Minister of 'appeasement' and 'vacillation' and calling for a total reversal of foreign policy.

The Communist Party of India stands for the strengthening and building of the unity of all patriotic forces in this national emergency. The Communist Party of India is not opposed to buying arms from any country on a commercial basis. But it is opposed to the import of foreign personnel to man the defences of this country. The people and armed forces of India are capable enough to defend their country once they organise and move in their millions as a solid united force. Supreme efforts both by the Government and people will have to be made in this direction.

The people have responded splendidly to the call of the Prime Minister for united national effort, for stepping up production, mobilising funds for the armed forces, etc.

The Communist Party pledges itself to participate fully in all activities for the promotion of national unity, defence and the strengthening of the morale of the people.

In this situation, the National Council draws the attention of all to the warnings given in the Prime Minister's appeal against anti-national vested interest. who will try to profit by raising prices or hoarding, etc. The Council hopes that the Central and State Governments will take stern measures against the vested interests, who, as past experience shows, utilise such situations of national and international crises to enrich themselves at the cost of the toiling people, to the detriment of the defence of the country.

The great common mass of toiling people, who already live in poverty but who by their labour on land and in factories will be working in the rear to fulfil the needs of production, also need to be protected against the anti-social vested interests.

While sharing the tasks of the defence of the country, the people want to be assured that all the burdens of defence are

not cast on the poor toiling people. Hence the Council hopes that those unpopular measures which have been on the anvil of the legislatures are set aside and the defence efforts are so organised as to enthuse the mass of people and unite them for greater voluntary sacrifices for the defence of the country.

The Council notes that reactionary elements in the country are trying to misuse popular indignation against Chinese aggression to rouse feelings against the Communist Party of India. In the present situation this amounts to nothing but national disruption and defiance of the Prime Minister's call for national unity. The Council is confident that the patriotic and democratic forces in the country will give a fitting rebuff to all such attempts.

The Council calls on Communist Party units, members and supporters everywhere:

To take an active part in the work of the popular committees which are being set up in support of the defence efforts;

To exert their best to build up the National Defence Fund;

To work resolutely for increase in production for defence and people's needs;

To mobilise public opinion against price rises, black-marketing and profiteering and other anti-social activities, which hit the working people and the nation;

To campaign tirelessly against those groups, parties and elements which seek narrow political advantage out of the present crisis;

To oppose attempts to force India to give up her foreign policy of non-alignment and peace and thereby put her at the mercy of the imperialist camp and involve India in a prolonged full-scale war;

To support all moves taken by the Government of India to bring about a peaceful settlement, consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

The National Council is confident that all Communists will stand at their posts of duty and work together with the rest of the Indian people, for the greater glory of the motherland.