

## V. The International Background

The political developments centred around the India-China border were taking place against the background of a further deepening of the ideological conflict in the international Communist movement. Despite the unanimous adoption of the 1960 statement, differences persisted in the international movement. Not only did those differences come to the open through polemical pronouncements on both sides, but they affected the approach of the two sides towards some very important practical problems.

The Soviet leaders were, in the beginning of the India-China border war, critical of the "ruling circles" of India with regard to their way of tackling the border question. A sharply worded editorial of the *Pravda*, dated October 25, 1962, expressed its apprehension that "even some progressive-minded people may succumb to nationalism and become jingoist". Calling upon the

progressive forces in India to be internationalists and "strive not to fan animosity and exacerbate the conflict but settle it peacefully through negotiations", it emphasised the importance of "showing good will on both sides and not dictate any preliminary terms." It characterised the Chinese Government's statement (which was rejected by the Indian Government), "as an expression of its concern for its relations with India and of its desire to end the conflict". It went on: "They (the Chinese proposals) provide an acceptable groundwork for starting negotiations and for peacefully settling controversies in a way taking account of the interests of both the People's Republic of China and India".

The Communist Party and the Government of the USSR, however, changed their position after this. Giving up the position of warning the progressives in India against jingoism (adopted in the Pravda editorial of October 25), they moved, step by step, towards accepting the Government of India's position.

This change in the Soviet position on the question of India-China relations naturally helped the Dange group, as they could claim with some plausibility that, far from being bourgeois nationalists as pointed out by the minority in the National Council, they were the adherents of really internationalist positions. Encouraged by this, Dr. G. Adhikari, in his review and comment on Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad's document "Revisionism and Dogmatism", wrote: "The author.....quotes in his support the editorial of Pravda of October 25, 1962. He complains that we rejected the warning of that editorial that reactionaries in India were taking up war hysteria and wanted the progressive forces to counter it and strive for peaceful negotiations. But the article left many things unsaid. It had not a word to say against the disastrous Chinese invasion which in fact had created the soil for the reactionaries to sow war hysteria. That is why our Party rightfully ignored it. *We had no reason to regret it either. Subsequently, it was the CPSU which had to change and had to do the same open criticism of the Chinese Party which we did earlier.*" It is clear that it was with this "international support" that they went full stream ahead towards the line of unabashed collaboration with the Congress Government.