

(It should be noted that apart from these 32, out of the six NC, membes who are still in prison, five are widely known for their opposition to Dange's revisionist political line and disruptive organisational methods. Similarly, comrades Vajubhai Shukla from Gujarat and U. Ramam from Andhra who have been associating with these 32 could not be present at the NC meeting due to their illness. Another ten or so have practically remained confused and neutralised by these developments—*Editor*)

## STATEMENT

—32 MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.  
April 12, 1964,

We heard from Comrade Bhupesh Gupta that after our coming out of the meeting of the National Council yesterday, the remaining members discussed the question of the agenda of the meeting and adopted a resolution this morning and adjourned the meeting at Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's suggestion.

We have since learned its contents. The main points of the resolution are :-

- (1) Since the National Council has not yet heard from S. A. Dange and the Secretariat on the one hand and from those who hold that the letters are genuine on the other, the question of a *prima facie* case does not arise and hence he need not vacate the chair on that account. But he should stand down for other reasons.
- (2) The Chairman has declined to preside ; and
- (3) The question of the letters and that of the "splitting activities" of some National Council members should be taken up together. In the latter question are also added the statements of the Secretariat as well as the walk-out by us from the National Council meeting yesterday and our subsequent statements.

The fact that after our walk-out Dange had to vacate the chair, the very thing that he and the Secretariat doggedly refused to do for three days—both in the CEC and the National Council shows the utter bankruptcy of the Secretariat to deal with the present serious situation.

We certainly appreciate the efforts that are made by some members of the Council, who are anxious to find a way out of the present situation.

But, we are of the opinion that the present resolution does not reveal a sufficient realisation of the real issues and their gravity. Although the bankruptcy of the Secretariat is patent for all to see, it still wishes to cling to its position.

First, the Dange letters are the most serious issue before the entire Party. Many of us who have seen these letters and the connected papers are convinced that they are genuine and not forged. The resolution seeks to commit us to the position that no *prima facie* case exists.

Secondly, while the letters can be considered and discussed along with the statements issued by the Secretariat as well as other members of the National Council together, it is wrong to club with them, the question of what the Secretariat terms "splitting activities" of some members of the National Council.

This only shows that the seriousness of the Dange letters is sought to be minimised, and drowned in a general discussion of charges and counter-charges.

We are convinced that if the Party is to be unified and brought out of the present crisis, the cloud hanging around Dange must first be cleared through a probe by an agreed committee. Having done that, the entire inner-Party organisational question should be discussed in a calm atmosphere. The aim of such a discussion should be to find ways of ensuring fuller and freer inner-Party discussion on all issues of political and ideological controversy.

This is exactly what the resolution seeks to avoid. The very fact that our walk-out and subsequent statement—which arose as a result of the adamant attitude of the Chairman, have been added to the agenda shows the intention of those who insisted on the addition.

This resolution does not, therefore, provide any basis for reconsidering our stand.

*New Delhi,*

12-4-1964.

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|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. P. Sundarayya       | 2. M. Basavapunniah        |
| 3. T. Nagi Reddy       | 4. M. Hanumantha Rao       |
| 5. D. Venkateswara Rao | 6. N. Prasada Rao          |
| 7. G. Bapanayya        | 8. E.M.S. Namboodiripad    |
| 9. A.K. Gopalan        | 10. A.V. Kunhambu          |
| 11. C.H. Kanaran       | 12. E.K. Nayanar           |
| 13. V.S. Achuthanandan | 14. E.K. Imbichibava       |
| 15. Promode Das Gupta  | 16. Muzaffar Ahmad         |
| 17. Jyoti Basu         | 18. Abdul Halim            |
| 19. H.K. Konar         | 20. Saroj Mukerjee         |
| 21. P. Ramamurti       | 22. M.R. Venkataraman      |
| 23. N. Sankariah       | 24. K. Ramani              |
| 25. H.S. Surjeet       | 26. Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri |
| 27. D.S. Tapiala       | 28. Dr. Bhag Singh         |
| 29. Sheo Kumar Misra   | 30. R.N. Upadhyaya         |
| 31. Mohan Punamiya     | 32. R.N. Saraf.            |