


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



New Delhi, 7-17 June, 1964

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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Price: 25 Paise

Printed by D. P. Sinha, New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi and Published by him for Communist Party of India, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from 7 to 17 June 1964.

The meeting started with paying homage to the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Comrade Otto Kuusinen, Dr. Baliga and Comrade Atmaram Shinde and passed condolence resolutions on their death.

The meeting discussed a number of ideological, political and organisational questions facing the Party and the people, such as the critical food situation in the country as a whole and West Bengal in particular, the formation of the new central government, progressive forces and the Congress, socialist unity, Party unity, 7th Party Congress and other organisational matters.

The Council adopted the report on ideological controversies in the world communist movement and the Draft Programme presented to it by the Drafting Commission for innerparty discussions at conferences at all levels of the Party. These two documents are being separately published.

The National Council, besides adopting these two documents, passed resolutions on the other issues mentioned above. All these resolutions are being published in this volume for the benefit of the Party members and friends.

New Delhi,
23 June 1964

SECRETARIAT

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the most beloved leader of the Indian people. His death has left a void in the life of the nation that no other person can fill for a long time.

His death has also been mourned internationally, by all governments and peoples, for Nehru was one of the greatest citizens of the modern world.

With his faith in the unity of the Afro-Asian peoples, in peace and anticolonialism, friendship with socialist countries and international cooperation based on equality of nations, he made outstanding contributions to world developments in the last two decades.

He was one of the main architects of the policy of non-alignment which has played a great positive role, not only in strengthening our country's freedom but also in the preservation of world peace and reduction of international tensions.

Internally, Pandit Nehru tried to solve the country's problems on the basis of independent economic development within the framework of democracy and secularism. His progressive and democratic outlook has left a deep impress on every aspect of our national life.

The National Council mourns the death of this great and noble son of India. It hopes that our people will cherish and carry forward the memorable positive contributions that he made to the building of a new modern India.

The National Council sends its heartfelt condolences to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and other members of the Nehru family on their irreparable loss and bereavement.

COMRADE OTTO KUUSINEN

The National Council of the Communist Party of India deeply mourns the loss of Comrade Otto Kuusinen, outstanding leader of the international communist movement, member of the presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A veteran Bolshevik of the Leninist guard, Comrade Kuusinen devoted his long life to the cause of the socialist revolution in Soviet Union and in Finland. We communists in India gratefully remember him for his numerous writings on the question of policy of strategy and tactics of international communist movement, especially for his work on the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies.

By his death the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire international communist movement and the world working-class movement have suffered an irreparable loss.

The National Council sends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to his bereaved family and friends.

DR. A. V. BALIGA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the sudden death of Dr. A. V. Baliga, outstanding surgeon, patriot and democrat.

Dr. Baliga's name was respected and honoured in the widest circles both for his medical work as well as for his contributions to the national movement and all progressive causes.

Thousands of men and women recall with gratitude the help Dr. Baliga gave each of them in one form or other. One of the most accessible of men despite his innumerable activities, Dr. Baliga gave freely of his skill and his resources to all who came to him.

President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society since its very birth, Dr. Baliga was the life and soul of the movement for friendship and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union.

Dr. Baliga was associated closely with the peace movement, with many political and social organisations and with the antimonopoly press. His death is a grave loss to the entire nation.

The National Council sends its deepest condolences to Shrimati Baliga and the bereaved family.

COMRADE ATMARAM SHINDE

The National Council of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to Comrade Atmaram Shinde, valiant fighter in the cause of the peasants and agricultural workers, who met with a martyr's death at Yeotmal in Maharashtra while on a hungerstrike to protest against rising prices and for the distribution of land to the landless labourers. Member of the Communist Party, Comrade Atmaram Shinde came from a poor family and was a zealous Party worker. The hungerstrike came as a culmination of a districtwide mass campaign against rising prices and for securing land for the landless. The National

Council sends its condolences to the bereaved family and dips the Red Banner in the memory of our departed comrade.

ON LIFE SENTENCES IMPOSED ON SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India condemns with all the force at its command the barbaric life sentences imposed in the notorious Rivonia trial, by the South African racist government, on the bravest sons of the fighting people of South Africa. The worldwide protest campaign has been successful in compelling the South African rulers to desist from imposing death sentences on the persons accused. But in the hell of South African concentration camps a sentence to a long term of imprisonment is virtually a death sentence.

The names of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their comrades are known and respected today all over the world. Their heroism in struggle, their glorious record of sacrifice, their fearless statements in their defence during the trial—have marked them out as men of destiny of whom all humanity is proud.

The Communist Party joins its voice with all progressive mankind in demanding the immediate cancellation of the sentences and the release of the condemned South African freedom fighters.

The Communist Party urges the United Nations to take immediate effective steps to bring pressure on the South African government to put an end to its hated apartheid policy.

The US and British imperialists have refused to carry out the economic boycott of South Africa as decided upon by the United Nations. The Communist Party urges the government of India to make known to the governments of

the USA and Britain the deep revulsion of the Indian people at the connivance of these governments, through continued trade and cooperation, in the bloody terror and violence being carried out by the Verwoerd regime against the people of South Africa.

The Communist Party calls on all its units, members and sympathisers and all Indians opposed to racialism to join in the worldwide campaign for the release of the South African leaders.

ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with concern the difficult situation that faces the country after the sad death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

This sudden tragedy had been a signal for reactionary elements within the country and for diehard imperialist circles abroad to make renewed efforts to infiltrate their nominees into posts of vantage in the new government with the object of subverting the basic policies of Pandit Nehru. Even during the life time of the late Prime Minister certain foreign circles had gone to the brazen length of openly discussing the question—After Nehru, Who?—and speculating on their choice as Nehru's successor of certain persons who, they hoped, would bring about a shift of policies in a reactionary direction.

Against this background, the National Council welcomes the fact that the new Prime Minister has publicly proclaimed faithful adherence to Nehru's policies and ideals, thereby foiling the immediate hopes of the reactionary circles. At the same time, it is a matter of concern that such a well-known advocate of rightist policies as Shri S. K. Patil has re-entered the cabinet.

The National Council is of the opinion that with the sudden removal of Pandit Nehru's towering personality the

pledge given on behalf of the cabinet by Prime Minister Shastri to follow his predecessor's policies of nonalignment, peace and anticolonialism and to strive to solve India's disputes with Pakistan and China through peaceful negotiations consistent with India's security, dignity and national integrity, has to be reinforced by concrete steps in that direction by the new government.

At home, Shri Shastri has announced that top priority will be given to the questions of reducing economic inequalities, of holding prices and of improving the living standards of the people.

This is, in fact, the field in which the new government faces its most critical and immediate test; the people will judge it by its performance here. Profiteering and speculation are playing havoc with the people's food and other essential commodities of life. Prices, especially of foodgrains, are going higher and higher every day. The octopuslike grip of corruption and monopoly is strangling the nation's economic life and intensifying the crisis.

The Communist Party of India urges the new government to take drastic practical steps without delay to break the power of the profiteers and the monopolists by controlling the market through state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks, and severe penal measures against the anti-social robbers of the people's food.

The Communist Party of India has consistently supported in the past all progressive and democratic policies and measures of the Nehru government. At the same time, it has always categorically opposed and fought all policies and measures which seek to reverse the policy of nonalignment and peace and which are antidemocratic, which hit the people's interests, increase the burden of their misery and suffering, and help a handful of monopolists and speculators to enrich themselves through profiteering and hoarding. The Party will continue to do the same in future also in relation to the new government headed by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

ON THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES AND THE CONGRESS

With the passing away of Pandit Nehru, the danger has grown in India of right reactionary forces stepping up their activities with a view to coming to power. Even while Nehru was at the helm of affairs, reaction made powerful attacks on the progressive aspects of government policies—such as the pursuit of peace, nonalignment, secularism and independent economic development. However, despite certain compromises and vacillations, the government resisted these attacks and continued its pursuit of certain positive basic policies.

The millions who paid homage to Pandit Nehru on his death, were expressing in their anguish their tribute to his patriotism and anti-imperialism, to his sacrifices for the country and to his integrity. The main concern of the people at that moment arose from the fact that with the passing away of Nehru there was no other person of his national and international stature in the ruling party who could hold the people and the country together as he had done.

It was in the context of this anxiety regarding the fate of the country in the days immediately after the death of Pandit Nehru, that some wellintentioned friends placed before all democrats the suggestion that, in order to fight the right reactionaries inside the Congress, it would be helpful if all progressive, democratic and socialist-minded people joined the Congress. In the appeals made by these friends, it is virtually suggested that the Congress Party can be transformed into what could be an organ of the united front of all democratic and socialist forces for the realisation of their common aims.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India shares the anxiety of all democrats and progressives regarding the situation in the country and the growing peril from right reactionary forces. The Communist Party is in complete sympathy with all those who are today appealing

for the coming together of democratic and socialist forces so as to carry the country forward along the democratic path for the realisation of socialist objectives.

The National Council, however, considers as totally wrong and dangerous the suggestion that the Congress Party can become a platform for such unity of democratic and socialist forces. The National Council warns against any illusion that the entry into the Congress of socialist-minded persons can convert the ruling party into any sort of united front for national advance.

The Congress as a political party has certainly declared at the Bhubaneswar session that its objective is socialism. But it is not by its declarations, but by its performance and practice that the ruling party must be judged. The fact is that the Congress has not even carried out such essential prerequisites for weakening reaction and strengthening democracy and people as the nationalisation of banks, to break the power of big money, and the taking over of wholesale trade in foodgrains in order to break the power of monopoly over people's food.

The class character of the ruling party and the policies following from it cannot be changed by the merging of groups and parties of progressive and socialist-minded people with the Congress.

Although the Congress has a large mass following and a big section of the democratic-minded people are under its influence, yet it would be selfdeception to close one's eyes to the existence of strong reactionary forces entrenched in the Congress who, in league with their counterparts outside, are trying to shift government policies further to the right and weaken the positive aspects of these policies.

The Communist Party has always recognised the importance for the nation of certain progressive policies of the government such as those of peace and nonalignment, of friendship with socialist countries, of secularism and insistence on the building of an independent economy.

All socialists and democrats, whether inside or outside

the Congress, must resist the reactionary, antipeople policies of the government, particularly those which are increasing the menace of foreign imperialist capital coming to our country and those which are resulting in the growth of monopolistic power in our economy and in greater attacks on the living standards of the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes.

An important and special duty rests on the shoulders of the democratic and genuinely socialist-minded elements inside the Congress. They must translate their opinions and their faith in democracy and socialism into concrete measures and action, and defend and strengthen progressive policies, the democratic rights of the people and the toilers' struggles against exploitation and for a just share in the fruits of their toil.

It is the common united struggle of democrats and socialists, whether inside or outside the Congress, which can weaken reaction and strengthen the progressive forces in the country.

The Communist Party pledges itself to take an active part in this common struggle of all democrats and socialists in the country.

ON SOCIALIST UNITY

The necessity of uniting the socialist and democratic forces in the country has grown in recent years. With the increasing offensive of reactionary, communal and monopolist forces against democracy, secularism and popular movements, those who stand for socialism and progress have been realising that they cannot defeat reaction if their own forces are divided.

With the death of Pandit Nehru the danger of Indian reaction inside and outside the Congress intensifying its attacks against the people and the progressive values of our

national life has clearly increased. The urgency of the task of forging socialist and democratic unity has grown in the same measure.

Judged in this context, the emergence of the Samyukta Samajwadi Party (SSP) achieved through the merger of the PSP and the SP is a significant development.

This merger has come as the result of a certain sequence of events. The Bhopal conference of the PSP accepted the policy of opposing any alliance with the Swatantra Party and communal parties like the Jana Sangh and the Muslim League and of organising mass movements against the antipeople policies of the Congress governments. This sharpened the conflict of policies inside the PSP.

Simultaneously the desire for unity in the ranks of the two parties and the urge for united working-class and trade-union activity on the part of the TU activists of the PSP and SP, which had been growing for a long time in Bombay and other industrial centres, also helped the process of the PSP-SP merger.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India will strive to build relations of fraternal cooperation with the SSP for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies, and particularly in the sphere of mass struggles of workers, peasantry, intelligentsia and students. The National Council hopes that the SSP will also see the vital need of such cooperation if the people are to struggle effectively against the antipeople policies of the ruling party and the attacks of right reaction.

The National Council, however, desires to stress that the road to democratic unity, and far more to socialist unity, cannot lie through a policy of anticommunism. Anticommunism is the ideological spearhead of reaction against all progressive and democratic forces and movements. Its purpose is to prejudice the people against the ideas of scientific socialism and to disrupt the unity of the forces of socialism and democracy. As such, any concession by the SSP to

anticommunism will not only defeat its declared aim of helping to unite the socialist forces in India, it will also disrupt mass movements and struggles.

The unity of the working class in action irrespective of trade-union and political affiliations is a vital necessity for building socialist unity. The unity of the peasant movement is also similarly needed.

Socialist unity in our country has to emerge as the result of a prolonged exchange of ideas and experience and above all of common united struggles against the vested interests by all those who sincerely believe in socialism, democracy and progress whatever their theories of socialism may be. The Communist Party will continue to exert itself for strengthening the forces of socialist unity.

ON THE FOOD SITUATION

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is deeply concerned about the rapidly worsening situation in the country concerning the production and distribution of food articles. Despite the much advertised import of American wheat under PL 480, which is itself detrimental to national interest in various ways, there is no sign of any mitigation of the food crisis. Prices of all food articles are not only high, but are continuously rising, the extreme case being that of Calcutta, where rice has totally disappeared from the market and is not available at any price. In all the states, even in the surplus regions, foodgrains, sugar, edible oil, etc., have remained under the firm grip of hoarders and profiteers. Big landlords, millowners and wholesale traders, backed by bank advances, have cornered food articles to such an extent that the retailers do not obtain supplies in adequate quantities at reasonable price. Even the government is unable to furnish the fair price shops with necessary supplies. The prices of all essential goods,

and not only of foodgrains, are soaring higher and higher due to the operation of the monopolies, the entire banking system is putting enormous funds at their disposal for the purpose; the speculators, banks and other monopolies together have become a sort of state within the state.

The National Council takes serious note of the fact that all the promises of the central and state governments to hold the price line or to supply food articles during scarcity have remained only on paper. From time to time policies have been proclaimed for price control, state trading in foodgrains at reasonable price to peasants and the building of reserves, but in practice the peasant producers as well as the consumers have been left at the mercy of the profiteers dominating the market.

Price control orders are issued and profiteers are threatened with dire consequences but no practical step is taken to enter into the market at the harvest season and purchase directly from the producers. The big stockists and wholesale dealers remain free to corner the marketable supplies. They often force the government to raise the controlled rate of the prices; the government submits to their demands and thus they create an artificial scarcity for a further rise in the rate. Thus the price spiral moves upward sometimes with the sanction of the government and sometimes defying its orders. The government's empty threats and hollow proclamations surely serve in provoking the profiteers to conspire for a further rise in the prices.

Nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains has often been declared by the central government as the policy to be pursued but the opposition within the government itself has succeeded in preventing its application up to date. It reveals the influence the monopolies wield over the government. The National Council demands that the government must take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. Prior to that the government must enter into the market at the harvest season and purchase directly from the producers at reasonable prices. Retailers must get their

supplies from the state trading agencies at fixed prices with a reasonable margin.

The National Council further demands that immediately fair price shops must be opened and extended to all towns and villages with adequate supplies to be maintained from government stocks. Wherever such fair price shops exist supplies must be guaranteed so that price-control can be enforced. The central government has issued from time to time soothing statements to the effect that it has enough reserves to help the scarcity areas, but experience shows that it has too often failed in times of need. Surplus stocks of the surplus states are often allowed to be purchased by private hoarders who send them underground and thereby create artificial scarcity. An end must be put to this state of affairs and the central government must take immediate steps to pool all available reserves together and ease the situation. Emergency measures must be adopted to send supplies to the scarcity areas.

The government's state trading policy must be decided upon and executed in due time so that as soon as the harvesting season begins government purchasers can promptly launch their operations. They often remain inactive at the beginning of the season and afterwards when the situation becomes grave, they often squeeze the small peasants, while the big hoarders escape. In determining purchase prices, they often fix the rate at such a level that the small peasants find them so unremunerative that they are compelled to sell their goods to the private traders. A reasonable price must be guaranteed to the peasant producers and the latter must be supplied with all essential goods at fair prices from government shops. Such a step alone can assure the government of full cooperation from the peasants for the success of grain purchase.

The National Council reiterates the demand for nationalisation of the banks; without this step the financial grip of the monopolies over the market cannot be smashed. The enormous savings of the community concentrated in the

banks can be used for state trading in foodgrains, for expanding rural credit to small peasants and for productive purposes, instead of for hoarding and profiteering, if the banks are nationalised. The government's refusal to take this most urgent step is mainly responsible for its failure to hold the price line. This refusal is an indication of its loyalty to profiteers and betrayal of the interests of the masses.

Corruption within the administration is an important reason for the failure of government's policies of price control, procurement and even dehoarding. The police often catch hold of the smaller traders in the market for violation of price control, while the big sharks manage to escape their notice by means of bribery. This applies even to the activities of the anticorruption department of the government. Bribery and corruption have to be eliminated by energetic steps in cooperation with the people so that hoarded stocks can be unearthed, price control enforced and the domination of the monopolies checked. Stern measures must be taken against hoarders, profiteers and all other antisocial elements so that price control can become a reality.

The National Council calls upon all parties, all mass organisations and all those Congressmen who feel concerned to join together in order to mobilise the people against the government's prohoarder policy. Joint mass campaigns throughout the country for effective price control, nationalisation of banks, state trading in foodgrains and immediate supply to scarcity areas are the common concern of every political party which feels concern for the masses. It must also be the concern of any Congressman who desires to serve the common causes of the people.

The National Council calls upon all Party members and Party units to take up the issue of high prices and food scarcity as an immediate task in order to build up an extensive mass movement against the hoarders and profi-

teers, and against such policies of the government as help them.

ON THE FOOD SITUATION IN WEST BENGAL

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with grave anxiety that the food crisis has taken a serious turn in the state of West Bengal where for the last several weeks rice has completely disappeared from the open market. Nowhere is rice available at the controlled price. In the blackmarket fine rice can be had if one is prepared to pay Rs. 2 or more per kg. It is stated that without scrapping price control and increasing the rates fixed by West Bengal, the traders are not prepared to make rice available either in West Bengal or in Orissa. What is more disconcerting is that it is reported that central government has also advised West Bengal government to scrap price control so as to restore normal flow of paddy and rice from Orissa.

In front of the ration shops hundreds of ration-card holders can be seen being turned away because rice supply is inadequate.

The situation with regard to mustard oil, the cooking medium of the Bengalis, has made the already critical food situation intolerable. Only a short while ago the government surrendered to the demands of the trade to increase the price to Rs. 3 per kg of oil. Now oil has completely gone underground and the trade is saying mustard crop is bad. Hence without decontrol of prices oil cannot be made available.

The situation of price of fish has also shown the complete worthlessness and insincerity of government policies which only lay down a price schedule and do nothing to see that fish is made available to the people. How traders are permitted to hold back stocks to push up the price is

seen by the huge increase in volume of fish stored in cold storage in West Bengal while the market is almost empty. On 14 May 1964 the fish storage was 438 kg while on 30 May 1964 it was 4236 kg, and on 3 June 1964 it was 6075 kg.

The situation as prevailing in West Bengal shows that the theory the government has of shortages being the cause of price rise and not artificial scarcity and profiteering is blown sky high by the fact that this year's rice production in West Bengal has been 5.247 million tons, an increase of 9 lakh tons over last year. In Orissa there has been an increase of 6.19 lakh tons. The overall increase of rice all over India is 14.3 per cent over last year's production. The greatest increase is recorded in West Bengal and Orissa. Why then this unprecedented rise?

It is because of government's refusal to:

— undertake state trading immediately at the time of harvest and thus allow rice and paddy to fall into the hands of big stockists including rich peasants, rice mills, wholesale traders;

— undertake stern measures to dehoard accumulated stocks from these big stockists, build a machinery both for public cooperation and a clean efficient control and distribution;

— set up ration shops in all factories, institutions, bustees and offices in urban areas and supply rations to all rural poor through modified ration shops;

— take active measures for combating governmental corruption which helps the blackmarketeers and hoarders;

— accept popular cooperation and to stop penalising those who are agitating for relieving the distress of the people.

In order to end this crisis, the National Council demands that

1. the machinery for state trading in foodgrains must

be set up from now, otherwise it can never be geared into action at the time of harvest;

2. wholesale trading in foodgrains must be taken over by the government;

3. the centre must immediately step in to give adequate rice supplies to West Bengal so that the breakdown in supply at fair price shops in urban areas and modified rationing in rural areas is immediately rectified;

4. stern measures must be taken against blackmarketeers and hoarders and stocks must be unearthed with the cooperation of the people;

5. effective steps must be taken to assure a clean administrative set up in the food directorate;

6. the government must assure supply at controlled rates to retailers;

7. the public cooperation committees and all-Party vigilance committees must be set up to check price rise;

8. the government must not yield to the pressure of trade to increase consumer prices.

The National Council draws the attention of the entire public to the serious situation in West Bengal and exert utmost pressure on the central government to intervene so that the situation can be brought under control.

ON THE RELEASE OF COMMUNIST DETENUS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India records its strong protest at the continued detention of communists in certain states under the notorious Defence of India Rules. While the great majority of communist detenues has been released, a number continue to be detained in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Bihar, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh.

The continued detention of these comrades even after 1½ years of the cease-fire on the Sino-Indian border.

knocks the bottom out of the contention of the government that their arrests had anything to do with the "special situation" created by the border war or with the interests of "national security". The very fact that majority of the state governments have already freed all the communist detenus in their states proves that these comrades are being detained purely to serve the local interests of the party in power.

The prolonged and unwarranted detention of these comrades constitutes a wanton attack on the fundamental rights and democratic liberties of the people. It is a matter of deep shame that the government has not yet seen its way to order their releases even after nearly a year of the verdict of the Supreme Court declaring their detention as constituting an infringement of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitution but recording its inability to order their releases in view of the Presidential order. This is a matter of grave concern not only to communists but to all lovers of civil liberties in our country, because it shows in what contempt the government holds judicial pronouncements of the highest court in the country.

The National Council demands that all the communist detenus languishing in jails in the various states should be immediately released. The National Council further demands that the state of emergency should be ended forthwith. The National Council calls upon all members and units of the Party to conduct a vigorous release campaign in cooperation with all other democratic organisations and elements.

ON THE PROPOSED WORLD CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is deeply conscious of the grave threat to the unity and

cohesion of the international communist movement. Serious differences in the world communist movement have their repercussions on the world struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. They weaken the unity of the socialist camp, the most powerful force of world progress. They are doing great damage to Communist Parties in the capitalist world who have to struggle against imperialist and reactionary rule under extremely difficult conditions. They threaten the unity of many Communist Parties in such countries. However necessary it may be to nail down the harmful views and practices of the CPC leadership, which is mainly responsible for the crisis, our aim is but the restoration of the unity of the world communist movement.

The National Council is appreciative of the repeated efforts made by the leadership of the CPSU to end public polemics with the Communist Party of China and to restore normal relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China and between the USSR and the PRC. Similar and valuable efforts have been made by a number of other Communist Parties to restore the unity of the world communist movement. It is a matter of the deepest regret and concern that, far from responding to such fraternal efforts, the CPC leaders have intensified their attacks against the CPSU and other brother parties and their disruptive activities in the international communist movement and the mass organisations.

Under the circumstances, it is the opinion of the National Council that a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world should be held with necessary preparatory work, but without avoidable delay. Our Party suggested the holding of such a conference as early as in December 1962 and again in October 1963.

The composition of the Preparatory Commission should be the same as at the last world conference or one as is commonly agreed upon and should proceed with prepara-

tions for the next world conference. The National Council cannot subscribe to the proposals of the CC CPC on this question. While formally accepting the proposal of a world conference the leaders of the CPC suggest a time schedule for bilateral talks between the CPC and the CPSU, to be followed by wider consultations and a preparatory drafting commission, which would postpone the convening of the conference to four or five years. Such a dilatory approach to the vital need of restoring the unity of the international communist movement would only be an invitation to further confusion and disruption.

The task of the next world conference is not limited to a reiteration of the 81 Parties' Statement and a review of dogmatist or revisionist deviations from it. Its task would be to review world development since the close of 1960, to review the experiences of the world struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, to review the experience of socialist construction and of fraternal economic cooperation between the socialist countries, to review the problems of interparty relations that have developed after the Moscow Statement, and to draw the necessary conclusions for the further unification and advance of the world communist movement, against world imperialism and reaction and for the victory of socialism.

The National Council is confident that such a conference will enrich and carry forward the heritage of the Moscow Statement of 1960. It will also achieve the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

ON PARTY UNITY

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is deeply distressed over the trend of developments in the

inner-Party situation since its last meeting. Following the walk-out by the 32 comrades and the publication of their statement announcing a rival programme of action, leading to the formation of a rival party, the National Council was compelled to take action at its last meeting against them and suspend them from the Party. After the open appeal by these 32 comrades to Party members to repudiate the National Council, the authority of elected Party Committees has been flouted and parallel committees have been formed at a number of places all over the country. Ten of the 32 comrades, who are members of the Central Executive Committee, have openly met in Delhi and have reiterated their earlier decision to hold an open conference of their supporters at Vijayawada in the first week of July. The programme of holding a rival party congress has still not been abandoned.

The National Council is glad to note that the overwhelming majority of members of the Party irrespective of their political opinions and differences on various issues are opposed to the splitting activities. The establishment of parallel committees and the carrying out of open attacks on the Party in the press and in public speeches have done grave damage to the Party. The National Council shares the anxiety and concern expressed by the overwhelming majority of members and units of the Party over these disastrous developments and is in complete agreement with them on the need to make all possible efforts to avert the impending split even at this late hour.

The National Council is firmly convinced that in the critical political situation obtaining in the country today, specially after the death of Prime Minister Nehru and the seething discontent of the masses, a split in the Communist Party will be the gravest blow to the cause of the working class and the whole democratic movement and the greatest service to the dark forces of imperialism and right reaction. No communist worth his salt can cherish the idea of a split in the revolutionary vanguard of

the working class at this grave juncture in our history.

The National Council firmly rejects the theory that a split in the Communist Party has become inevitable due to certain so-called "fundamental" differences on the questions of ideology, current policy and organisation. Even the advocates of this erroneous theory have not been able to formulate any alternative ideological political and organisational platform of a new communist party. Even the 32 have openly confessed that they themselves are divided on questions of ideology and current policy. It should be obvious, therefore, that any advocacy of split inside the Party on the basis of these so-called fundamental differences runs quite contrary to all principles of inner-party struggle and the norms of democratic centralism.

The National Council is fully convinced that the internationally accepted Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences, the unanimously adopted Political Resolution and Report of the Vijayawada Party Congress and the Hyderabad National Council resolution on Party organisation still constitute a sound basis for maintaining the unity of the Party.

The National Council appreciates and supports the initiative of the Central Secretariat taken through its letters to the 32 comrades dated 29 May and 2 June* to find a way out of the present unfortunate situation and to initiate the process to restore unity inside the Party by proposing rescinding of suspension order passed against the 32 comrades. The Council is sad to note that these efforts have not succeeded so far.

The National Council has carefully considered the reply sent on 31 May to the Central Secretariat by the 10 suspended members of the CEC who recently assembled at Delhi and regrets the polemical tone of this reply which cannot be considered helpful for unity. Instead of reciprocating for initiatives for unity taken by the Central Secre-

* See Appendix on p. 33 ff for the text of correspondence.

tariat, these comrades have put forward various new demands which make Party unity more difficult to achieve.

The National Council, however, desiring to carry forward the unity initiatives already taken, and in view of the urgent necessity for Party unity in the present situation facing our country, resolves that as soon as the 32 comrades or any of them intimate their willingness to return to the National Council, abide by the decisions of the National Council, dissolve or dissociate themselves from all parallel party organisations set up at different levels, the suspension order against them shall stand rescinded.

Disciplinary actions taken by state, district and local party organisations for formation of parallel committees shall stand rescinded similarly as soon as the comrades concerned make similar declarations as suggested above in the case of the 32 comrades.

The National Council is of the opinion that once a principled basis for Party unity is agreed upon as laid down above, other points of difference can be discussed and resolved satisfactorily, thus enabling the Party to move unitedly to the 7th Party Congress.

The National Council hopes that the 32 comrades will immediately respond to this resolution by signifying their willingness to return to the National Council, discuss their differences inside the Party, abide by the decisions of the Party bodies, put a stop to the publication of all rival party journals and thus enable the rank and file membership to give their verdict on all issues of current innerparty differences.

The Council authorises the Central Secretariat to take further steps to carry forward the initiative for Party unity and to hold such talks and discussions as are required for this purpose.

The National Council appeals to all units and members of the Party to restore and strengthen Party unity at all levels, rouse the consciousness of Party members in the

struggle for Party unity so that a united Party Congress is smoothly held and walk-outs and splits become a thing of the past.

ON THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS

Having considered the demand from various states to extend the date of the Party Congress, the National Council of the Communist Party of India resolves to hold the 7th Party Congress in Bombay in the last week of November 1964, the exact dates to be decided by the Secretariat in consultation with the Maharashtra Council of the Party.

The National Council adopts the following agenda for the Party Congress :

1. Report on ideological controversies in the international communist movement
2. Programme of the Communist Party of India
3. Political Resolution
4. Review Report since Vijayawada Congress of the Party
5. Amendments to the Party Constitution
6. Organisational Report
7. Election of the Central Organs of the Party

The National Council decides the following basis of representation at the Party Congress :

1. The Party membership of 1962 which closed on 30 June 1963 with additions in terms of the National Council resolution of April 1964 but excluding such Party members who join the rival party organisations will form the basis of electing delegates to the Party Congress and Party Conferences at various levels.
2. Delegates to the Party Congress will be elected on the basis of one delegate for every 200 Party members or a major fraction of it with a minimum of 5 delegates to every state. The Central Party Head-

quarters branch will also elect 5 delegates to the Party Congress.

The National Council decides to set up a sub-committee to scrutinise and formulate amendments to the Party Constitution for being placed before the next meeting of the Council. The sub-committee will consist of (1) Bhupesh Gupta, (2) Bhowani Sen, (3) Avtar Singh Malhotra, (4) Sohan Singh Josh and (5) Unni Raja.

The National Council shall meet in August for 5 days to discuss and adopt the Draft Political Resolution and Amendments to the Party Constitution for being placed before the Party Congress.

ON THE PARTY CENTRE IN WEST BENGAL

The National Council of the Communist Party of India takes note of the fact that the West Bengal State Council as a unit has refused to abide by the discipline of the Party.

Five members of the State Secretariat, including the Secretary of the State Council, who were suspended by the National Council together with other 27 members of the National Council continue to remain in their position and the State Council has refused to implement the decision of the National Council.

The State Council has endorsed the antiparty statement of the 32 suspended members and continues to function as a body subordinate to the parallel centre run by the 32 suspended members.

It has publicly disowned the National Council.

The National Council also notes that the Secretariat of the National Council addressed a letter to all members of the West Bengal State Council informing them of this state of affairs and calling upon them to give their suggestions as to the means for the restoration of the functioning

of the Party Centre in West Bengal. The majority have sent no reply. Meanwhile, the Party Centre in West Bengal is functioning as a body subordinate to the rival all-India centre.

The National Council is of the opinion that any further delay in the proper functioning of the Party in West Bengal as a loyal unit under the National Council is fraught with the danger of the West Bengal Party being disorganised, disintegrated and paralysed. It can neither carry out the decisions of the National Council nor discharge its responsibilities to the people who are facing the gravest ever food crisis, rising prices, etc., which urgently require the Communist Party to lead the mass movement. Such a state of affairs, of drift and inaction can have only one effect—to help the “rival centre” and to strengthen right reactionary forces.

The National Council, therefore, directs the Central Secretariat to convene a meeting of those members of the West Bengal State Council who accept the authority of the National Council. The meeting must be convened within 15 days after the end of this session of the National Council. The agenda for the meeting shall be—

- (i) Organisational measures necessary for functioning as the State Party Centre;
- (ii) Preparation for the Party Congress.

ON STRENGTHENING THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT

The National Council, realising the need to strengthen the Central Secretariat in view of the growing responsibilities to prepare for the 7th Congress, decides to elect Comrades C. Rajeswar Rao and G. Adhikari as members of the Central Secretariat without prejudice to any changes that may be made following the unity efforts of the Party.

APPENDIX

LETTER SENT BY THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT ADDRESSED
SEPARATELY TO EACH OF THE 32 SUSPENDED MEMBERS
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON 29 MAY 1964

The question of unity in the Party is always an important question. But with the death of Pandit Nehru and the new situation that the country and all of us have to face, the question of Party unity has acquired an added urgent importance.

Whatever may be our assessment of the situation in the country as a whole and whether we completely agree or not in that assessment, it is a fact that Nehru's death will sharpen the contradictions in the ruling class and face the country and the toiling masses with the problem of preserving whatever was progressive in his policies and defeat attempts of right reaction, which has its supporters inside the Congress also, to change the country's course in a totally reactionary direction.

The Party will now be faced with the task of guarding the policy of peace, nonalignment and anticolonialism in our international relations, which India follows in the main so far, though with some occasional regrettable lapses. The pressure from right reaction on our foreign policy will be very heavy and if it succeeds, it will lead to dangerous consequences.

In international policy, the threat will be even more serious in as much as even under Nehru, while economic progress was taking place in one direction, the monopolists were getting more and more entrenched with the aid of foreign imperialist interests, despite Nehru's insistence on building our own independent economy, his humanist sentiments for the welfare of the masses and his support for socialist thinking.

We need not recount all the issues that were agitating

the country when he died such as the issue of Kashmir, the India-China border, the communal tensions, the struggle of the masses for better living and so on.

We also cannot forget the fact that Nehru was a defender of Parliamentary democracy, and despite its shortcomings it is an asset of the Indian people in the present conditions.

Everyone in India is thinking of these and many other problems and trying to figure out what role each party is going to play. The democratic forces in the country, including those in the Congress, are capable enough to defeat reaction and take the country forward on the path of progress.

In such circumstances, our Party members and even the masses feel rather sad that the Party is divided and on the brink of complete split. We do not wish to go into all that has happened between you and the National Council. The documents speak for themselves.

But now in the new circumstances, we should all reconsider the question. There is no doubt you have political and organisational differences with the National Council. You disagree with the majority in the National Council. And you say that our line has compelled you to set up separate bodies, hold separate meetings, etc. The National Council has already made known its decision on this in its last resolution by which it took action against you.

We, of the Secretariat, are deeply anxious to be able to place before the coming meeting of the National Council a proposal that the suspension resolution against all of you comrades be immediately rescinded. But in order to be able to do this, we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees you have set up and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels.

We believe that the urgent national situation demands such steps by you and by us.

Once this is done, we can together prepare for a united

Party Congress as early as possible. In this regard we can take some immediate steps even now, without waiting for the National Council meeting.

For example, the Commission appointed by the CEC for preparing documents for the Party Congress is there and as you know four of you are in that Commission. You refused to attend the meeting of the Commission when invited, and instead published in the press your own programme without reference to the Commission or the CEC.

The Commissions are going to meet again on the eve of the National Council. We would like each of the four comrades who refused to attend earlier to consider their decision anew in the light of the present situation and attend the meeting of that Commission. That could be a beginning to lessen the differences and pave the way for restoring unity preparatory to the Party Congress.

We can discuss any further suggestions in this direction, keeping in view the fact that the National Council of the Party of which you are members (though under suspension) does exist and has to guide the Party and that its views and decisions must be respected.

We would request you to consider this letter in all seriousness and let us have your reply.

S. A. DANGE
Chairman
Central Secretariat

REPLY FROM COMRADE P. SUNDARAYYA AND NINE OTHER
COMRADES TO THE LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL
SECRETARIAT DATED 31 MAY 1964

We have received your letter of May 29th, drawing our attention to the important question of Party unity, and informing us that you "are deeply anxious to be able to

place before the coming meeting of the National Council, a proposal that the suspension resolution against (us) be immediately rescinded." You ask us to do certain things in order to enable you to do this.

Let us at the very outset state that the question of Party unity is dear to us as it is to tens of thousands of Party members and hundreds of thousands of sympathisers and friends of the Party. As a matter of fact, each of us individually and many of us collectively have been doing our best to see that the trend towards disruption is arrested, that all the different problems of ideology, current policy and organisation facing the Party are so dealt with as to preserve and further strengthen its unity. We would, therefore, have no hesitation in welcoming and supporting all efforts which are conducive to Party unity.

We, however, regret that the way in which you propose to solve the problem of Party unity will not lead us anywhere. For, the threat to Party unity arose precisely out of the policies and practices adopted by you and some of your colleagues. It is inconceivable how Party unity can be restored without your abandoning these practices and policies. From your letter it is clear that you are not making the least effort in this direction. On the other hand, you are dictating terms to us. This is putting the cart before the horse.

The proceedings of our Central Executive and Secretariat have been leaked to the bourgeois press in a distorted form in order to damn us before the public as alien agents. This campaign intensified particularly after 1959. Those who indulged in such nefarious practices cannot but know that it would lead to disruption of the Party itself. And yet they continued with it despite the widespread discontent and anger against them throughout the Party.

The CEC directed all Party branches to sever all connections with the *Link* because of its slander campaign against a section of the Party and attempt at disrupting the unity of the Party. Despite that S. A. Dange and

many of his colleagues have kept the closest relations with those who conduct that paper. Furthermore, Dange had invested Rs. 30,000 in the *Patriot*, a daily started by the same group of people, which carried on the same tirade with greater intensity. What is still worse, it has been revealed by Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali in a leaflet that these two papers were started by S. A. Dange, among others.

The National Council in its meeting of April 1962, came to the unanimous conclusion that the unity of the Party can be preserved and further strengthened only if all of us agree to work unitedly in order to solve current problems, and simultaneously to organise innerparty discussion on questions of ideology and policy on which serious differences had arisen. It was with this objective that a composite leadership was evolved at that meeting. We are of opinion that the spirit with which we started functioning from that meeting of the National Council is the essential prerequisite for keeping the Party united.

Unfortunately, however, very soon you abandoned this spirit. Ever since the latter half of October 1962, you have been using the majority which you happened to have in the National Council in order to crush the minority. In doing this, you took advantage of the emergency in the country. You took a series of organisational measures which, instead of strengthening the unity of the Party, sowed the seeds of disruption and slowly but surely led to serious rifts in the Party from top to bottom. Simultaneously you abandoned the political line of the Vijayawada Party Congress, which can be proved from your activities and various writings in the Party press.

We need not here recount all the disruptive steps taken by you and some of your followers during the last year and a half, since we have explained some of them elsewhere. We would only point out here that the present organisational position of the Party, which is on the verge of final and irrevocable split is to be traced directly to the fact that you renounced the spirit of joint work and of

organised innerparty discussion.

We may also remind you that we have repeatedly warned you against the consequences of the course which you have been pursuing. For instance, as early as January-February 1963, E. M. S. Namboodiripad had drawn your attention to the growing danger to the unity of the Party and the necessity for taking measures to stop the growing disruption. 17 others had also warned you against the trend in October 1963: they too made an earnest request to you to take certain minimum practical steps to avert the danger. Subsequently, in January 1964, those of us who were attending the then meeting of the CEC made concrete proposals for organising the Seventh Party Congress and making it a Congress of unity. All these warnings given by us however went unheeded; the concrete proposals made by us were rejected.

In the meanwhile, you have been carrying on a persistent slander campaign for discrediting us. You went to the extent of denouncing us as "antiparty splitters", "neo-Trotskyites carrying out the orders of Peking", etc. You and your followers went on merrily with a spate of disciplinary measures. We and many other comrades were suspended in every state. In violation of the spirit and letter of the Party Constitution, Party Committees and Councils that dared to question your methods and politics were arbitrarily and summarily dissolved. Never before have so many disciplinary actions been taken against individual members of the Party and elected committees. The suspension of the 32 members of the National Council was nothing but a logical outcome of this process.

You will remember how we repeatedly requested the Central Executive Committee and National Council to deal separately with the question of letters and to see that the Chairman vacates the chair while the letters are discussed. We agreed to discuss the question of so-called 'splitting activities' after we get time and notice to prepare our documents on the subject. But our reasonable stand

was turned down and hence we could not participate in the meeting. In fact, strange as it may seem, since the revelation of the letters, the question of 'splitting activities' seems to have acquired supreme importance to you and the discovery was made that we were 'neo-Trotskyites'! Were such diversionary tactics made to unify the Party?

We, who have for the last one month and more been campaigning on the damage caused to the Party by these actions of yours, are convinced that the majority of Party members in the country as a whole are opposed to the attitude adopted by you. You yourself would admit—if you are not totally blind to what is actually taking place in the Party ranks—that the majority which you still have in the National Council has no relation to the position which you occupy in the Party ranks. Such a discrepancy between the views of the majority of the Party members and views of the majority in the National Council is the most important factor to be taken into account when the question of Party unity is considered.

You may challenge this and claim that you have behind you not only a majority of the National Council but a majority of the Party membership as well. But, in view of the fact that you have had to suspend no less than one-third of the members of the National Council and a large number of leading comrades in the committees below, in view of the fact also that you have had to dissolve several elected committees in all states and nominate rival committees, the least that you have to do is to refrain from asserting your right as the majority in the Party till the claims made by us on the one hand and by you on the other are tested by a properly convened Party Congress. It was to this end that we made certain proposals in the statement which we and 22 others issued on April 14.

Three of the four proposals made by us—cancellation of all disciplinary actions taken on the ground of "disruptive and splitting activities" during the last year and a half; fresh scrutiny of Party membership in those cases

where disputes have arisen; and the appointment of a commission with agreed personnel to prepare documents for the Party Congress—are all related to the convening of a properly prepared and fully representative Party Congress. Nobody who takes a reasonable and responsible attitude to innerparty problems can reject these proposals. Yet you and your colleagues saw fit to reject them.

Surprisingly enough you do not make any reference to these realities of the situation. And yet you want us and the entire Party to believe that you are making a great “concession” by offering to us that the suspension resolution against us will be rescinded on certain conditions. Was your intimation to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha that A. K. Gopalan has been removed from the leadership of the Communist Group in Lok Sabha motivated by this concern for unity? Our reply to this offer and the conditions laid down therefore are as follows:

(a) The suspension resolution adopted by you against the 32 National Council members is only an episode in the process started by you—the process of taking action against those who are not in agreement with your political line and organisational methods. The question is: Are you prepared to reverse this process, to cancel all disciplinary actions taken on the ground of “disruptive and splitting activities” during the last year and a half: are you prepared to bring back the spirit of joint work and organised innerparty discussion which animated us in our work from April to October 1962?

(b) If you are prepared to reverse the process and to restore the rights of individual Party members and elected committees who were arbitrarily deprived of their rights by you at the Centre and other committees in the states, districts and localities then the problem of “rival” committees posed by you would not arise at all. They will all stand dissolved.

(c) We should also mention here that the problem of

“rival committees” is not a one-sided affair; wherever your people are in a minority—this happens to be the position in a majority of districts in some of the major provinces—your people have formed and are functioning committees rival to the properly elected ones.

(d) Nor would the question of our “willingness to abide by Party discipline at all levels” arise if the above-mentioned approach to Party organisation is taken. For our defiance of the decision of certain Party bodies was the consequence of the arbitrary manner in which you used your majority of the National Council in order to crush the minority. The moment you stop this and begin to function in the spirit of the 1962 April National Council meeting, we would not hesitate to abide by the decisions of Party bodies. It will not be out of place to point out here that we have been abiding by Party discipline for long despite your disruptive activities.

The proposal we made in the statement of 32 National Council members regarding the need for an agreed machinery for enquiring into the “Dange letters” is not strictly and directly connected with the preparation for the Party Congress. It is, however, equally, if not more, important in relation to the question of Party unity. After all, here is a problem involving the reliability and integrity of a comrade holding the highest post in the Party. Unfortunately for him and for all of us, the National Archives contains a letter allegedly written by him—a letter which if really written by him should debar him from membership of the Party, not to speak of leading post. Unfortunately again, the majority of the National Council with that comrade himself as Chairman has taken the extraordinary step of instituting an enquiry into the letters with a prior declaration that there is no prima facie case against him. We cannot accept this position and want to make it clear that according to us the very fact that the letter is kept in the Archives indicates a prima facie case against him; it is

necessary for him to prove that it is a forgery. We, therefore, reiterate that "the personnel of the enquiry body and the methods of the enquiry should not be dictated by Dange and his followers but should be acceptable to all sections in the National Council".

We have made this suggestion despite the fact that according to those of us who had seen the letters, together with all the connected papers and cross references as well as the earlier correspondence between the governments of Bombay and India, these letters are genuine and not forged.

After we left the National Council, S. A. Dange made a speech on the letters and his financial and speculative transactions, including the investment of Rs. 30,000 in the *Patriot* under a different name. It has now been revealed by Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali that S. A. Dange along with some others was responsible for the starting and running of the *Link* and *Patriot*. A CEC resolution debars a Party member from having anything to do with *Link*. You will agree that such activities bring the Party into disrepute and contempt. Hence a probe by an agreed committee is immediately necessary.

We should, before concluding, refer to the suggestion that we have made in the statement of the 32 that "the method of functioning the Party Centre, running the Party organs, etc. will have to be reviewed and necessary changes made in them." We had not elaborated the point in that statement. We would, however, make it clear now that, in view of the fact that the most important job between now and the date of the Seventh Party Congress is the preparation of the Party Congress, the Secretariat as such including the posts of the Chairman and General Secretary should be abolished for the duration. All the jobs of political and organisational guidance of the Party (which under the present circumstances will have to be reduced at the moment) will have to be done by the CEC through some mechanism evolved by agreement.

We are confident that, if you are sincere and earnest about the need for Party unity, you will not hesitate to accept the above proposals. We, therefore, earnestly request you not to allow personal prestige on your part to stand in the way of accepting these proposals, and thus pave the way for us all jointly preparing for the Party Congress.

P. SUNDARAYYA

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

A. K. GOPALAN

PROMODE DASGUPTA

JYOTI BASU

HAREKRISHNA KONAR

P. RAMAMURTI

HARKISHEN SINGH SURJEET

JAGJIT SINGH LYALPURI

LETTER OF THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT TO

COM. P. SUNDARAYYA AND OTHER COMRADES, 3 JUNE 1964

We have received with great regret and concern your letter dated May 31, rejecting our earnest appeal for Party unity sent to you on May 29.

We had made this appeal in the light of the new situation in the country following the death of Pandit Nehru. We had underlined the grave dangers which exist today for the country and the urgency for united action by the democratic forces to fight these dangers. It was in this light that our unity appeal was issued.

It is amazing that your reply has not one word to say about the problems facing our people today following the passing away of the Prime Minister. It is evident that your attitude springs from a complete failure to see the

new situation and to suppress old prejudices and factional interests in the light of this new situation, which calls not for a prolongation of polemics and mutual recriminations but for positive steps for Party unity.

Your letter might well have been written before the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. Not only does it omit all mention of this unparalleled event in the nation's life, but the whole spirit of your letter is one which has nothing in common with the desire for Party unity, which is the dominant reaction of thousands of members of our Party, irrespective of their views on other questions.

We do not wish, at this moment, to go into a detailed rebuttal of the points raised by you. It is not necessary for us to point out again how utterly wrong and mistaken is the position taken by you. This is not the moment for the kind of vituperations in which you have indulged. Lip-service to Party unity is not enough. It must be backed by concrete action.

The Secretariat sincerely hoped that the new situation would awaken in you a sense of urgency and you would be prepared, as we were and are, to forget and put aside for the time being the rigid positions which had been taken earlier.

It was in that spirit that we wrote to you on May 29. It was in that spirit that we earnestly hoped you would enable us to place before the National Council a proposal for the immediate cancellation of the suspension resolution against you and other comrades.

We did not, in our letter, say anything which could be interpreted as "dictating terms", as you suggest. All we did say was this: that, in order to be able to place before the coming meeting of the National Council a proposal that the suspension resolution be immediately rescinded, "we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees you have set up and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels."

This is what you call "putting the cart before the horse." We are shocked at this attitude taken by you. Surely, the most elementary step for the restoration of Party unity is the dissolution of the rival committees you have established. What unity can there be if the rival committees continue to exist? We are afraid we are unable to appreciate your understanding that dissolution of party committees is the "cart" which must follow the "horse", which is the restoration of Party unity!

Again we appealed to you to declare "your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels." Is this also something which must *follow* Party unity? Or is it an essential condition for Party unity and functioning according to all accepted principles of Party functioning?

We are not seeking a united front of two parties. We are seeking the unity of *one* Party. And, therefore, if this Party is to function in a way in which it can carry out the heavy duties which face it today (heavier than ever in the new period), it is an elementary, basic proposition that all members should abide by the decisions of Party bodies.

This is not "dictating terms." This is *not* "putting the cart before the horse." Our appeal to you was made with the utmost good will and sincerity. When we requested the dissolution of party committees and adherence to Party decisions, we did not put forward "terms" or "conditions", but merely underlined the minimum that was essential for Party unity.

You have not merely rejected our appeal. You have put forward demands which go even further than the terms you insisted upon earlier. Instead of moving, as we attempted to do, towards understanding, you have, by raising new issues, declared your determination to frustrate all efforts for unity.

The Report of the Central Control Commission and the Secretariat's report "From Parallel Centre to Rival Party" have already informed Party members of the manner in

which some comrades from amongst you acted to split the Party and prevent it from functioning. The setting up of rival committees, the launching of rival journals, the setting up of rival candidate in the Rajya Sabha elections in Andhra Pradesh—all these were parts of a consistent line pursued by a certain group with a view to establish a rival party, with an ideological standpoint in complete contradiction to that of the Party and the international communist movement.

After the last meeting of the National Council in April 1964, the disruptive and splitting activities have been intensified still further. Open rival committees have been established in several states. Attempts are being made to grab and appropriate Party property. The name of the Party itself is sought to be usurped.

Since the meeting of the National Council in February 1963, the Party leadership has been warning against the disruptive moves aimed at splitting the Party and the open calls for such a split given by the leadership of Communist Parties of China and Indonesia.

It is not the disciplinary actions which began the split, as you would suggest. It was the open formation of parallel committees, rival functioning, spreading of slanders, violation of Party policies and decisions on the part of some comrades amongst you, which is the cause of the present split. All the relevant facts in regard to this, which are already before the Party members, completely refute the false allegations made so brazenly in your letter.

At this moment, what is necessary is that the Party should be able to act with the greatest strength. For this, Party unity is essential. It is also imperative that the leading bodies should be able to take decisions on policy and other matters quickly and with the certainty that these decisions will be implemented.

In your letter you make an astounding proposal. You demand that "the Secretariat, as such, including the posts

of the Chairman and General Secretary, should be abolished" till the Party Congress and that "all the jobs of political and organisational guidance of the Party... will have to be done by the CEC through some mechanism evolved by agreement."

This proposal means in fact the complete scrapping of all Party bodies and offices, and functioning through an agreed machinery set up by the CEC.

Functioning by agreement is always to be desired. But the creation of conditions in which, in the name of "agreement" there is always a complete deadlock, will not strengthen the Party, but paralyse it and doom it to a slow death.

The National Council was elected by the Party Congress. To argue, as you argue, that it does not command a majority of Party comrades' confidence and, therefore, it should be put in cold storage, is fantastic.

The National Council majority has a far bigger majority in the Party membership than it has in the Council itself. This is evident from any honest evaluation. We mention this only to counter the utterly false premise on which you seek to base your proposal for the abolition of all Party bodies, and their replacement by an "agreed machinery."

We regret we are unable to accept this proposal for the paralysing of the Party, for the abandonment of the responsibilities given to the National Council by the Party Congress at Vijayawada.

We have again and again suggested united preparations for the Seventh Party Congress. We invited you to attend even now the meetings of the Drafting Commission. But you have refused to do this. Again, let us repeat, it is not enough to talk of united preparations for the Party Congress; it is necessary to show by your actions your sincere desire for such united work.

We would, however, not like to give up all hope of a positive response to our appeal, merely because of the tone of your letter and your rejection of our appeal.

We have every confidence that the situation in the country which you can see unfolding before you will convince at least those amongst you who sincerely desire that our Party should be able to serve our people well at this juncture.

S. A. DANGE