

The informal meeting of some comrades now taking place has been necessitated precisely because of these activities of the Secretariat, which have led to an unprecedented crisis in the Party. We are seriously considering how to get the Party out of this critical situation.

Evidently, the Secretariat and the Chairman S.A. Dange realise that they do not represent the majority of the Party members, who by their own experience have come to realise that the present Secretariat is dragging the Party with its glorious traditions of struggle to the path of class collaboration. Hence, they seem to be bent upon splitting the Party.

They forget that they are only the Secretariat and cannot arrogate to themselves the powers of pronouncing judgment—because that is the exclusive prerogative of the National Council. It is noteworthy that some members of the Secretariat have refused to attend its meetings and associate themselves with these statements.

We are confident that Party members would see through these attempts at shirking the real issues and no one would be fooled by them.

LETTER TO NATIONAL COUNCIL

*TWELVE CEC MEMBERS,
April 10, 1964*

Dear Comrades,

We, the members who walked out of the CEC meeting yesterday afternoon consider it our duty to explain to the National Council the circumstances which forced us to take this step.

It is universally acknowledged that the present meeting of the National Council has to tackle an extremely serious situation, unprecedented in the history of our Party.

That the Chairman of the Party is one who according to the disclosures of the National Archives is alleged to have written to the Viceroy, offering his services to the British Government is no ordinary thing. It will be easily understood that such serious disclosure, unless immediately disproved, would create a crisis in any Party in any situation at any time. For if this is proved true, then the highest post in the Party is occupied by one, who should have no place in the revolutionary movement, but who has succeeded in coming to the top of the Party by keeping the Party in the dark about his relations with the British rulers.

Many of those who had seen the letters and the connected papers are convinced that they are genuine and are not forged.

Is it not clear that the most important task before the National Council is to deal with this question of the alleged letters, set up an agreed enquiry committee to go into the genuineness or otherwise of the letters?

Instead of that, the Secretariat which did not care to look into the letters came out with a statement and called them forgeries. In the subsequent statement instead of correcting its ways, it arrogated to itself all the powers of the CEC and the National Council. It persisted in treating this to be a secondary matter and placed before the CEC the agenda with the following points in order of priority.

- (1) Resolution on the disruptive and anti-Party activities of certain leading Party members ;
- (2) Consideration of the alleged "Dange Letters" ;
- (3) Tasks of the mass movement.

A question has been raised that in judging the conduct of those who went to the press on these letters it is material and important to decide whether they were really spreading a

slander against the Party Chairman or exposing a serious unknown fact affecting the honour and prestige of the entire Party.

But, most of the Secretariat members had evidently made up their minds that the only factor which prevents the unity of the Party is what they call the disruptive and anti-Party activities of a section in the CEC and the National Council. They pretend as if they themselves have been behaving in the most correct manner. We for our part cannot accept this position. We are of opinion that the responsibility for bringing about the present deplorable state of affairs in the Party rests on the shoulders of the Secretariat.

Some of us have repeatedly put our case before the National Council, the case that, ever since the November (1962) meeting of the National Council, the Secretariat and those who support them in the National Council and in the provinces have been functioning not on behalf of the Party as a whole but of a particular faction. (Com. Bhupesh Gupta, however, has a different view on these.) It is obvious that both points of view should be thoroughly discussed within the National Council. This the Secretariat was not prepared to do. According to the Secretariat the very fact that it makes the assertion that those who oppose their points of view are disruptors and splitters is enough proof. Anyhow, the question of split and unity of the Party is too great an issue for the Party and the people to be discussed in this perfunctory and casual manner.

This refusal to listen to the voice of reason went to the extent of turning down the proposal made by Com. Bhupesh Gupta that the whole inner-Party situation, including items (1) and (2) of the Secretariat's draft agenda be taken as a whole and thoroughly discussed. They further turned down the proposal made by Bhupesh and Jyoti Basu that an effort be made to explore the possibilities of agreement on the agenda and procedure. They insisted on using the slender majority they have in the CEC and the National Council to impose on us a procedure according to which serious inner-Party questions

which will decide the future of the Party are to be decided at a time when certain serious suspicions aroused against the Chairman have not been cleared and under his chairmanship.

What is more, the Chairman refused to relinquish the chair even when his conduct was to be discussed. On the other hand he made an extremely provocative speech even going to the extent of shouting, "I will not vacate, you get out".

Under these circumstances there is no alternative for us but to refrain from participating in the meeting.

Sd/- E.M.S. Namboodiripad

A.K. Gopalan

P. Ramamurti

M.R. Venkataraman

P. Sundarayya

M. Basavapunniah

Jyoti Basu

Harekrishna Konar

Promode Das Gupta

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri

Bhupesh Gupta

STATEMENT

THIRTY TWO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

April 11, 1964

After the National Council adjourned yesterday, Coms. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta met the Secretariat members this morning to explore every avenue of taking the Party out of the present crisis.

They pointed out that in order to create a proper atmosphere for a frank, full and dispassionate discussion of the present crisis, the minimum requirement would be (a) that the