

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