

REGARDING SOME URGENT DECISIONS OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
meeting of June 2, 1950.

The Editorial Committee met and discussed its functions etc. which have been put in a resolution for PHQ comrades to consider. It should be pointed out that Editorial Committee decided to take over the responsibility of the papers (for reasons given in the resolution) - without the GB's sanction - but when later on other comrades in PHQ pointed out this serious mistake, Editorial comrades recognised this error and put the whole matter before the Cell Secretaries' Unit. The resolution is to be discussed in PHQ Cells and a GB will be called within a few days for its approval or amendment, according to the decision of PHQ Cell Secretaries' Unit.

RE. MASHAL AND EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

The following decisions were taken after discussion:

a) Letter to BC asking for meeting and clarification (in order to come to an agreement pending CC's final directions) as most comrades' understanding was that this was an inner-Party struggle and it was most ~~ne~~ necessary to win over ranks in the interest of Party and working class unity.

b) Letter to CC that we feel that when Patkar-Pambitkar (PT) matter has been referred to the CC, this becomes an inner-Party struggle (though some comrades felt that it also has some outer-Party aspects) and therefore we want urgent directives as to how we should report Bombay news in relation to PT in the Mashal. The manner in which BC is conducting the campaign, many comrades feel is incorrect. All cuttings on this question from Mashal should be sent to CC.

c) All comrades agreed that the May 14 article line is disruptive and incorrect.

In the beginning majority of comrades felt that till CC's directives come, if BC insists on such articles or reports, or if difference between Editorial Committee and BC, then Editorial Committee's decision should be final. Coms. Prema, Kokil, Radhey and Proful were against this, and said in interim period, if BC insists, reports must go as they wish.

Other comrades said that they were confused and could not give an opinion off-hand without a proper discussion.

Then it was decided that such decision can only be taken by the GB which should be held after the meeting of Editorial comrades with BC - so that full facts can be given to the GB. All comrades unanimously agreed to this.

In the period, till final agreement with BC all statements and reports should be discussed by Editorial Committee. If Editorial Committee does not agree, on the basis of whatever facts it has at the moment, it should refer back to BC with its suggestions. If after this also, BC insists on printing, and if it is a very serious matter, then the Editorial Committee should consult GB immediately on what step to take on that particular question.

All these decisions were unanimously taken.

Further, it was unanimously decided that in case any individual of the PT group betrays any strike struggle or action, then he should be criticised in our Mashal reports - but as an individual and not as a member of the PT group.

These decisions were also reported in the Cell Secretaries' meeting and it was decided to convey them to the cells, though detailed discussions in cells will be possible after report from BC. A re detailed report of the Editorial Committee will be circulated later.

4.6.1950.

The Editorial Committee, composed of representatives from CR, Mashal (Hindi), Mashal (Marathi), Jai Gujerat and Nai Zindgi (Urdu), I.B. Cell, Circulation Cell, Mashal Press Cell and Reporters' Group wish to draw attention of the PB and CC to the anti-Party practice that the Central organs of the Party have so far been run by the PHQ Committee (status of a DC), and not by the CC or PB. The PB have committed a serious crime against the Party ranks by giving the PHQ Committee this power as far as we have been informed by the PHQ Committee and by refusing to carry out one of its basic and main tasks. The Editorial Committee rejects the excuse given by the PHQ Committee for this situation, that the PB and CC were too busy in carrying out the Inner-Party struggle and sox could not run the papers.

The Editorial Committee, therefore demands that the PB and CC immediately take over the papers and guide them, and fulfil their responsibilities.

The PHQ Committee, apart from the fact that its political bankruptcy makes it completely unfit for carrying out this grave task, has itself declared its incapacity to guide the papers and has given this responsibility to the elected Editorial Committee.

In view of this and the fact that the papers must continue, and while we are deeply conscious of our own political immaturity and inexperience, we agree to the proposal made by the joint meeting of the PHQ Committee and the OG Unit, and ask the sanction of the GB in PHQ we be finally responsible for kinging out the papers, till PB takes over.

But we wish to emphasise that this situation has been forced upon us by the refusal of PB to take over and guide the papers, and further by the PHQ Committee's bankruptcy.

We, therefore, are very much aware of the grave mistakes we are likely to commit, but for which we cannot be held wholly responsible for we have been called upon to shoulder a task for which we have neither the training nor experience nor guidance.

We demand that the PB immediately inform all units that though PHQ brings out these papers, they cannot be called Central organs and have never been run by the CC. The ranks should know, without delay the great hoax that has been played on them. We think this step essential in view of the circular which had been sent out by PB in about..... informing that these papers should be looked upon as Central organs of the Party.

Further, we seek immediate clarification whether:

- a) There is any ~~xxxx~~ resolution or document of PB in which it delegated its powers to run the organs ~~at~~ to a DC - the PHQ Committee. If so, we want a copy of all such things on this subject.
- b) Have any COMs been in charge during this period, and if so, they should immediately take over the final responsibility of guiding the papers?

While taking over, in this interim period the responsibility of running the papers, the Editorial Committee will continue to send Dummies to the PHQ Committee, and will seriously consider all its suggestions.

All dummies and reports of the Editorial Committee will be regularly sent to the PB and CC through the PHQ Committee.

---We have also taken a further precaution that there will be no Editorials (except on subjects like dismissal of Joliot Curie) or commentaries which try to give a line or guidance to the Party ranks and units on basic questions of Party policy.

VERY URGENT.

4.6.1950.

FROM: THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

TO: THE C.C.

From the accompanying resolution you will realise in what circumstances we are bringing out the Party papers.

A further problem has arisen for us.

There is considerable confusion due to lack of facts regarding whether the Patkar Tambitkar case has been referred to CC or not, and if so, what are its organisational implications. Many of us feel, that the manner in which BC is conducting the campaign is not correct - but we are immediately arranging for a meeting with BC comrades to seek clarification and to know full facts on the basis of which there can be a common understanding.

Meanwhile, we are urgently requesting you to send us your detailed directives on how reports and articles should be given in Mashal in relation to Patkar-Tambitkar. We are sending you all the cuttings on the same subject which have appeared in Mashal up-to-date.

Greetings.

May 27, '50

All C.G. and U.G. Cells

IN continuation of the note of my three colleagues, dated May 24 I have to state the following-

I fully and unreservedly accept the entire note. As my part in this disgraceful story is not quite clear from this note, I wish to state some facts. When Comrade Sanjeev first spoke on the two resolutions, he had asked among other things for censuring the U.G. cell comrades for their stand. When I spoke next, I completely failed to react to this, much less to oppose it. It was only when Comrade Hamid reiterated at length this bankrupt demand and after Com. Rahim opposed it, that I realised its bankruptcy and opposed it, although even then I was not able to see fully the depth of this dishonesty.

This happened because, I took my stand on the subjective and therefore non-party premise that the U.G. cell in its second resolution (about paragraph from the agenda) had "imputed motives" to us and had come to conclusions without even asking us for the facts. This subjective approach completely vitiated my understanding.

As for the reference in my colleagues' note about my asking for its reference back, it was after I had realised, although not fully, the bankruptcy of my stand. I asked it to be "referred back" in the name of classifying what I felt were some factual errors. I now realise that because of my subjective approach I resisted accepting the U.G. cell's correct criticism and continued to dishonestly suppress their resolutions in the name of factual correction.

With this classification about my share I fully accept the note. I was late in sending this note as I could not get the note of my colleagues till this morning.

Greetings

Nissar

After reading the latest document of the PHQ Committee regarding the criticism of the UG Editorial Cell and the Committee's reactions to it, the AISF cell has come to the conclusion that the PHQ Committee is incapable of carrying out its functions as the political leadership of the Party's Agit-Prop centre.

Despite great and persistent efforts on the part of all comrades in PHQ to help the members of the Committee to see their grave mistakes, the Committee has proved itself incapable of taking a turn and on the contrary, has tried to continue its old bureaucratic anti-Party ways of functioning. Even as late as May 23rd, when the entire PHQ ~~members~~ had shown their lack of confidence in this Committee, instead of seeing their own mistakes and crimes self-critically two members of the Committee were still trying to save their ~~skins~~ own skins by a series of intrigues and manoeuvres, as in the past. The effort to throttle discussion of the UG Editorial Cell by threat of censure; the factional intrigue to put the entire blame on Com. Rahim; the effort to pit the UG and OG Editorial Cells against each other; the opportunist restoration of Com. Prasanta and Com. Ramesh Sinha to the OG unit at a time when every comrade in PHQ is demanding the dissolution of the Unit; the letter of Com. Sanjeev dated 10th May to PHQ comrades on behalf of the PHQ Committee which tried to play upon the sympathy that was aroused for Com. Sanjeev because of the action taken against him by the Committee; ~~and~~ all these unmask the PHQ Committee as a set of hardened bureaucrats who would go to any lengths of factionalism, blackmailing and opportunist manoeuvres in order to retain their power.

The Cell therefore demands that:

1. The PHQ Committee be dissolved by the CC and replaced by an elected Committee.
2. In order not to allow any further interference with the full frank discussions on the correction of the Party line, Com. Hamid and Sanjeev should be immediately suspended from membership of the Committee.
3. The Cell is unable to nail down the responsibility of Com. Nissar in view of his opportunist refusal to commit himself on any point. We demand a separate note from Com. Nissar explaining his understanding and role in the various incidents described in the different R notes and resolutions of the PHQ Committee.
4. Till a new Committee can be elected, Com. Rahim should continue the work of contact between the PHQ and the PB and CC and other tech. work entrusted to the Committee by the PB. ~~and~~ He may take the help of any comrades he thinks necessary for this work.
5. ~~The~~ The Committee and each of its members should submit their self-critical reports to the GB within a fortnight.
6. Till the CC takes action on this resolution, the political leadership of the work in PHQ should vest in the General Body of PHQ members, to be exercised ~~in~~ in the manner stated in the attached resolution on the functioning of the PHQ for the interim period.

RESOLUTION OF THE AISF CELL ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PHQ FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD UNTIL RECONSTITUTION OF PHQ COMMITTEE BY ELECTION.

The AISF Cell declares its complete lack of confidence in the PHQ Committee and Unit and demands the following:

1. The dissolution of the Committee by the CC and its replacement by an elected Committee as soon as possible.

2. The immediate dissolution of the OG Unit.
3. In the interim period, until the CC is able to take action on this matter, the entire political leadership of the work in PHQ should vest in the General Body of PHQ members,
4. The GB will exercise its ~~power~~ right through the Cell Secretaries' Committee. (For this purpose, the Cell Secretaries should be newly elected by all cells within a week, by 2nd June, and the full minutes of the election be circulated to all cells).
5. The principle tasks of the PHQ in this period -- the periodicals, the production of books and pamphlets and inner-Party discussion -- should be conducted by the Editorial Committee, the Press Co-ordinating Committee, the Agit-Prop Coordinating Committee and the elected Forum Committee. The first three Committees will consist as at present of representatives of different cells concerned with these aspects of work. These cell representatives will work on the mandate of their cells and report back to their cells. All the four Committees should elect their own convenors.
6. We suggest that the four Convenors, together with 2 or 3 comrades elected by the Cell Secretaries should form a Bureau to conduct the day-to-day coordination of work in PHQ. The Cell Secretaries should elect the Convenor of this Bureau. In case of any differences in the Bureau, the matter should be referred back to the Cell Secretaries. In case of the differences in the Cell Secretaries' Meeting, the matter should be reported to all Cells. ~~and~~ Even if one cell considers it necessary to discuss a matter in the GB meeting, a meeting should be convened.
7. Decisions on all important political questions should be taken by the Cell Secretaries' Committee, subject to the control of the GB. The Bureau should coordinate only the day-to-day work in PHQ.
8. If found necessary, members of the present Unit who are doing technical work may continue to do so.
9. This position should continue until the GB is in a position to elect a new political leadership.

F.P.H. CELL SECRETARY'S NOTE CONCERNING A WEEK'S DELAY IN FORWARDING THE RESOLUTIONS
OF THE F.P.H. CELL.

In the light of two discussions held by the Cell the attached 3 resolutions have been drafted and circulated to all the Cell members. By 21.5.50 all the Cell members with the exception of Com. Krishnalal agreed to adopt the 3 resolutions as the unanimous resolutions of the Cell. Com. Krishnalal after going through the resolutions submitted his own amendments to the 3 resolutions and the amendments with the agreed resolutions were once again circulated to all the Cell members.

Some of the Cell members expressed to send the original resolutions without the amendments and some agreed to incorporate some of the amendments. Still some expressed that the original resolutions together with the amendments of Com. Krishnalal as the individual opinion of Com. Krishnalal should be sent to P.H. Committee. However none of the Cell members agreed to adopt all the amendments of Com. Krishnalal. Finally with the consent of Com. Krishnalal and all the remaining Cell members the attached resolutions are being forwarded as the majority resolutions of the Cell. In due course of time Com. Krishnalal will either send his amendments or submit a separate resolutions to the P.H. Committee with or without the resolutions being discussed in the Cell. Till such time the attached three resolutions will remain as the majority resolutions of the Cell. Agreed to forward the attached resolutions finally on 27.5.50.

Cell Secretary.

**RESOLUTION OF THE P.P.N. CELL ON P.H.Q. COMMITTEE'S CIRCULAR WITHDRAWING THE
SUSPENSIONS OF CERTAIN COMRADES IN THE P.H.Q.**

"1. The Cell has studied this circular and has had prolonged discussion on it. The Cell feels that the withdrawal of the suspensions of a few comrades without making any commitments with regard to the resolutions passed on these comrades, the withdrawal of these suspensions without any reference to the units who had recommended the punishments betrays on the part of the P.H.Q. Committee and uncalled for haste, unprincipled attitude towards party punishments light heartedness and an attempt to allay the feelings of the P.H.Q. comrades in a non political way.

"2. If the P.H.Q. Committee was anxious to ensure that the suspended comrades may take part fully and unreservedly in the discussions what it should have done is request the units which had recommended their suspensions to review the cases of these comrades and make interim suggestions so as to ensure that no hindrance is placed with regard to any comrade in taking part in the discussions and fully utilizing the right of party membership. The withdrawal of suspensions without the withdrawal of the resolutions passed on these comrades and without even making any commitments with regard to the crimes these comrades have been accused and convicted of betrays formal approach to the entire question. For the political prejudices and notions which might have been created by the actions taken against these comrades be they right or wrong justified or unjustified, would not be removed by the mere act of the removal of the suspensions.

"3. Thus the removal of the suspensions would concretely mean the right of these comrades to vote and to be elected. However important and desirable it might be, the right to vote and to be elected cannot be restored indiscriminately, without reference to the actual crimes committed by these comrades. Such an approach smacks of bourgeois cosmopolitanism and betrays a lack of proletarian principles.

"4. The Cell feels that the P.H.Q. Committee should immediately urge all the Units to which these comrades belonged when disciplinary actions were taken against them to review their cases and recommend whatever steps they feel should be recommended with regard to the restoration of the right of party membership to these comrades. Such a judgment would also be necessarily an interim one in so far as no Unit would claim that it has been able to fully understand the cases. But nonetheless, such a step combined with the assurance that all the cases would be referred to a Commission for a full and thorough investigation are in the opinion of the Cell only principled and correct approach to the problem.

"5. The P.H.Q. Committee's characterization that Com. Urdwarashe was suspended because the Committee had wrong notions about inner-party discussions is entirely wrong. Of course, the Committee had entirely wrong notions about inner-party discussions. Nobody would suggest that the Committee understood the question of Party democracy. But Com. Urdwarashe was suspended because of a deeper reason. He was suspended because he criticized the Party leadership. The Cell has no doubt that if he had taken an Anti-Communist stand the Committee would not have suspended him. The Committee misses this central and vital point and betrays the fact that its understanding with regard to political mistakes and degeneration is still entirely formal. This fact becomes all the more clear in view of the fact that the Committee even postpones reviewing of cases such as that of censure, strong censure etc.

"6. The Cell takes note of the fact that according to the one of the circulars of the P.H.Q. Committee all the papers with regard to Com. Urdwarashe's case had been referred to P.B. It is an expression of extreme cynicism to note that the P.H.Q. Committee does not even care to mention in its latest circular as to what the P.B. had to say about Com. Urdwarashe's case. Such cynicism is reprehensible and the Cell demands that the P.H.Q. Committee places all the facts before the P.H.Q. The P.H.Q. Committee should further fix a date line by when it is going to place all the facts with regard to Com. Urdwarashe's case before the Party.

"7. The P.H.Q. Committee should fix a date line by when it would present its self-critical report to the P.H.Q. This date line should be informed immediately.

"8. Notwithstanding the fact that the P.H.Q. Committee has promised to review the actions it has taken against different Comrades the Cell places on record its categorical demand that a Commission should be appointed by the reorganized P.B. and the C.C. who would investigate fully and thoroughly into all the disciplinary actions and punishments that the P.H.Q. Committee has so far given. This Commission should consist of not less than three mature comrades. This review and investigation by Commission should also include the cases of those comrades who have been expelled

X from the Party or the P.H.Q. Committee's of the P.H.Q.

RESOLUTION OF THE P.P.H. CELL ON THE SUGGESTED DISCUSSION FORUM IN P.H.Q.
AND DISCUSSIONS IN P.H.Q.

"1. The PPH Cell puts on record the fact that as far back as from the beginning of April 1950 when the Cell was discussing the PB Document No. 14, a suggestion was made by the Cell that the PPH Committee and the CC Unit should immediately devise ways and means so that different Cells in PPH can come to know each other's views and exchange their experiences in them what was then termed as "the corrections that we were making" (PPH Committee secretary's note to the Cell).

"2. Up to this day no reply has been received to this suggestion and the concrete suggestion of having CC meetings in the PPH have not been dealt with at all.

"3. The Cell considers this failure on the part of the PPH Committee and the CC Unit as unpardonable and denounces this sabotage of a vital political suggestion that was made. The Cell cannot but ascribe this to the political bankruptcy of the PPH Committee and the CC Unit.

"4. The Cell is of opinion that the Party Forum that has been suggested for the PPH will certainly help all of us to develop a unified understanding.

"5. The Forum should be edited by a body of comrades chosen by the Cell. The number should not be more than 5 and not less than 3. The members of the Committee should be such CC comrades who are working in the PPH.

"6. The Cell however believes that this Forum would not and could not replace the Party Forum started by the PB. There are many vital matters concerning the running of the PPH which must find a place in the Party Forum started by the PB so that the entire Party may come to know how the Party leadership has been running the Agit-Prop Centre in Bombay. The responsibility of sending such matters to the Party Forum as would help the entire Party to judge the work of the entire Party leadership in relation to PPH, will have to be taken up, in the main, by all of us - rank and file comrades. This becomes all the more urgent in view of the fact that neither the PPH Committee nor the CC Unit has so far, as far as the Cell knows, taken any steps to bring the state of affairs in the PPH to the notice of the entire Party.

"7. All of us must show initiative and boldness in writing in the Forum and should make the matter of feeding the Forum one of our main collective responsibilities. In this connection the Cell believes that we must try to make our contributions to the Forum as brief and as pointed as possible. Our aim is to give such matters and in such a way that the need for editing by the Editorial Committee is reduced to the minimum. The Cell further believes that all matters sent for the Forum must find a place in it and must not be dropped unless the sender has agreed to the proposal of dropping it.

"8. The Forum should include discussions not only of the PB document or other Documents of the CC but also should include discussions related to Political Organizational matters of the PPH.

"9. Much time has already gone. The Cell believes that we must do all we can to expediate the Forum. We should be able to finish the election of Editorial Committee in course of a week and bring out the first issue of the Forum by the first week of June, if not earlier. The Cell however wishes to point out that all of us must get reasonable amount of time to judge and discuss the different names that are suggested for the Editorial Committee before we are asked to cast our votes. The Cell directs the Cell Secretary take up this matter immediately.

"10. In conclusion the Cell would like to convey its fraternal invitations to all Comrades to come forward and take part in free and frank discussions with regard to the new Party line that the Party is struggling to work out. Particular initiative must be shown by those comrades and units who have been guilty of gross bureaucracy and wrong political understanding. They must come out openly and place all the facts before the PPH and the Party so that a proper evaluation of our mistakes can be made and so that a proper unified understanding may be developed. To feel hurt, to feel that comrades are making wrong criticism and to keep quiet and to withdraw from all discussions would do great harm and would impair the growth of a proper and unified party life in PPH, which has been so cruelly damaged in the last two years.

"9. The Cell feels proud of the fact that together with other comrades in the Party it has dealt a resolute rebuff to bourgeois nationalism that was blocking the way of properly evaluating our own mistakes and learning from the experiences and guidance of the international Communist movement. Significant advances have been made by us in exposing the bureaucracy that was strangulating the development of Party life in the Party. We have made considerable progress in coming to a better and more unified understanding about our mistakes and about our political tasks. However, the Cell believes that it will be wrong to be complacent with what we have already achieved. The mistakes committed by the Party leadership, the resistance shown by it to self criticism and criticism, the fact that the Cell has not yet been able to discern a trend in the highest leadership of the Party, which was systematically and confidently putting up a resistance against the wrong and disruptive political line along which the Party was being dragged by the Polit Bureau - all these underline the great and serious responsibility that all of us must realize and shoulder today. Situation demands that we do our best in formulating a correct policy for the Party and in making sure that the Party does not deviate from the correct line. We must therefore raise the slogan of open, frank, free and comradely discussions. We must constantly endeavour to raise the level of our discussions so that at all stages the Party can be guided by the collective will of the Party. We must discuss with Lenin, Stalin and other great leaders of the International Communist movement in our hands."

RESOLUTION OF THE P.P.H. CELL ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE P.H.Q. COMMITTEE'S NOTE
ON SUPPRESSION OF PUBLICATION OF EDITORIAL ARTICLES OF "LASTING PEACE"
OF 27.1.'50 AND THROTTLING OF DISCUSSION ON EDITORIAL OF
"LASTING PEACE" AND P.B. STATEMENT ON IT."

"The PPH Cell has just received the above note of the PHQ Committee.

"The Cell will, of course, study the document and would express itself fully on it in near future. However the Cell feels very strongly about one point and it wishes to convey the same right away.

"In the opinion of the Cell, this Document must be circulated throughout the Party and must be forwarded to the FB immediately with this demand. This is because the facts with regard to the suppression of the Cominform Editorial, the suppression of the Peking Conference Manifesto, editing of Com. Stalin's article in the U.R., throttling of discussions in the Cominform editorial and the FB statement on it must be known to the entire Party so that the Party may know how its Central Agit-Prop Headquarters are run and so that it can judge the work of the leadership entrusted to run the PHQ.

"The Cell is further of opinion that the self-critical report which has been promised by the PHQ Committee should also likewise be circulated throughout the Party.

"In this connection the Cell has noted that the PHQ Committee has not demanded that this note on the suppression of publication of Editorial Articles etc. be circulated throughout the Party. The Cell cannot but point out that this omission is not accidental and apart from other things it shows that the PHQ Committee is not yet conscious of its crimes and political bankruptcy and does not realize the implications of them for the Party as a whole."

29.5.1950.

TO ALL CELLS.

1) The P.M. Committee has noted the demand from many cells and individual comrades that it fix a date-line for the drafting of its self-critical report. It has decided to submit its draft self-critical report to P.M. comrades by June 15.

2) The Committee requests all units including C.C. Unit to which comrades belonged against whom disciplinary actions were taken by the Committee to review these actions and recommend whatever steps they feel should be recommended in regard to these comrades.

3) Meanwhile the Committee requests all units to discuss the proposals contained in the latter part of point 4 of the resolution of P.M. Cell on "P.M. Committee's Circular withdrawing the suspension of X Certain Comrades in P.M." viz:

"Such a judgment (on the cases of comrades against whom any disciplinary action was taken) would also necessarily be an interim one insofar as no Unit would claim that it has been able to fully understand the cases. But nonetheless, such a step, combined with the assurance that all the cases would be referred to a Committee for a full and thorough investigation are in the opinion of the cell, the only principled and thorough approach to the problem."

This same point is further dealt with and elaborated in point 8 of the same resolution. The Committee requests all cells to express themselves on this position.

P.M. COMMITTEE.

11th June, 1950

My dear R,

I was told that some comrades had written an article on the latest decisions of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and that it was one of complete applauding the Party.

While it is true that we should welcome the decisions, it is very necessary that we should be critical about the Party. Our own Party ranks and the ranks of other parties should not be misled into a belief that the W.P.P. is a real Marxist Party as is claimed.

Remember also that yesterday, More had come out with a statement in the press, whitening down whatever stand they took in the Conference. In our write up on the Conference, while we must go all out for united front and welcome their programme as a basis for the united front, we must also see to it that our comrades and the ranks of Workers' Party and other parties are enabled to see that the CPI is the only Communist Party; this, in spite of all the terrible mistakes and crimes that we have committed.

This means that a proper analysis of the W.P.P. Party has to be made. I would request you not to rush into publishing anything which will have a harmful effect on the Party and the movement from this point of view. A proper analysis may take some time. It will have to be discussed. But it cannot be helped.

The P.H.C. comrades have done so far a good job in the struggle against left-sectarianism. Let them not commit mistakes which will be seized upon by others and utilised to beat them. You know that the history of the last 2 years affords ample instance of how the mistakes of comrades are seized upon and all good things in them are drowned in the torrent of attack on the mistakes. They should learn a lesson from this and should strive their best not to rush into printing things on fundamental questions without a thorough discussion and clarity. As far as possible, they must avoid mistakes. Please do the needful in this regard.

P

Letter of P to RC

11th June, 1950

Dear Com. RC,

I got your note as also the copy of the article on the W.P.P. Party Conference. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to read through the article since I have to send this letter immediately and the article also has to be returned.

While, it is true that we cannot rush into publishing anything in the nature of an analysis of the W.P.P. Party, without a proper study and discussion, at the same time, we must also remember that the conference is a big event and CR must react to it. How can we do this today?

We should welcome their programme. None can object to this. Hence we can feature the programme that has been adopted in the conference. We should give a write-up to the report on something like the following lines:

The W.P.P. Party conference which took place last week adopted a thesis for the Party. The thesis makes some criticisms of the Communist Party and its leadership. It then adopted the following programme for the Party. CR will examine the criticisms of the CPI made by the W.P.P. Party and also the claims put forward by the W.P.P. Party to be a real Marxist Party in a subsequent issue. At the same time, we have no hesitation in welcoming the programme adopted at the conference as a real step forward. It affords a good basis for the forging of a united front of all parties, groups and individuals opposed to imperialism and its agents in this country represented by the Nehru-Patel Govt. for real national liberation. We have no doubt that the CPI will welcome this programme and strive its best to forge united front with the W.P.P. Party and other organisations that stand for the liquidation of imperialist domination for real national freedom and democracy.

I have not given here the write-up. This I think should be the line on which we give the write-up. Regarding the reporting of the conference, I think that for the present we should confine ourselves to the mood of the rank and file delegates, their extreme desire to fight imperialism, their intense love for the Soviet Union, China and their leaders Stalin and Mao and their desire for unity with all anti-imperialists. This desire was reflected in the thesis, which sharply came out against the Socialist Party for its anti-Soviet slanders. It also was reflected in the programme adopted at the conference in the thesis. Beyond this, I think, we should not go for the present without a proper analysis of the Party and its criticisms of our Party and its claims. Greetings,

P

Dear Com. Nissar,

Com. Nissar is not coming to our place as fixed up earlier - He will come tomorrow, which means I will have to stay here tomorrow, and I will not be able to come to Breeze tomorrow night. On 9th I will be going to my friend - so I will come to Breeze on 10th night.

Re. Fakir's coming, Rahim is writing to him. Fakir's letter will reach his friend tomorrow. It is being posted today.

My yesterday's discussions with you have really been immensely beneficial to me, and I feel more calm & cool to think properly & do some honest work. I feel ashamed that I should have harboured prejudices about comrades like you till very recently. But I will certainly fight ~~to~~ out my weaknesses with the help of you all. ~~of course by~~

Warm greetings to all comrades,

Danjeer

Com. Nemoi

12.6.50

Herewith the Yohi booklet.

I hope to hear from you about the results of the meeting. Actually, I miscalculated the time and should (I could) have fixed my departure much later. It was a pity. You should write to me any other points you think it would help to pursue as I expect to meet Com. Sorky soon - or another com. from the Unit Sect.

I am in the middle of my self-critical report. It is really a problem.

You will be glad to hear Com. Hamid is breaking the ice a bit! Anyway we have had quite free talks today. One thing also has come out - he is still so overwhelmed by the whole events of the last two years that he is not able to freely & happily (!) discuss. But I think he is honestly trying to face up to the past

perhaps even taking too much on himself.
I have told him I expect his &
all our self activities to be conducted in
basically the same old style! But
in any case, my talks with him
- very general - do make me feel he
is on the road to change, to coming
out of a torpid condition. Please tell
Fakin this also - he will surely be
pleased.

Warm regards
Richard

ON COM. HISSAR'S APPOINTMENT

1. We have received the copy of your note to Secretary, PHQ Cell Secretaries Unit on the question of Com. Nissar's appointment. We take it that you have received our note on the same. We do not know on what grounds the PHQ unit have objected to Com. Nissar's appointment. We would like to have a copy of their communication to you.

2. As our stand, we have to restate it, since your note conveys the understanding that we had objected to your taking the assistance of Com Nissar in your work.

We had stated in our note of July 3 the following :

"We have learnt that you have appointed Com. Nissar as your assistant without consulting the PHQ comrades. Com Nissar is one of the members of the PHQ Committee whose political bankruptcy and bureaucratic methods of functioning have been exposed and in whom the PHQ comrades have expressed lack of confidence in unmistakable terms. Com. Nissar himself had made his self-criticism, accepting his political bankruptcy and bureaucratic functioning. Under these circumstances, the appointment of Com. Nissar as your assistant is highly bureaucratic and shows nothing but contempt for the views of the PHQ comrades."

3. We meant and mean today that taking the help of a comrade in work is one thing, but it is an entirely different thing to appoint a comrade in the position of an Assistant without taking into consideration the worth of the comrade and consulting the comrades of the PHQ who are the best judges of that comrade's capacities.

4. Your note gives us the impression that you have misinterpreted our stand and therefore missed the points in our criticism.

We have no objection to your taking the help of any Comrade to discharge your functions, but you will agree that this is entirely different from your appointing a comrade in a responsible position without assessing his worth and consulting the comrades who know him.

5. From Com. Nissar himself, we wanted a note from him as to how he accepted this responsibility. We would like you to forward a copy of the same to him.

Greetings

Breeze Comrades and Jagat.

1. Your note of July 5 on our communication to the PB and CC.
2. Firstly re. the communication itself, we are herewith attaching an amended covering note in the place of the note on top of page 1. This change is necessitated in view of the fact that all the u.g. comrades had not been covered by the earlier discussions and the note itself is only a basis for further discussion.

Secondly there is a change which all of us want to introduce in resolution no 4.

Both the above are attached herewith and Com. Santosh can introduce these changes in the copies for your file and for PB.

3. The pointer's deletion of reference to courier is a very correct point, and we accept the mistake. Since the entire note is getting amended, it will not arise now.

4. We are unable to see why resolutions (5) and (6) should be withheld from PB comrades. If you are of the view that the facts presented in these resolutions do not convey correctly the facts you reported, it will be best if you send us a note correcting us and send the same note to all the comrades including the PB comrades along with the resolutions.

5. In any case, we now understand that the appeal to Party ranks has now arrived. You had written in your note that you would send resolutions Nos 3 and 6 along with the appeal. So now the question of holding back any resolutions does not arise.

Greetings

Ireer comrades and Jagat.

Amendment for page 2 c.

Resolution 4-point 4. Delete the words : "Central leadership itself to issue an appeal to all comrades against whom action has been taken for political differences to come back into the party".

In their place , substitute: "central leadership itself to make clear that all in cases of comrades against whom action has been taken for political differences will be reconsidered and they will be enabled to participate freely in etc.

Covering note to Communication to PB and CC

The following are points of criticism on the CC decisions prepared on the basis of discussions held at Breeze following the CCM's reporting with the following comrades present : Navid, Santosh, Nensai, Hamnath, Bhanu and Jagat. These are being circulated as drafts for further discussion among u.g. dens with CCM's approval.

In the meantime we are sending them immediately to PB and CC to enable the PB and CC to know in what direction a number of comrades of u.g. dens are thinking about the CC decisions.

You had suggested to Com. Nemai on Saturday night that we comrades here should assist you in preparing a short statement on Korea to be issued on behalf of the Bombay-Maharashtra Committees.

As you know the whole of yesterday went in other important discussions. We therefore asked Com Santosh to come here in the morning and take our draft or suggestions to you so that you could use them for issuing the statement from your place.

We have discussed fully the question among all comrades here. We prepared an outline for the statement also. But on reconsideration this morning, all of us -- Coms. Jagat, Ramnath, Bhanu and myself -- consider that it would be wrong for us to attempt to make a draft of the statement.

The statement has to be prepared by you or under your direct concrete guidance on the basis of very detailed discussions with you. Because :

- (1) You are in a position to know the Party's political line --- the strategy and tactics worked out by the new CC. We are not.
- (2) You are in a position to know the situation in Maharashtra and Bombay -- what slogans will be correct, will appeal to the people, to the various political parties and groups, with whom we shall have to unite in the campaign.
- (3) You are in a position to know the exact inner-Party situation on the basis of which you can give concrete directives for the type of campaign which can be implemented -- what calls can be responded to -- what are the best forms of campaign which can be used in the various towns and villages of Maharashtra.

All these are of course obvious facts. But we are detailing them so that you understand why in our opinion it is wrong for us to attempt any draft here.

If the situation were that the whole Party was getting no material or line on Korea and something just had to be done to give the Party members some material of any sort -- and if no one in a responsible position were able to draft a statement -- it would be permissible for us to make some attempt and write to the best of our abilities.

This is NOT the situation :

- *The Party papers have already -- last week issued -- a statement of material on Korea, giving the correct slogans, etc.
- *In Bombay the campaign has already begun (today's papers report a huge united front meeting)

Thus we have decided that it would be wrong for us to draft a statement.

Com. Shriram however feels that he is in a position to draft the statement. He being a member of the Maharashtra Committee, may certainly be in a position to know the concrete situation in the province. We have given him the points made by us and he is probably sending you his draft for okay.

With Greetings

~~Nemai~~ Breeze Comrades and Jagat

3/7/50

To The CCM-in-charge,

We have learnt that you have appointed com.Nissar as your assistant without consulting the PHQ comrades.

Com.Nissar is one of the members of the PHQ Committee whose political bankruptcy and bureaucratic methods of functioning have been exposed and in whom the PHQ comrades have expressed lack of confidence in unmistakable terms.

Com.Nissar himself has made his ~~political~~ self-criticism accepting his political bankruptcy and bureaucratic functioning. The CC has dissolved the PHQ committee.

Under these circumstances, the appointment of Com.Nissar as your assistant is highly bureaucratic and shows nothing but contempt of the views of PHQ comrades working O.G. and U.G.

We demand that Com.Nissar should be removed from this position and an explanation be given to the comrades regarding this. Com.Nissar should also explain why he accepted this ~~responsibility~~ responsibility.

Breeze comrades, and Jagat.

RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL BODY OF PARTY MEMBERS
ON INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CCM-IN-CHARGE REGARDING PUBLICATION
OF STATEMENT ON THE REJECTION OF P.C.JOSHI'S APPEAL TO C.C.

(Passed unanimously at the meeting held on July 16, 1950)

The GB of the PHU comrades has fully considered the instructions of the CCM-in-charge regarding the publication of the CC statement about the rejection of P.C.Joshi's appeal by it.

The GB is unable to accept the charge of the CCM-in-charge that by postponing to publish the press communiqué of the CC regarding the summary rejection by it of P.C.Joshi's appeal for referring his case to the Control Commission of the Party, and by requesting the CC to reconsider the whole question, the comrades in the PHU would be guilty of violation of the principles of Democratic Centralism.

The GB feels that by dismissing P.C.Joshi's appeal in the summary fashion in which they have done it, it is the CC which would be violating the principles of Democratic Centralism and denying one of the most fundamental rights of a Party Member, against whom disciplinary action has been taken, the right to appeal to the Control Commission of the Party for redress and justice.

The GB regrets that on this serious point of principle, the CCM-in-charge did not even wait to consider the point of view of the general body of the PHU given in the detailed resolution passed by it in connection with P.C.Joshi's case and merely after getting the note of the PHU Unit Secretary informing him about this resolution, he had the complete disregard to the issues involved—issued peremptory instructions in the name of the CC asking us to publish the said communiqué.

The resolution of the PHU general body is now in his hands and the GB hopes that the CCM-in-charge will reconsider his instructions in its light and write to the CC accordingly.

The GB is greatly relieved and happy to learn - and to inform the CC - that Com.S.S. Mirajkar, one of the three members of the Party Control Commission elected at the second Party Congress, has now been released and is in a position to take up his responsibilities. Two more members have to be elected to the Control Commission to enable it to do its work. They should be elected without delay in accordance with the procedure which has already been suggested by the General Body in its resolution on P.C.Joshi's question. The GB is of the opinion that, in view of the grave extra and intra Party issues involved in this case—which has become a test case in the minds of the people - no judgement should be given till the Control Commission has given its verdict.

The GB, therefore, decides to refer back to the CC the question of the publication of the press communiqué of the CC rejecting P.C.Joshi's appeal and, in the name of the unity and interests of the Party, appeals to the CC most solemnly to withhold its publication till the considered decision of the Control Commission. The GB appeals to the CC to reconsider the question and the fuller views which the GB would like to place before it on this and allied question through its representatives.

The GB further decides to send a delegation to the PB to put its full views before it.

The GB demands of the CC that all resolutions and communications sent by it to the CC on this and other questions be immediately circulated to all Party Members so that they may also express their views on them.

The GB demands that the CC should acknowledge this resolution as soon as they receive it and tell us if they have received all our earlier resolutions etc. which have so far not been acknowledged.

July 21, 1950

July 13th, 1950

Comrade Brown,

Dear Comrade,

It is a great pity that the Press communiques have been delayed. They ought to have been released simultaneously this week itself in the CR and in the other weeklies. It appears the delay in one case was unavoidable as you could not get the lawyer to give his opinion.

Regarding the statement of the Editorial Board. I take it that you are referring to the statement of Mao. Your point is correct and a legalised version of the same is ~~being done~~ is being sent to you today. This corresponds to the legalised version of the resolution on the criticism of Mao itself.

Regarding the CC Communique on P.C. Joshi's appeal, you have written as follows in your letter dated 11th July:

"The General-Body of Fort comrades decided that the statement of the CC on rejection of P.C. Joshi's appeal should not go this week and to postpone its publication and release to the Press, to seek clarification on certain constitutional and other implications, from the CC or the CCM-in-charge. A detailed communication on this question will be sent to you and to the CC by the GB of Fort comrades in Thursday 13th July dak. It was decided to postpone publication till the CC reply to our communication."

It was definitely wrong to postpone its publication and its release to the Press on the ground of seeking clarification from the CC or the CCM-in-charge. The General Body of the PMs in PHQ have certainly every right to ask for clarification and express their opinion on the CC resolution. But they certainly cannot use the responsible position they occupy of being in charge of running the Party's Central press and Head-Quarters to withhold the document of the new CC, even for a short time, from Party members all over India.

This is not inner-Party democracy but a serious breach of democratic centralism, one of the basic principles of Party organisation. As a CCM-in-charge of the Central Party press and as one who is charged with the responsibility of relaying the documents of the New CC to all Party members and its communiques to the public. I cannot be party to this breach of discipline.

I therefore ask you in the name of the new CC that you should, without delay, publish the press communique in question in the Party organs and release it at once to the entire press, here and abroad.

By today's dak you will be getting the full text of the CC's resolution on Joshi's appeal. The discussion on this question and expression of opinion by comrades can fruitfully take place only on the basis of the full text of the resolution. But the discussion on and seeking clarification of CC document can in no case be a justification for postponing, delaying or withholding the publication or circulation of the CC documents and communiques.

Please circulate this letter to all cells in the PHQ and ask them to express themselves on the understanding of the basic principle of Party organisation which your letter has raised and send me the reports of these cell meetings.

In the meantime please implement these instructions.

Greetings,

CCM-in-charge.

RESOLUTION REGARDING PUBLICATION OF CC COMMUNIQUE EXPLAINING THE RESOLUTION
OF THE CC ON P.C. JOSHI'S APPEAL AGAINST EXPULSION

We, the following comrades (Coms. Jagat, Rannath, Bhanu and Nemai) are in complete agreement with the decisions of the General Body of the PHQ to postpone the publication of the communique of the CC on P.C. Joshi's Appeal Against Expulsion in the Party journals, and not to release the Communique to the press till an answer to the GB's resolution has been received from the CC or PB.

We support in full the reasons that have been given for taking this grave step in the resolution of the PHQ General Body.

We have read the full text of the Resolution of the Central Committee on P.C. Joshi's Appeal, and this fully confirms the correctness of the stand taken by the General Body.

The CC, in taking this action is guilty of gross violation of the principles of Party organisation and the Party Constitution itself. As such the resolution of the CC is NULL and VOID.

The Party Constitution clearly and categorically states :

"The members punished shall have the right to appeal against any disciplinary decision to the higher committees right up to the Control Commission and the All India Congress of the Party" (Section 5 of Article XII of the Constitution of the CPI)

The CC has no right whatsoever to do away with this fundamental right of Party Members and arrogate to itself the position of the Control Commission and the All India Party Congress. P.C. Joshi's appeal was against the action taken by the old CC. As such, the new CC reconstituted by the old CC and having still got to win the confidence of the Party cannot sit in judgement over such a vital issue. The plea that no other alternative was available is a totally bankrupt plea, as is evident from the eminently practical solution proposed by the PHQ GB for the constitution of a Commission in today's circumstances, in consultation with the Party membership.

The decision of the CC to reject the appeal for constitution of a Control Commission is unconstitutional and cannot be binding.

Not satisfied with this violation of the Party Constitution, the CC has thrown to the winds all principles of inner-Party democracy, and wants to rush with the summary of its resolution to the Press. The CC does not stop to consider that it is a CC which has been unanimously nominated by the old CC which had committed heinous crimes and had lost the confidence of the Party members. As such it is a CC which cannot automatically claim the prerogatives of a leadership elected by a Party Congress and commanding the confidence of the Party.

The reconstituted CC forgets all this, refuses to place its resolution for discussion before the Party ranks and Committees, and decides to face the Party members with a fait accompli by rushing its unconstitutional, null and void resolution to the press.

And finally, what is the argument the CC puts out to justify its unconstitutional action? That P.C. Joshi stands for a political line contrary to that of the Party. This argument is untenable, because the Party line is yet under discussion and has to be finalised. The CC cannot dogmatically assert today that the line put forward by it is the correct line, and those who differ with it have no place in the Party.

In view of all the above points, we wholeheartedly support the demand of the PHQ General Body that the CC should revise its decision and take necessary steps for the constitution of a Commission as suggested by the PHQ resolution.

July 16, 1950

Jagat - Bhanu - Rannath - Nemai.

Sankar

21 July 50

Comrades,

I have received the copy of the resolution adopted by the general body of the PHQ regarding the publication of CC Communiqué on P.C. Joshi's appeal against expulsion.

I have duly forwarded it to the Centre.

1) In this connection I want to correct one mis-statement of fact. The resolution on page 3 para 4 which refers to me states that - "But it knows of the black record of at least one CCM - the CCM in charge of the PHQ (e.g. his opinion expressed when the editorial of the Cominform arrived, that by no stretch of imagination could rich peasants be said to be included in the term 'all peasantry' used by the editorial)."

This is not a fact I had never stated that the rich peasantry is not included in the term 'all peasantry' used by the Cominform of Editorial. I do not know what is the source of your information. Whatever it is, and whoever may have given you this information, this allegation is untrue and baseless.

2) I do not want to a comment on the serious issues which the resolution raises. The resolution says that the General Body is aware of the gravity of the step it has taken. It ~~was~~ undoubtedly a grave step and the CC will consider over it and decide.

But in the meanwhile I would like to make some observations on ~~the~~ some of the issues arising out of the resolution for the consideration of the comrades. I wish to appeal to you to consider what I am stating dispassionately.

3) Since the decision of the General Body is obviously a violation of the principle of democratic centralism, one of the basic principles of Party organisation, and I understand that the resolution does not want to dispute this point, I do not want to dilate on it. It is not on the formal aspect of the decision that I want to write today. I want to write about some basic general principles which the resolution raises.

The decision of the PHQ is not/defence of inner-Party democracy but a step which throttles it and necessarily enables anarchy to replace it. Inner-Party democracy gives 'the right to every Party member to disagree, to criticise and to fight for what he thinks to be right in a Party way. In the meanwhile it is obligatory on them to implement the decisions of the higher unit. Inner-Party democracy does not give them the right to veto the decisions of the CC. The Party Congress or the plenum in the absence of the Party Congress alone has that right. Your decision therefore arrogates to the PHQ the privileges of the Party Congress or a plenum which is the highest and the supreme unit of the Party. Neither the PHQ nor any other single unit has the right to decide what is in the interests of the entire Party. Such a proposition would be in the face of it preposterous and absurd.

4) The decision of the PHQ is not a step to fight left sectarianism, but one to fight the new CC which is trying to solve the inner-Party crisis by strictly adhering to principles of inner-Party democracy. The step of the PHQ general body is one that smothers this process and hinders it. It does not solve the ~~the~~ inner-Party crisis but accentuates it. What will be the natural consequence of the step which PHQ has taken and the logical conclusion of the principle on the basis of which this step is sought to be justified? Anarchy in the Party and its liquidation. Whatever has survived despite the destruction by left sectarianism, will be threatened to be wiped out.

I am placing before you my views on a few important general principles enunciated in the resolution with a view to bring to your notice how, according to me, the step which the PHQ has taken is fraught with most harmful consequences to the Party. I would, therefore, once again request you to reconsider your decision, retrace your wrong step and issue the communiqué to the press.

Please place my letter before all the cells and send me their minutes.

With greetings,

copy for the Bureau

CCM-in-charge

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

July 1, 1950

Explaining the resolution of the Central Committee "On P.C. Joshi's Appeal against Expulsion", the Central Committee has issued the following statement.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered P.C. Joshi's application to the old Central Committee for permission to appeal to the Control Commission for re-examining their decision to expel him from the Party. It has also examined simultaneously, the political documents forwarded by him to the old Central Committee and to foreign comrades as an expression of what he considers to be his correct political views and on the basis of which, obviously he justifies his demand for annulment of the expulsion decision against him.

The Control Commission elected by the Second Party Congress being out of existence, as two of its members are in jail and the third inactive and out of the Party, and the election of a new Control Commission being the prerogative of a Party Congress alone, the Central Committee cannot take upon itself the task of ~~constituting~~ constituting a Control Commission.

However, in a situation where there is no Control Commission in existence and when an alternative political line has been made the grounds of his seeking annulment of expulsion, the Central Committee had no other way but to discuss and decide the whole question of P.C. Joshi's expulsion.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that P.C. Joshi has distorted the meaning of the Editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties on the question of the whole fighting strategy and the perspective of the struggle before India today in an attempt to take the Party back to his old reformist line of betrayal of the people's struggle with slogans of peaceful, constitutional opposition to their enemies - a line which has nothing to do with the international proletarian movement but is, in reality, the line of discredited social democracy as followed by the Socialist Party of India; he has advocated surrender of the heroic struggle in Telangana and similar other regions and for coalition with the Hyderabad State Congress stooges of the Nehru Government; he has sought to exonerate the Government from the guilt of launching terrible repression against the people by characterising repression as being due to the sectarian tactics of the Party leadership; he has slandered the Party before the international proletarian movement by falsely accusing the Party leadership before foreign comrades for being responsible for an attempt on Nehru's life - a charge which the Government itself never dared to utter; he has not even waited for the opinion and verdict of the foreign comrades to whom his appeals were addressed, but circulated them immediately to his contacts and, later, published them with very slight alterations - thereby indicating that his real intention was not to seek justice, but to try to confuse Party ranks in a period of intense inner-Party discussions; he has not waited for the decision of the Central Committee to whom his appeal and request for Control Commission were addressed, but has rushed to the anti-Party press to issue statements against the Party - and so on.

It is clear that Joshi has forfeited all claims of being considered a Communist. The Central Committee has, therefore, rejected his demand for coming back in the Party.

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

June 26, 1950

The Central Headquarters of the Communist Party of India has issued the following communique to the press:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India recently met and took important political-organisational decisions. It reviewed the national and international situation, closely examined the political line and organisational methods pursued by the Politbureau in the course of the last two years and formulated the political-organisational tasks facing the Party.

As a result of detailed deliberations, the Central Committee came to the conclusion that during the last two years the Politbureau pursued a left sectarian policy all through. The tactical line pursued in the cities and industrial centres was utterly left adventurist and out of tune with the prevailing situation. The Politbureau while seriously underestimating the entire significance of the urgently-needed anti-feudal agrarian reform worked out, at the same time, a trotskyite strategy and adventurist tactics of struggle and failed to evolve the proper form of struggle in rural areas: to the extent that the line of the Politbureau had been followed, it had disrupted the unity of the peasantry in the countryside and kept them helpless in face of brutal repression.

The Central Committee also came to the conclusion that the organisational methods resorted to by the Politbureau were not in line with Marxist-Leninist principles, but were highly authoritarian and betrayed an attitude of callous indifference to cadres and to the organisation itself.

The Central Committee sharply criticised all these aspects of the work of the Politbureau, attacked them, pinned down the mistakes and made the necessary corrections.

The strategy decided upon for the present period of liberation struggle in India is to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the entire peasantry, and to unite under the leadership of the working class all classes, parties, groups and organisations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of the country against the Anglo-American imperialists and their Indian collaborators - the big bourgeoisie and feudal elements who are ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing India.

The urgent task, therefore, before the working class and the Communist Party is to unite all anti-imperialist forces in the country to fight the imperialists and their Indian collaborators and servitors, to form a broad, nationwide united front headed by the working class and to fight for the introduction of the urgently-needed agrarian reform. The division ~~is~~ in the ranks of the left forces today will only help reaction and weaken the liberation struggle in India.

The tactics to be pursued, as decided by the Central Committee, is to be based upon the experience of the national liberation movement in China. The path followed by China which is today being followed in the countries of South East Asia, and which in a way is being followed in Telangana, is the only correct path before the Indian people. The call issued at the time of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India in 1948 which was to follow the "Telangana Way" - the call which was wrongly understood and interpreted during the last two years - has once more to be asserted with all its correct implications.

World imperialism is feverishly preparing for another war, and organising active intervention against the liberation struggle of the peoples of Burma and countries of South East Asia, and for these purposes they are conspiring to make India a war base. It is against this foul conspiracy of the warmongers that the Central Committee has decided to rouse the Indian people and to mobilise them for active movement for peace along with their struggle for national liberation.

The Central Committee adopted a resolution tendering an apology to Com. Mao Tse-tung for utterly wrong, irresponsible and slanderous criticism made against him by the old Politbureau in its report on strategy and tactics and unreservedly withdrew the entire criticism made therein.

The Central Committee has dissolved the old Politbureau and removed Com. B.T. Ranadive from the post of General Secretary. The Central Committee has been reconstituted with the unanimous approval of the old Central Committee. The newly constituted Central Committee has unanimously elected Com. Rajeshwar Rao as General Secretary, and a new Politbureau was unanimously formed. The former disruptive resolutions and disciplinary actions taken against Party Committees and individual Party members by the

June 4, 1950.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON JOURNALS.

With the growing illegality and white terror, the extreme centralisation in running our Party Press and publications in English, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati directly from the Centre brings forth the weakness and disruptive nature of this mode of functioning. Even in the earlier period, the various journals which were intended to serve as the provincial organs of different provincial committees failed in that because of too much centralisation and being out of touch with the mass movements of different Provinces. In fact they became a replica of Central English organ which was intended for English-knowing cadre and people - more analytical and propaganda journals whereas the Party Press in different national languages must directly appeal to the masses and cadres. This centralisation has sapped the initiative of all these provincial Committees to realize the importance of having their organs and publications suited to the strength and development of the movement in their respective Provinces.

This centralisation in the present growing white terror period and with limited and decreasing financial resources, if continued, further will spell disaster in the near future and these Provinces which are today being served with these central organs and centre publications would have to go without them.

So, the CC decides that Marathi weekly and monthly and publications to be handed over to Bombay-Maharashtra Committees; Gujarati weekly and publications to be handed over to Gujarat Committee; Hindi weekly, monthly and publications to U.P.-Bihar Committee to be run so as to serve the purpose of all Hindi-speaking regions. U.I. organ can be utilised for this purpose.

The CC must run English weekly, monthly, because English is the language which is today known by the Party leadership in all the Provinces and is also the language of educated masses in all Provinces and as such it is necessary to bring our Central publications and organs in English to unify the Party and to take our Party programs to different provinces.

Urdu not being a language of any one province in India, but is the language of a good minority in most of the Provinces, Centre must bring journals and publications in this language also.

As for AMUS Record and ISJ and Student, they must be run primarily by the respective mass organisations on their own resources.

The question of aiding the Provinces in bringing out their Provincial Press and publications as well as aiding the mass organisations to bring respective journals will have to be considered from time to time on the financial resources of the CC and the relative importance of any particular journal, to further the mass movements when compared with other pressing demands on CC finances.

Before August 1st, CC decision must be implemented.

Dear Comrade,

At the present moment tech. affairs are arranged by you in consultation with all the comrades working in this branch of activity. While there is nothing to say against this on the face of it, we, the two of us, Philip and Prakash, feel that things are not, cannot and will not be managed in the proper manner by observing all principles of secrecy and discipline if they are left in the present condition. Individual responsibility, which is an essential factor in the running of this secret apparatus, will not be there. Secret movements of couriers are sought to be told to everyone and in the instance of the resolution passed by the "breeze" cell, we feel that a clear breach of discipline has been committed as the comrades to whom the fact was known had gone and told the others. All these show an indication of the continuation of the slackness and soft-peddling and voluntariness that set in immediately after the acceptance of the old PB of the left-sectarian character of its deviation. Alarmed with their own mistakes the PHQ Committee members (at least some of them like Sanjeev, who wrote his two famous letters) collapsed and incapacitated themselves in leading or even channelising either the discussions or the organisational discipline of the u.g. tech. apparatus. Hence, although it was but natural in view of the always tendentious development of the CPI by way of deviations to the Right or Left, a lot of muddled and confused understanding regarding the management of affairs took place along with vigorous and necessary discussions. We feel the continued existence of such a situation of confusion in organising the work of the tech. apparatus. At the same time a proper understanding of the needs and the methods and forms of organisation are still in an exploratory stage, and this situation if allowed to continue will paralyse the utility and effectiveness of the apparatus itself. The needs of ~~xxx~~ the unification of the Party, discussions, emergence of correct leadership and policy necessitate more than ever an effectively managed tech. at the centre here.

We feel that a large part of this confusion arises out of the feeling of some comrades of the necessity to take action in this affair against the left-sectarian elements. Now, it is a known fact that left-sectarianism has caused immense harm to the Party, that it is more useless and harmful compared to cow-dung. But we must, at the same time, understand that a call for the overthrow and forced dissolution of the leadership had not been necessary, that our left-sectarians had not degenerated into the level of conscious and paid agents of the enemy. Therefore the utilisation of some of these comrades in work other than concerned with the direction of policy-making and top leadership will enable us in the meantime for the better functioning of certain branches of Party activity. And this is particularly so in the case of the u.g. tech. apparatus of the centre here. So we feel that while it is necessary and enervating to continue the discussion on the problem of the forms certain necessary steps and forms can be found out and people with experience can be put there, whether they have been past deviationists or not. Otherwise it will be like the cure for diphtheria experimentally tried by Emil Behring, namely iodine trichloride, which while it was found to kill the bacilli, killed the patient along with it. But Behring was a great man and a wise man and he ultimately found a cure for the disease. So we should abandon the present indeterminate and indifferent and harmful mode of functioning. In this regard we wish to suggest that you appoint Com. ~~Sanjeev~~ ^{TSN} to look into the over-all tech. in consultation with those on the jobs and with the help of those whom he considers necessary to be sought help of. Otherwise situations like today's in D2 will be greatly made difficult to be remedied.

As the discussions you had with the comrades of "breeze" ~~xxx~~ on tech. matters have been reported on by Com. Santosh, we feel that this note be circulated to all tech. comrades if you think there is no harm in it.

With Greetings,

P & P

PS: This note was prepared and sent to you by us on the 7th. Now we come to understand that delay may have been caused in its transit and that it may have not been received even today. Therefore we send you these two copies.

P & P

Copy to Brezina

The Secretary,
PHQ Cell Secretaries Unit,

4th July 1950.

Dear Comrade,

I have taken note of your objection to Com. Nissar assisting me in my work. I have decided to do the work without his assistance.

Greetings,

CCM-in-Charge.

Breeze Comrades:

Received copies of your communication addressed to PB and CC, dated July 4, 1950. I am forwarding a copy immediately to the Centre. I am also sending copies to the various dens. I am of the opinion that it cannot be sent to the PHQ in this form and at present.

Firstly, you mention in the very opening paragraph that you are forwarding this to the PB and CC "immediately because the courier is leaving." Such reference ought not to occur in a document meant for the PHQ nor for that matter in the one circulated in all the dens.

Secondly, the PHQ comrades should get this communication of yours, containing resolutions, which "embody the general views of comrades of central dens", together with the report on the decisions as I orally made to you comrades. Otherwise they will be at a disadvantage of not knowing the full facts on the matters referred to in your communication.

However it is of the utmost importance that the comrades in the PHQ also know your views as speedily as possible. I am therefore forwarding a copy of your communication to PHQ with the following deletions:

- 1) Delete the words "Because the courier is leaving".
For reasons stated in Para 3 above,
- 2) / I hold back resolutions (5) and (6), on exclusion of Com. Yusuf and BNM from the CC meeting and on exclusion of Com. Balai from the CC meeting, at present. They will be sent to them together with appeal to Party ranks when it is got by us and sent to the PHQ.

I hope you will agree with this.

In relation to my tasks in connection with the PHQ, I have already stated that all the proposals of the Central Committee will be carried out only on the basis of proper discussions in the PHQ units and committees and in consultation with U.G. comrades connected with the work.

I shall however continue to take whatever help I need from Com. Adhikari for the execution of the tasks entrusted to me by the CC and in accordance with the CC directives until these directives are changed by the CC on the basis of your resolution.

C.e.M. *Wichaya*

Das

The following are resolutions on the CC decisions prepared on the basis of discussions held at Breeze following the CCM's report, with the following comrades present : Hamid, Santosh, Jagat, Ramnath, Ehanu, Hama. These resolutions embody the general views of other comrades of central u.g. dens, with whom separate discussions have been held. None of the resolutions are in a final form, and will be finalised only on the basis of further discussions.

We are forwarding them to the PB and CC immediately, because ~~the~~ ~~Comrades~~ ~~desire~~ we want the general views to be known to CC and PB without any delay.

I. RESOLUTION ON RECONSTITUTION OF THE CC

note

The CCM has reported to us on the decisions of the CC. We know the decisions regarding the disaolusion of the old PB and the withdrawal of the documents Nos 16 and 20. We await the policy documents and other resolutions.

We are informed that the CC has been reconstituted on the basis of certain criteria. We do not yet know what the criteria are. Neither are the self-critical reports of the PEMs and CCMs available to us. We are therefore unable to state our views on the correctness of the step and the choice of the personnel.

But we are of the view that in today's situation, when the political line of the Party is still under discussion, whatever political-organisation decisions are taken should be taken only on the basis of the fullest inner-Party democracy. The fight against left-sectarianism and for a correct line can be conducted only by the entire Party and by the strictest adherence to the principles of inner-Party democracy.

Therefore we are of the view that the CC should function as an interim CC, primarily charged with the vital task of reunification of the Party round a correct line. With this end in view, the CC should :

- 1) Take political organisational steps for the convening of a Party Congress, limited in numbers to that possible under illegal conditions.
- 2) Make available all the documents including the self criticisms of all the CCMs to the Party ranks.
- 3) Take all other steps necessary for the fullest inner-Party discussions.

The ~~same~~ CC should appoint a Commission which will go into the left sectarian policies and organisation of the last two years, assess each CCM's stand and publish its report to the ranks, with the relevant documents. Such a report will enable the Party ranks to judge who among the leadership have fought for a correct line and who therefore can be in the new leadership. The Commission should be directed also to investigate into the responsibility ~~for~~ for the crimes of the various CCMs and PEMs and recommend suitable action.

The CC should in the meanwhile take steps to convene TU, Kisan, student women representatives' meetings, charged with the task of getting reports on the present situation on the various fronts, working out interim slogans and electing all-India fractions, finally to be approved by the ~~next~~ Congress.

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II. ON THE ORGANISATION, DECISIONS OF THE CC

We have heard the report of the CCM-in-charge on the organisational decisions taken at the recent meetings of the old and the new CC.

The CCM-in-charge gave us to understand that the CC's estimation of the very serious inner-Party crisis amounts broadly to the following :

- A trotskyite line was developed and imposed on the Party by the old PB and ruthlessly implemented through a terror regime in the last two and a half years.
- It has led to the virtual liquidation of the Party, to its extreme isolation from the working class and the masses, and has wrought great damage to the Party and the mass organisations.
- For this situation, the main responsibility lies firstly on the ex-CC Com. Chaudhry, and secondly on his collaborator, Com Kobi, who used Titoist methods and stooped to most unprincipled and factional activities in driving through their plans and policies.

- Com. Adhikari also was responsible ^{for} heinous crimes second only to those of the abovementioned.

- Other CCs such as Coms. Jatin and ~~Rajin~~ Raghunath in particular were acting as the shock-troopers of Coms. Chaudari and Robi in their Titoist liquidationist methods of organisation and were committing several crimes against the international communist movement.

- Other CCs such as Com. Ahmed were responsible for the carrying forward of the left-sectarian adventurist policies and causing severe damage to the Party and mass organisations.

- In certain provinces some representatives of the L.S. trend committed serious crimes which resulted in the liquidation of the Party and mass organisations, e.g. Tamilnad and Calcutta.

~~xxx~~ Even with this understanding of the inner-Party crisis we are convinced that the first organisational decisions should have been along the following lines.

1. A Commission should be set up to go into the Titoist crimes of Coms. Chaudari and Robi and recommend necessary ~~xx~~ disciplinary action against them. The same commission should go into the crimes of the other PEs and CCs who pursued this line and recommend suitable action against them. Pending this all these comrades be debarred from holding any responsible positions inside the Party.

In the provinces, similarly, the main executors of the LS and Adventurist policy should have their crimes investigated by commissions and pending the verdict of these commissions they should be debarred from all responsible posts.

2. The CC, PCs and other committees should be reconstituted from among firstly, those who have resisted the LS adventurist policy in some measure, and secondly those who are the least hardened in the LS policy and have carried it out as a matter of discipline. This reconstitution should take place in the most democratic manner possible with the widest consultation of PEs.

From the CCM's report to us we learn that :

a) No commission has been set up ~~in~~ with the specific purpose of investigating the various crimes of Chaudari and Robi and the other CCs who are guilty of the crimes. A commission has been set up to investigate the penetration of Titoist influence inside the Party. But the terms of reference in the commission from what we can gather, do not include the flagrant repudiation of ~~international~~ proletarianism and the Titoist liquidationist methods of organisation followed by the PB and the CCs. The terms of reference seem to be confined to open acts showing a link with the Tito gang ~~with~~ of Yugoslavia.

b) Com. Chaudari and Com. Robi have not been debarred from holding any responsible positions let alone any more severe disciplinary action being taken against them for their unpardonable crimes.

c) Similarly the PEs and CCs such as the ones mentioned above whose crimes according to CC's understanding are second only to those of Chaudari and Robi have also not been debarred from holding any responsible positions pending thorough investigation into their anti-Party activities.

d) On the contrary we are told by the CCM that :

1) Com. Adhikari has been appointed ~~him~~ to carry out very responsible tasks of assisting the CCM in implementing the CC's decisions with regard to the reconstitution of the ~~central~~ legal agit-prop. apparatus.

2) Com. Ahmed has been appointed as a member of the central T.U fraction. In ~~an~~ addition we learn that Coms. Robi, Adhikari and Jatin have been appointed to constitute the agit-prop committee of the CC.

e) Various provincial organising committees have been appointed by the CC without any consultation with the PCs or the DCs concerned; and that these committees do not exclude the ~~present~~ hardened left sectarians of the present leadership. In particular we ~~xxxx~~ have learnt the entire personnel of the new Maharashtra -BC Org. Committee. This includes those who have pursued LS policy and Titoist methods of organisation and caused severe damage to the Party and Mass organisations.

These facts show that while the old PB has been dissolved and the CC has been reconstituted former CCs who are guilty of various crimes against the Party including Com. Robi himself are being vital and most responsible ~~positions~~ positions in the central leadership of the Party. Similarly in the various provinces hardened left sectarians have been put in the PCs. This in our view constitutes a serious situation for the Party. The holding of such key positions by the very elements who have brought disaster to the Party will retard the urgent and immediate task of re-unifying the Party and evolving a correct line, through the fullest inner-Party discussion. It will retard the emergence of inner-Party democracy which has been ruthlessly suppressed during the last two-and a half years. ■

We, therefore demand that the CC take into consideration all these facts and

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take the following immediate steps:

1. Set up a commission commanding the confidence of the Party to investigate the crimes committed by Coms. Chaudari and Robi and other CCMs mentioned above, and pending their verdict debar these comrades from holding any responsible positions.
2. That the Provincial organising committees and the other committees should be organised only on the basis of fullest democratic consultation and must ~~exclude~~ exclude all the hardened left sectarians pending investigation of their crimes.

3. RESOLUTION ON INNER-PARTY DISCUSSION.

The CCM has communicated to us the understanding ^{that} of the CC there is to be fullest inner-Party discussion for evolving the correct line of the Party.

In this connection we of the O.G. and U.G. PHQ cells had made suggestions and proposals e.g. regarding regular publication of provincial and central forum; release of certain documents; special arrangements for production, translation, distribution etc. of the documents. We have received no acknowledgement to this from the CC. Neither do we know whether the CC has considered them.

But so far no forum has come out ~~as~~ after the first issue; no documents which we have demanded have been released or decision taken to release them; no special directives have been sent to the PCs regarding forum; no special arrangements have been made for setting up apparatus for production etc.

What we are told by the CCM is that the central Party forum will be brought regularly hereafter.

We consider that many more urgent steps than this will have to be taken to ensure the fullest inner Party discussion.

Firstly, the CC should give mandatory instructions to all PCs to bring out regular inner-Party forums in addition to the translation of ~~the~~ central Party forums. DCs and even lower committees should be asked to make all efforts to run local forums - cycle styled, typed or handwrittendepending on the technical resources. All these forums should deal with both ideologically and organisational questions.

The CC should give immediate instructions to ensure that at central and provincial levels special technical arrangements are made for the rapid translation production and distribution of all documents. If the present state of organisational apparatus is depended upon it will mean only sabotage of inner-Party discussion.

4. RESOLUTION ON INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY.

We understand from the report given to us by the CCM-in-charge that the CC in its decision has laid very great emphasis on fullest inner-Party democracy. But certain steps have been taken by the CC and they, in our opinion, are not in accordance with this decision.

1. the Constitution of the organising committees without consulting even the existing committees, let alone the Party membership,
2. The decision of the CC to circulate the minutes of the CC meeting including the minutes of the self-critical reports of PBMs and CCMs only to the PCs, and not to the entire Party ranks.
3. Rejection of PCJ's appeal for Control Commission. Regarding this we have to state ~~as~~ the following. Whatever may be the crimes of PCJ, principles of Party organisation grant every Party comrade the right to appeal against action taken against him to the Control commission. It is a violation of Party democracy to refuse this demand. In the context of the terror regime imposed by the old PB it is natural for all Party Members to have serious doubts regarding the manner in which PCJ was expelled. In view of his public accusations against the old PB it is essential for a Commission commanding the confidence of the Party members to consider his appeal. The appointment of such a commission and the release of its findings to Party members will play a very great part in restoring confidence among Party members, and the re-unification of the Party.

4. The CC has called upon all the PCs to re-examine the cases of all those against whom disciplinary action has been taken for disagreement with the policy ~~and~~ and rescind them wherever necessary. This decision ignores the urgent need of the situation and the fundamental principle of inner-Party democracy. Firstly, when the PB and the CC have been responsible for a policy which has resulted in expulsions and suspensions it is necessary for the Central leadership itself to ~~issue an appeal~~ issue an appeal to all comrades against whom action has been taken for political differences to come back into the Party and participate freely and fully in the inner-Party discussion. Their participation is an essential condition for the re-unification of the Party. Secondly, this decision places the responsibility for reviewing these disciplinary actions on committees which still include in many cases the very comrades who have been responsible for these disciplinary actions. The correct procedure which would command the respect of all Party comrades, not the least of those who have

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settled*

been victims of these disciplinary actions should be to appoint commissions at central and provincial levels consisting of universally accepted members to review these cases. This commission should also go into the charges made by the various comrades including those who are the victims of terror regime against the old leadership.

We draw the immediate attention of the CC to the abovementioned facts which show that far from inner-Party democracy being ensured the old bureaucratic attitude continues. We demand of the CC to take urgent steps to make a complete break with the past.

5. RESOLUTION ON THE EXCLUSION OF COM.YUSUF, BMM FROM THE CC MEETING.

We are seriously alarmed at the report given to us by the CCM regarding the exclusion from the CC meeting of Com.Yusuf who was a member of the old PB and whose whose record of service to the Party and the workingclass is wellknown. The grounds given by the CCM for his exclusion are the following:

1. A report reached the CC from the UPPC Secy. to the effect that he had reason to believe that Com.Yusuf had met PCJ somewhere in UP. The report mentioned certain details of the alleged meeting. The UPPC Secy. had stated that Com.Yusuf had denied to him that he had met PCJ.

2. In the meanwhile Com.Yusuf arrived at the centre and two comrades Chaudari and Adhikari met him. During his talks with them he did not mention anything about the alleged meeting with Joshi.

3. The CC did not ask Com.Yusuf either verbally or in writing whether he had met Joshi or not.

With the abovementioned facts as the basis the CC decided to exclude him from the CC meeting and appointed a commission to investigate the charges against Com.Yusuf.

We consider that this is in complete violation of the rights of PMs. It is impermissible for any unit of the Party to take action against a comrade without asking him for his explanation. The action of the CC becomes still more serious because it deprived the central leadership of the Party at a critical time of the assistance of an outstanding comrade.

We demand that the CC should issue a full statement on this together with the statement of Com.Yusuf himself.

We have heard that the question of re-admitting BMM to the CC was raised in the CC meeting. It was fully agreed that the main basis of the disciplinary action taken against him namely, his political disagreement to the IS policy was a false basis; that in fact he had raised certain important and correct criticisms. Nevertheless he was excluded from the CC meeting at a crucial juncture in Party history because it was argued that inside jail he had shown contempt for workingclass comrades.

We consider this argument to be totally untenable. We cannot understand that to the same CC which was willing to accept in its meeting comrades like leaders of the old PB who had committed the most heinous crimes against all canons of proletarian ethics, have thought it necessary to exclude a comrade from the CC meeting on the ground of his alleged anti-workingclass attitude.

A full explanation on this is also demanded from the CC.

6. Exclusion of Bolal from the CC meeting:

We understand that com.Bolal was excluded from the CC meeting. We understand that the Bengal PC had taken action against him for moral degeneracy, ~~but since he~~ ~~was CC~~ no action was taken either by the PB or the CC and the ranks were not informed about the same. We, therefore demand a full statement ~~xxxxxx~~ in this case also.

7. ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PHQ COMMITTEE.

The decision of the CC dissolving the PHQ Committee has been communicated to the comrades of the PHQ by the CCM on his arrival. We now understand that there is no resolution on this action taken against the PHQ committee. It is a fact that PHQ commt. members had forfeited the right to hold responsible positions and had lost the confidence of the Party members due to their political bankruptcy and bureaucratism. Their removal from responsible positions was the demand ~~made~~ made by the entire U.G. and O.G.PHQ comrades. But it had been clearly stated in the various resolutions of the cells and the G.B. that the PHQ comrades were very conscious that for the crimes of the PHQ commt. members responsibility was certainly not less and in several cases more than that of the PBM in charge, Com. Adhikari, and later the CCMs in charge, Coms. Kamath and Ahmed. In these circumstances the criticisms of the PHQ comrades against the PHQ commt. applied in ~~xxxxxx~~ in far greater measure to the PBMs and CCMs.

And yet the CC has placed the same CCM in charge again in control of all activities of the PHQ. Not only that. They have appointed Com.Adhikari in whom the PHQ comrades have no confidence whatsoever and against whom serious charges of heinous crimes are pending, to assist the CCM in charge.

3/7/50

To The CCM-in-charge,

We have learnt that you have appointed com.Nissar as your assistant without consulting the PHQ comrades.

Com.Nissar is one of the members of the PHQ Committee whose political bankruptcy and bureaucratic methods of functioning have been exposed and in whom the PHQ comrades have expressed lack of confidence in unmistakable terms.

Com.Nissar himself has made his ~~political~~ self-criticism accepting his political bankruptcy and bureaucratic functioning. The CC has dissolved the PHQ committee.

Under these circumstances, the appointment of Com.Nissar as your assistant is highly bureaucratic and shows nothing but contempt of the views of PHQ comrades working O.G. and U.G.

We demand that Com.Nissar should be removed from this position and an explanation be given to the comrades regarding this. Com.Nissar should also explain why he accepted this ~~responsibility~~ responsibility.

Breeze comrades, and Jagat.

RESOLUTION

The PHQ O.G. Unit demands that the PB immediately dissolve the PHQ Committee which has not only proved its complete political and moral bankruptcy but has also been guilty of grave anti-Party crimes such as factionalism, employment of gestapo methods inside the Party to further its factional and disruptive line, and setting up a terror regime in the PHQ. The unique distinction of suppressing the Lasting Peace Editorial and muzzling all discussion on it even among members of the same cell in the PHQ for over two months also goes to this committee. All the crimes of this committee and its members have yet to be investigated, but the above-mentioned crimes are the ones which it itself has accepted in its different letters to the PHQ and in its talks with the members of the o.g. Unit and are, by themselves, enough to justify its immediate dissolution and being put beyond the pale of any further mischief.

The PHQ o.g. Unit, therefore, demands that the PB dissolve the PHQ Committee, remove its members from all positions of responsibility and direct them to prepare their individual self-critical reports to be placed before the Party after which final decision shall be taken against them.

The PHQ o.g. Unit is convinced that the affairs and conduct of the PHQ Committee during the last two years demand that a thorough and detailed investigation be made into them by a Committee or Commission appointed by the CC Plenum or the new CC formed on the basis of inner-Party discussions that are now on.

The PHQ o.g. Unit is convinced that the report of such an investigation will throw a lurid light on the state of affairs inside the Party and will help in unmasking the real face of Left-Sectarianism before the whole Party.

The PHQ o.g. Unit urges upon the PB to agree to and convey its acceptance of the principle that the PHQ be now run by a Committee democratically elected by the comrades in the PHQ from among themselves.

The PHQ o.g. Unit further records that the PB has miserably failed to lead and guide the work of the PHQ.

The PHQ o.g. Unit demands that this resolution be forwarded to all the members of the present CC, circulated to all the units of the Party through the Open Forum and be placed before the CC Plenum.

May 29, 1950

John W. T.

old Politbureau have been quashed, while many other cases are placed under review. The Central Committee has decided to ensure full inner-Party democracy coupled with strict centralism - in the matter of functioning the Party organisation.
