

Documents

Regarding the Dissolution of the Communist International

In view of the attempts currently going on among communist revolutionary organisations and parties around the world to build relations with one another, and by some even to undertake the formation of another communist international, it is relevant to understand why the parties which constituted the Communist International chose to dissolve it at a particular historical juncture. It is also relevant to understand how the Communist Party of China (CPC), the leader of the international communist movement after the Soviet Union turned revisionist, approached its relations with fraternal parties.

The following documents, namely the Resolution of the ECCI Presidium recommending the dissolution of the Comintern, the Statement of the Presidium on the same question, and the talk in 1970 between the delegations of the CPC and the CPI(ML), are being reproduced to facilitate such understanding.

--Editor, Comrade.

I.

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (ECCI) PRESIDIUM RECOMMENDING THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

15 May 1943

World News and Views, xxiii, 22, p. 169, 29 May 1943

The historic role of the Communist International, which was found in 1919 as a result of the political union of the great majority of old, pre-war working-class parties, consisted in upholding the principles of Marxism from vulgarization and distortion by the opportunist elements in a number of countries of the vanguard of the foremost workers in real working-class parties, and in helping them to mobilize the workers for the defence of their economic and political interests and for the struggle against fascism and war the latter was preparing and for support of the Soviet Union as the chief bulwark against fascism.

The Communist International from the first exposed the real meaning of the 'Anti-Comintern Pact', as a weapon for the preparation of war by the Hitlerites. Long before the war, it ceaselessly and tirelessly exposed the vicious, subversive work of the Hitlerites who masked it by their screams about the so-called interference of the Communist International in the internal affairs of these States.

But long before the war it became more and more clear that, with the increasing complications in the internal and international relations of the various countries, any sort of international centre would encounter insuperable obstacles in solving the problems facing the movement in each separate country. The deep differences of the historic paths of development of various countries, the differences in their character and even contradictions in their social orders, the differences in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, the differences, finally, in the degree of consciousness and organisation of the workers, conditioned the different problems facing the working class of the various countries.

The whole development of events in the last quarter of a century, and

the experience accumulated by the Communist International convincingly showed that the organizational form of uniting the workers chosen by the first congress of the Communist International answered the conditions of the first stages of the working-class movement but has been outgrown by the growth of this movement and by the complications of its problems in separate countries, and has even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties.

The World War that the Hitlerites have let loose has still further sharpened the differences in the situation of the separate countries, and has placed a deep dividing line between those countries which fell under the Hitlerite tyranny and those freedom-loving peoples who have united in a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In the countries of the Hitlerite *bloc* the fundamental task of the working class, the toilers, and all honest people consists in giving all help for the defeat of this *bloc*, by sabotage of the Hitlerite military machine from within, and by helping to overthrow the Government who are guilty of the war. In the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people, and in the first place of the foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the Governments of these countries aimed at the speediest defeat of the Hitlerite *bloc* and the assurance of the friendship of nations based on their equality.

At the same time the fact must not be lost sight of that separate countries which are members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition have their own particular problems. For example, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites which have lost their State independence the basic task of the foremost workers and of the wide masses of the people consists in promoting armed struggle, developing into a national war of liberation against Hitlerite Germany. At the same time, the war of liberation of the freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of the people, uniting them without difference of party or religion in the ranks of a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition, has demonstrated with still greater clearness that the general national upsurge and mobilization of the people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried out by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each separate country, working within

the framework of its own country.

Already the seventh congress of the Communist International, meeting in 1935, taking into account the change(s) that had taken place both in the international situation and in the working-class movements that demand great flexibility and independence of its sections in deciding the problems confronting them, emphasized the necessity for the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in deciding all questions of the working-class movement arising from the concrete conditions and peculiarities of each country, to make a rule of avoiding interference in the internal organizational affairs of the communist parties. These same considerations guided the Communist International in considering the resolution of the Communist Party of the USA of November 1940, on its withdrawal from the ranks of the Communist International.

Guided by the judgment of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, communists have never been supporters of the conservation of organizational forms that have outlived themselves. They have always subordinated forms of organization of the working-class movement and the methods of working of such organizations, to the fundamental political interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and to the problems immediately resulting from this situation. They remember the example of the great Marx, who united the foremost workers in the ranks of the Working Men's International Association, and, when the First International had fulfilled its historical task, laying the foundations for the development of the working-class parties in the countries of Europe and America, and, as a result of the matured situation creating mass national working-class parties, dissolved the First International inasmuch as this form of organization already no longer corresponded to the demands confronting it.

In consideration of the above, and taking into account the growth and political maturity of the communist parties and their leading cadres in the separate countries, and also having in view the fact that during the present war some sections have raised the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as the directing centre of the international working-class movement.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in the circumstances of the World War not being able to con-

vene a congress of the Communist International, puts forward the following proposal for ratification by the sections of the Communist International.

The Communist International, as the directing centre of the international working-class movement, is to be dissolved, thus freeing the sections of the Communist International from their obligations arising from the statutes and resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on whole-hearted support of and active participation in the war of liberation of the peoples and States of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the deadly enemy of the working class and toilers — German fascism and its associates and vassals.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

(Signed)

G. DIMITROV
M. ERCOLI
W. FLORIN
K. GOTTWALD
V. KOLAROV
J. KOPLINIG
O. KUUSINEN
D. MANUILSKY
A. MARTY
W. PIECK
M. THOREZ
A. ZHDANOV

The following representatives of communist parties also append their signatures to the present resolution:

BIANCO (Italy)
DOLORES IBARRURI (Spain)
LEKHTININ (Finland)
ANNA PAUKER (Romania)
MATTHIAS RAKOSI (Hungary)

Moscow, 15 May 1943.

ENDNOTE: Interviewed on the dissolution of the Communist International by Reuters' chief Moscow correspondent, Stalin said:

"The dissolution of the Communist International is proper and timely because it facilitates the organisation of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy — Hitlerism. The dissolution of the Communist International is proper because:

"(a) It exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that 'Moscow' allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to 'Bolshevise' them. An end is now being put to this lie.

"(b) It exposes the calumny of the adversaries of Communism within the Labour movement to the effect that Communist Parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interests of their people but on orders from outside. An end is now being put to this calumny.

"(c) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting the progressive forces of their respective countries, regardless of party or religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation — for unfolding the struggle against Fascism.

"(d) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against the menace of world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way to the future organisation of a companionship of nations based upon their equality.

"I think that all these circumstances taken together will result in a further strengthening of the United Front of the Allies and other united nations in their fight for victory over Hitlerite tyranny. I feel that the dissolution of the Communist International is perfectly timely — because it is exactly now, when the Fascist beast is exerting its last strength, that it is necessary to organise the common onslaught of freedom-loving countries to finish off this beast and to deliver the people from Fascist oppression."

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE ECCI ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

8 June 1943

World News and Views, xxiii, 25, p. 197, 19 June 1943

At its last meeting on 8 June 1943, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International considered the decisions received from its Sections in connection with its proposals of 15 May 1943, on the dissolution of the Communist International, and decided the following:

1. That the proposal on the dissolution of the Communist International has been approved by

The Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of the Argentine, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bulgaria, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Hungary, Communist Party of Germany, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Italy, Communist Party of Canada, the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, the Revolutionary Communist Union of Cuba, the Communist Party of Mexico, the Workers' Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Rumania, the Communist Party of Syria, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Uruguay, the Communist Party of Finland, the Communist Party of France, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Switzerland, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Union of South Africa, the Communist International of Youth (which is incorporated in the Communist International with the full rights of a Section).

2. That not one of the existing Sections of the Communist International sent in any objection to the proposal of the Presidium of the EC.

In view of all this the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares:

1. That the proposal for the dissolution of the Communist International has been unanimously approved by all Sections able to send in their decisions, including all the most important Sections.

2. It considers that as from the 10th of June, 1943, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Presidium and Secretariat of the Executive Committee, as well as the International Control Commission, have been dissolved.

3. It entrusts to a committee composed of Dimitrov (as Chairman), Manuilsky, Ercoli, and Pieck to carry out the actual winding up of the affairs of the organs, apparatus, and property of the Communist International.

(Signed) on behalf of the Presidium of the ECCI

DIMITROV.

ENDNOTE. "The Chinese CP central committee expressed its full agreement (with the resolution of the Presidium): the Comintern had fulfilled its historical mission in protecting Marxism from distortion, in helping progressive forces to unite, in supporting the Soviet Union and fighting fascism, and it had done all in its power to bring about co-operation between the KMT and the CCP; in its organisational form it had now outlived itself. The CCP had received much help from the Comintern in its revolutionary struggle, but the Chinese communists had now for a long time been free to decide independently on its policy and put it into effect." -- from the introduction to the above statement in *Documents of the Communist International*, edited by Jane Degras.

II.

In mid-1970 the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) despatched a delegation to Peking in mid-1970 for discussions with the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The delegation was to consist of three comrades (Souren Bose, Saroj Datta, and Suniti Kumar Ghosh). The latter two were unable to go for reasons beyond their control, and the former left for Peking via London and Tirana (Albania) towards the end of August 1970. S. K. Ghosh recounts that "During the interview Souren Bose, as he said to us, was told by the Chinese leaders not to take notes, not to put in writing anything about it before reaching India. According to him, he jotted down some notes in his hotel after the interview and these notes were developed into this report after his arrival in Calcutta." (*The Historic Turning Point: A Liberation Anthology*, ed. Suniti Kumar Ghosh, vol. II. Souren Bose's report of the interview has been reproduced in the same volume, p. 331.)

We have taken the following version of this interview from *Experiences of Chinese Revolution: Some Unpublished Notes*, a November 1980 publication of Asia News and Information Service, Montreal, Canada, distributed by the Indian People's Association of North America (IPANA). The 'Preface' to the publication states as follows:

"Reports and articles being produced in this booklet were obtained by Asia News and Information Service from a Third World delegation which visited the People's Republic of China in 1979.

"The first of these reports is an account of the discussion held in 1970 between Chou En-Lai of the Communist Party of China and Souren Bose, a representative of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The report is based on the minutes of the talk, which the leadership of the Communist Party of China released to the visiting delegation.... On his return from China, Souren Bose was arrested by the Indian state. Details of the meeting were never published....

"In producing these texts no attempt has been made to improve the grammar or the style of the presentation....

Similarly, we have followed exactly the Asia News and Information

Service text, and have not attempted to correct the spelling, grammar, or style of presentation.

No explanation is given in the text or the publisher's preface for the first and last paragraphs of the text, which do not form part of the interview. We do not have any further information about this text apart from the above.

The purpose of reproducing this interview in the present context is that it provides a revealing glimpse of the approach of the Communist Party of China to one aspect of its proletarian international responsibilities, namely, its relations with fraternal parties. Despite the vast gap in political level and strength between the two parties (the CPC and the CPI-ML), the Chinese comrades take care to hold the talks on an equal footing. The Chinese comrades stress that only Indian communists can properly integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete condition of India. Only within this frame, and in the spirit of "learning from each other", do they offer their comments and suggestions, on the basis of their own rich experience.

ABOUT THE TALK HELD IN 1970 BETWEEN COMRADE CHOU EN LAI AND COMRADE SOUREN BOSE

From India, we have learnt several versions about the minutes of this talk. First of all, we are certain that on October 29, 1970, there had been a talk between Comrade Chou En Lai and Comrade Souren Bose. We have gone through some of the versions of this talk prevailing in India; the content of them are almost the same. Comrades, if you are interested in this question, I am ready to inform you the main points of this talk, i.e., about your party, Indian revolution and basic experience of the Chinese revolution.

First of all, Comrade Chou said to him, "I am very sorry, because I have not been able to meet you for so long."

Comrade Bose answered, "It does not matter, because you are so busy in your work."

Comrade Chou: "On the one hand this is because I was busy in my work, on the other hand, it takes much time to go through all of your

materials. I have not yet gone through all of your materials.

"We have had too little talks with each other. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we have done very insufficient job in the international communist movement."

Comrade Chou also asked something about specific conditions of Comrade Bose's journey. He went on to say,

"You have undergone a long journey to pay a visit to China and to have talks with us. We welcome you and congratulate you on the foundation of your party and also on the success of your First National Party Congress and also for the victory of your causes. This is a victory for the Indian people and also for the international communist movement as a whole. Your party was born in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, comprador capitalism and modern revisionism. You have four enemies, i.e., you have four mountains on the back of the Indian people; you have one more than that of the Chinese. We had three. In the process of development of the international communist movement and also on the question of ideologies there is a dark side also. On the formation of social imperialism by Soviet, this is something beyond our experiences. For us, it was a new thing. At that time we were struggling against them for 10 years. It has some difference with old line revisionists because of political power, armed forces, etc., under their rule. We congratulate the initial victory of your party. This is a new victory in India after the second world war. We congratulate on the stand of the fraternal party. I think, Comrade Bose has gone through Chairman Mao's article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship". This was written after the victory of 1949, i.e., when we entered the cities. In that article, Chairman Mao mentioned about the main weapons by which our party has won victory of the Chinese revolution. Today I am going to mention them for the reference of our Indian comrades. Comrade Mao said, "We relied upon these three weapons for the victory of the Chinese revolution, viz., party, army and united front." On the question of the party, Chairman Mao said, "A well disciplined party which is armed by theory of Marxism-Leninism, adopts the method of self-criticism and keeps in close touch with the masses of the people."

"Now, let me say something about how we used the theory of Marxism-Leninism to arm our party. On this question, Chairman Mao often said that we should integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of our revolution. During the early days, when we mentioned Mao's thought, we took this as the main content of Mao thought, i.e., we took the integration of universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete situation of the Chinese revolution. This is because in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete condition of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has done the best and the greatest development. So, Chairman Mao is considered to be the greatest Marxist-Leninist. So, at each historical crucial moment and at each important turning of Chinese revolution, it is Chairman Mao who excelled or rescued or remedied the general orientation of the Chinese revolution. Whenever we failed to do things in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, the revolution met with failures or setbacks. I am not going to the details of how Chairman Mao developed Marxism-Leninism."

Comrade Chou continued to say, "Chairman Mao has always taught us, even if it is a universal truth, it should be bound with the actual condition of a certain country and it should be through the revolutionary practices of the revolutionary comrades in that certain country. That means, it should be bound with that concrete practice, and on that basis they should form their own revolutionary line. If it is universal truth, it cannot be transplanted."

Comrade Chou took the example of great proletarian cultural revolution to show him. He said,

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a continuation of Chinese revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it cannot be carried out in absence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolution of each country has its own characteristic. Therefore, I tell you, Comrade Bose, that a fraternal party is after all a fraternal party. This is not the same party; because in each country, it has different historical background, environment, and different historical development. So, to win

revolution in that particular country, we must integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete condition of that country, and on that basis formulate a correct Marxist-Leninist line. So, on this point CPC and Chairman Mao are in no way too modest. In accordance with Chairman Mao's explanation, to be modest is to seek truth from facts. So, in this case, if we are modest, this being modest is correct. So, this is by no means hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie."

Comrade Chou said, "By seeking truth from facts, we mean, the Indian revolution should rely upon the Indian Leftist comrades through their revolution to work out their own correct political line and also through their revolutionary practice, train and steel their own leadership and in this regard no other party can do instead of them." Comrade Bose said,

"In the present International Communist Movement, Chairman Mao has his authority."

Comrade Chou said, "We do not deny this. After Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, in the present day, Chairman Mao has persisted in truth of Marxism-Leninism and persisted in the principle to the highest degree and persisted in fighting against imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction and big country like China, consisting of 1/4 of total population of the world, pursued the revolution of the proletariat. This has made world people happy and also look forward to China. But Chairman Mao to the Chinese party and to the Chinese revolution, transplant all this to the Indian revolution, that will not be correct. As comrade-in-arms and students of Chairman Mao, if we offer some information to the Indian communists (M-L), can this be more proper than what we uttered? Not necessarily so. This is completely impossible. That means, it is not possible for us to offer you any information which is better than what you decide. So, this is unnecessary and also impossible. Therefore, between us, there can be relationship between comrades. What we can do is to just base on your presentation and to offer you some information for your reference only and when we do this, we proceed from the attitude of learning. If we do beyond this, that will not be in correspondence with Mao-Tse-Tung thought and that will be a violation of Chairman Mao's teachings.

That means we will commit mistakes. Therefore, we ask the CPI(ML) to consider. If you say CPC is a party of leadership and Chairman Mao leader of your party this is not proper. To be frank, this is not in correspondence with Mao's thought and this is what Chairman Mao has constantly opposed. In 1957, at Moscow conference held by fraternal parties, Chairman Mao said that we opposed the patriarchal party. So saying, this not only referred to Khrushchev but also to Stalin. In his life time Stalin, in some of his information given by him to Chinese revolution, was wrong. Of course, Stalin was a great international communist and his merit outnumbered his demerits. On the question of opposing patriarchal parties some of the fraternal parties agree with us, but some disagree. But those persons like Khrushchev disagreed. Nowadays the Soviet revisionist renegade clique still uses this tactics to direct those parties under the dictatorship. But there baton is less and less effective now. Especially when the Soviet Union sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, those directing baton has been less and less effective. You had a debate with Dasgupta on the question of occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet Union. What you have done is alright. So far as the relationship between fraternal parties is concerned, Chairman Mao has touched upon another question, that is of communist international. The first communist international was founded after the publication of the Communist Manifesto, and it gave the impetus to the communist movement in the initial days, but the working class movement of each country produced their own leadership. The Paris commune was the first communist revolution in the world. But it was not led by the First Communist International. It was waged by the French working class itself. The Socialist October revolution of Russia won its victory when the Second Communist International became revisionist and lost its role, and this October revolution won its victory under the leadership of Lenin and by the Russian Proletariat itself. After the victory of October revolution, there was a new Communist International to prepare the communist movement in the world as a whole and also the communist movement of all countries to free themselves from the influence of revisionists as well as social democracy, but we do nothing beyond this and if there is some superior party to direct the movement in different countries — this is wrong. This is because the world is so vast that it is not possible for any party to know the conditions

in different countries, and each party has its own historical conditions. Each country's revolution is in different stages and also it is different in nature. It is only possible for the revolutionary party of a certain country to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete condition of that country. If a superior party or an international party has to issue orders or directives for another party, even inferior in organizational matters, this is bound to commit mistakes. China is a case in point. Therefore Chairman Mao said, when the Third Communist International was dissolved, the Chinese revolution won its victory. In view of the historical lessons in the present struggle against modern revisionism, it is duty of our party and your party as well as other fraternal parties fighting against modern revisionism to exchange information and help each other. But if we want to set up with reluctance an international organization, there will be mistakes. Now the situation is quite different from those during the days of the October Revolution. Now the situation has become more and more complicated.

“Some of the political parties after seizing political power have gone revisionist. Some of the parties though have won state power, yet they are still fighting against worst enemy and some of the parties have split up into several splinter groups. It is only through revolutionary struggle at home, we can see that the parties which can train their own leaders and can formulate a correct line on the basis of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete situation of their own country, are alright. It cannot be done through groping in the dark. Therefore, Chairman Mao said, when the leftist parties come to contact with us, we should receive them and exchange views with them. But it is improper for some party to try to set up an international organization and treat our party as a party of leadership just as some parties did to the CPSU. This is not proper. There are too many historical lessons in this field. By doing so, we cannot help the fraternal parties their ability of being independent and having initiative in their hand. On the contrary, to rely upon the opinions of a big party is very dangerous and it is bound for us to commit mistakes. It is so dangerous that when we do not know the conditions well, but we try to give opinions to direct certain parties. Therefore, our fraternal parties should keep in touch with each other on an equal footing and all the fraternal

parties should have independence and initiative in deciding things; and this is question on which the success and failure of the revolution depend. This is because it is upto ourselves to sum up and accumulate experiences and raise it to the level of theory and also get it integrated with Marxism-Leninism. So, on this question, we had talked with Comrade Bose and we emphasized it again and again. Now the world is divided into different nations and different countries. Though the pro-nationalism is the common thing for all of our parties but in making revolution, we should start from the specific conditions of our own country. So, in making revolution we must take into full account our national characteristic. If we regard the leader who is directing the revolution in another country as our own leader, this is not good because this will hurt the national feelings of that country and the working class of that certain country does not think it well. So, we say, this is not proper in the fields of theory as well as practice. To respect the great Marxist-Leninist leader of the world is one thing and to take him as the leader of another party is quite another. So, this is a big problem, by no means a small matter in the development of your party as also on the question of leading the Indian revolution to victory. This is a matter of principle. So, I cannot but mention it again because it is a matter of principle. So far for how to use Marxism-Leninism for arming the party.”

Comrade Chou continued to say, “Mao said that this party is a party which maintains close link with the masses of the people. This has two meanings. One, the part [*party — Comrade*] is the vanguard of the proletariat; it is not a mass organization. Second, this vanguard of proletariat, if it does not maintain close touch with the masses, it does not follow the mass line, it will be divorced from the masses of the people. After we seized the state power in the country as a whole there is still the problem of keeping close touch with the masses of the people. This is a question of following mass line. Prior to the victory of the revolution, we had many experiences and lessons on this respect and we committed errors on the matters of political line on many occasions. I think Comrade Bose knows them well. Due to the error of right opportunism pursued by Chen Tu Hsu, our revolution met with failure. Chen Tu Hsu betrayed the revolution, surrendered and capitulated with the bourgeois,

betrayed the interest of the masses of the people, hence the failure of first Chinese revolution. In the period of agrarian revolution, we committed mistake of left opportunism on three occasions. So, we were divorced from the masses of the people. In those days, we failed to fully mobilize the masses of the people and make revolution together with masses of the people but we just organized a few vanguard elements to do the things."

Comrade Chou said, "I can give you two instances to show one of city and another of country side. In the cities, parties should be kept a secret organization. But due to the left deviationist line, we refused to go among the workers in factories and students in schools, etc., to do painstaking and meticulous work. In Shanghai, we organized so called flying meetings. In the big cities on the occasion of some festivals, viz., May Day, we organized some students to organize rally with big banners and also distribute leaflets from high buildings. This was wrong. In the beginning many people joined in such meeting and gradually less and less, and finally they were exposed and arrested by Kucmintang. This is one of the instances in the cities. Another situation was as follows. When the reactionary ruling class suppressed the revolutionaries in the cities, we just organized a few secret armed forces to kill those who unleashed white terror in the cities and we killed some of them. By doing so, we may inspire the masses of the people for the time being but if we use this method to mobilize the masses of people this won't do. This is so because in those days the armed forces of the reactionaries were far stronger than those of us, and any how revolutionaries would be arrested by them and this will not be helpful for mobilizing the masses again.

"In the country side, after the defeat of the first great revolution, there were such situations. There are two phenomena — one is successful armed struggle. In those years we mobilized masses of the people to go deep among the masses of the people in the country side, among the farm laborers and poor peasants and rise them in struggle for food grains, for higher wages, etc., and for guerrilla warfare. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we did this. But one principle we ought to give attention is that we must mobilize the broadest masses of

the people. When it is necessary, we may kill very few local bullies and tyrants who incurred bitter hatred of the masses of the people; but when we kill them, this should be done on the basis of the demand of the masses of the people and we should try them before killing them. They should be tried before the people. When the masses of the people are fully mobilized and we also use the armed forces to defend the fruits of the struggle and distribute the land and food grains, under the such circumstances the peasant masses dare to distribute land and food grains among themselves. Hence, the extension of armed forces and guerrilla units; and the guerrilla units then grow from small the big and weak to strong; in this situation, the peasant movement were developed in a wave like. That means it is developed from a few villages to more villages and the armed forces of ours were expanded from small to big. So, in this way, we gradually established a small base area. Such base areas are the fruits of armed struggle. That means, we used armed forces to defend political power. In these base areas, we relied upon armed forces to seize political power so as to defend the fruits of agrarian revolution. So, in the first volume of selected works of Chairman Mao, such questions were mentioned. In fighting battles it is common that we suffered from defeats and lost some areas, and we had to shift from one place to the other. But any how, the armed struggle must be integrated with masses of the people. In mobilizing masses of the people openly, we must have some agrarian policy and through practice make them into agrarian programs. And we should recruit party members among the advanced elements of the peasantry. It is in this way that we established revolutionary base area in Chingkangsang and in other places, and in the same way, we expanded some base areas into bigger ones. Armed struggle led by Comrade Mao and other comrades are experiences of successes. The revolutionary base areas led by other comrades got victorious when they acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's line, principles and methods.

"After the defeat of first revolution, another phenomenon appeared that was leftist deviationist line and putchism. We relied upon few persons to go to the country side with arms and kill a few landlords. In doing this we may mobilize the masses of the people for the time being in the locality and distribute food grain. But we did not mobilize before hand,

instead we just relied upon killing of some landlords. And then the reactionary armed forces in the country side and the cities rushed to the spot very quickly and the handful of advanced people with weapons were forced to run, arrested or killed. So, we suffered in those areas where the leftist putchist line was carried out. Therefore, in leading the armed struggle in the country side, the crucial point is party's political line, principles and policies, and it also depends upon whether we have mobilized the masses of the people, relied upon them or not. Otherwise, we cannot get a strong foothold. If we fail to carry out a correct line, policies and principles and without relying upon and mobilizing the masses of the people, we cannot get a foot-hold. Here, another question mentioned by Chairman Mao is that this party should have the spirit of self-criticism. When we committed the mistake of putchism, if we have the spirit of making self criticism, correcting our mistakes and carrying out correct lines and policies formulated by Chairman Mao, that would be good; and we have many such experiences. If we refuse to make self criticism and sum up our experiences, it is bound to commit mistake, even more serious mistakes of putchism. That was the outcome of three leftist lines, especially the last one represented by Wang Ming. At that time though we had vast base areas, we lost it. Then we were compelled to a long march. This was summed up at the Seventh National Party Congress. In the KMT occupied areas the strength of the party was lost 100% and in the base areas 90%. Previously we had 3 lakhs of armed forces but after the long march, when we arrived at North Shensi province, we had only 30,000. So, 90% was lost. Therefore, Chairman Mao said, "Only when this party combines theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete condition of the country, can we work out a correct political line. Whether the policy we adopted is right or wrong is to be tested through the mass movement." Just as Chairman Mao said, we should adhere to the policies of the masses of the people and then raise it high level among the masses and then test among the masses. We adhere to those policies which are correct and rectify those that are wrong. If we refuse to correct those wrong lines and wrong policies and we just stick to them, there will be even more serious mistakes. When we pursue a wrong line, the discipline of the party will be dissolved and no will listen to the words of the party. In his "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile disorder", Lenin

said on the question of discipline — in observing discipline we should rely upon the consciousness of the masses and on the correctness of the party leadership and this discipline should also be testified among the masses. The previous few words were said by Chairman Mao in his article on People's Democratic Dictatorship. This was formulated by Chairman Mao on the basis of summing our experiences and successes and failures of our revolutionary struggles after our nationwide victory."

Comrade Chou said, "The second magic weapon for defeating the enemy by our party was an army under its leadership. It is only the armed forces under a party which carries out correct policies, that can win the victory. Just as Comrade Bose knows that during the Long March, it was in 1935 at the Tsuni meeting that the leading position of Chairman Mao in the Central Committee was established, and since then, our forces continued to expand day by day. Until 1945, that is, after the victory of anti-Japanese war our armed forces expanded from 20,000 to more than 1 million.

"During the anti-Japanese war, in Yen-an, among the high ranking cadres of the party, a rectification campaign was carried out, and during the campaign, we criticized the wrong line and thinking among the cadres, and after that we held a Congress, and the Chinese revolution achieved victory throughout the country. Therefore, in order to win the victory in the revolution, we should have an army under the leadership of the party.

"The third weapon is the revolutionary united front of various revolutionary classes and groups under the leadership of a party. On this aspect, we do not know much about the Indian situation, so we will just say something about our experiences. If we say that India is like china and both have the task of fighting imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, that means that we have the same revolutionary stage, i.e., the stage of democratic revolution. Chairman Mao has always given great importance to the united front work. After the defeat of the first great revolution in 1928, it was in Moscow where the Sixth National Party Congress was held. In the Congress, we rectified the mistake of left

putchism and defined the nature of Chinese revolution to be Bourgeois Democratic revolution. This revolution was to be under the leadership of the proletariat and was to be on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, but the question of the bourgeoisie was not solved yet. It was said in the resolution adopted at the Sixth National Party Congress that the bourgeoisie followed the KMT in opposing the Chinese revolution. The Chinese bourgeoisie is flabby. Just as Comrade Bose said, many bourgeoisie are comprador and they gradually established their factories. Since this is bourgeois democratic revolutionary stage — not the stage of socialist revolution, so at this stage, the bourgeoisie are not to be abolished, and the exploitation system and private properties are not to be abolished. Therefore, the question of the bourgeoisie is to be studied well. Among the bourgeoisie, there are some national betrayers and also patriots. So, the bourgeoisie is divided into two groups. Those patriots among the bourgeois, though they came from compradors, but when they started their own factories, they began to have contradiction with imperialism, and they have patriotic ideas. Hence, we say that they are national bourgeoisie in nature; so, they are patriots. Small and middle sized enterprises have contradictions with the monopoly big enterprises, because the latter attempt to swallow them up. But at the Sixth National Party Congress, this question was not solved well. So, we dumped all bourgeoisie together as reactionaries. Hence, bourgeoisie became the target of attack without discrimination. So, on this question, we did not apply “one divided into two”. In those days, in the countryside, most of the enterprises were small and medium sized. But we confiscated them without discrimination. Therefore, in countryside, we pursued the ultra left line and attacked the intermediate classes and sections. Because of our wrong line, even the peasantry became dissatisfied with us because they could not buy things. We became isolated from the masses. Chairman Mao disagreed. He stood for winning over small and medium sized enterprises in the countryside, at least neutralizing them. So, the antagonism between red and white areas would be covered up, and small and medium businessmen will come to the red areas. The small and medium sized enterprises as well as national bourgeois have their own political representatives, and those political representatives are always dissatisfied with the KMT reactionaries. Therefore, under such circumstances, it was pos-

sible for us, at least, to neutralize them and not to push all of them away to the side of KMT reactionaries. This was during the time of agrarian revolution.

“During the anti-Japanese war, because of Japanese aggression against China, Chinese revolution remained unchanged. In order to fight against foreign aggression, this united front was further expanded, and we had further alliances. Basically speaking, it was the united front led by the proletariat based on worker-peasant alliance and alliances with different democratic parties, classes, and sections. Of course this development covered different stages. The whole democratic revolutionary period can be divided into several stages.

“During the democratic revolutionary period, apart from having united front with exploiting classes, among the laboring people, there was also united front. There was a united front of workers and peasantry — united front between proletariat and other laboring people. Of course, the worker-peasant alliance is the most reliable basis of the united front. The working class itself is divided into left, middle and right. So, there is also a question of united front. For instance, in the Chinese revolution, when the armed struggle led by the CPC was not yet greatly expanded, in cities, we had to go among yellow trade unions so as to win the masses there. During the ten years’ agrarian revolution, we achieved very little in this respect, and suffered great losses because of three ultra leftist lines. Hence we failed to win over the support of the masses. We did not go among the masses of the people to retain as well as expand our forces; so, ultimately we became isolated from the people and got exposed to the enemy. Some of our comrades were sacrificed, some were arrested, and some were forced to shift to the guerrilla zone, some became passive, and some turned betrayers. Now, 21 years have passed since the nationwide seizure of power. Chairman Mao always reminds us not to forget the past. We should recall our past experiences and lessons.”

Comrade Chou said, “Since the founding of our party, 50 years have passed. At this time, when we recall the past half century of march traversed by the CPC, we have come to an understanding that under the

leadership of Chairman Mao, whenever we followed Chairman Mao's words, we advanced forward, and whenever we refused to do so, we suffered failure. This is what I have learnt, and on this basis, I have said to you something today. These experiences given to you is of the past 28 years of Chinese revolution. So, this is for your reference only."

After this, Comrade Chou asked some specific questions about India — about Srikakulam, such as how far it is from sea, how many persons were there, the height of the hills, food taken by the people there, etc.

Comrade Kang said, "After Comrade Chou's presentation of the experiences of the Chinese revolution, I have not much to say. I fully agree with him. Because our party does not know much about the Indian condition, we just say something about our own experiences, and this is just for the reference of our comrades from the Indian Marxist-Leninist party.

"The first question I want to say is about the relationship between our two parties, just as Comrade Chou mentioned previously. So, in terms of the relationship between our two parties, you, our Indian comrades, understand us. You said that your party regarded our party as a party of leadership, and regarded Chairman Mao as your Chairman. We have repeatedly said that we do not agree with this view. This is by no means a question of being modest. Chairman Mao has always taught us that on the matter of principle, we should never be too polite. Our party has always acted upon Chairman Mao's teachings. This is a question of Marxist-Leninist principle. Comrade Chou has already talked minutely on this question. Only when we regard our two parties as equal parties, is it possible for us to exchange views on the basis of learning from each other.

"In May this year, Comrade Bose gathered our opinions about the two articles. In one of these articles, it is said the chairman of the Chinese party is the chairman of your party. At that time the CC of our party told Comrade Bose through one of our comrades that we did not agree with this point of view. This is because our relationship is that of fraternal parties, and not of a party being led — not the relationship of a patriar-

chal father party and the son party. The relationship of our parties is one of mutual support, learning from each other and cooperation with each other. Why do we persist on this matter? This is because this is the teaching of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao consistently opposed such practice, i.e. to regard relationship between two parties as one of party of leadership and a party being led.

"Comrade Bose also asked our opinion about another article. Because our party does not know much about the Indian conditions and also some of the questions cannot be made clear through other channels, so we suggest your party to send a delegation to China in order to exchange views, if possible. Since the rise of the Naxalbari movement and since the founding of CPI(ML), our party has done its utmost to support it. I think Comrade Bose will remember on the night of the last national day when Comrade Bose met with Chairman Mao, he said to him: "Your party represents the hope of the Indian People." Our party has always approached your party in this way. Soon after the Naxalbari movement, you have established a formal Marxist-Leninist party, and this Marxist-Leninist party has expanded its organizations in many of the Indian states. Your party is a revolutionary party and a very brilliant party. You have clearly defined the nature of your revolution and you have defined the task of the revolution as fighting against imperialism, feudalism, modern revisionism and bureaucratic capitalism. Your party has persisted in mobilizing the masses of the peasantry for armed struggle. We are very thankful to you for your party having warmly supported our cultural revolution and having the highest respect for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-Tung thought. What Chairman Mao has said at a rostrum is the general representation of our party in regard to your party. Of course, because your party has been established not long back and it is a young party, the party is in its infancy, so in the process of struggle, on the matters of policies it is unavoidable for it to commit some mistakes. This is something easy to understand. We support your party. But why did we not broadcast those two articles? This is because some of the questions mentioned in those articles, we do not know about. So, whether it is beneficial for CPI(ML) if we publish these two articles — this question, we want to consult with you, Comrade Bose. Therefore, after Comrade

Chou's talk. I would like to exchange views with you on some of the questions mentioned in those two articles.

"In May this year, Comrade Bose approached us with one of these two articles, which is entitled "Chinese Chairman is Our Chairman, Chinese path is our Path". Comrade Bose, please excuse us; it is, just from the title of the article, very hard to publish this article. So, if we publish it, first of all, Chairman Mao would criticize us, saying why we have published such an article with such a title? Of course, many things in this article are good. For instance, it has said that the main content of your revolution is agrarian, and its nature is democratic. Those things are alright. It is said.

"The landless and poor peasants are allies of the revolution, and we should closely unite with middle peasants and win over a part of rich peasants and neutralize the majority of the rich peasants." All these are alright. But there are still some questions on which we want to exchange views with you. For instance, on the question of petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals, it is said that only through armed struggle when the worker peasant alliance is established and when the red political power is established throughout the whole country, it is possible to form a democratic front of all these classes under the leadership of the working class. (Note: Exactly what is said in CPI(ML)'s program is, "Such an united front can only be built after establishing worker peasant unity and the red political power in at least a few parts of the country.") This point deserves our study. In the light of our experiences, this problem should be analyzed with the view point of "one divides into two". A part of the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie is reactionary. But it is said in your article that they are linked together with counter-revolutionaries, economically and ideologically. But, another part of them can be with the revolution, especially in the cities, and in your movement against the imperialists, this force cannot be neglected. According to our experiences, there are a large number of patriotic intellectuals. From the reports of western news agencies, we have seen that there are such intellectuals in India also who are against U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialist imperialism. So, I am afraid, it is not proper to have the democratic front with

them (petty bourgeoisie) only after the seizure of power throughout the whole country. It is because of these questions that we did not publish those articles. So, we asked to send a delegation of your party to consult.

"There is another article, "March Forward through summing up the experiences of the peasants' revolutionary struggle of India". This is another article on which Comrade Bose asked our opinion. Again, we did not publish this article, because we wanted to exchange our views with Comrade Bose first. In this article, there is a passage saying, "We have gained the following experiences from the Naxalbari struggle — Peasants are struggling not for land but for political power." We do not know whether such a formulation is proper or not in India. As you said, the main content of the Indian revolution is agrarian, and you mobilize the peasantry to establish political power through agrarian revolution. In that case, we think, agrarian revolution is linked with the struggle for the establishment of political power. These two things are inter-connected and cannot be separated from each other. So, if you say that "the peasants are not struggling for land but for political power", we think, this formulation is not so accurate.

"Another question is also mentioned in the article. It says "Without mass movement and mass organizations, can we start guerrilla warfare? The mass movement and mass organizations intensify the tendencies towards open and economist movement. Therefore, open mass movement and mass organizations are a hindrance or an obstacle to the development and expansion of guerrilla warfare." But, in accordance with our experiences, mass movements and mass organizations are just the basis of guerrilla warfare, and not the obstacle of guerrilla warfare. If there is no mass movement and mass organization, that will be an obstacle for guerrilla warfare. We do not know whether your formulation is in conformity with the actual condition or not. This is a question of principle. Because, we think that armed struggle and guerrilla warfare and mass movement are the war of the masses.

"Another question mentioned in the article is about the question of annihilation of the class enemies. Previously, we did not know much

about this formulation. So, we just approached this in accordance with our experiences. Only after going through an article published in the July issue of "Liberation", we have come to know the real meaning of this annihilation of class enemies by your party, the form of guerrilla warfare and about the formation of secret squads to engage in secret assassinations preferred by the Marxist-Leninist party of India. So, this is completely different from what we mean by guerrilla warfare. That article gave many examples, so we want to study together with our Indian comrades, whether you have just organized such squads to wipe out the landlords physically and take that as the main form of guerrilla warfare. After reading the July issue of "Liberation" and also after going through the article entitled "A Few Words about Guerrilla Action", we have come to understand that your way is the same as we did during the defeat of the Chinese revolution, i.e., by small squads assassinating the landlords secretly. When the article deals with how to organize guerrilla units, it is said that in the process of organizing guerrilla units, we must keep absolute secrecy. This is a completely different form of organization — different from relying upon the broadest masses of the people. Not only the form, the nature is also quite different from the guerrilla units in its real things. It is also said that the guerrilla units should be kept secret from the local people who have not yet mastered the method of doing illegal work. We think that this question is related to the principle of guerrilla warfare. We think that it is dangerous for the guerrilla warfare to divorce itself from the masses as well as from the party organization."

Comrade Chou cut in, "That means, the guerrilla squad is divorced from the local people and the local party organization."

Comrade Kang said, "Again, in the article, there is a formulation saying, 'These people whose hands are not stained with blood of the class enemy, are not worthy to be called a communist.' This formulation is not proper. If we think, so then the party organization will change its nature. Because of the above reasons, we did not publish many of the articles by your party, and many of the articles are not by Comrade Charu Muzumdar. As we thought, it is not proper for us to talk about such questions through other channels, we thought it proper to have a face to face talk with

Comrade Bose."

Comrade Kang went on to say, "If we want to wage a real guerrilla warfare, we should apply the method adopted by Chairman Mao. It seems to us that your general orientation is correct, but only some of the policies are not proper and are not in conformity with Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought. In 1968, when I met with Comrade Bose, I talked about this question with him emphatically. I said during the talk, 'If we engage in armed struggle in an isolated way, i.e., without the broadest masses of the people, this kind of struggle would not be successful. Disregarding the vital interests of the peasants and disregarding agrarian struggle of the peasantry, the armed struggle would have not base, hence it will not be successful. I have said that the level of consciousness of the masses has always been raised from lower stage to higher, and only when we proceed from the vital interest, the economic interest of the masses of the people and raise their level of consciousness, can we mobilize them for armed struggle. We should not mobilize the masses of the people for armed struggle in a way of isolating ourselves from the masses.'

"So far as your work in the cities is concerned, you have not said anything about the experience of your struggle against imperialists in your articles. You said in the article that in accordance with the experience of the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, all of the mass organizations should be changed. But you should not copy our experiences. From your articles, we can see that your party does not have any active attitude towards the trade union work."

At this time, Comrade Chou cut in, "You said that the work of the trade union is defensive and economist. Only the party organization is offensive and militant. It is not good for you to set these two things against each other. You regard a small number of secret squads engaged in secret assassination as offensive, but the economic struggle of the broadest masses of the people as defensive. This question deserves our study and this is a question of principle."

Comrade Kang said, "There is also a problem about the attitude to-

wards the middle peasants. It is said that the middle peasants should not join the secret guerrilla activities. You have also criticized Nagi Reddy saying, "Nagi and his like attempted to confiscate land, cattles and farm tools of big landlords and distribute among poor peasants. Do they not think that big landlords should call their police? When the police comes, the big landlords and other reactionaries would try their utmost to help the policemen to arrest the peasants. So when the landlords as well as other counterrevolutionaries can move freely and commit evils according to their will, how can we confiscate the land and distribute among the peasants?" We do not know much about the advocacy of Nagi Reddy, but from your formulation, we feel that the Indian Marxist-Leninist party has not yet solved the question of relationship between agrarian struggle and guerrilla warfare. In the light of the experiences of the Chinese revolution, we think that it is just on the circumstances that we should organize armed forces to defend our land and guerrilla organizations to defend our activities. Previously, when we started armed struggle, we achieved successes in this armed struggle only when we could mobilize the masses of the peasantry to start agrarian struggles. The peasants were engaged in struggle for the purpose of defending the fruits of their struggle. When our comrades asked Comrade Bose, how did you get land distributed among peasants? Do you have any specific land policy? He answered, "We have not yet started this work, because uptill now, we have no political power and army of our own." How can we do so in this way? First of all, let us work out some land policy with which the peasantry can be mobilized, establish armed forces so as to seize political power, this is a just reverse process. This is another question which merits our study.

"Just as I have said previously, your party has established and it lacks experiences, but I believe that so long as your party persists in its general orientation, such specific policies can be solved gradually. So it is inevitable for us to commit mistakes of this kind or that in the revolutionary struggle. Just as Chairman Mao said to Kanu Sanyal, it is very hard to avoid mistake among the revolutionary ranks. Revolution has its ups and downs, and revolution always advances in a wave like way.

So it is bound to suffer attacks. Now I raised before Comrade Bose, the questions. Please consider these questions. After going back home, tell Comrade Muzumdar how to rectify the policies.

"Recently, we have seen from the reports in the October issue of "Hindustan Standard", it is said that the Chairman of the Marxist-Leninist party said, "If we commit mistakes, we should try to rectify them because erroneous political thinking and working methods are the enemies of our revolutionary work. So, we should not let such wrong things to develop." So Comrade Charu Muzumdar is alright when he said this. But rectification of mistakes should be done step by step, and this should not hurt the enthusiasm for revolution of the masses and the party members. We should not allow the enemies to have any scope to attack and disintegrate our party so, in rectifying our mistakes, we should not be impetuous and this term should not be swift. We should be careful.

"The second point is that in rectifying our policies, we should use constructive things to replace those wrong things. For instance, we should have a clear cut agrarian policy, and this agrarian policy should be formulated by consulting the masses of the people. That means, we concentrate the opinion of the masses of the people and then get it formed into policies and persist in implementing it among the masses. On the other hand, we should establish our own armed forces in an active and systematic way, and place them in secret armed squads. We should rectify those improper policies in the process of positive reconstruction. Especially, we should integrate Marxism-Leninism Mao's thought with the actual condition of our own country.

"These are the questions we put forward for reference to Comrade Bose, and these things are based on what is said in our documents and articles. So, it is highly possible that what I said is not in conformity with actual conditions of your country. Even what I said may be wrong. Previously, we understood your view point in the light of our experiences. Today also, there may be such tendencies. So you should by no means take this opinion as an opinion of the party of leadership. You can just put it aside without paying any attention to it. This is for your references

only. I just said this fragmently, not systematically."

Comrade Chou: I fully agree with Comrade Kang in his views. You have 2000 men in Srikakulam. Many of your comrades got sacrificed in that struggle. Would you please give us a brief account of your experience, and successes and failures in Srikakulam? I have already gone through all your reports of the minutes, but I have not been able to understand this. You are there encircled by the enemies and suppressed by them or you are isolated there, because you are divorced from the masses of the people. What is true? What is about your agrarian policies there? In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, if we want to learn from experience, we should dissect a sparrow, that means, we take a typical case, and we try to view a problem from different angles. Comrade Bose, have you been there?

Comrade Bose: I have been there twice. So, about the question of Srikakulam, it was not because the enemies have outnumbered us. Uptill now, it has not been possible for the reactionaries to enter into the very heart of this mountainous area.

Comrade Chou: Is it mountainous region?

Comrade Bose: That is a small hilly area.

Comrade Chou: Is it a forest area?

Comrade Bose: Not a dense forest because it is situated in the north of Andhra.

Comrade Chou: What is the distance from Srikakulam to Hyderabad?

Comrade Bose: It is far away.

Comrade Chou: Then, is it far from sea?

Comrade Bose: 40-50 miles from the sea.

Comrade Chou: Is there any sea-port nearby?

Comrade Bose: No.

Comrade Chou: Are there any fishing boats?

Comrade Bose: Yes, small fishing boats.

Comrade Chou: What is the height of the hills?

Comrade Bose: In some places 300-500 ft.

Comrade Chou: Highway?

Comrade Bose: No.

Comrade Chou: Animals?

Comrade Bose: Very few.

Comrade Chou: Is there only foot path?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: Easy to hide?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: Then, how did you suffer setback there?

Comrade Bose: Our party congress reviewed the struggles in that area, and we thought that it was because of the bureaucratic attitude of the local party organization towards local people. Because we failed to arouse the class feeling of the masses of the people towards the enemy, and we failed to arouse bitter hatred of the masses of the people against the enemy. Though we killed 120 policemen, we should have seized guns from them, but we failed. Because of the wrong attitude of the leadership, we failed to mobilize the masses fully and seize the guns.

Comrade Chou: So, these guns were taken away by other policemen?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: Were these 120 policemen killed enmass or scattered?

Comrade Bose: There were killed within 8 months successively.

Comrade Chou: Were they killed by the guerrilla squads?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: Did you put any placard about your land policies?

Comrade Bose: No.

Comrade Chou: Is the party organization kept secret?

Comrade Bose: The party organization is known to the local people.

Comrade Chou: Is the Party organization known to all of the local people or some of the local people?

Comrade Bose: All of the local people. In early '69, land distribution was done and each household got 5 bighas of land. But afterwards, they gave up this work, because in mid 1969, policemen came and burnt some houses of the people and then ran away.

Comrade Chou: How many policemen came at different times?

Comrade Bose: Their number ranges from 1500 to 2000.

Comrade Chou: Were they local troops?

Comrade Bose: No, they were the CRP.

Comrade Chou: How many days the CRP station in that areas?

Comrade Bose: They did not station in that area at all. They burnt the houses and ran away.

Comrade Chou: How many people were arrested by the CRP there?

Comrade Bose: Over 100 people were arrested there by them and they are still in jail.

Comrade Chou: Are they imprisoned in the local area or sent away? Are there leading members of the party organization among them?

Comrade Bose: The leading comrades of the local party organization were not arrested, but a few members of the local party organizations were killed.

Comrade Chou: Have you any leading comrade staying in that area?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: When the CRP came to Srikakulam, was it because we had not guns or because of any other reasons that we failed?

Comrade Bose: Not only because we had no firearms. Although we did not have enough firearms, but we had local made weapons; the critical point is that we have not yet made any policy towards the police.

Comrade Chou: Have you cut down the communication line? Shifted masses to another place?

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: So, you evacuated the masses of the people after many were arrested — after many were killed or arrested?

Comrade Bose: Generally speaking, as soon as we got any information, we got the masses of people evacuated; still several hundred people were not evacuated at one time.

Comrade Chou: So, have you any policy about dealing with the government troops?

Comrade Bose: No, not yet.

Comrade Chou: Among the masses, do you have some progressive mass organizations, say, militia, guerrilla unit, etc.?

Comrade Bose: We have some mass organizations among the masses, but these are not mass organizations on the bases of armed, i.e., not armed forces. Myself and Kanu Sanyal went there to train the guerrilla units. Contents of this training includes: how to seize guns from enemies

and how to appear suddenly among the enemies. Such things, I learned in China. At a meeting of the local party committee, everyone agreed that it is not proper time to engage with the enemy troops.

Comrade Chou: Did those 1500 policemen come at the same time or they just came there on many occasions?

Comrade Bose: they came in groups and by stages.

Comrade Chou: Guerrilla units are to be trained through struggle against the enemy; otherwise it is not possible to get them trained without fighting guerrilla warfare. So the 16 Chinese characters of guerrilla warfare were developed during the process of armed struggle in ChingKang. That was done by Chairman Mao, and in this way, we could preserve our forces as well as wipe out the enemy.

Comrade Bose: We taught the masses with the 16 character secret of the guerrilla warfare, and the local masses can now recite them.

Comrade Chou: But they do not practice.

Comrade Kang: They are lacking experience.

Comrade Bose: When I went to Srikakulam for the second time, I called a meeting of the coastal region. It was decided that at that time, it was not proper to launch attack on policemen.

Comrade Chou: We may not use the word "attack" but use the word "fighting". We may not attack the enemy each time.

Comrade Bose: There is a sharp differences of opinion between the leading members and the ordinary people. So, I will convey your opinion to the Central Committee of our party.

Comrade Chou: Which kind of opinion is in majority?

Comrade Bose: That opinion is in majority, i.e., now it is proper for us to engage with the police.

Comrade Chou: Are the leading comrades still among the masses in the mountainous region? Is it possible for them to carry out work among the masses still? Is it the area of national minorities? Have they common things with the other areas of Andhra? Are the leading comrades semi-open among the hilly people? Are they natives of that area? Do you have homemade guns? You have just said that 120 policemen were killed and you failed to seize their guns, what were the reasons? Is it because you do not want to use the guns or they took it away? Have you any regulations of not using firearms? Now, what about the feeling of the local

masses? Are they disheartened or demoralized [*sic* — Comrade] because several hundreds were arrested? Land has already been distributed. Has the distributed land been taken back by the landlord or it is still in the hands of the peasants? Is there any mass organization?

Comrade Bose: Federation of military peasants' organization.

Comrade Chou: Is it open? What is the percentage of this organization of the local population? ... You may continue your struggle in this area and the form of the struggle can be raised one step. Does the party organization of that locality have a unified idea? Have they come to know the past mistakes? Are they now rectifying their mistakes? Are the leading comrades of the locality always shifting to different places and they hide themselves among the masses? Do you have some masses to stand on guard in the hilly regions? What about the area of that locality? Do the reactionary landlords exist? Are there only rich peasants? How about communications with outside? Is there any business dealings?

On hearing reply to these questions, Comrade Chou said: That means, you are not completely isolated. I have just said, during the period of our agrarian revolution, in some of our areas where putschism were practiced, there were no contacts between these two. Do you have any such problem?

Comrade Chou: That means you are not completely cutoff from outside. Is it possible for you to get in the area through small footpath without passing by the tents of the police? Can we say, apart from Naxalbari area, this is the biggest area? So, they day after tomorrow, you will leave for home, but this question deserves our study. Will you please examine it? In the Srikakulam, is there any leader of national minority? Your experience in this area deserves our study. Are you self-sufficient in economic affairs there? Is it very high? Is malaria prevalent? Do many of them live in straw sheds? How many years have you been working there? Are there any revisionist? What about members of the revisionist party? Have they come over to you? To which group do they belong? All of them joined? Now, are they working hard with you? You should lead them correctly, and at the same time you should sum up your experience.

Comrade Kang: You should sum up the experience of your failure.

Comrade Chou: What is the population of Srikakulam district?

Comrade Bose: Two and a half million.

Comrade Chou: Are there many places in India where people do not know how to grow rice, but the topography [*topography* — Comrade] is suitable? Can you select for a guerrilla zone from these areas? Your orientation is correct, that is, to go to the villages, to start guerrilla struggles, create guerrilla zones and expand it and create base areas. But you should have programs and policies.

Comrade Chou: In Assam, the population is not so large and the area is vast. In your article, you oppose to go into jungles. What is the reason? Is it for the reason that it is not very easy to get in contact with the masses? ... So long as we rely upon the masses, we can start guerrilla warfare. This is right. Sometimes, armed forces can shift to other places under cover of the masses. Just as Mao said, "We fight when we can win. This is to preserve our forces and hiding our guerrillas among the masses. Consolidate our forces now in Andhra, Assam and West Bengal. Is it easy for you to solve the problem of feeding yourself? In the very beginning, we started guerrilla warfare in the border areas, because the border belongs to several provinces: one part belongs to this and another to that. So, usually, we started our guerrilla warfare in the border areas. Same is the case with India. It is better to start in the border area, because in such cases, it is easy for you to deal with the enemy because of their administration.

"Dialectical approach towards hardship, death, sacrifice. "We fear neither nor death." We fear no death, but there should be worthy death. Chairman Mao said in his article, "One is mightier than mountain, another is like feather." It is not good for us to die adventurous and unworthy death. We, communist party members, do not agree with such anarchist practice, that is to assassinate a landlord or policeman without mobilizing the masses. Without the masses, we just kill one bad element by a handful of people. Of course, by doing so we can make those masses who hate such bad elements happy, for the time being, but because this is not to be done by mobilizing the masses of people, so as a result when this need passes, nothing is left there. So, these are questions which

merit our study and examination. In accordance with your objective conditions, you may start your guerrilla base areas. Now a days, the Indian people, especially peasants, are leading a very hard life and they are oppressed. So they want to make revolution. So long as we mobilize the masses, we can find out many places where we can start guerrilla warfare.

Comrade Kang: Chairman Mao said, "Policy is soul. If there is just a slogan, but no policy, it will not do."

Comrade Chou: As you know, our August first Nanchang uprising, we attacked the Kuomintang. We fired the first shot against Kuomintang. This orientation was correct. But we were wrong in our policy. In Nanchang, during the agrarian revolution, we should have gone to the villages, but at that time, we went to the cities.

Comrade Kang: Some comrades oppose to go up to the mountains saying that Chairman Mao is Marxism in the mountains. Our party committed such kind of mistakes in those days.

Comrade Chou: It was in the mountains that Chairman Mao practiced Marxism. The second point is, after the Nanchang uprising, we planned to rely upon foreign assistance, i.e., to rely upon Soviet assistance. So, we led nearly 20,000 troops to Swatoo, hoping to have Soviet assistance from there. As a result, we suffered defeat in fighting big battles against the enemy. You advocate not to rely upon foreign assistance, this is right.

At that time, Comrade Kang said to Comrade Chou, "Materially, not to rely upon foreign assistance, but spiritually they copy Chairman Mao's words; even they copy about the things of the red guards."

Comrade Chou: So, you are organizing red guards in schools. But on this Chairman Mao does not agree, and he said to the Japanese friends, "It is not proper for you to organize red guards." I heard that your first party congress was held in the city.

Comrade Bose: Yes.

Comrade Chou: That was very dangerous. ... In the big cities we can hold only short meetings. ... Because in the past you were in touch with revisionists, you know many of the old revisionists, so it is very easy to

get you recognized by them. For instance, many know Comrade Charu Majumdar. So, he should move constantly. In 31 years, Comrade Mao went to Tungsing city once, and that too, as Comrade Stalin asked him to go. As yours is a vast country, it is completely possible for you to find out suitable places. You are to find out "Chingkang" where you will select. It is for you to select. ... If you still have some questions which require our answer, we will contact again.

"Chairman Mao said, "Your party represents the hope of the Indian people. Your general orientation is correct. So long as you correct the policies, your party will be more hopeful." Please convey Comrade Charu Majumdar our congratulations and Chairman Mao's hope. Chairman Mao said to Kanu Sanyal, "The day when you will have your state power, we will hand over to you the 90,000 sq. miles of the border territory."

Comrade Charu Majumdar, when reported, said, "You must have said the day when India will be liberated, the Indian people will not contend for them."

Chinese Workers' High Tide of Struggle

China's working class, once the rulers of the country, and then, after 1976, made wage-slaves once more by the new capitalist rulers, have returned to the country's political stage. An upsurge by China's workers has been taking place for the last few years, achieving a new peak in March 2002.

In March, workers of Ferro-Alloys Plant in Liaoyang gathered workers of five other factories to demonstrate for their jobs and against the local leadership of the 'Communist' party. The series of daily demonstrations began on March 11, with 5,000 workers. When the police arrested the leading workers, workers from 15 more factories joined. At the same time, according to the BBC (March 18), "Up to 50,000 protesters are reported to have gathered every day at the Daqing (Tach'ing) oilfield for nearly two weeks", laying siege to a petroleum installation belonging to China's biggest oil company, PetroChina. The Daqing workers were protesting against cuts in severance pay and heating subsidies promised them when they were sacked three years ago.

Those who recall the glories of socialist China (1949-76) know the name Daqing well. Till the Great Leap Forward, China was told it was not worth it to develop its own oil resources. Through the heroic efforts and remarkable home-grown know-how of the workers of Daqing, the field was developed from the late 1950s till it produced two-fifths of China's oil requirements, and China could stop imports of oil. Now the Daqing workers are being retrenched at a massive rate as China joins the World Trade Organisation: 80,000 have been sacked over the last few years.

Not only in Liaoyang and Daqing, but throughout China, and particularly through the industrial northeast, where massive unemployment already exists and it is estimated an additional 10 million will be sacked every year for the next few years, the Chinese working class is in struggle. In the year 1999, the number of labour disputes nationwide was put at 198,000; in the year 2000, at 327,000.

The Chinese rulers are anxious at the fact that not only are the workers demanding their immediate economic demands, but they have begun to unite across factories, form their independent organisations, and raise political demands such as for the removal of corrupt and anti-worker officials. Neither the Chinese rulers nor the Chinese workers can forget that the Chinese working class was the country's ruling class. The workers proudly hold up the banners and photographs of their great leader, Mao Tse-Tung, write slogans such as "Only socialism can save China", and sing the Internationale, the song of the world's working class. Long live the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese working class!