

## IV

Such are some of the criticisms that the CPI makes of the "left" adventurist and utterly wrong line of the Naxalites based as it is on the ideological-political positions of contemporary Maoism. The CPI is of the view that the Naxalites have a very distorted understanding of what a revolution really is. It is of the view that they have made no study and have no appreciation of the Indian situation and are trying the futile job of

an "imitation revolution". It is of the view that they have no knowledge of the world communist and revolutionary movement.

The CPI holds that because of these wrong views and "left" adventurist line the Naxalites have done great harm to the revolutionary movement in India. They have helped the reactionaries to put out a distorted view of what communism is and what the communists are. They have helped the development of authoritarian and anti-democratic trends in the policies and practice of the Indira Gandhi government. Their adventurist actions have led to the loss of precious cadres and invited severe repression on the masses in many areas where they have operated.

Above all, the CPI is of the view that the method of individual killing and political murders in West Bengal (begun by the CPI(M) it should be remembered) raised to the level of a "theory" by the Naxalites has proved to be dastardly and disastrous. This has nothing at all to do with any kind of revolutionary activity, let alone revolutionary activity supposedly based on Marxism-Leninism. It has led to the degeneration of the Naxalite movement and the coming into it of all kinds of lumpen and criminal elements who are the best tools of counter-revolution. It has led to the growth of sadism and senseless cruelty among many Naxalites which makes them scarcely different in their behaviour from the criminal elements.

This process of degeneration has led to the infiltration of the Naxalite movement by unscrupulous adventurers without any politics, by the agents of the secret police as also the CIA in many places.

The Naxalite movement, it must also be noted, is constantly splitting itself. The Nagi Reddy group is a distinct entity. There are at least three groups in Kerala and two in Bihar. Dissensions and mutual physical attacks have taken place between Naxalite groups in Delhi. The Jammu and Kashmir branch of the Naxalites has dissolved itself. The Srikakulam struggle has ended in a fiasco and the tribal Naxalites have joined the CPI in their hundreds. Charu Majumdar, hitherto regarded as the Mao or Lin Piao of India and leader of the CPI (ML), quar-

relled with Kanu Sanyal and Sushital Raychaudhuri. Later on serious differences developed between him and his most devoted disciple, Asim Chatterjee. Finally comes the report that a new central committee has been formed headed by Satyanarain Sinha and that Charu Majumdar has been expelled from the party. The report further says that Charu Majumdar, Santosh Rana and some others did not attend this meeting. All this signifies that serious political differences have developed inside CPI (ML) and it is in the process of disintegration.

This is not fortuitous. A movement based on dogmatism, sectarianism and adventurism is bound to split more and more as it gets divorced from the masses and from reality. After all Mao and the Chinese communists began their downward journey by calling for a split in other communist parties in the world communist movement. They did do great harm to these parties and the movement as a whole. But, in the end it is the CPC which got badly split and finally was decimated by Mao himself.

It is high time that the revolutionaries and idealists among the Naxalites started doing some rethinking. With what dreams and hopes did they start and where have they ended up! With courage and abandon they jumped into a movement they believed to be "pure" and "revolutionary". They were ready to sacrifice their lives and many did. Now they must display the same courage in self-critically reviewing the positions and progress of their movement.

The CPI treats the revolutionaries and idealists among the Naxalites as fellow-revolutionaries who have gone off the revolutionary rails and landed in the marsh of contemporary Maoism. It is because of this that the CPI does all in its power to save them from being murdered judicially or by the CPI(M) hoodlums or by the police. This is a service the CPI would render any group of revolutionaries however misguided. Indeed, this is part of the glorious tradition of the CPI right from the 1930 when it had to help the anarchist revolutionaries, misnamed the terrorists. The CPI certainly repudiates the view of the CPI(M) that the Naxalites are all CIA or police agents or anti-social criminals. Some such elements have certainly infil-

trated the movement, particularly in the latest phase of individual murders in Calcutta. But this does not take away from the revolutionary idealism of many young men and women who saw in the Naxalite movement the most revolutionary instrument available in India to end the misery, inequality, injustice and degradation that is all-pervasive in our land. It is this idealism that is the common link with the CPI and it is this that gives hope for the future.

But this hope will prove true only if the Naxalites rescue themselves from Naxalism, the Indian variant of contemporary Maoism.