

## NEW MAOIST PARTY FORMED IN INDIA

By Kailas Chandra

### Bombay

A third Communist party, drawing inspiration from the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung and accepting unreservedly the leadership of the Communist party of China, has, for all practical purposes, started functioning in the country, according to a newspaper report from Calcutta.

Its activities are being guided by the All-India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, dissidents from the Communist party of India (Marxist),\* set up in Calcutta a year ago by some "Naxalite" leaders. Its main theoretician is Charu Maxumdar, who was the main theoretician of the Naxalbari movement also.

The formation of the party had been delayed so long because the coordination committee was said to be "averse to the bourgeois method of forming parties from the top." It wanted the party "to grow from the base through revolutionary struggles."

The Committee now feels that, in the past one year, the "Naxalite" movement spearheaded by the CPI(M) dissidents has spread sufficiently "to warrant the formation of a party to guide and coordinate the activities of the communist revolutionaries in different states."

Another consideration that is weighing with the committee in this connection is the imminence of the Chinese Communist party congress. It is presumed that, after the congress, China will take the initiative in reviving yet another "Communist International."

The Maoist Communist party has to be formed before that. The matter is likely to be considered at a meeting of the coordination committee to be held soon after the midterm poll in West Bengal scheduled in the first week of February 1969.

Says a Calcutta report published in the Times of India of Bombay (January 5):

"The Committee thinks that it has

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\* The CPI(M) itself split from the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) in April 1964. Initially it was regarded as a Maoist party, but its opposition to a peasant revolt in Naxalbari, West Bengal, in 1967 led to a further split of a relatively small group of "Naxalites" or "true" Maoists. -- I.P.

already obtained de facto recognition from China. Not only have Naxalbari-type agitations been commended by China, but Peking Radio seems to have made it a point to broadcast regularly excerpts from the English and Bengali journals of the committee.

"The committee claims to have adherents now in almost all states. State coordination committees have been set up in Assam, Andhra, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal. Communist revolutionaries are also becoming active in such staunch Congress states as Mysore and Maharashtra.

"Some Naxalite leaders from West Bengal recently visited Mysore and are said to have reported that peasants are organising themselves in certain areas of Mangalore.

"The sudden appearance of Naxalite posters in parts of Bombay is also said to be the act of communist revolutionaries associated with the committee. One of those arrested in this connection in Bombay attended the last meeting of the coordination committee held here in November 1968.

"Among the areas where the communist revolutionaries are said to be active now are Naxalbari and parts of Midnapur and 24-parganas districts in West Bengal, Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Kushahari in Bihar, Lakhimpur in Uttar Pradesh and certain parts of Punjab.

"In all these areas, the communist revolutionaries are organising the peasants for an armed uprising. The predominantly tribal belt stretching from Madhya Pradesh to West Bengal is said to have proved particularly susceptible to their campaign.

"One explanation of this is said to be that the tribals are 'doubly oppressed' and the slogan, 'tribal areas for the tribals,' quickly catches on in these areas. The Naxalites are trying to convert this struggle of the tribals for land into a class struggle.

"In some of these areas, the Naxalite movement has advanced a stage further in which it has been possible to form armed guerrilla bands. It is stated that such bands exist in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and some areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar."

In a review of the Naxalbari movement, its leader, Kanu Sanyal, said a few days before his arrest in October 1968 that, among the reasons for which

the movement could not succeed was the "failure to organise guerrilla bands." The formation of guerrilla bands in the Naxalbari area is said to be a new stage of the movement reached after the arrest of Kanu Sanyal.

The coordination committee does not claim to have, however, any connection with the extremist raids on the Pulpalli and Tellicherry police stations in Kerala.\* K.P. Narayanan, one of the persons accused in the police station raid cases in Kerala, attended a meeting of the committee but left without deciding whether he would join it.

The committee thinks that Narayanan was mistaken in organising the raids, but unlike some other extremist groups, it is not prepared to condemn him. The committee feels that "in a revolutionary situation, many such mistakes will be committed and, instead of condemning them, communist revolutionaries should try to convert them to the Maoist path."

Two dissident CPI(M) groups in Kerala are said to be willing to associate themselves with the committee. No decision has yet been taken in the matter.

The differences between the committee and the Andhra leader Nagi Reddy, who has already formed a separate party at the state level called the "Revolutionary Communist Party," have reportedly been resolved. Reddy attended the last meeting of the committee in Calcutta when the committee's standpoints were explained to him.

Reddy had some reservations about the "boycott the election" slogan (now the chief slogan of the committee during the midterm poll in West Bengal) but he is reported to have come round. At its last meeting, the committee had insisted that "Communist Revolutionaries" should not only boycott all elections in the future but resign all elective posts, even of local bodies, held by them at present.

Reddy is reported to have agreed to abide by this decision and has informed the committee that he would soon resign from the Andhra Assembly. He has not resigned so far.

The "Communist Revolutionaries" are unable to say to what extent the "boycott the election" slogan will affect the midterm poll. But the slogan has done them good. On the one hand, it has enabled them to know who are really with

them, for some of their early associates have dropped out on this issue; on the other, it has saved their cadres from being drawn into the vortex of the election campaign and weaned away by the CPI(M).

The Union Home Minister's recent warnings against the "Naxalites" have been noted by the "Communist Revolutionaries." They say that the rapid spread of the "Naxalite" movement cannot be unknown to Mr. Chavan and it is only natural that he should think of curbing the Naxalites as, after the lining up of the CPI(M) with the ruling class, the Naxalites alone posed a threat to the present regime.

According to a Trivandrum report dated January 6, K.P.R. Gopalan, MLA, leader of the CPI(M) dissidents recently expelled from the party, said the various "extremist groups in Kerala would meet this month to evolve a proper leadership for the movement."

The "extremist" movement had failed to gain momentum in Kerala because of the absence of a coordinated leadership.

A news agency report says: "Mr. Gopalan admitted that the activities of Kunnikkal Narayanan and his group had caused a set-back to the extremist movement envisaged by him and others like him who disapproved of the 'Narayanan type of extremism.' The set-back was due to the glorification of terrorism by the 'bourgeois papers.'"

"The youth in Kerala generally held up Ajitha Narayanan and Mandakindi Narayanan\* as models of heroism.

"Mr. Gopalan, however, anticipated that the period of veneration of terrorist adventures would end very soon in Kerala. By that time, the various 'revolutionary groups' in the State would come together to direct a 'real revolutionary movement.'"

K.P. Kosala Ramdas, who resigned from the legislature as a dissident from the CPI(M) as he had no faith in the parliamentary system, would join with other groups very soon, according to Gopalan.

At present, Gopalan and K.K. Annan are the two "Communist Revolutionaries" who, after leaving the CPI(M), had not resigned from the legislature. Gopalan said no final decision had been taken about their future in the legislature. He

\* See "Another 'Naxalbari' in Kerala?" in Intercontinental Press, January 13, p. 23.

\* The daughter and wife respectively of Kunnikal Narayanan. All three face trial on charges of carrying out raids on a police station in Tellicherry and one in Pulpalli. -- I.P.

thought the two "Communist Revolutionary MLA's" might have to sit in the legislature at least till the end of the current budget session to "expose the Marxists [the CPI(M)]."

Gopalan anticipated that real "rev-

olutionaries," if they still existed in the CPI(M), would have to leave it as the eighth congress of the party, which concluded in Ernakulam (Kerala) recently, had banished all revolutionary hopes in the party. Since the eighth congress, the CPI(M) had definitely become a "right revisionist party," according to him.