

opponent on all India level with the intention of degrading their revolutionary image and prestige.

- (5) In spite of knowing our mistakes we hesitated to admit them with Bolshevik spirit, thinking that we will be belittled by doing so.

The essence of this self-criticism is that treating a revolutionary organization in practice as revisionist and counter-revolutionary and viewing a non-antagonistic contradiction as an antagonistic contradiction and on the basis of this understanding adopting wrong tactics in all our dealings. This was MCC's biggest mistake.

But the question is that what are the reasons and their class origin behind the growth of this trend? We have analyzed two basic reasons:

- (i) In our thinking arrogance and petty-bourgeois egoism was strongly present and reflected in the form that "we are not inferior to anyone." This is an extremely dangerous trend, which has its source in the petty-bourgeois class. Because of this trend we lacked the required spirit of honesty and flexibility, which was needed to solve the serious matter of mutual clashes.
- (ii) In the matter relations between our two organizations sectarianism was more or less there in our approach. Along with this, subjectivism and particularly one-sidedness also reflected in our thinking in the political field. The class origin of these thinking is also from the petty bourgeois.

Comrades, we whole-heartedly and open-mindedly express our grief and repentance for our failure in timely resolving the problem of that black chapter in the relations of our two organizations. We express our deep sense of grief to the bereaved families and to those who lost property and limb during the period of the clashes with the same spirit. Our heart and mind is still deeply fraught with self-reproach and the bloodstained scars continue to exist for this highly grievous chapter.

Hence it is not sufficient for us to put-forth an open self-criticism in written form only. But what is needed more is to rectify ourselves by putting the words of our self-criticism in the actual practice. We are definitely firm that we will continue to put this process of self-criticism into practice and during the burning flames of the revolutionary and the ideological struggle we will continue to steel ourselves further and further in this direction.

**WE HUMBLY BOW OUR  
HEADS.....**

**[Self-Criticism of the MCCI and the  
CPI(ML)[PW] On Strained Relations]**

**Central Committee (P)  
CPI(Maoist)**

discussion on all the points of political differences existing between our two organizations with open mind and with constructive viewpoint. That is, by keeping the viewpoint of solving the differences on the basis of MLM and thereby arriving at political unity and try our best to achieve complete political and organizational merger between our two organizations.

In the same meeting we also seriously reviewed some of our earlier political position and discarded those that were wrong and made necessary changes on some points. [It is not necessary to mention these positions because they are already in the booklet regarding the common understanding achieved during the first bilateral meeting held in February 2003 between the high level delegations of MCCI & CPI (ML)(PW) ].

Here the basic purpose of the present article is to put forth our self-criticism regarding the above said black chapter. Concretely our self-criticism is the following:

- (1) During the period of clashes although we continued to characterize PU and later PW as revolutionary in word, but in fact, we kept considering them as revisionists, reactionary or counter-revolutionary in practice and accordingly we adopted corresponding tactics. Although we had made joint appeals or had taken joint decisions to minimize the tension time-to-time, but in spite of that, our attitude continued to remain the same.
- (2) Instead of concentrating our full attention in confronting our real enemy who were continuing their vicious “encirclement and suppression campaign” to exterminate the revolutionary struggle, we focused our attention to counter PU and then PW by considering them our opponents.
- (3) Though both the MCC and PW were revolutionary organizations, we neither adopted the Marxist method of holding bilateral talks nor adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism in order to resolve the strained relations. Instead of this we adopted non-Marxist petty-bourgeois tricks to prove the opponent as dishonest. We gave more importance to defeating the opponent through chess like moves. Through specious arguments we tried to entrap the opponent in unending discussions.
- (4) We took or tried to take many steps with the spirit of exposing the

Due to these aforesaid steps on behalf of both the organizations there was a change for the better in the strained relations. The process of this change continued and in August 2001 a meeting between the two parties at the Central level took place and a joint appeal to stop the internal clashes was issued.

As a result of this, the chapter of strained relations between the two organizations came to an end and a new chapter of cordial relations began to grow. In this situation our Central Committee decided to restart the process of bilateral discussion on those political points on which differences between our two organizations had emerged in 1995. At the same time our CC decided to concretely put forth its own clear cut and open-minded self-criticism regarding the strained relation between our two organizations and to the extent MCC is responsible for this.

In its continuation the CC meeting held in November 2002 made an overall evaluation regarding the ups and downs that emerged during the whole period of our mutual relations. We evaluated our relation with erstwhile PU since 1978 ( before the merger of PW and PU) and our relation with PW since 1981 when there was very warm and fraternal relation of our organization with them. The CC also evaluated the strained relation that emerged following the merger of PW and PU and then the period of cordial relation since 2002. On the basis of this evaluation following conclusion were arrived at :

- (i) During the whole long period of our mutual relations the aspect of cordial relation is the principal one while the aspect of bad or strained relations is the secondary.
- (ii) The period of strained relations in the whole period of mutual relations was marked as a black chapter.
- (iii) As a part of these strained relations or black chapter MCC should correctly put forth its concrete, clear and open self-criticism to the extent it is responsible for it.
- (iv) During this self-criticism we should not seek such excuse that “because PW did it hence we were forced to take retaliatory action”.
- (v) We should clearly and unhesitatingly take the responsibility to the extent we are responsible for all those people on both sides who lost their lives and properties during these clashes.
- (vi) Along with this process we should advance the process of mutual

## **WE HUMBLY BOW OUR HEADS.....**

The CPI (ML) [PW] and the MCCI have since 1980 had close relations with each other. Respect for each other, deep faith in the revolutionary character of the other organisation, and a strong desire to unite as a single revolutionary organisation has been the well spring of this long and enduring friendship. That this relationship could not flower into the unification of both the organisations until now is one of the misfortunes that the Indian revolution has had to bear with. Both parties have reviewed their own failings in effecting this unification in the respective political and organisational reports.

In this long period since 1980, the relations between both the organisations were marred for a period. These strained relations were marked by violent and bloody clashes between both the organisations. There was a wanton loss of precious lives. It was a period which caused immense suffering and agony for the masses that had to bear the brunt of the conflict. The cadres and ranks of both parties, other revolutionary parties within and outside the country, the tens of thousands of sympathisers and well wishers of the Indian revolution were agonised by the conflict raging between the two parties. This period of fratricidal strife is indeed a foul blot on an otherwise honourable and valiant history of both our parties.

Realisation of this most shameful and costly blunder by the leadership of both parties led to a process of deep self criticism and rectification from February 2003. Talks between the two parties helped both sides to realise the enormity of our mistakes. It also laid a firmer foundation to the process of political and organisational unification of our two parties. The ideological and political roots informing the practice of both parties during this period of strife were identified. It was the subjectivism, sectarianism and petty bourgeois egoism which played a decisive role in directing the party towards such an erroneous path.

The CPI(Maoist) is presenting the self-criticism of the CPI (ML) [PW] and the MCCI made on the eve of our merger, to the Indian proletariat, the revolutionary masses, the various revolutionary parties within and outside the country and the sympathisers and well wishers of the Indian revolution.

The CPI (Maoist) bows its head humbly and asks for the pardon of its mistakes from the innumerable masses who were affected by the conflict, the families of those who lost their lives, those who were physically impaired and all the revolutionaries and well wishers. We pledge never to repeat these mistakes in the future and eradicate all the non proletarian traits which gave life to such practices.

This publication contains the full text of the self-criticism of the erstwhile CPI (ML) [PW] and MCCI. We welcome criticisms from the masses and the revolutionary sections in order to deepen and develop our self-criticism.

**Central Committee (P)**

**21-9-2004**

**Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

## **Self-Criticism placed by the Central Committee of the MCCI regarding the question of clashes between MCCI and CPI (ML)(PW)**

Everybody knows that a period of tense relations initially started between CPI (ML)(PU) and MCC in the beginning of the decade 1990's. These relations continued between both the organizations even after the merger of CPI (ML)(PW) and CPI (ML)(PU) in 1998. It is also equally true that the fraternal relations of the MCC with both the PU and PW were very good for a long period of time. Thereafter an unwanted fissure in the mutual relations took place. During the period of last half of the '90s the tense relation, which emerged between MCC and the PU continued with the PW. This conflict assumed ever the shape of beatings, killings, snatching of weapons etc. between each other on a wider scale.

Such a tense situation of mutual clashes between the two outstanding revolutionary organizations of India emerged as a deep cause of worry and concern among all the genuine revolutionary forces in the country and throughout the world. The South Asian Regional Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and some other revolutionary organizations and individuals sent letters and made appeals to the Central Committees of both the parties to stop the clashes among themselves. The demand to stop these internal clashes began to grow and strengthened among all the levels and ranks in our party also. The debate within our Central Committee on the question of these clashes also got intensified and reached at the decisive point.

An important meeting of our Central Committee took place in January 2000. The discussion in this meeting centered on two basic issues. Firstly on the question of stopping these clashes, and secondly on the question of adopting and grasping the term "Maoism" in the place of "Mao Tsetung thought". A forceful debate took place in the Central Committee on both of these questions and finally arrived at the following conclusions that (1) An unilateral and open declaration of stopping these clashes with the PW should be made and (2) to adopt the term "Maoism" in the place of "Mao Tsetung thought". Hence, on January 7, 2000 our Central Committee issued an open declaration to stop these clashes unilaterally. In responding the CPI (ML) (PW) also came forward with a declaration in March to stop these clashes.

Comrades, during the last 6-7 years we have achieved many valuable lessons at the cost of the lives of many comrades. On the one side we have faced many ups and downs during the course of intense class war, that is, the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and the people's war and in the same process we have also conducted intense ideological and practical struggles against the Badal and Bharat clique, and hence through this process we have learnt many lessons which helped us, to a considerable extent, to change ourselves. In the near future when both the streams of the CPI (ML) and MCCI will unite into a greater stream, then certainly all of us will definitely be able to further steel ourselves through the burning flames of the furnace of the revolutionary struggle. It is certainly clear that because of our close integration with the conflagration of the class struggle to change the world, and because of the above lessons we have succeeded in transforming ourselves, by discarding many wrong trends; and we therefore take the pledge that we shall continue to move forward in the process of becoming better communists in the future.

Comrades,

The life style of our deceased beloved founder leaders and teachers Com. Kanai Chatterjee, Com. Amulya Sen and Com. Chandrashekhar Das who were thoroughly equipped with communist qualities of simple living and hard labour, humbleness, modesty and tolerance, are a glorious example before us. But we have been unsuccessful in always keeping these glorious traditions before us, at least for some times and to some extent. For this also we express our deep regret and openly express out grief before the revolutionary ranks and the people as well.

In concluding, we promise that we will not only continue to try our best to become the befitting disciples of the founder leaders of the MCCI, but we will also continue to strive hard for becoming able heirs of all our teachers including Com. Kanai Chatterjee and Com. Charu Majumdar. At the same time, we promise to remain firm in rectifying our mistakes through criticism and self-criticism and continuing in advancing forward in the light of and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism.

**With revolutionary greetings**

**Central Committee**

**23/05/2004**

**Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI)**

## **Self-Criticism of the CC, CPI(ML)[PW], Regarding the Strained Relations with the MCCI**

Ever since the end 1970s and early 80s onwards, for a long period, there have been cordial relations between the three main revolutionary parties in the country, the PW, the MCCI and the PU. At the end of the 70s, the then PU initiated to approach MCC and the then AP state committee of CPI(M-L) (which was a major constituent of CPI(ML)[PW] formed in 1980) for establishing contacts and hold unity talks. All the three Parties, applying MLM to the concrete conditions in India, put in serious efforts to develop Protracted People's War. They waged a consistent fight against modern revisionism, right and left deviations within the revolutionary camp, and upheld the revolutionary lines of Coms. CM. and KC respectively. In the earlier period the MCC General Secretary Com. KC, the erstwhile PU leadership and the erstwhile secretary of the PW, com. KS, had played an important role in bringing these parties closer. All the three sought to advance the Naxalbari line for the seizure of political power through protracted people's war. As a result, all the three emerged as the major vanguard organizations of the Indian revolution. Though our party and MCC belonged to two different streams of the Maoist movement in India, both focused on advancing the armed struggle in the country. **There have been cordial and comradely relations between all the three parties, based on proletarian principles and MLM** for the greater part of the period of the on-going revolutionary war. Serious efforts were made by all the three to unite and build a united revolutionary proletarian party in India.

This self-criticism is a continuation of the self-criticisms first put at the time of the bilateral in 2001 and taken down to the rank-and-file of the party and the masses. In 2001 it was an immediate self-criticism with the aim to stop the clashes. In 2003, after extensive discussion a detailed and serious self-criticism was put forward by both the CCs in the meeting, the essence of which was taken down in the form of a pamphlet to the masses. We are placing our self-criticism in writing.

The main reasons for the genesis and growth of tensions in B-J states between the then PU and the MCC was primarily on the following issues: **First**, while working in the same area the approach and outlook in handling

- 7) Instead of resolving problems through polemical debates, time and again we became involved in and gave priority to retaliatory methods. Due to **lack of political vision** on the part of the leadership we trailed behind the arguments of the rank-and-file.

To sum up, the ideological and political roots of these mistakes lie in our subjectivism, sectarianism, and a short-sightedness, where narrow, local interests took precedence over advancing of the class struggle. This resulted in a deterioration of the relations between the two parties. In essence the non-proletarian tendencies — to be precise, petty bourgeois tendencies — dominated our thinking and practice while dealing with this issue. As a result, instead of the dialectical approach to resolve such problems, we handled the contradiction in a wrong way. We aver in this context that we will strain every nerve to rectify these non proletarian tendencies.

For this blood-letting, we pay our red salutes to all those martyred in these clashes, and pledge that we shall learn from this negative experience and never again take up arms against our class friends, no matter how sharp may be the differences. Political differences must be settled by polemical debates and by proving correctness of our politics through revolutionary practice, but not through the gun. While reiterating our red salutes to all the martyrs killed on both sides, **we realize our mistakes, and beg forgiveness from all the families who have suffered as a result.** We, the CC of CPI (M-L)[PW], ask the revolutionary masses of India particularly the people of Bihar and Jharkhand to forgive us for the past mistakes which we have committed. Though we realized late our serious blunders, we assure you not repeat these types of suicidal acts.

We pledge to intensify the people's war realizing the dreams of beloved martyrs and apply the teachings of our great leaders Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin And Mao and advance the Indian democratic revolution to success and then on towards building a genuine and sustaining communist society. We pledge to rectify our mistakes and remould ourselves as genuine proletarian revolutionaries.

**With Revolutionary Greetings,  
Central Committee  
CPI (ML)[People's War]**

**20-9-2004**

contradictions among the people and dealing with problems that arose in the course of practice; **second**, the ideological and political differences between the two parties that were reflected in different practices. This resulted in growing tensions among the two parties from 1991, which became the starting point for the killings of each other till 2001. These problems were not solved in time and hence the tensions aggravated culminating in bloodshed, killings, burnings, etc by 1996. Later, when both our parties came together and initiated merger talks, even at that juncture, some sporadic incidents like threats and annihilations went on, due to our leadership's lacuna, in adopting the resolutions of the joint meetings and giving a class out look to the rank and file. This wrong approach of ours (till 1997 erstwhile PU later the new PW) resulted in blood shed of our own class brothers, which was avoidable had we adopted the proper Leninist style of work and Maoist guidelines to rectify our own mistakes. Instead of this, we adopted forms such as killing the sympathizers and lower level cadres, demolition of houses and destruction of the property of the village masses. For almost half a decade people of this area lived in an atmosphere of terror due to the clashes from both sides. We did not realize the serious consequences in time. **The Central Committee of the CPI(ML)[People's War], owns its share of responsibility for the lapses that had taken place on its part in implementing the decisions as well as for other short-comings like narrow interests, deviations from the proletarian stand point and bypassing of the principles in resolving the friendly contradictions with the MCCI by basing on the Bolshevik model.**

In the period of strained relations that took place in B-J we dealt with the clashes between our two parties more in local terms without taking into **account the negative impact it would have on the long-term interests of the Indian revolution** and overall fraternal relations between our two parties.

In the later period, when the erstwhile PW and the PU merged into a single Party in Aug.1998, the CC (P), in its very first meeting, passed a resolution **to unilaterally stop all types of actions against the MCCI, as well as all kinds of propaganda that might aggravate the already tense atmosphere.** On this the CC (P) also convinced the Bihar state committee, which was primarily involved in the problem. But the CC (P)'s major failure was not to make this decision public by informing the press in Bihar and Jharkhand, other fraternal revolutionary groups, and not even the CC of the MCC. Though one of the reasons for not informing the MCC was the non-materialization of the bilateral meetings between the two, the responsibility

for not giving the resolution to the MCC lies with us. We take full responsibility for this serious lapse and make our self-criticism. This had contributed to the continuing bloodshed between the two parties in BJ for two years with disastrous consequences. At that time we took a very casual approach saying “*what can we do, we are only retaliating in defense*”. **This was a serious deviation from the proletarian approach towards a fraternal party.**

For nearly half a decade (1996-2001) in the B-J, the class struggle against the class enemy was badly affected. When, in fact, both the parties should have waged united fight against the enemy by advancing the guerrilla war jointly, we were involved in killing our own comrades, always pointing the accusing finger mainly at the other. **It was a dark chapter (*kala Adhyay*) for the Indian revolutionary communist movement.**

The erstwhile PU did some malicious propaganda through handbills in Bihar and, after the merger and the formation of the present CPI (ML)[PW], there were severe vituperative writings on the MCCI in our magazines and other propaganda literature. While on the one hand we were saying that the MCCI is in the revolutionary camp, at the same time, we wrote in our literature that a process of degeneration had started in the MCCI and if the type of elements it began to depend on and the non-proletarian methods it adopted were not rectified, it could drift away from the revolutionary camp. With this incorrect approach of magnifying some errors to give a black picture of the MCC we sought to prove the above point. We ignored the overall revolutionary character of the MCC. This was petty bourgeois short-sightedness in not considering the long-term interests, and treating non-antagonistic contradictions as antagonistic contradictions, despite having been closely associated with the practice of the MCCI for two decades. This was the result of a **deviation from Marxist methodology** in assessing the situation and the problem, due to our petty bourgeoisie class approach.

Even when our own class people on both the sides opposed the retaliatory methods adopted by both parties, when intellectuals and progressive elements who support revolution appealed to us not to indulge in clashes, and different revolutionary groups and the M-L parties of our country and abroad appealed to resolve the clashes and work together to advance the Indian revolution, **we did not respond initially**. And when the MCC declared a unilateral cease-fire in January 2000, our CC, while welcoming the move by the MCC in March 2000, placed the onus of responsibility for the end to clashes on the MCC. This was serious mistake from our part. Only after much damage did we stop

the clashes and start a new chapter in our relations which is now culminating to merge into a single revolutionary party of India. During this period we too were responsible for not making serious efforts to hold bilateral meetings, so that we could stop the ongoing clashes through discussions. **This was because of lack of seriousness and sectarianism.**

**Our specific self criticism in this regard is:**

- 1) We assume our part of the responsibility for the blood-shed, for inflicting trauma and economic losses to thousands of families, and also for the loss of confidence to some extent in us in the revolutionary camp during the *Kaala Adhyay*. We assure the people and the revolutionary camp that **we will, hereafter, never resort to such fratricidal onslaught against our own class brothers.**
- 2) The killing of Com. Sathyanarain Singh in the early 1990s and some other mistakes too on our part contributed to the souring of the relations between our two parties. This is a result of **our political weakness.**
- 3) We deeply realize the serious blunder in giving the slogan: ‘Wipe out MCC’, in 1995 by the state Party Committee of Bihar. Though this slogan was withdrawn immediately by the then CC, it had a bad impact on the bilateral relations. The root cause of this **lies in our impetuosity and sectarian approach.**
- 4) The method of correspondence; the content of the articles and other propaganda material and the style in which we wrote these was incorrect. This wrong style arose because of our wrong assessment of the MCCI’s character, **which was the result of our subjectivism.**
- 5) “*Our mistakes are less and our retaliation is in defence*”. This was the sum and substance of our arguments and attitude. Instead of being self-critical, we showed our accusing finger towards the MCCI mainly. **This was our sectarianism and non-proletarian approach to resolve the problem.**
- 6) We got involved in the contradictions among the village masses. Basing on one group we used to attack the local MCCI’s support base. Instead of solving the contradictions with a class approach with the aim of achieving the unity among the people, and solving the contradictions in a non antagonistic manner, we adopted a **parochial and non proletarian approach.**