



Communist Party of India (Marxist)
23rd Congress,
E K Nayanar nagar, Kannur, Kerala
April 6-10, 2022

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM
LEFT PARTIES

Communist Party of India

D. RAJA, General Secretary, CPI

Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of the Communist Party of India, I extend REVOLUTIONARY greetings to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). I express my sincere thanks for inviting me to the inaugural session.

The 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) is taking place in Kerala, which made history for democratically electing a communist government six decades back in 1957. Since then, all through these years, Kerala has remained a unique centre of the left and democratic movement in our country. The pre-eminence that Kerala achieved on this score is based on the innumerable struggles and movements launched by the people, which immensely contributed to the freedom movement and subsequently, during the post-Independence period, for creating an alternative Communists-led model of development, which is people-centric.

Dear Delegates, your Congress is taking place at a critical time, when the country is facing unprecedented attacks from the rightwing forces on the very fundamentals of Indian Republic. However, the future is not bleak as the masses — workers, farmers, women, youth, students and other sections of the working people — are in no mood to take the anti-people and divisive moves lying low. They are out on the streets to safeguard their hard-earned rights.

After the financial meltdown of 2008-09, the rise of rightwing authoritarianism became a global phenomenon as neo-liberal pro-corporate forces captured power in many parts of the world. Those forces are bent upon destroying the progressive, inclusive and scientific achievements of humanity. Fascist forces have already expanded their bases alarmingly in Germany and other European countries, taking advantage of the unrest due to falling living standards, growing unemployment, inflation, etc. We see a steep arms race once again, fuelled largely by the US military industrial complex. The latest in the series of imperialist advances is the attempt by imperialist forces led by the US and NATO to de-stabilize peace and security, at the cost of the lives of both Russians and Ukrainians. In our neighbourhood too, there is massive unrest and instability in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar. It appears that each country is in turmoil for different reasons but the nefarious designs of international finance capital can be traced everywhere. This, of course, is being resisted in many a country, particularly in Latin America.

Dear Comrades, more than seven decades after Independence, poverty and extreme inequality continue to plague our country. The situation has worsened

in the last few years. Our country has seen a sharp decline on almost every development indicator, including fundamentals like the Hunger Index. The concentration of wealth at the top of the society is taking alarming proportions while millions suffer in penury and deprivation. The COVID-19 crisis has exposed the unequal nature of the much-trumpeted growth.

The BJP government under Narendra Modi is engaged in subverting the basic values that define our nation. Secularism, democracy, federalism, welfare-state and the independent character of our foreign policy are all being subverted. All institutions like Judiciary, Election Commission and the Parliament are being undermined. Watchdogs of our polity like CBI and ED are being used to intimidate political opponents contrary to their mandate. The BJP-RSS never subscribed to our representative democracy and now they are subverting the constitutional bedrock of our Republic.

The unilateral abrogation of Article 370, bringing the discriminatory CAA, pro-corporate Farm Laws, Labour Codes are examples of the high-handed authoritarian Modi government. The BJP is using their parliamentary majority to undermine the Parliament itself and making it subservient to the whims of the ruling party, snatching its role as the supreme deliberative institution of the nation, which is expected to represent the sovereign will of the people. Whoever questions the government and its policies is being slapped with sedition and the draconian UAPA. Those, who look at the functioning of the government critically, are dubbed as anti-nationals and terrorists with the help of a compliant media. Activists working for marginalized sections and for human rights are being attacked with the might of the state apparatus like in the Bhima-Koregaon controversy.

Rationality, scientific temper and constitutional morality, which are to be the stepping stones of our secular democratic republic, are being dismantled systematically.

Alongside dismantling the foundations of the Republic, the BJP-led Union government is also ruthlessly pursuing the neo-liberal economic policies in the face of stiff resistance in the Parliament and on the streets.

Disastrous impacts of demonetization and GST continue to hurdle any prospect of economic recovery. The public sector, which mitigated the economic disaster of 2008 and made the country self-reliant, is being privatized. Latest are the plans to sell away Railways, LIC and public sector banks. Public sector banks are being looted and cheated with the blessings of the ruling party to the tune of tens of thousands of crores of rupees by a select group of cronies. Economic offenders are being allowed to run away to foreign countries. Unemployment is on a five-decade high and masses are reeling under inflation. Modi government's pro-corporate policies have benefited a few corporate houses with alarming concentration of wealth and creating unprecedented inequality. The very names of Adani and Ambani have become synonymous with cronyism.

Religious and caste-based distinctions have flourished under the BJP-RSS regime. The RSS and its affiliates continue to polarize the society on communal lines and create an atmosphere of fear, hatred and divide. In their aggressive move, the RSS-BJP combine is not only taking steps to rewrite history but also to redefine Indian Nation. They claim that they are in the process of building a Hindu Rastra, which was emphatically rejected by Dr Ambedkar at the time of making the Constitution. The *Manuvadi* RSS is full of contempt for the idea of Annihilation of Caste as propounded by Dr Ambedkar and continues to represent and perpetuate the ideology of caste hierarchy and discrimination.

Under the leadership and mindset of the RSS, attacks on Dalits and Tribals have increased manifold. Caste atrocities are on increase with impunity. The Left should intensify its struggles mobilising anti-caste forces.

Similarly, the institution of patriarchy is getting strengthened under the same Manuvadi agenda, which looks at women as inferior beings and belittle their effort to achieve equality and justice. While fighting against the BJP-RSS combine uncompromisingly, our struggle should include gender issues. Comrades like Geeta Mukherjee and others struggled for women's reservation and representation and gender equality. It is on us now to carry that baton forward.

We should be aware that the Communist movement in India is almost a century old now and remains an important contributor and conscious-keeper in shaping and changing the political course in the country. We should remain conscious of our historical role in shaping the agenda for the country. From fighting the British imperialists to the inequalities of the Indian society, today communists, who have been and remain at the forefront, gave every popular movement a progressive ideological agenda. During these hundred years or so, Indian society has undergone major churnings and our future programme should be based on the constantly-evolving political situation around us.

While applying Marxism to Indian conditions, Communists have to intensify the struggle on the issues of caste, class and patriarchy. Revolution in India is to intensify class struggle against all forms of exploitations and enslavement for social justice, equality and socialism.

We, the Communists, should build popular movements on issues such as education, health, employment and housing to the people, particularly for the toiling people.

Recently, in an interview to a media agency, the Prime Minister called communism a dangerous ideology to which I replied: *“Yes Mr. Modi! We are dangerous to the communal ideology of the RSS. We are dangerous to your divisive agenda. We are dangerous since we are relentless and uncompromising in resisting your crony capitalism and loot of national assets. We are dangerous*

for we offer ideological resistance to the RSS. Yes, I accept we are dangerous to the RSS because the RSS is dangerous to the nation!”.

Comrades, It is the Left alone that can ideologically challenge and defeat the RSS providing an alternative. Our struggle should combine forces - all progressive, secular, democratic sections of the society - to uproot the discriminatory regime and cleanse the society of the hateful ideological influence of the RSS. We must not forget that the Left in co-operation with other secular, democratic and regional parties is equipped to play that role and as such, it is our historic responsibility. Our Party has been consistently saying that reunification of the Communist movement on a principled basis is the need of the emerging situation.

This is the challenge before us, to prove that we are dangerous for the RSS.

We should engage in introspection on how to achieve the unity needed to politically and ideologically defeat the RSS. The ongoing 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) and the upcoming 24th Congress of the CPI in October 2022 are the best platforms for us to introspect, discuss and debate all those issues and come up with concrete actionable programmes corresponding to the realities of our times.

Comrades and friends, I am certain that the deliberations of the 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) will contribute in the consolidation of Left unity and popular struggles against the RSS–BJP combine.

I wish the 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) all the success.

Strengthen Left Unity!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism!
Inquilab Zindabad!

Revolutionary Socialist Party

Dear Comrade Sitaram Yechury
General Secretary, CPI(M),

I thankfully acknowledge the invitation of yours for attending the inaugural session of the 23rd Congress of your Party on the 6th April 2022.

It would have been of utmost pleasure to personally experience such a memorable occasion. But, I sincerely regret my inability due to certain unavoidable circumstances beyond my control. Hope, you would kindly pardon me for such.

The Central Committee of the RSP, at the outset, wishes your 23rd Party Congress a grand success and it would certainly set the direction for ensuring the all-encompassing Left-democratic movement on the national plane. This is of course the main cry of the millions of down trodden people of our country. We must have to combat the unabated anti people aggression of the present NDA government at the Centre and most of the state governments. The Modi government in particular, is arrogantly keen to subserve the interests of ugly profit maximisation bid of the international oligarchy led by the US imperialism.

The crises-ridden international capital is yet to identify any meaningful way out from the severe most crises that was manifested virtually the world over in 2008. The Modi government has been advised and entrusted to expose the large number people of the dear country of ours to the brink of ominous disaster for salvaging the tyrannical world capitalism. The aggressive misadventure of the present government to distort and disown the very legacy of our anti-imperialist struggles is replete in its nefarious attempts to do away with the very democratic rights of the people, particularly the working class and peasantry. The constitution of the independent India is also being trampled, misinterpreted at will. The dispensations of Neoliberal capitalism is being blatantly or virulently pursued by the present government of the country. The deep-seated conspiracies are being hatched to push the vast majority of the country to extreme poverty, unemployment and inevitable destitution.

The paradigm of development as envisaged to accomplish the tasks as designed by the most privileged metropolitan capital are being dumped on the governments and the planners of India. The Modi government is perpetually indulging in blatant prevarication to disorient the psyche of common people.

We must garner enough courage to disown and challenge this sort of paradigm by all means. This is of course, apparently quite alluring to deceive the people at large with some sort of spectacular show casing. According to our party, we

must adopt a nonconformist attitude to such and resolve to fight out the anti-people designs of the nexus of the RSS and BJP.

This needs no reiteration that we, the lefts particularly, the Marxist-Leninist political parties are entrusted with the responsibility of promoting the common people's interests by all means. The fascist and hydra headed RSS, with the advantage of the Modi government is all out at the present to demolish the unity and integrity of the toiling people. The united Left movement must philosophically combat this horrific attempts of the present. The New Education Policy or other retrograde socio-cultural policies of the Modi government are simply an insidious attempt to push the tendentious theories of Hindutva primacy at the expense of modern scientific knowledge. The young pupils of the country will be the worst victims of such malicious attempts. Let us not raise the issue of all pervasive and disastrous economic policies being hotly pursued by the Modi government as you are more than aware of those.

We may hope, your 23rd Party Congress will not only interpret the situation both nationally and internationally but will be keen to chalk out programmes to 'change'. We may assimilate the lessons of present changes taking firm turn in the Latin American countries like Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil etc. These nations are primarily committed to advance the anti-imperialist struggles to emancipate the peoples from the tyranny of the imperialism-capitalism in particular. However, we need not require to impart more of knowledge to the enlightened delegates who are keenly involved in the struggle for the toiling millions of India.

We once again wish your 23rd Party Congress a grand success and extend our heartiest greetings to all the delegates from all corners of the country.

Thanking you

With Revolutionary greetings,

Yours Comradely

Sd/-

Manoj Bhattacharya
General Secretary, RSP

All India Forward Bloc

Dear Comrade Sitaram Yechury ji,

I am in receipt of your invitation to attend and address the inaugural session of your Party Congress scheduled to be held on 6th April 2022 at Kannur, Kerala. Thank you very much.

You may be aware that the National Council Meeting of All India Forward Bloc is going to be held on 7, 8 and 9th of April 2022 at Bhubaneswar, Odisha. Therefore I am unable to attend your Party Congress. Kindly excuse me for this inconvenience. However, I wish all success to your Party Congress.

This important 23rd Congress of Communist Party of India (Marxist) is being held at a time when our country is confronting serious socio, political and economic crisis due to the anti-people policies of the Modi government. The Modi government is undermining the time-tested democratic and secular characters of our motherland. The vast majority of the people in the country are taking to the streets to protest against the government policies. We are confident that your Party Congress will chalk out appropriate programme to strengthen our struggle against these communal and fascist forces.

We are of the opinion that our country is demanding a unified platform of all secular, democratic and Left forces. This unity will not be materialised just before elections. It can be developed only through protracted struggle against the autocratic policies of the government. The CPI (M) has a major role in this regard. We hope that this important Congress of your Party will also discuss the crisis is being faced by the Left parties of the country in the contemporary period. We are relentlessly organizing mass movements of the farmers, working people, youth, student, women and other marginalised people. But our organizations are unable to translate these people's resentments into popular votes during elections. A concerted effort is needed to examine the lacunae in our movements and we should adopt collective measures to rectify our shortcomings.

Once again I wish all success to your 23rd Party Congress and hope that the deliberations and resolutions going to be adopted in this historical Congress will strengthen the Left unity in our country.

The Central Committee of All India Forward Bloc extends revolutionary greetings to all the delegates of the 23rd Party Congress of Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Thanking you,

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/-

(DEBABRATA BISWAS)

General Secretary, All India Forward Bloc

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation

Dear Comrades,

It is heartening to note that the 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) begins today at Kannur in Kerala. On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPI(ML), let me extend warm communist greetings to all of you and wish your deliberations all success. I am thankful to Comrade Sitaram Yechury for inviting me to this inaugural session, but unfortunately as the dates of your Congress clashed with our Central Committee meeting in Ranchi, I am therefore sending this written message to greet your Congress.

As you assemble for your 23rd Congress in the shadow of a prolonged pandemic, we are witnessing yet another war in Europe. Putin has declared independent Ukraine a mistake of Lenin and is threatening to undo it by bombing the second largest former Soviet republics out of existence. The war on Ukraine has been on for more than a month now and has already killed thousands of civilians and forced millions to flee for safety.

India has the largest number of foreign students studying in Ukraine and yet the Modi government did precious little by way of diplomatic initiatives to stop the war or logistical arrangements to ensure speedy and safe evacuation of Indian students stuck in Ukraine. Just as Modi's India has betrayed the Palestinian cause in the face of intensified Israeli aggression, it now effectively supports Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

The victorious revolution of 1917 had not only snapped the imperialist chain at its weakest link and freed Russia from the shackles of the tsarist autocracy, it had also ended the toxic domination of the great Russian chauvinism to turn the prison of nationalities into a multinational socialist confederation. Geopolitical factors apart, the current war is essentially an attempt to destroy that Leninist legacy. We, Indian Communists, cherish the revolutionary legacy of Lenin and raise our voice for peace and justice, rejecting Putin's war and the US-NATO expansionist design in Europe.

Since 2014, we have been facing the disastrous Modi regime in India. With every passing day, the fascist agenda of the government is becoming bolder and its aggression more intense. In the name of development public assets are being brazenly handed over to a few corporations, and in the name of a strong nation the rights of citizens and states enshrined in the Constitution are being systematically eroded. Dissent is being incriminated and silenced, and rational, progressive voices are being relentlessly stifled in the academic, media and cultural spheres. If the pandemic emboldened the Modi government to seek opportunities in the crisis, the 75th anniversary of India's independence has come as an opportune moment and platform to hijack many of India's freedom

movement leaders and rewrite the history of India's freedom movement and the very meaning of independence from the Hindutva point of view.

Clearly, modern India has never faced such a severe and sustained assault on the diversity that defines India and the basic democratic framework that has sustained India's unity and advance, however retarded, till now. The weak institutional framework of Indian democracy is crumbling in the face of this fascist offensive. This reminds us of the warnings that Dr. Ambedkar had sounded at the time of adoption of India's Constitution. He had described the Constitution as a top dressing of democracy on a soil that is essentially anti-democratic, and seven decades later, we see that top soil cracking up.

We have now clearly reached a stage of fascist aggression where democracy has to be rescued and defended by all means. Even as the institutions have proved to be weak and deficient, the people of India have sensed the danger and are coming out repeatedly on the streets in unprecedented struggles. The Shaheen Bagh movement for equal citizenship, student-youth protest for campus democracy, education and jobs, the farmers' agitation against corporate takeover of agriculture are all reassuring signs of powerful people's resistance on the ground. Whatever gains opposition parties have managed to make in recent elections are attributable primarily to the energy and strength of this people's resistance. As Communists, we have to play a key role not just by way of sustaining and strengthening these struggles on the ground but also enriching the content and tempo of opposition politics with the agenda and spirit of these struggles.

The Communist movement in India is now a century old. The RSS too will be celebrating its centenary three years later. During the freedom movement and for much of India's early post-independence decades, the RSS remained weak, isolated and hugely discredited, but today from the vantage position of power at the Centre and in most of India's states, and thanks to its growing penetration in most of India's institutions, it thinks it has reached a now-or-never moment to redesign and redefine India according to its Hindu supremacist and anti-democratic agenda and outlook.

The onus is on Indian Communists and other progressive forces to foil this RSS design. The freedom movement had given us a radical legacy much of which was never really fulfilled and the rest is being sought to be destroyed and reversed now. It gave us a secular and inclusive national identity that respected differences and diversity, and made us part of the international anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-fascist awakening and socialist dream that inspired the 20th century. It gave us the kisan manifesto for abolition of landlordism and freedom from debt, the clarion call of caste annihilation and social equality, the economic vision of using the country's resources for the welfare of the people. It gave us the Constitution with its declaration of rights. Armed with this rich inheritance we must wage a renewed battle for freedom, freedom from fascism.

The circumstances are absolutely compelling for all of us in the Left to unite and fight back with all our strength. We have managed to attain a better degree of coordination in several states and also at the all-India level. We have been together in securing impressive electoral victories in Bihar. Our tactical differences of course came to the fore in West Bengal as noted in your draft resolution. We believe in handling such differences in comradely spirit and conducting ourselves responsibly in the larger interest of Left unity, concentrating our energy and attention against the fascist offensive. The coming days are full of challenges, and we hope we can march together to carry the battle for democracy forward. Let us unite to fight, and fight to win.

Wish the 23rd Congress of the CPI(M) every success.

Inquilab Zindabad!

Long live the unity of the Left!

Long live the unity of all progressive and fighting forces!

Sd/-
Dipankar Bhattacharya
General Secretary
CPIML Liberation