

PROLETARIAN POLITICS

Workers Of The World
Unite

Organ Of The Communist
League
Indian Section Of The
Fourth International



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Program and Policy of Revolutionary Party of Working-Class
in Bourgeois Parliamentary Election.

(Election manifesto of Communist League for coming and
1977 Parliament elections and evaluation of the post-
emergency political situation)

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Editorial : Election manifesto of the Communist League for the coming Parliament Election.

: Election manifesto of the Communist League for the 1977 Parliament Election.

: The evaluation of the post emergency 1977 Parliament Election by the Central Secretariat of the Communist League.

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Editorial

**Forward To Unity Of Working Class Parties
For Workers' And Poor - Peasants' Government
Fight Capitalism To Finish Communalism
And Authoritarianism.**

Election Manifesto of The COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

(Indian Section of Fourth International)

The recent mid term poll is declared in the midst of rising class struggle of urban and rural masses, and the uncertainty over the outcome of the claims made by industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie on the national resources and their struggle for hegemony in the ruling power block at the central governmental level

For more than one decade, the bourgeois parliamentary democracy in India has come under greater stress. This political instability of the bourgeois democracy flows from the steady erosion of material as well as ideological resources at the disposal of Indian bourgeoisie. The recessionary economic crisis of late sixties, last Indo Pak war, intensification of class struggle culminating into the railway workers' strike and mass struggles of Gujarat and Bihar, engulfment of Indian economy into world economic crisis of 1974 etc. brought staggering bourgeois democracy to its knees resulting into proclamation of emergency and the brutal suppression of the struggle of the masses. The last general election of March 1977 provided a new opportunity to Indian bourgeoisie to put its house into order within the frame-work of bourgeois democracy.

Since independence with a strategic aim to expand

internal market and to promote capitalist mode of production with added vigour, the capitalist state power of India poured massive resources into Indian agriculture with a resultant flourishment of the agrarian section of capitalist class i. e. rich peasants popularly called Kulaks. From 1960s this agrarian section of bourgeoisie started its struggle to extend its domination over ruling power block. Till March 1977 they were successful in asserting their position at the regional or state level. March 1977 provided them a great opportunity to extend their tentacles at the central governmental level and they started a determined struggle for hegemony for in the ruling power block at the centre.

From March 1977 the Indian bourgeoisie as a class incessantly tried with all its manoeuvrability and far sightedness to evolve Janata Party into a viable political party to ensure stability of bourgeois rule in India. But along with its internal squabbling the bourgeoisie faced a formidable challenge from the toiling masses of India. March 1977 triggered off a sustained wave of militant struggles of Industrial workers, employees, Dalits, students, rural poor and oppressed nationalities of Eastern India. The efforts of Indian bourgeoisie to make use of the post recessionary moderate economic upturn by liberalisation of import policy, deficit financing, relaxation of credit squeeze thereby giving free hand to speculators and hoarders, resulted into spiralling of inflationary rate. The backward Indian bourgeoisie had no alternative but to launch a fierce attack on the living standards of the working class to maintain and boost up its rate of profit. The rationalisation of production method increased the industrial reserve army of labour to an unheard of scale. The

year 1979 opened with an inevitable danger of economic recession triggered off by the acute shortage of power, raw material and the transport bottleneck. To defend their living standards and fight intensity of exploitation (work load), the working class and toiling masses took up battles in factories, fields, slums and streets. The massacre of workers' in Kanpur, Pantnagar, Bailadilla etc., mass strikes of the government employees of Maharashtra, strikes of Bank employees, Jute, textile and dock workers and so on culminated into the spread of dissent in the very repressive apparatus of the state like Police, CRP, SRP, CISF etc. Starting in one state, it spread to almost all states taking on a country wide character and a magnitude which made it the most serious example of breakdown in the bourgeois repressive apparatus since independence. It took long time with the help of army, court-marshalls and finally massacre of resenting police, CRP, SRP and CISF personnel to crush this movement. But the impact of it was such that yet there continues to take place sporadic incidencies of dissension in the ranks of this repressive apparatus of law and order.

Without doubt this event has shaken up the bourgeois state in a way that no other event has since the Railway workers' strike of 1974.

The most conspicuous feature of the struggles of Industrial workers was the militancy shown by the working class and at some places like Kanpur, Poona etc. These militant workers temporarily even crossed the prescribed limits and boundaries of traditional trade unionism. At such places workers themselves took up the initiative in their own hands brushing

aside the traditional bureaucratic leadership. Though they were not able to sustain their independent struggle committees for a long time, they were able to show a new way to a large mass of workers.

In agriculture, the competing agrarian capital ran amok in suppressing agricultural poor to maintain its drive towards appropriation of greater and greater surplus value. Wide-spread caste atrocities to suppress Dalit agricultural poor were combined with the suppression of rural labour as such by terrorising them. The atrocities on Dalits in Maharashtra (Marathawada), Tamilnadu, Rajasthan, Bihar, U. P., etc., have revealed the intensified class struggle in the rural areas.

The disintegration of Janta Party, declaration of Mid-term poll and fragmentation of bourgeois political party frame-work, thus, cannot be explained in a mono-casual chain of events nor through the power greed of individual or ambitions of any one of them only. They too play a part in their own way, but are inadequate to explain the whole complexity of the present situation.

Issues in this Election

For the ruling class, operating under the guise of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, election is a strategic arena to consolidate and strengthen its order. Elections act as a safety valve to vent the grievances of the opposition to maintain the status quo. The recent mid-term poll has come at a time when bourgeois democracy in India has already entered a period of prolonged crisis and instability and when there has been a complete fragmentation of bourgeois political

party framework. Objectively, the bourgeoisie as a class wants to stabilise, strengthen and continue parliamentary democracy before opting for any other extreme and naked measure to stabilize its rule.

The very strategy in these elections is to reconcile various sections of bourgeoisie and at the same time side-tract the real issues of the toiling masses and persuading them to refrain from struggle under the pretext of elections and if necessary clamp down on their movement through draconian preventive measures. Silence on the draconian preventive detention ordinance and busy in forming alliance with one or another bourgeois party the Stalinist parties like CPI, CPM, some Maoist party and groups; the Centrist parties like RSP, RCP etc.; and the reformist parties like Forward Block and Socialist groups, are aiding in making the bourgeois strategy successful.

The issue of authoritarianism is taken up by some bourgeois parties and Stalinist, Centrist and Reformist working class parties. But their presentation of this issue is devoid of its class nature. Authoritarianism stems from the backward capitalist social system prevalent in India. Emergency was only one of the naked shows of authoritarianism. The undivided Janta Party and its leader (now with Janta party or outside it), with all their democratic pretensions not withstanding are equally if not more, guilty of bayoneting workers and toiling masses on massive scale from Kanpur to Marathawada, attempting to impose Industrial Relations Bill and MISA on the organised working class movement in India. Preventive Detention Ordinance issued by Charansingh government and his threats to ban strikes are also a pointer in this

direction. These events since March 1977 have proved that it is not correct to identify authoritarianism with any particular group, individual or bourgeois political formation. Authoritarianism cannot be combated by allying with any particular bourgeois party, group or individual. Roots of authoritarianism can be removed only with the overthrow of this backward capitalist state and social system by a victorious proletarian revolution establishing workers, state in India.

Similarly communalism as a class weapon to drive a wedge in the unity of struggling toiling masses is employed by the ruling class in India since Independence itself.

Communalism satisfies the needs of the capitalist state and social system in India. It is an ideological and oppressive weapon of the ruling class. It is not monopoly of one or another bourgeois party. In fact all the bourgeois political parties and groups whether popularly branded as communal or not are directly or indirectly instrumental in the communal by fighting only violence perpetrated on minorities in the India. Thus, it cannot be fought one or another bourgeois party. It cannot be simply fought by forging an alliance, electoral or otherwise with any particular bourgeois political party or group. In any case, it cannot be fought effectively politically by subordinating the independence of working class politics and its movement to the needs of any particular bourgeois political party or group or individual. It can be fought only and only through the united movement of working class and toiling masses against all forms of oppression and exploitation generated by the capitalist social system in India.

Hence, the major issues all the way debated in

these elections by bourgeois parties as well as Stalinist, Centrist and Reformist left parties are devoid of their class content. The issues of authoritarianism or communalism or stability at the centre or the question of law and order etc., raised by bourgeois parties, Stalinist, Centrist and reformist working class parties as well, are nothing but pawns in the bourgeois chess game of electoral politics.

Real Issues of the Working Class

For the working class movement in India, real issues which confront it in these elections relate to its very existence as a producer class. The defense of their standard of living and the defense against the brutal assault on their democratic right and atrocities on toiling masses are their fundamental issues. The threat of the Industrial Relation Bill, a frontal assault of bourgeoisie to snatch away fundamental democratic rights of the working class is not going to be swayed away through this election. The recognition of Bonus as a deferred wage and other such demands on a lasting basis cannot be achieved through elections.

These issues have posed a need for self-defense of the working class and toiling masses and their organisations. Lock-outs, closures, retrenchment of workers etc. have worsened the problem of massive unemployment. Spiralling inflation has rendered the problem of living and minimum wages very acute. For the pauperised masses of rural areas, these elections are not going to bring back their lost land or their emancipation from wage slavery. The way election campaigns are taken up by the bourgeois parties, the Dalits are going to be victim of more and more cast atrocities. Their real issues are radical land reforms, better living

and working conditions, right to organise and strike, their religious rights and real abolition of untouchability, segregation, abuse, oppression, exploitation and so on inflicted upon them for centuries.

For the working class and toiling masses of India the elections have brought draconian preventive detention ordinance, ready to fall under the guise of essential commodities act and so on. This is a portent of trend to come after elections. Whether these elections produce a stable government of one party or a coalition of parties, whether the party or parties forming government are Janata, Cong (I), Cong (U) or Lok Dal, whether it is supported by Stalinist, Centrist and Reformist working class parties or not, there are ample reasons to believe that a crack down on the democratic rights of the working masses is going to be one of the earliest measures of the new regime.

The Electoral Policy of the Communist League

While the Communist League, the Indian section of Fourth International, does not believe that elections can solve such issues specific to the toilers. It says that the election is a medium through which above mentioned real issues of working class politics can be posed sharply so as to help mobilise the working class politically and organisationally to take up revolutionary fight against the bourgeoisie.

When Indian bourgeoisie is pushing forward its overall political strategy in elections, the traditional left of India - Stalinists, Centrists and Reformists - are again putting forward their class collaborationist programme to save bourgeoisie from political crisis. They do not believe in the independent mobilisation of the working

class and its toiling allies for the Socialist Revolution.

The concept of "Left and Democratic Front" put forward by these parties is nothing but one of the forms of political class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the task of socialist revolution and thus the capture of state power by the working class is relegated to some indefinite period in future.

Class collaborationism in any form and under any guise has always proved harmful for the independent working class politics and movement. In these elections it is presented to us in the name of fighting authoritarianism and communalism. It is to be totally rejected.

In these circumstances, independent proletarian politics continues to be the need of the hour. Working class should put political confidence only in their own united organised strength. Not elections, but the mobilisation of workers and their allies around their real issues at work place, in fields, slums and streets can only solve their problems by establishing their own rule. The overall aim of the communist league is the independent mobilisation of the working people to establish their own rule in order to begin the construction of socialism. The Indian working class and toiling masses must liberate themselves from the ideological and the political spell and influence of the bourgeoisie and its reformist tendencies in the working class movement. To forge the united front of all the left forces represented by all the working class parties for the programme of the workers' and poor peasants' government is the pre-condition to realise this perspective. Such politics must have the perspective of mobilising and uniting the working class, toiling and poor masses against all the exploiting classes, their parties and their socio/political

system, around democratic and transitional demands for establishing a workers' state.

Elections is one of the arenas for conducting class struggle, where masses could be educated on all these aspects through proletarian methods of propaganda and participation. With such a strategic perspective, the Communist League is participating in this elections and asks all the workers and toiling people to vote for its candidates.

The election policy of the Communist League is placed in this frame work. **We ask all the workers and toilers never to vote for any capitalist candidate or parties no matter how left they talk.**

The Communist League **DOES NOT** call for a vote for electoral or governmental blocks (The left and democratic front or any such front) of capitalist and any Stalinist, Centrist or reformist left parties, called **popular front** since 1930s when that name Stalin gave to this form of class collaborationism. To **do so under any pretext** would be to say that it is **not** necessary to overthrow capitalist class rule and replace it with workers' political power but to say that the capitalists and workers together should rule which always means in reality continued capitalist power.

Wherever Communist League is not able to put forward its own candidates, but where some independent working class candidate or candidates of above mentioned class-collaborationist working class parties and tendencies are contesting. We ask the working people not to refrain from voting.

In such cases, the first choice should be the independent working class candidate or a party having

a clear cut programme of independent political action by the working class against all forms of exploitation, oppression and class collaborationism.

In absence of such independent working class candidate, Communist League asks the working people not to recognise, but to totally reject the class collaborationist programme of the candidates of Stalinist, Centrist and Reformist parties and to cast a critical vote, a vote without accepting their programme in favour of such parties. This is because their class composition is different from capitalist parties. They are historical currents in the working class movement. Their base is in the mass organisations of workers. A vote for them without accepting their programme is for advancing the concept of the need to counterpose class against class amongst the working people. The call for a critical vote is meant to help draw the dividing line in the electoral arena between the working class and the capitalist class without giving any support whatsoever to their class collaborationist programme but in fact all time thoroughly criticizing it.

Whatever possible, the Communist League will prefer its own state of working class candidates and participate in these elections for revolutionary propaganda and agitation with the above mentioned revolutionary Marxist perspective and with a following programme of demands :-

Working Class and Trade Union

1) Recognition and restoration of minimum bonus as a deferred wage for all wage earners and salaried employees. Restore 8.33 per cent as minimum bonus immediately and remove all ceiling on bonus. Delink

bonus from productivity and any type of intensity of exploitation.

2) No to Industrial Relations Bill.

3) No more wage freeze and compulsory deposit scheme. Immediate payment of arrears alongwith interest of the CDS (Compulsory Deposit Scheme).

4) Effective legislation and its implementation against lay-off, lock-outs and closures.

5) Reopening of sick mills under Workers' Control to be financed by the State.

6) Opening of books of accounts including secret dealings of the employers by and before the workers.

7) Right of workers to elect and recall representatives of their choice in trade unions, other working class councils and committees through secret ballot as well as the right of workers to decide questions of strike, demonstrations, withdrawal etc.

8) No repression and/or terrorisation of workers, toilers, employees, nationalities, Dalits etc. and their struggles by legal or extralegal means and methods from all quarters.

9) Organise workers' and toilers' groups and committees of self-defence to fight assaults on their organisations, meetings, agitations etc.

10) Nationalisation without compensation of all means of production, transport and communication under workers' control.

11) Right to work with a sliding scale of hours of work.

Landless Labourers And poor Peasants

12) Full trade union and democratic rights for landless labourers and poor peasants.

13) Guaranteed minimum wage to agricultural and landless through their own elected committees.

14) Guaranteed bonus, provident fund, gratuity and pension benefits to agricultural and landless labourers.

15) Provision for subsidised agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers pesticides, tools etc. for poor peasants and marginal farmers.

16) Speedy implementation of land reforms through and under the control of democratically elected poor peasants' and marginal farmers' committees.

17) Nationalisation of plantations, farms, cooperatives owned and/or controlled by rich farmers.

Women

18) Right to work and reservation in jobs of all kinds for women and end of discrimination against them.

19) Free education to girls till highest stage.

20) Reduce working hours and relieve women from onerous duties.

21) State creches, child care centres and cheap clean mess (eating places) for the working women.

22) Right to divorce without any restrictions and their maintenance till employment by the husband. Full freedom to marry and divorce.

23) Equal pay for equal work.

24) Complete freedom for abortion without any restriction to all women and effective real campaign against stigma around it in the society.

25) Women's vigilance committees to tackle the

cases of rape, wife-beating and all forms of sexual and other violence against women at work place.

26) Abolition of prostitution, devdasis system etc. with decent guaranteed jobs.

Political

27) Scrap emergency provisions from the constitution of India. Scrap all draconian measures like mini-MISA, Preventive Detention etc.

28) Right to strike as a fundamental right of the workers.

29) Right of nationalities to self-determination.

30) No brutalities and military operations against Nagas, Mizos and other tribes and nationalities.

31) An end to atrocities on dalits, national and religious minorities.

32) Release all political prisoners, including Nagas, Mizos, Naxalities etc.

33) Right to recall elected representatives of the people from Panchayat to Parliament.

34) Abolition of private property in production and exchange.

Students and Education

35) Nationalisation without compensation of all education institutions which should be under control of students and teachers.

36) Management of such educational institutions by students and teachers.

37) Right of organisation and political association to all students and teachers.

Housing and Medical Services

38) Provision for standard residential space with all amenities for everybody. Take over of all surplus space by Workers' and Poor Peasants' government for distribution to those families who have less than the standard space.

39) Nationalisation without compensation of medical services under the control and supervision of the residents of the area.

Foreign Policy

40) The foreign policy of the Workers' and Poor Peasants' governments would be based on revolutionary proletarian internationalism, moral and material support to all the struggles of oppressed nationalities and oppressed nations for independence, to the proletarian struggles for socialist revolution in all capitalist countries, whether colonial, semi-colonial or imperialist. Unconditional defense of all deformed and/or degenerated workers' States against the imperialist military and bureaucracy of such states. Supporting the struggles for political revolution by working masses of bureaucratised workers' state against their bureaucratic misrule in order to usher into socialist democracy in Russia, China, Eastern Europe etc.

- * VOTE FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE...
 - * FOR UNITY OF WORKING CLASS PARTIES.
 - * FOR WORKERS AND POOR PEASANTS GOVERNMENT
 - * FIGHT CAPITALISM TO FINISH COMMUNALISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM.
 - * FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN INDIA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS.
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*(Following is the election platform issued during 1977
Parliamentary election)*

ELECTION MANIFESTO of the **Communist League**

(The Indian section of the Fourth International)

Indian voters would once again exercise their democratic right in March 1977, for the sixth Lok Sabha election. The election has come after the 18 months of **Emergency**, during which the working class was subjected to brutal repression. Hence the forthcoming election is a crucial event for the Indian policy in general and working class and toiling masses in particular. We the TROTSKYISTS of the Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International view this election as a main battle of two BOURGEOIS parties to sidetrack the consciousness and movement of the working class and the toiling masses.

We had already pointed out various factors that accounted for an ever-increasing trend to authoritarianism in the Indian polity. This was consolidated by the unprecedented brutal suppression of the railway workers strike of May 1974.

We had also stressed that the severe economic crisis confronting the Indian bourgeoisie must be regarded as the crucial reason for the imposition of the **State of Emergency** on June 26 1975. However it failed to achieve its main so called objective i. e. to revive the economic growth with price stability. Rising prices, unemployment, lock-outs, closures, lay-offs, sickness of industries and demand recession in several

basic industries have multiplied. For the regime there was absolutely no excuse left to explain these symptoms of deepening structural economic crisis of the Indian capitalism.

Anti-working class measures of the emergency, especially amended Black Bonus Act, impelled the working class at the nerve centre of the Indian Capitalism - Bombay, to form factory-mill committees and the Trade-Union launched struggle bypassing the bureaucratic traditional trade union leadership. The working class struggles took various other forms at several industrial cities. We salute them for their fearless struggles despite the unprecedented odds.

Emergency was increasingly becoming counter-productive politically. Relaxation of Emergency and holding of election at this stage could as well channelise the evergrowing discontent and disenchantment of the working class and toiling poor masses.

The bourgeois regime seeks to legitimize the institutionalisation of the antidemocratic gains such as Press Objectionable Matters Act, anti-national activities and organisations in **42nd** Constitutional Amendment Act etc. of the Emergency through election.

Elections are being held when emergency has not been completely with-drawn, hundreds of the trade-union, and political activists are not yet freed, curbs on political and trade union activities by repressive laws still continue.

All the bourgeois parties like Congress, Janta Party, Congress for Democracy party etc. as well as Stalinists like Communist party and Communist party (Marxist) pose democracy versus distatorship as the

central issue of this election. But this is posed in abstract and non-class terms as if the **Parliamentary Democracy** exists in vacuum above the socio-economic forces based on class exploitation and class distinction. All the three bourgeois parties try to woo the down-trodden Indian masses by giving slogans, lavish and vague promises. It may be recalled here that the Congress party in its 1971 election manifesto promised for workers participation in management. It has repeated the same promise, after having ruled for six years, in its 1977 election manifesto. The Janta party and CFD also promise the same. But the Indian workers and toilers know from their experiences that under the misleading slogans of workers participation in management, the workers are further exploited with heavy work-load 'to produce more.' The scheme of workers participation in management was not at all aimed to allow workers' say in production, management of administration, in making decision about prices and profit sharing. It is only a strategy to lure few trade union leaders to serve the interests of the employers. We firmly believe that the workers participation in management in its real sense of the term cannot be materialised unless the means of production are socially owned and administered through workers democratic control i. e. the workers self management.

Let workers, employeres, oppressed middle class, landless labourers, and poor peasents realise that all the three bourgeois parties will join hands to suppress their movements and their rightful demands against the exploiters, after the election in the name of law and order, and saving democracy. Anti-working class measures will increase rather than decrease under any

bourgeois party. It may be the congress, CFD or Janata party.

Janata party claims to fight for democracy against the dictatorship of the Congress. But the democracy lies in taking decisions by people in management, production, & profit in their factories, mills, and farms. This is not possible unless exploitative capitalist system is eradicated. Janata Party does not want to do this, in its election manifesto, unlike Congress, CPI and CPI (M) promises to delete right to private property as the Fundamental Right and to include right to work as the Fundamental Right. But the right to private property will still remain as a legal right if Janata Party wins. It is not a complete abolition of private property in means of production and distribution. Moreover it is proposed more as a measure to take the winds out of the sail of the ruling Congress, that charges Janta Party as reactionary.

In these circumstances Independent Proletarian Politics continues to be the need of the hour. Unfortunately major tendencies in the Indian working class movement such as the two Stalinist parties CPI, CPI (M) and the centrist RSP have deplorably failed, in recognising the need of persuing the Independent Working Class Politics based on revolutionary Marxism. They have practiced opportunistically class-collaboration with bourgeois parties. In this election example, Stalinist CPI has at large alligned with Congress, while Stalinist CPI (M) have resolved to have electoral adjustments with Janata Party.

The programme of the Communist league premised around the central axis of absolutely Independent

Working Class Politics in India. The Indian working class and the toiling poor masses must be completely liberated from the ideological, and the political spell and influence of the bourgeoisie and its reformist tendencies in the working class movement. Such politics must have the perspective of mobilising, and uniting the working class, toiling and poor masses against all the exploiting classes, their parties, and their system around democratic and transitional demands for establishing workers' and poor peasants' government, as well as for workers' democracy. Such a workers' democracy pre-supposes various working class parties. It may include petty bourgeois and even bourgeois parties provided they accept the frame work of workers' - poor peasants government backed by the oppressed middle class

This cannot be achieved till the present entire bourgeois state apparatus and social structure are not completely challenged, defeated and destroyed. It is to be replaced by a workers' state by a militant mass and class struggle of the majority of the exploited and under-privileged masses led by the working class and its party.

This can be achieved only by making a Socialist Revolution in India under the leadership of Indian proletariat through proletarian methods and struggle of independent militant class and mass mobilizations.

In such a strategical perspective elections is one of the arenas for conducting class struggle where masses could be educated on all these aspects through proletarian methods of propaganda and participation.

• • • It is with this Revolutionary Marxist perspective

that we are participating in this election with a following programme :

Political

1. Lift the Emergency.
2. Release all political prisoners and detenues including Naxalites.
3. Remove the ban on all political parties and organisation including extreme left Naxalites and extreme right R. S. S. as they should be dealt politically.
4. No constitution can automatically be socialist merely by using the term 'socialism' in preamble. Indian constitution is a bourgeois constitution framed by the bourgeoisie and foudal class through limited franchise

In order to constitute the socialist constitution, it can only be framed by the representatives of the Indian working masses both urban and rural whose allies will be the students, intellectuals and various oppressed middle classes.

We therefore demand the convention of the Constitution Assembly of the representatives, elected on the basis of adult franchise through the constituencies delimited on the basis of professions such as Textile labourers, Engineering workers, Banking employees, landless labourers, rank and file of military and police establishments etc. and teachers of primary, secondary and higher education.

We however emphasis that socialist constitution is only possible after the Socialist Revolution led by the majority of the working classes and exploited masses

whose allies will be students, intellectuals and oppressed middle class.

Meanwhile we demand :

- (a) Scrap all draconian measures like MISA, DIR, PRESS Objectionable Matters Act etc.
- (b) Scrap 42nd Amendment act.
- (c) Scrap Emergency provisions from the constitution of India.
- (d) Abolition of private property not only as a Fundamental Right but also as a legal right in production distribution and exchange.
- (e) Right to work and education as a Fundamental right.
- (f) Right of Recall to elected representatives of the people from village Panchayat to Parliament.
- (g) Right to strike as the Fundamental right of working masses.

BASIC NECESSITIES :

We firmly believe that the prices of basic necessities of life should not be left to the vagaries of private profiteers. We therefore demand.

- (1) Basic necessities of life such as food, oil, milk, cloth etc. should be distributed through public distribution centres under the consumers control.
- (2) Prices should be fixed and should be same throughout India.
- (3) All families residing in both rural and urban areas should get the requirements of the same quality and in equal quantity.
- (4) There should be no change in the prices of the essential commodities for the coming ten years.
- (5) The distribution shops should be so arranged

that the customers are not put to harassment for their purchase, of basic requirements.

EDUCATION :

All educational institutions from primary to university should be under social ownership and the standard of education should be the same throughout India.

The curriculum and the administration should be under the control and supervision of parents, teachers and staff at the primary and secondary level. At university level it should be under the control and supervision of the students, teachers and the staff.

The target of 100% education should be achieved in five years.

HOUSING :

The standard residential area should be provided to all families having all facilities such as sanitation, light, fuel etc. on the basis of the members of the family. The target should be achieved in 10 years. The surplus space possessed by family having more than the standard area, should be taken over by the workers and peasant government and should be placed under the control and supervision of the families for distribution to those families who have less than the standard area.

MEDICAL SERVICES :

All medical services should be socialised. It should be under the control and supervision of the citizens of area. No private practice should be permitted.

Medical facilities should be so planned and arranged that all citizens of rural and a urban areas get the same treatment and facilities without any delay.

The goal of the medical services should be the prevention of disease rather than only cure.

UNEMPLOYMENT :

Cent per cent unemployment cannot be removed unless the means of production distribution and exchange are socially owned under the workers, technicians, employees and customers' control.

The objective of the production and distribution should be aimed at catering to the needs of the people and not profit making. Investment should be planned so as to provide cent per cent employment.

WORKING CLASS & TRADE UNION RIGHTS :

1. Effective legislation and its implementation against lay-off, lock-outs and closures.
2. Re-opening of sick mill under workers' control to be financed by the state.
3. Opening of the books of accounts including secret dealings, of the employers before the workers.
4. Right of workers to elect representative of their choice in trade unions, other working class councils and committees through secret ballot.
5. Abolition of apex body and present discriminatory system of trade union representation at the national level for bargaining and negotiations.
6. Restoration of minimum bonus of 8.33 p. c. as a 'deferred wage.'
7. Repeal of wage freeze and Compulsary Deposit Scheme.
8. Nationalisation of all means of production, transport, and communication without compensation under workers' control.

9. Guaranteed minimum wage, without giving up its present facilities to agriculture and landless labourers through their own elected committees.

10. Speedy implementation of **land reforms** through and under the control of democratically elected poor peasants' committees.

FOREIGN POLICY :

The foreign policy of the "Workers poor peasants government" would be based on revolutionary proletarian internationalism. Material support to all the struggles of oppressed nationalities and oppressed nations for independence; to the proletarian struggles for socialism in all imperialist countries and to the struggles for political revolution of working masses of bureaucratised workers' state against their bureaucratic mis-rule in order to usher in Socialist Democracy in Russia, China, Eastern Europe etc.

VOTE FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

"FOR A WORKERS' AND POOR PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT IN INDIA"

"FOR A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN INDIA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS."

Review of the Sixth General Election of 1977 by the Central Secretariat of Communist League (Indian Section of the Fourth International).

The last General Election held in March 1977, for the formation of Sixth Loksabha resulted in the massive victory of Janata Party. Ruling Congress which was the major bastion of the Indian bourgeoisie since 1969, was voted out of power at the centre. Election verdict signified in the eyes of the masses an end to the thirty years rule of the Congress at the centre.

It can be said that by and large voting pattern indicated rejection of the emergency and its anti-democratic aftermath by the people of India. It did not necessarily mean that people voted for the socio-economic program of the Janata Party. So far as Northern India is concerned this was the case. So far as the voting in favour of Ruling Congress in South is concerned, it was not necessarily in favour of emergency, as the South did not suffer the rigors of emergency to the same extent as the North. In addition, the opportunist alliances by the Ruling Congress with regional parties as in Tamilnadu or with Communist Party of India (Pro-Moscow) as in Kerala also contributed to the Ruling Congress securing votes in the South.

The election results proved that bourgeois-democratic demands and the issue of emergency and its aftermath were the crucial issues in this election. Janata Party seized hold of these issues and won the elections.

Considerable role in Janata Party victory was also

played by various parties and the tendencies in the Indian working class movement by their default on these issues. These tendencies did not pose the question of bourgeois-democracy from a revolutionary Marxist perspective. This perspective demands independent working class political alternative based on revolutionary Marxism.

As for Stalinist C. P. I. (pro-moscow) its total and abject surrender to Mrs. Gandhi and her emergency completely compromised in the eyes of the people. Along with the ruling Congress Party, it also suffered a great setback, which can be accounted for in terms of a total surrender as an attempt to provide left cover to Gandhi regime's anti-democratic and anti-working-class measures during 19 months of emergency.

As for Stalinist C. P. I. (M) who supported Janata Party on the issue of bourgeois-democracy, its approach to this issue was liberal democratic in essence. It did not point out the class nature and limitations of the democratic polity in India. Hence its approach to the general election was hardly distinguishable from that of Janata Party.

Both the parties, because of their common Stalinist heritage of two stage revolution theory, have practiced class collaboration in all questions and subordinated working class politics and struggles over bourgeois-democracy and trade-union rights to the needs of one or the other bourgeois parties in india.

The centrist Revolutionary Socialist Party also did not pursue revolutionary Marxist politics in this election.

Only R. S. P. (M. L.) and C. L. (Indian Section of the Fourth International) attempted to provide clear class orientation in this election.

As a result Janata Party appropriated the issue of bourgeois democratic rights and won the election.

Indian Bourgeois are the most far-sighted and shrewed bourgeoisie amongst the bourgeoisie of the emergent Afro-Asian Nations. To tide over its world economic crisis it successfully tried the experiment of momentarily curbing bourgeois democratic rights of the people by imposing emergency, but it failed to achieve the revival of economic growth with price stability. Anti-democratic and anti-working class measures as well as deflationary measures and price rise spurred the working class to action by-passing the traditional trade union leaderships and organisation. Realising that emergency was increasingly becoming politically counter-productive, it opted for the elections and relaxation of emergency and two party system modelled on classical pattern to channelise growing ferment of the masses. Viewed from this angle election at the current conjuncture of the class struggle in India served its main purpose of focussing the attention of masses, on the electoral arena.

As for Indira Gandhi the intensified pressure of the masses for relaxation of emergency, because of forced sterilisation and eviction of poor inhabitants of shanty towns of major cities, absence of respite from inflation, Bonus struggle also played a fundamentally objective role in compelling Gandhi to opt for election. Viewed objectively Gandhis' calculations were based on the false idea that she would win because of the successive bumper harvest, comfortable foreign exchange

situation, prolonged absence of political leaders and parties etc. We say false because the rigid press-censorship did not give the real picture of the depth and breadth of the discontent of the masses. This is whether she failed subjectively to sense the mood of the masses. Formation of C. F. D. also played its considerable part in her and her party's rout

All these complex factors combined to contribute to the victory of Janata Party. Elections showed that masses' political consciousness was greatly heightened and their political awareness is not likely to be dimmed in immediate future. Not only have they become intolerant of any attacks on their bourgeois democratic rights but their expectations on economic front have risen after elections. They have started struggles to realise some of these expectations. In the immediate future such struggles are bound to grow. So far Janata Party Government will be able to avoid repression to suppress these developing struggles. We note that after assumption of power Janata Party Government has initiated measures to restore some of the bourgeois democratic freedom. Bill to repeal a press black act is one of the instances. It has promised to review Misa. It says that it has instructed State Governments to release all political prisoners. It has presented the Bill to modify 42nd. Constitutional Amendment Act. It must be pointed out that its efforts to restore bourgeois democratic freedoms are still not unambiguous e. g. on the question of Misa. It seems to have retracted on the question of its repeal as promised in its election manifesto, instead it now promises to simply review it. On the question of release of political prisoners it seems to be stalling the

issue by saying that it is to be settled by the State Government. On the question of the political prisoners according to the Government pending criminal cases if any against them might come in their way irrespective of the nature of such cases.

On the Trade Union rights of the working class it has taken the well-come step of re-instating the Railway workers who participated in 1974 May Railway strike. But the question of Loco workers is still pending.

The idea of reviving the tri-partite labour conference is on the agenda. But nothing so far has been done on the question of Bonus cut and CDS. Prices are rising, unemployment is increasing, several major sections of Industrial activity are still not free from the grip of demand recession.

In view of this deteriorating economic situation, despite Janata Partys' accent on time bound programme to remove unemployment and development of complex of Agro-industries, it remains to be seen how much Janata Party will be in taking burning problems of the Indian Bourgeois economy. The picture will become clearer in mid May when the Central Government spells out its economic policy in detail through its budgetary proposals.

Mean while without placing any political confidence in the Janata Party Government and without subordinating the working class politics to the needs of the Janata Party Government. The party notes that whatever measures that have been initiated in the direction on the restoration of normal bourgeois democracy have been taken under the presure of the masses and

the party strives to develop independent mass actions for restorstion of working class trade union and democratic rights.

The immediate task ahead of the Party centres round the struggle for demands for wage rises, withdrawal of wage freeze, restoration of Bonus as the minimum 8.3 % as a differed wage irrespective of profitability, repeal of C. D. S for curbing inflationary spiral etc.

In its election menifesto our party had pointed out a stratagic perspective of making a socialist revolution in India under the leadership of working class. It had also pointed out that only after a socialist revolution problems confronting Indian Society can be solved. We regarded elections as one of the arenas for conducting class struggle, where the masses could be educated through proletarian methods of propaganda and participation. We participated in this election with such a revolutionary Marxist perspective and a programme based on it. Our partys' candidate at Baroda secured about 3000 votes on such a programme. This was indeed a heartening development of and for the party because for the first time our party participated in parliamentary election on a class programme and projected an independent proletarian line against both the Janata Party and ruling Congress

It adopted classical proletarian method of propaganda and for the first time election funds flew into its coffers. About 25 villages were covered by the workers of various factory committees of the Baroda region on their own, through educational posters our party graphically presented the class composition

of previous five parliaments pointing out how parliamentary democracy in India is in reality a bourgeois democracy.

It pointed out that mere change in the Government will not solve their problems. Now that the election is over, our party stress the continued need for developing independent working class political policies and actions on all such issues and will persure such policies in all available forms on each and every single question.

Baroda.

9th. April 1977.

**Real and Reliable alternative to
STALINIST - 'LEFT - DEMOCRATIC FRONT'**

One of the most reliable methods of Counteracting inside the working class moods and ideas of the "LEFT BLOC" i.e. a bloc between the workers parties and a certain bourgeois party against another bourgeois party, is through promoting persistently and resolutely the idea of a bloc between all the parties and the mass organisations of the working class against all the bourgeois parties.

- Leon Trotsky

Can Working Class Abstain from Politics ?

Complete abstention from political action is impossible...It is question of how one does it, and what polities one engages in... The working class party function as a political party...and it is not for as to ruin it by preaching abstention. Living experience, the political oppression of the...governments compels the workers to occupy themselves with politics whether they like it or not, be it for political or social goals.

To preach abstention to them is to throw them into the embrace of bourgeois politics...We want the abolition of classes...The only means is political domination of the proletariat... Political action... prepares the ground for revolution and provides the workers with revolutionary training. Without which they are sure to become the dupes of the bourgeoisie.

However our politics must be working-class politics. The workers' party never be tagtail of any bourgeois party, it must be (politically and organisationally) be independent and have its goal and its own policy.

The political freedom, the right of assembly and association, the freedom of press — these are our weapons. Are we to sit back and abstain while some body tries to rob us of them ?

- Frederik Engels

**To Project and Popularise
Proletarian Politics**

Everywhere workers candidates are put-up alongside of the bourgeois-democratic candidates; that they should consist... as far as possible of the Communist League; and that their election is promoted by all possible means

Even where there is no prospect whatsoever of their being elected, the workers must put up their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, to count their forces and to bring before the public their revolutionary attitude and party stand-point...

They must not allow themselves to be seduced by such arguments... that by so doing they are spitting the votes of the democratic party and making it possible for the reactionaries to win. The ultimate intention of such phrases is to dupe the proletariat.

Karl Marx and Fredrik Engels
