

X:lc

**Minutes of the meeting of central secretariat of Communist League
(Indian section of Fourth International)
held on 27th and 28th Oct. 1979.**

NOV 26 1979

<u>Members present</u>	<u>Alternative members present</u>	<u>Invitee</u>
1. Com. Magan 2. Com. Sharad 3. Com. Thakore	I. Yashpal	I. Com Shiraz

Agenda:

- I. Central Committee meeting
2. National Conference.
3. Election manifesto
4. Reports of the comrades who visited various states of India and Abroad.
5. Reports of Gujarat and Bombay.
6. World Congress.
7. Trotsky Birth Centenary Committee.
8. Financial Aspects
9. Publication
10. Proletarian Politics.
11. Party - Print shop

Chairperson : Com. Sharad.

I. Central Committee meeting :

Proposal: Central committee meeting should be held at the earliest to discuss following :

- i. Forthcoming Parliamentary elections and our stand towards it.
- ii. Preparation of National Conference.

Discussion: Yashpal. Thakore .Magan.

Decisions :

1. Central Committee meeting should be called at the earliest, i.e. within a month.
2. Dates: 1st and 2nd December 1979 (saturday-sunday) if necessary meeting can be further extended for a day or two.
3. Venue: Baroda (Gujarat)
4. Agenda: i) Forthcoming Parliamentary elections and our stand towards it.
ii) Preparation of National Conference,
iii) Other suggested by the comrades.
5. Internal Information and Discussion Bulletin is opened for discussion on our policy towards forthcoming parliamentary elections contribution from members of CC and all the party members is invited.
6. To open discussion. As first contribution, a draft election manifesto will be prepared by the central secretariat and will be published in the IIDB along with other contribution if received. The first issue of IIDB containing this draft election manifesto will reach all the members of CC and all the state units before 15th of Nov. '79.
7. The C.S. decides to publish the IIDB as often as required to circulate viewpoints of our comrades on Elections amongst our party members. The discussion on Elections in IIDB will also be continued after the CC meeting.
8. All the member comrades of the CC are requested to make speedy preparation for this CC meeting and inform party national office about their arrival to the venue at the earliest. They are also requested to send the Party National office information regarding any difficulty they may be facing so that we can help solve it when they come here. They are also hereby requested to inform about their plan for return so that we can reserve your berth (sleeper) for the same to reduce your inconvenience.
9. The proposed complete programme of the CC.

1st December:

1st Session : From 9.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

-Proposed draft resolutions or the election manifesto will be presented by the comrades sponsoring them. Each comrade presenting it will be given one hour.

-If time remains more discussion on it.

(Adjourned for lunch)

2nd December

4th Session: From 9.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

- Yesterday's discussion continued, if necessary.
- Preparation for National conference
 - Proposals of the CS presented.
 - Proposals of their comrades.

(Adjourn for Lunch)

5th Session: From 2 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.

- Discussion on the proposals for the National Conference.

(Adjourn for Tea)

6th Session: From 5p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

- Discussion continued.
- Other items on agenda, if suggested.

Above programme is time bound. If discussion does not take as long time as expected, the points of agenda will be shifted up. If many additional points are suggested for agenda, in the first session of the meeting necessary amendments in the programme will be made., and if necessary, with the consent of members, the meeting can be extended to 3rd of Dec. or 4th of Dec.

Hence comrades are requested to reach the venue (Gujarat) by the evening of the Nov. 30th. If informed beforehand a comrade will come to station to receive you, otherwise, party office will be kept open whole day and night of 30th November.

II. National Conference:

The final decisions regarding details of preparations of the conference will be taken by the central committee. The central secretariat proposes following for the consideration of the CC.

- a. Proposed dates of NC: 3rd week of March 1980 or 2nd week of April 1980
- b. Duration of National Conference: at least 4 days.
- c. C.S. proposes that at least following documents should be circulated for the preconference. discussion the proposal for other subjects are invited from comrades
 - i. Draft Political Resolution
 - ii. Draft Organisational Resolution
 - iii. Draft International Re-solution
- d. The Internal Information and Discussion.

Bulletin is already opened for the contribution on above mentioned subjects and other subjects as decided by CC. We once again draw attention of comrades towards this fact and request you to start sending your contribution.

III. Election Manifesto:

Discussion.

Decision: CS resolves to prepare a draft election manifesto to be submitted to the CC and for the publication and circulation in the IIDB.

Following discussion took place on the election manifesto.

a. Framework of the election Manifesto:

- Preamble
- significance of the mid-term poll. why the mid term poll.
- Issues of the Election.
- Attitude of Bourgeois parties.
- Attitude of working class parties.
- Critique of bourgeois and reformist-revisionist working class parties.
- Independent proletarian politics and our electoral policy
- Central demands

b. Significance of the mid-term poll.

Discussion : Yashpal, Sharad, Nagan, Thakore.

Agreement : This should include two points
 - internal power struggle of Indian ruling classes.
 - working class struggle - police and armed forces agitation

The events leading to midterm poll will be explained in the background and interaction of above points. The personal ambition and such things played coincidental and secondary role..

c. Major Issues in this elections.

i. Objectively for the bourgeois as a class :

Objectively bourgeoisie wants to stabilize, strengthen and continue parliamentary democracy. Bourgeoisie wants to continue, if possible bourgeois democracy before opting for any other more extreme measure to stabilize its rule.

2. In view of bourgeois parties :

- anti-communism
- anti-authoritarianism.

3. In view of stalinist, reformist and centrist left parties.

- anticommunism
- anti-authoritarianism
- and on the basis of which to forge a left and democratic front.

4. How we should expose them ?

- These issues are not new.
- May have got heightened.
- we should explain how they stem from the very social system and how they are utilised for the purpose of bourgeoisie and above mentioned left parties.
- we should explain why it is necessary to abolish present socio-economic system to overcome and eliminate these problems.
- we should explain why the concept of left and democratic front and not revolutionary only helps continuation of bourgeois rule.
- Exposition of popular frontism.

d. What are the real issues of the working class.

1. Increasing assaults on the working class and toiling masses.
 - very brief account of working class struggles and how they were crushed.
 - atrocities on Dalits.
 - Nagas and Mezos - brutal repression.
2. Industrial relation Bill.
 - Mini-Visa.
 - Preventive Detention.
3. Bonus, price-rise.
 - unemployment
4. Living and minimum wages.
5. lockouts, closures, retrenchments.
 - Rationalisation.

e. Our electoral policy.

The outline of our electoral policy should be explained around following points.

- * Advocate No vote for any bourgeois party or candidate under any condition.
- * Wherever we can field our own candidate we should do so.
- * Where there are bourgeois candidates vs. candidates of stalinist, reformist or centrist parties, we explain our programme and expose the programme of these parties. At the time of voting we advocate critical vote to such working class candidate to juxtapose class against class.

IV. Reports of comrades who visited various States of India and Abroad:

All reports received in writing.

- a. Report of Com. Batliwala on his visit to Tuticorine, Kerala and Madras. - See Appedix I.

Discussion: Yashpal, Magan.

Decision : - Party should consider sympathetically the proposals coming from Tuticorine and outlined by Com. Batliwala.
- Party should try to assist them in their requirement of literature and their proposal of visit to Baroda or other unit. For that regular correspondence will be started with them and possibilities explored.

- b. Report of Com. Asha's visit to West Bengal. - See Appendix II.

Discussion : Yashpal, Magan.

- c. Report of Com. Magan who visited USA to attend the National Convention of Socialist Workers party and his visit to Europe. - See Appendix III.

Discussion : Sharad, Thakore

V. Reports:

Gujarat - by Com. Thakore.

A detailed report of Gujarat party situation and its mass and class activities will be written by Com. Thakore and published in the IIB for circulation.

Bombay: By Com. Yashpal. - Oral report.

Discussion : Magan, Thakore.

VI. Coming World Congress :

As we are not able to hold our party conference before this world congress, party is unable to send its delegate or delegates for this world congress.

Com. Magan is going to attend the World Congress as he is entitled to so in the capacity of being the member of International Executive Committee and so he is attending the World Congress in that capacity only and not as the delegate of the party.

VII. Trotsky Birth Centenary Committee :

Report from Bombay :- On 7th November '79, a public meeting will be held. An handbill that effect is published. A short biography of Com. Trotsky will be published on this occasion. There are other programmes also. Our Comrades in Bombay are actively participating in this committee.

Report from Gujarat :- Preparations are going on for organising a seminar in December 1979. Publication of a book is also planned and preparation for that are going on.

VIII. Financial Aspects :

Party urgently needs finances of following activities:

- a. Holding Central Committee Meeting.
- b. Coming Parliamentary Elections.
- c. National Conference.
- d. Trips to various party units.

Arrangements are to be made for these financial requirements. Comrades are requested to keep in mind and work to fulfill there requirement. This aspect will be further discussed in the next central committee.

IX. Publication:

Proposal :- The party election manifesto for the coming parliamentary election. Our election manifesto of the last parliamentary elections and the statement of the party after the last parliamentary election should be together published as a pamphlet.

Party has got fund for the publication of such material and expenses of the publication should be taken from the publication fund and should be realised fully or partially by selling this pamphlet at reasonable price.

Discussion : Yashpal, Sharad, Magan, Thakore, Shiraz

Decision : This proposal should be put before the central committee for decision.

Addition to the proposal:- This pamphlet should be published in English.
Partial assistance from the publication fund should be given to the comrades in various State units to publish the translation of this pamphlet in Bengali, Hindi, Tamil and Malayalam.

X. Proletarian Politics:

For publishing P.P. in December 1979, articles should be prepared at least for the following subjects :-

- a. Editorial - Election manifesto.
- b. Present political situation.
- c. Release of Chinese Trotskyists.
- d. Report of workers struggles in Baroda and how we intervened.
- e. Book review :- To review Com. E.Me s Book.
To review "The Second Slump"

The Comrades assigned to prepare or willing to prepare articles/documents for PP on above subjects or on any other subjects they feel important are requested to submit their material by 1st of December 1979 to the National Party Office, Baroda, Gujarat.

Party Print Shop:**Discussion:**

Decision : The C.S. decides that a party press should be established as early as possible. The C.S. further resolves to make all the necessary arrangements for the same. This question should be discussed further and suggestions and assistance of comrades are the most welcome.

APPENDIX - I**REPORT OF TRIP TO SOUTH INDIA**

Places visited : Tuticorin, Trivendrum, Calicut and Madras.

Tuticorin:**(A) Background of Tuticorin:**

It was basically a commercial city and textile industry was main industry because of dock. Dock workers were additional working force during pre-independence and post independence years.

After 1960 city started taking turn industries like Petrochemicals & Fertilisers, Thermal Power Station etc., took shape. At present Tuticorin is not a mere commercial city but potential industrial city. At present it has a population of about 3 lakhs. Its working force is mainly concentrated as follow:

(1) Dock and Port	2000 to 3000)	
(2) Petrochemical & Fertilizer	2000 to 2500)	(All figures are approximate)
(3) Thermal Power Station	500 to 750)	
(4) Textile Industry	3000 to 4000)	
(5) Municipality	1000)	

Apart from above main industrial worker there are number of small units. But still major engagement of people is commercial activities.

CPS (Both CPI & CPM) have at present stronghold in various units. Their roots are deep and they are active since pre-independence era.

(B) Background of present members (Or Trotsky Action Committee).

About 80% of present members were with Bolshevik Leninist Party (BLP) Trotskyist Party came into existence during 1940, and was dissolved in 1948) Most of them joined BLP during 1942. They were active in liberation movement. But one thing was very peculiar that all of them who were with BLP during 1942. All were workers in one of the biggest textile mill of India of those days. Rest of the members joined activities during 1952 to 58 or 1977.

Initially they were active in Trade Union activities and few (two worker comrades) were victimised. Because of decision of entry tactics (INSP) in 1947-48. BLP was dissolved in 1948. In 1952 few of them once again started working independently, they were working in the name of Socialist Youth League during 1952-57. During this period because of their activities they could attract few young people.

Period of 1957-77 was dark. Age of these group they remain totally isolated and inactive. Convincing reasons of these period is not available.

In 1978 they once again started activity in the name of Trotsky Action Committee.

(C) Trotsky Action Committee :

At present about 20-22 comrades are connected with above committee's activities. Above committee came into existence in 1978. They remain isolated from various Trotskyist. Current till (nearly) end of 1978. Present composition of comrades connected with committee's activities is as follow :

(A) Unemployed - a. worker	2
b. graduate	1
(B) Retired worker	7
(C) Small traders/Commercial Agent	3
(D) Government employees	2
(E) Skill-worker	2
(F) Watchman	1
(G) Miscellaneous worker. half skill/unskilled.	2
(H) Small peasant.	1
Agewise : Comrades	
Years.	No.
20-30	2
30-45	1
above 45	18

From above members 2.3 comrades mainly young were attracted after 1977. Since its inception after 1977 the major areas of activities were broad propaganda using various means like publication, street board etc.

They have published (since 1977) two pamphlets one about May Day and Second about Murder of Leon Trotsky, in Tamil. They have also published one booklet (what is going on in Iran ?) in Tamil (1000 copies of each).

They use a technique of propagating Trotskyist interpretation of various issues by writing Big Black Board to be kept at the central places in city.

At present they are translating various documents of CL in Tamil (including CL party programme). They receive ICP/IWP and Socialist challenge directly. They are in close touch with cylonese comrades (Com. Upali & other).

Their major obstacle at present is finance. Because most of the comrades are unemployed or retired. They are not in position to contribute financially even for their own survival finance is severe problem. They have good number of sympathisers and present activity is mainly dependent on contribution from these sympathisers.

(D) Political Position :

I had a discussion with them about Trotskyist Movement in India. history of CL, CL political views on major issues like election, political crisis etc., except minor variation of tactical nature they agreed nearly on all issues. It was found that even tactics of propaganda on various issues were also identical. In all their past activities. Independent proletarian political line has remained central for them. As per their report they have never taken any liberty with above.

(E) Proposal and Expectations from CL :

- * As they have found many things identical in political sphere and even in approach to various activities also was found same, they have shown their eagerness to be a part of CL.
- * They are ready to use NC as unification conference.
- * They expect CL to co-operate with them for building library of their own and if possible token financial help for initial period.
- * They are eager to visit our other units and to establish live relationship with them.
- * They are eager to co-operate in establishing better relationship with Cylonist Comrades.
- * They stressed that CL should make special effort for unification of Trotskyist forces in India.

Observation:

- * Trotsky Action Committee comrades are very sincere and enthusiastic.
- * Independent proletarian political position has remained central theme for them.
- * Younger Comrades (even if few) if gets adquare direction can digest Trotskyism very fastly.
- * They should be kept in constant touch during various political development.

Madras:

In Madras I met few ex-Trotskyist and ex-party member.

Meeting with these comrades is quite insufficient to say anything about politics of Madras or scopes in Madras Labour Movement.

Before we say anything about Madras or Tamilnadu either we should establish few contacts in young generation and activist.

Let Trotsky Action Committee know from CL...following:

1. What do we think about their offer to join with CL ?
2. Will it be possible for us to give them financial help even for a short period ?
3. What special facilities (i.e. terms and conditions for payment) can we give them if they want books for building their Library ?
4. Will it be possible for CL to finance one/two comrade of TAC to visit Baroda or any other unit which ever we suggest or to participate in NC... ?

Kerala:

Trivendrum :- Here Com.S.N.S. is the only party member at present. He is active in 'Peoples Science Movement'*. This is an activity to take science to the masses. This activity is organised throughout Kerala. In short it is an activity of Mass Mobilisation aiming science for social revolution. Comrade S.N.S. is active on publication front (as Managing Editor) of above activity. He is nearly out of touch with other Mass activities in Trivendrum. He is neither in touch with other units or comrades of other cities politicaly. Com.S.N.S. is trying to sale books.

In Trivendrum there is orgenization named as 'Center for Development Studies'. This organisation allows M.Phil and P.Hd.studies. Here I could contact few students,who are doing their M.Phil study on various topics like.. Class & Caste, in India, Health system in India, etc. few of them were eager to discuss and know more about Trotskyist Interpretation and approach to various activities. They are coming from various cities. Some of them were active during college study with CPs. and at present are totally frustrated with the approach of CPs to Mass activities. At present they are open to discuss various issues. They are eager to purchase books also. Com. S.N.S. is trying to give them books and tried in past to contact and open discussion with them. But I think only young comrades can get good response from the students of CDS.

Com.S.N.S. is eager to come to NC. Most convenient time will be Nov.(end).Nature of his job and lack of other comrades restrict Com.S.N.S. activities on few fronts only. As per Com.S.N.S. at present they need enough material for propaganda work. So NPHQ can provide it in various forms, it can be useful to him.

These activities are organised under the name of organisation"Shastra-Sahitya Parishad"
Details of this Movement & Organisation can be given seperately,if required.

Calicut:- In Calicut I met Com.Rashid & Com.Natrajan. Com.Natrajan is a teacher and mainly active in Rationalist Association Activities (He is President of Calicut District). He is co-operating with Com.Rashid in various publication work in Malayalam. He is eager to establish live relationship with other units but he could not suggest concrete steps to be taken for that. He also consider propaganda work on various political occassion as important for that he suggested to make PP a regular party organisation. He is not sure whether he will be able to participate in NC. November can be suitable time for him.

Com.Rashid is working in Press. He is mainly undertaking publication activities in Malayalam with the help of other comrades in Kerala, since few months not much active on Mass front activities. Few comrades (I could not makeout how many of them are really a party members) in Trichur district participated in Panchayat Election. But as per Com.Rashid's report their performance was not upto the mark. (Two Comrades contacted in Panchayat Election). Com.Rashid considered his own inactiveness also as one of the reasons for this low degree performance. Com.Rashid is eager to participate in NC but he consider pre-conference preparation equally important.

At present Comrades in Kerala are trying to publish Bio-graphy Translation of article recently they published. Translation of article written by Com.Prit Shipple (from South-East Asia - Criticism of GPM).Com.Rashid was eager to make special effort to mobilise and establish live relationship with at least Trotskyist in south.

At present in Kerala there is no co-ordinated activities of party. Main Activities are propoganda and some activity in organisations like Rationalist Movement & Sashtya - Sahitya Parishad, I could not gather more details about activities of comrades in Rural areas. Recently Com.Rashid came into contact with few ex-Naxlites,who are now ready to discuss.

But one thing I could gather during trip in Kerala is that Kerala has many special features of its own. Before we say final word about their priorities and selection of areas, we should understand and discuss following aspects with the help of local comrades,

- Role of CPs. in rural and Urban areas of Kerala.
- Stage of disintegration in various left currents.
- What sort of propaganda tactics can help giving/providing alternative to confused & frustrated elements.
- Objective reality which individual comrades are missing and what concrete way they can be overcome.
- What special effect can help establishing live relationship with NPHQ & comrades of other unit.

APPENDIX - II

Report of my visit to Calcutta and Santipur in West Bengal:

I stayed in Calcutta for six days and in Santipur for a day. I am presenting here my observations on political situation in West Bengal and prospects for the development of our party in this condition.

After 1968, for the first time Bengali masses experienced democratic atmosphere after the establishment of left-front government. During the rule of Siddharth Senkar Ray's, Chief Ministership, left parties and their sympathisers suffered much. So people are sympathetic to left-front govt. Among the activities of CPM there is a lot of discontent regarding CPM's electoral policy. There have been many cases of CPM activities resigning from the party.

Among Naxalites also there prevails a lot of confusion. Indochina war has aggravated this process. Many have left the movement. And all die-hard Maoists have come together because of tremendous pressure from China. Now they are no more splinter groups but coming out under the same banner.

In RCPI three groups have been formed. One is headed by Sudhinkumar, M.L.A., Food Minister of present left-front govt. of West Bengal. Youngsters come there to make individual gains. Another group's leader is Anadi Das that has already split away from RCPI. Third one is Somendranath Tagore's group. There are having possession of RCPC(I) office. There are U-S youngsters with this group. This group is in touch with CL. Overall RCPI has dominated by old-guards, it doesn't have many youngsters. RCPI wants to work with us.

Position of CL : In the changed circumstances eagerness to know about Trotskyism has increased. Many ex-Naxalites and ex-CPM cadres show their willingness to understand Trotskyism.

Among the old guards of CL, Jagdish Jha has joined Congress and U.N.Roy is with Spartacus League. Com. Shailen Banerjee is in Calcutta, actively working for the celebration of Com. Trotsky's birth centenary. He is also in touch with Santipur Comrades and other new contacts of youngsters at Khadagpur, L.I.T. and two lecturers at Bakura.

Santipur unit of communist league is the only well-functioning unit. Plunged in struggles also. There are 10-12 new contacts; mainly solary covers, weavers, poor peasant disgusted with CPM and CPI(ML). They are one of the most significant elements of two fronts. Ganmukti Organisation of weavers and Agricultural labourers organisation (Krishak Panchayat). They are also active in Dr. Kotnish Committee composed of CPI(ML) and other Marxists. Some of young comrades are also part of a Leftist Youth - Organisation, previously dominated by R.C.P.I., Prastrati Goshti. Our cultural front is also formed.

During Sept., 1979 our comrades with Ex-CPM and CPI(ML) comrades took up the issues of weavers and gave of Santipur Bandh. They also successfully barricaded railway line and National highway. It was a grand success. College, school, shops, offices observed bandh. Weavers and rickshaw pullers supported wholeheartedly. They have also started a Bengali Journal in which three CL comrades are in editorial board. Other 2 Comrades of editorial board are Ex-CPM activists.

Now major problem is to provide them with Trotskyist literature in Bengali. Our analysis of peasant political situation, perspective for Indian Revolution, our trade union policy, criteria for party membership. Our party programme should be explained to them in Bengali. Santipur comrades can't understand any other language except Bengali. Two young comrades have promised to learn Hindi.

Whatever English literature we send them is translated by some sympathisers. They are also in touch with four ex-Naxalits students. They also raise many questions on Trotskyism. Regorous political educational classes are need of an hour for our Santipur comrades.

APPENDIX - III

My trip to U.S.A. and Europe lasted for two months and ten days - from 20th July to 2nd October of 1979. The main reason was to attend the National Convention of SWP as the fraternal delegate. The invitation to attend such convention was pending since 1973. It could not be materialised due to the refusal of the government to grant my passport. When, at last, the passport was released in the beginning of the year it was discussed in C.S. C.S. had unanimously approved my attending the S.W.P. national convention of August as the fraternal delegate in behalf of CL. When the visa and such other formalities were completed the final programme of my visit was discussed in the C.S. again. Comrades had suggested the desirability of visit to London, Paris and the Tehran to build up direct contact with the leadership of the respective sections of F.I. Ofcourse the halts at various national centres was to be managed during my return air-flight from U.S.A. if it is possible within the budget available to me.

I could stay in U.S.A. as the guest of the SWP from 21st July to 30th August '79. The main purpose of this trip being political. I had tried to utilise the most of my time to make it more purposeful.

Before this visit I had heard from comrades coming here and had read considerably about the legend of SWP and its leadership who had opportunity to have collaborative work with Leon Trotsky.

But this being my actual visit I was a bit curious and cautious as I wanted to be as objective as possible in my observation and talk with the comrades there. Also I had gone there to understand how and why of the achievements of SWP and learn politically and organisationally from its rich experience. As all of us know that SWP till now has proved to be ideologically, politically and organisationally the most mature, seasoned and sound section of our F.I.

During my visit in USA I had stayed for ten days with the comrades of the Boston, 10 days with the comrades of National Head Quarter at New York, twelve days at Oberlin for the national convention and seven days at Chicago.

During this period most of my time was full of discussions around the present political debates about military conflicts in the South-East-Asian States, foreign policy of the Cuba and the stand taken by the leadership of the SWP. This being the first visit from our party there was considerable curiosity to know everything about the Communist League. On two counts: First India is the biggest country in terms of population and its strategic place in Asia outside the camp of the workers States. Secondly, the actual and factual position about our party has unfortunately remained controversial due to the intense factual atmosphere of 1968-1970 within F.I. Hence the eagerness and curiosity of the comrades to know about the various aspects of our party. For that some time I had to go in minute details to put our case as objectively as possible. In this I don't rule out the streak of subjectivity as I don't claim to be totally above it. But the comrades there seemed to be satisfied, the way we had tried and are trying to build up our tiny organisation and appreciated the objective limitation under which we have to function here.

During my stay I could see the SWP organisation functioning at branch level in Boston city, at national level in New York and during the national convention at Oberlin. This gave me the idea about the maturity of its politics, soundness of its organisational structure and ideological-cum-political clearheadedness and sobriety with human touch of its cadres. I did not find a streak of intellectual arrogance among them - from branch to national level. I found these heirs of comrade Gannon and Hansen polite, humble and ever-ready to understand us and to make themselves understood by us in proper perspective. Sharp differences during the discussion with them did not develop heat or caustic remarks from them. Cadres of SWP is proud and patriotic about its past heritage and their present acquisition in various fields but never display any undue disparaging remark against any section and its leadership with whom differences had developed or is developed. That false fashion is alien to them. They were found eager to explain their stand but were positively prepared to understand other view points in comradely spirit. Also their human touch to look after my material needs and comforts within their reach made me to forget that I was in far-off foreign land! They were politically polite and personally warm to a greater extent. During this period I had several occasions to meet the comrades from the national leadership - from old and new generations - who carved out time from its busiest schedule of pre-convention preparation and post-convention pre-occupation. Their sole purpose was to get first hand information about the problems and possibilities of our section. There was overall tone to understand us and not to impose advice.

This had facilitated me to fathom their fraternal fervor to assist-- us within the organisational frame work of P.I. My couple of meetings with comrades George Novack, Reba Hamson and Harry Ring, the living link between late Comrades Cannon, Hansun and Reed had given me the inkling of the lofty legacy of Bolshwism in practice through informal conversations with them. I found in their personalities the concentrated experience of the party-building and the various problems involved around it. This was the best moment of life for which I waited for it eagerly.

The most exciting experience I could gather was more than week long schedule of the National Convention at Oberlin. It was meticulously planned and organised with painstaking details. The whole deliberation from the first to the last day moved without any noise, heat or hitch. Like computer the complex processes of the convention was functioning. From the trade union fractions of various industries where SWP members are being , different committees and subcommittees to the deliberation of the open sessions the youth used to presides and decides, No bolded and grey or white bearded comrade from the old generation was seen as dominating the scene or poking the nose unduly, which one usually finds in the traditional working-class parties. They are not in active leadership but not retired from the activity.

Most of them from the old generation were there for all the time with no prominence and of no personality cult. Their presence was felt through the cadres of bubbling youth who are the by-product of the back-breaking and nerve-aching endeavour of the decades together. From responsible comrade presenting the reports to resolutions, to numerous delegates comrade intervening in the discussion used to present it in written and precise form. There was the least place for extempore demagogy. This was highly educative and enthusing to me. Hence the lengthy but lucid presentation of the document on various subject and the systematic intensive discussion was instructive and enlightening to the hundreds of the observers from the party members, sympathisor who attended from the every branch of the party.

During the convention I could meet the guest delegates comrades from Great - Britain, Canada, Iran, Israil and Africa as they were anxious to know about our party due to crucial position of India in the sub-continent and the third world. There was lot of misinformation and distorted understanding about CL and its leadership. I had to putup lot of efforts to explain the real situation of CL from 1972 to 1979. Particularly the discussion with comrade from Great Britain yielded good result and the initial bridge of new understanding that had helped me during my visit there in the September.

The climax of this national convention was the rally organised to announce the names of party candidate to contact for the post of the president and vice-president in coming presidential election. This occasion was to launch the campaign to collect the necessary fund to run the campaign for month to-gather. This is extremely expensive endeavour. This rally was the proof the political and organisational acquisitions of the SWP. In this rally everybody was present. After the announcing the names of the candidates and the election programme, the target to raise the necessary fund was declared. Virtually there were the waves of human hands and competition to contribute to this funds from the individuals to the party branches and various fractions in the industries. Even the guest delagates announced the handsome amounts to this campaign in behalf of their respective sections. This was a thrilling experience for me. This event was the mirror when the degree of political consciousness and the sense of sacrifice developed in the membership and supporters of the SWP was reflected. It was indeed the international gathering are real spirit of internationalism.

During this convention there was continual cultural programme organised by the artists recruited by the party due to its political activities in U.S.A. This is very important development there as to begin attracting the various personalities from art and cultural fields is the sign of soundness of the political organisation.

Lastly the national headquarter of the SWP in New York is the convincing proof of the SWP's organisational alertness, political foresightedness and planning. In this five story building everything necessary from paintshop to political discussion is provided. It is equipped with latest tools in technology in order to carry the latest development in revolutionary politics through its books, journals, and document throughout the whole world. I would say that this central headquarter is one of the wonder of the Trotskyist movement. This is the living proof of SWPs. serious preparation to contribute its share of responsibility in the revolutionary politics

(11)

nationally and internationally - in coming years. As I was informed by comrade George Novack that all this was possible due to its prolong efforts of decades together. It was complex and painfully prolong process of ups and downs.

All the achievements are not the result of the genius of the leaders or merely zeal and devotion of its cadres rather it is the reflection of the correct politics pursued nationally and internationally by SWP. It is not infallible but we have to learn lot of things from its experiences of past and present. There are lot of similarities of the problems, place and politics to be pursued to between U.S.A. and India.

I spent the whole September in London except five days in Paris, the World Headquarter of F.I. As we all of us know that there were lot misunderstanding between the British and our party due to the political differences in F.I. Lakhs of people having their origins in India here settled there. So there are lot possibilities of collaboration between the two sections. The activities of the comrades from the British section in the youth organisation called "South-Asia Socialist Forum" was known to us. This visit helped me to establish straight contact with the leadership of IMG. This helped me to explain the real picture and position of our party. The black clouds of prejudice about our section and its leadership is removed. The phase of comradly collaboration has begun. The infortunate memory of indifference and prejudice towards ~~the~~ our party and its leadership. I think, is over. One of the comrades from its leadership introduced one Ceylonese comrade settled there. The lengthy discussion-cum-clarification about us with this comrade paved way for mutual confidence and respect. This comrade was one of the important member of South Asia Socialist Forum. We all know that this organisation had deputed couple of members to work in India few years back. Through this Ceylonese comrade series of meeting with the members of this organisation were organised. There are now fifteen members, who are inactive due to differences developed between them and the two-to-there members of Indian origin deputed to work in Bombay. They were send in India with the clear cut understanding that they should function within the organisational framework of our Communist League. After coming in Bombay they unfortunately preferred to function away from and against our party. They did not care to inform their organisation in London about this. The members of the South Asian Socialist Forum, as per their report given to me during my visit, had financed all the expenses of the air-flight and lodging and boarding at Bombay. This was one of the reason that had caused the inactivity in this organisation.

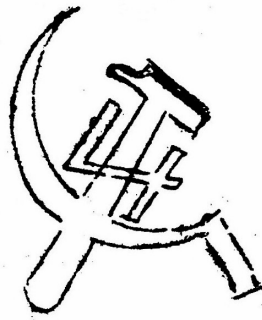
The prolong frank discussions and clarification regarding our party and leadership and report of actual activities of our party did create the new atmosphere between our party and those organisation in which the members of IMG having Indian and Ceylonese origins work with other friends having the perspective of the Socialist Revolution in Asia. This enthusiasm has erected new awareness and sense of self-confidence among them. They have decided to revive the activities of this organisation in England around the burning issues faced by the Asians in England and solidarity campaign around the questions of India and Sri Lanka. It is decided to develop close collaboration between C.L. and this organisation through correspondence regarding our activities. The members of this organisation were of this opinion that I should go to Sri Lanka where prejudices and misinformation regarding C.L. till persist.

For that they have managed the expenses for my proposed trip to Sri Lanka. Apart from building the rapport with the leadership of British section, the revival of the South Asia Socialist Forum may prove to be more useful there and here in the long run. The main purpose of halting at London was considerably served.

From 21st to 25th Sept. '79 I was at Paris. Main goal was to visit the world head quarter of F.I. and to establish contact with them. Secondly to establish informed cordial relation with the leadership of the French section. When I went there comrades of USFI were quite pre-occupied with th preparation of USEC meeting of the pre-world congress and the leadership of the French Section was in full swing of preparation of the pre-World Congress National Conference, as they could not keep the appointments with me. This was a bit disappointing to me. Consequently I had to return to London after paying my visit to Comrade Pierre Frank.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Indian Section
of
The Fourth International.



Internal Information
&
Discussion Bulletin.

Volume IV No.2.

November, 1979.

Supplementary to the Draft

1. Election Manifesto.

To all members of the Party:=- Please send your contribution at the earliest on the forthcoming parliamentary Election for circulation and discussion amongst the members.

To all the State Units:=- Please translate in your respective regional language and circulate the contribution on the elections being published on the pages of this IIDB (Vol.IV NO.2 and its Supplementary)issue and other issues which follow .

Women:-

1. Right to work and reservation in jobs of all kinds,more or less,for women and end of discrimination against them.
2. Free education to girls till highest stage.
3. Reduce working hours and relieve women from onerous duties.
4. State creches,child care centres, and cheap clean mess (eatong places) for the working women.
5. Right to divorce to women without any restrictions and their maintenance till employment by the husband.
6. Freedom to ~~may~~ marry and divorce.
7. Equal pay for equal work.

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Volume IV No.2.

November, 1979.

Draft-
1. Election Manifesto, Presented by C.S.
to be passed by C.C.

ELECTION MANIFESTO

The Mid-term poll signifies the bourgeoisie's failure to evolve a proper political power structure after March 1977 which would satisfy the competing political claims for hegemony of diveral social strata of exploiting industrial and agrarian capital.

Disintegration of Janta Party was caused by the incessant struggle for hegemony in the ruling power bloc at the centre between industrial capital and agrarian capital. Its disintegration signified the failure of the bourgeois to evolve Janta Party into a viable political party to ensure stability of bourgeois rule in India.

This 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 in India. Bourgeoisie has staged mid-term poll in the midst of rising class struggles and mass struggles which affect even the repressive agencies like Police, S.R.P. etc., of the bourgeois state. In the last analysis it is also a partial political response to such rising class and mass struggles.

As for the bourgeoisie, elections at this juncture are a means to restore its political crisis of bourgeois political rule in India. The central apparatus of bourgeois - democracy in India has been engulfed in political crises for the first time. For the bourgeoisie, neither authoritarianism nor communalism are the real issues in this General Election. Authoritarianism stems from the backward capitalist social system prevalent in India. As the events since March 1977 have proved, it is not correct to link authoritarianism with any particular group, individual or bourgeois political formation. It can not be combated by alligning with any particular bourgeois party or the group. Roots of authoritarianism can be removed only with the removal of this backward capitalist state and social system in India.

Similarly communalism as a class weapon to drive a wedge in the unity of toiling masses is employed by the ruling class in India since Independence itself. Suddenly the danger has not become so imminent despite the increase in incidence and intensity of communal riots in recent times. Communalism satisfies the needs of the capitalist state and social system of India. It can not be simply fought by forging an alliance, electoral or otherwise, with any particular bourgeois political party or group. In any case, it can not be fought effectively politically by subordinating the independence of working class politics and movement to the needs of any particular bourgeois political party or a group or an individual.

Both authoritarianism and communalism like stability at the centre or law and order of unity are pawns in the bourgeois chess game of electoral politics.

For working class movement in India, real issues which confront it in these elections relate to its very existence as a producer class. The issue of Industrial Relations bill is still very much a live threat for it. The question of recognition of bonus as a deferred wage on a lasting basis still remains unrestored.

During last 26 months there has been a significant increase in merderous assaults on working class. This development has posed the need for self-defense of the workers and their organisations. Lock-outs, closures and power crisis and retrenchment of workers on account of rationalisation of production methods have worsened the problem of acute unemployment spiriting inflation has rendered the problem of living and minimum wage very acute.

While the communist League does not believe that elections can solve such issues specific to the toilers, it says that mid-term poll is a medium which should be used to pose such issues of working class politics sharply so as to mobilise the working class politically and organisationally to fight the bourgeoisie on all these issues.

Various left parties and groups put forward the concept of Left and Democratic front as a national alternative to bourgeois politics in India. Communist League believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat established after a successful socialist revolution is the only realist alternative posed before the working class of India.

Left and Democratic Front is only one of the forms of political class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Its sponsors are silent about the class nature of the state under such a front. Which class will have political hegemony in it? Will it be a non-bourgeois, non-proletarian Governmental bloc? To raise such questions is to answer them.

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

In these circumstances independent proletarian politics continues to be the need of the hour. The major tendencies and parties in the Indian working class movement like the two stalinist parties CPI and CPI(M), RSP and other Maoist groups and even individuals claiming to be Trotskyists have failed to recognise the need of pursuing the independent working class politics based on revolutionary Marxism. They have practised and continue to practice class collaboration with various bourgeois parties, groups and individuals under one pretext or other. This time they practise it under the guise of fighting communalism and authoritarianism.

As against this, the programme of the Communist League, Indian section of Fourth International, world party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, is 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 the 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 socio-political system around democratic and transitional demands for establishing a workers' state and a workers and poor peasants Government.

This cannot be achieved till the present entire bourgeois state and social structure are not completely challenged, defeated and destroyed. It must be replaced by a workers' state by a militant mass and class struggle of all the exploited toiling masses through a socialist revolution under the leadership of the Indian working class.

Hence socialist revolution in India under the leadership of Indian proletariat through proletarian methods and struggles of independent militant class and mass mobilizations, is immediately on agenda.

In such a strategic perspective, elections is one of the arenas for conducting class struggles where masses could be educated on all these aspects through proletarian methods of propaganda and participation. Communist League refused to subordinate the needs of mass and class struggles to the needs of bourgeoisie or its parties or to exigencies of electoral blocs alliances or needs. Communist League asks all the workers and toilers not to vote for capitalist parties politicians, groups or individuals or capitalist programmes or blocs. This is the tested and surest way of expressing proletarian class view point against class enemy. Similarly communist league urges the workers not to vote for electoral blocs or alliances or arrangements or adjustments whether operating under the name of left and Democratic Front or progressive Front or any name where bourgeois parties or programmes or individuals or groups are included in such blocs, alliances, fronts or arrangements of adjustments. Communist League stands for independent states of workers candidates against bourgeois candidates or bourgeois parties. Where-ever this is not possible, communist League asks the working class parties to contest elections on their own so as to pose the question of class against class sharply. In such cases, without subscribing to their overall class

collaborationist political perspectives and programmes and in fact while criticising them, communist league asks the workers to cast a critical vote in favour of such candidates of working class parties so as to express class vote. Wherever possible, 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 :-

Political

1. Convene a constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise through the constituencies delimited on the basis of professions such as textile workers, Engineering workers, Bank Employees, etc. for amending the capitalist constitution of India.
2. Release all political prisoners including Nagas, Mizos, Nationalities, etc.
3. Scrap all draconian measures like PER, Mini-Misa, industrial relations bill etc;
4. Scrap emergency provisions from the constitution of India.
5. Abolition of Right to private property in production distribution and exchange.
6. Right to work with a sliding scale of hours of work and right to education as a fundamental guaranteed right.
7. Right to recall elected representatives of the people from Panchayats to parliament.
8. Right to strike as a fundamental right of the workers.
9. Right of nationalities to self-determination.
10. No brutalities and military operations against Nagas, Mizos, and other tribes and nationalities.
11. An end to atrocities on Dalits, national and religious minorities.

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 the 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~~ MEDICAL SERVICES

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

Medical facilities should be so planned and arranged that all citizens of rural and a urban area 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.

WOMEN (It will be given in the next I.I.D.B.)

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. Removal of the ceiling on Bonus.
7. Repeal of wage freeze and compulsory Deposit Scheme.
8. Nationalisation of all means of production, transport, and communication without compensation under workers' control.
9. Scrap Industrial Relations Bill.
10. Stop assaults on the working class.

POOR PEASANTS :

1. Guaranteed Minimum wage to agricultural and landless labourers through their own elected committees.
2. Nationalisation of plantation farms, co-operatives owned and/or controlled by rich farmers and their operation under agricultural labourers who till them.
3. Provision for subsidised agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, tools etc. for tetnal cultivators, like poor peasants & marginal farmers.
4. 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."