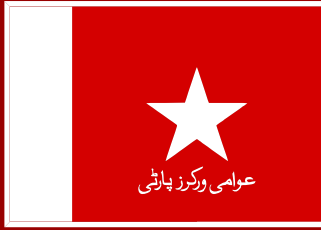


# Awami Workers Party



## MANIFESTO

English translation

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Translated from original Urdu

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## **PREFACE**

The Awami Workers Party (AWP) is a progressive, democratic and secular party representing working people. Its aim is to end all forms of exploitation and to establish the rule of the working class over the state.

The Awami Workers Party came into existence through the merger of three political parties. The merging parties were the Labour Party Pakistan, the Awami Party Pakistan and the Workers Party Pakistan. The AWP's merger congress took place on November 11, 2012 at Aiwan-e-Iqbal in Lahore in which a draft manifesto was presented. This draft manifesto was revised after taking into consideration the suggestions of the merger congress delegates, the national units and of the first women's delegates convention (March 2, 2014). After being approved by the federal committee, the revised draft manifesto was approved at the party's first federal congress held in Islamabad on 27-28 September, 2014. At the second federal party congress held at Karachi on 15-16 October 2016, the following manifesto was approved with amendments.

# 1 INTRODUCTION: COUNTRY-WIDE BACKGROUND

- 1.1 Seven decades after it was founded, the Pakistani state is subject to serious economic, social and ideological contradictions. The legacies of British rule have kept working people trapped in the clutches of imperialist powers, an extractive state apparatus and propertied classes. With changes in imperialist alignments and the global capitalist economy after the end of the Cold War, Pakistan's internal problems have grown ever more acute. Every new ruler has vowed to do away with an obsolete system of oppression and exploitation, yet poverty, intolerance and violence continue to intensify. Today, class exploitation in various forms is continuously increasing. The level of discontentment felt by the nations that live inside Pakistan is at its peak due to decades of oppression. The continuation of the worst patriarchal traditions has made the lives of women and girls miserable while abuses in the name of religion have devastated the foundations of society. The political parties of landed, financial and rentier elites have no desire to challenge status quo, while the country's most powerful institution, the Army, has become increasingly dominant with the help of its foreign masters. There are no imminent signs that the labouring farmers, workers, middle-class professionals, women, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities will be able to free themselves from this system.

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- 1.2 The fundamental cause of this ever deteriorating situation is the outdated social and economic structures that draw from our colonial heritage. On the one hand are the remnants of tribalism and feudalism and on the other is the worst form of capitalism which, in the shape of globalisation, has been commodifying everything in society in recent decades. The theorists of globalisation assert that “free” markets and liberal democracy will put poor countries on the path to prosperity. However this “end of history” deception has now been exposed in the form of imperialist countries and the global financial crisis which began in 2008 in developed countries themselves. All over the world, markets are being “freed”, yet the people continue to be trapped in squalor and oppression. Despite the end of Cold War, breakup of the Soviet bloc, capitalist countries, and in particular the United States, have not disbanded NATO, reduced their weapons or limited their nuclear reserves, or shutdown their military bases around the world. On the contrary, they have made intensified efforts to ruthlessly exploit natural resources while establishing new military bases around the world.
- 1.3 The universal and astounding scientific and technological advances of the second half of the 20th century are, on the one hand, the great wealth of human civilization, and on the other, have facilitated huge gains for capitalism in the form of productive capacity, exploitative power, and military and coercive force. These are the foundation of the neo-imperialist project of globalisation. However, the market and profit of this new capitalist system, albeit based on technology, science and destructive weapons, has not been

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able to resolve its internal contradictions and is today in the grip of a never-ending financial and economic crisis.

- 1.4 Throughout the world, including in the developed world, this situation has given rise to a new movement which on the one hand is opposed to the anti-people policies of the economic and financial weapons of globalisation – the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the IMF and the WTO – and on the other hand is opposed to the expansionism and unjust war of occupation fronted by the United States and its allies, particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq. In short, capital continues to strengthen its hold in the name of war in some places and in the name of “development” in others. It is imperative to challenge all these forms of capitalist rule, and in this context it is essential to learn from the socialist experiments of the 20th century: that material development and the acquisition of modern technology alone does not automatically lead to the emergence of a new humanist social consciousness.
- 1.5 The September 2001 attacks on the United States precipitated a new phase of American aggression. The “war against terror” has become a new weapon for imperialist powers and their client states to establish their supremacy over the world. Pakistani governments, in particular the Pakistani Army, have since the creation of the country been conduits for American interests and its regional strategies, and they express pride in this. For a long time, Pakistani security agencies – with American backing – promoted conservative religious elements and their fundamentalist

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views and extremist ambitions in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Until a few years ago, “jihad” and “jihadi” were favourite terms of not just Pakistani rulers, but also of the US media and government officials. However, after the 2001 US and NATO military attack on Afghanistan, this narrative changed and the word “jihad” was replaced with “fundamentalism”, “extremism”, “terrorism” and “War on Terror”.

- 1.6 Over the past 15 years in Pakistan and the world at large, state institutions, and especially the military establishment, have concentrated tremendous power in the name of the “War on Terror”. By passing a constitutional amendment in January 2015, the Pakistani parliament made possible the establishment of military courts, after which the power of the military establishment became unlimited. Even if action is taken against right-wing extremist groups, these courts and laws are ensnaring working people and ethnic-national activists struggling for their rights, and indications suggest that the state oppression of popular movements could increase in coming years, under the pretext of fighting terrorism.
- 1.7 Imperialist domination and attacks, the War on Terror and military operations have devastated the lives of people in this region. The military operations in Balochistan, Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, and terrorist attacks across the country, have made everyday life unbearable for working people – and especially women and children. Kill and dump operations allegedly carried out by state agencies have become commonplace. Schools and hospitals are being



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shut down with alarming regularity. Forced displacements are further deteriorating conditions for people. At this time, the number of forcibly displaced people from FATA alone living in camps is one million. This war and conflict, militarism, and the influx of weapons has on the one hand further intensified patriarchy, class oppression and ethnic-national discrimination, and on the other hand, relegated real questions about people's freedom to the political margins.

- 1.8 At heart of this oppressive situation, 'establishment' is the arbiter in Pakistan's politics since inception of the state. Not only have army generals held democracy and federalism hostage, but they have also appropriated national resources. Today these generals are among Pakistan's largest landowners and capitalists, and are prepared to take any measures to protect their economic interests. Under the guise of a strong Centre, so-called national security, and the protection of Islam, the military and civil bureaucracies and the dominating classes have turned Pakistan into a horrific elitist state, where security agencies rule, neighbouring countries are demonised, ever-increasing military expenditures deprive the people of basic human necessities, and government departments of police, revenue, justice and others oppress the people rather than serve them.
- 1.9 Popular movements have always resisted this oppressive system. However, due to global political and economic conditions, and the conspiracies of the ruling class, working people are today extremely divided. The economic and political gains made by the organised struggle of the past

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century are now gradually being repealed. Anti-labour laws have been promulgated through which millions of working people have been deprived of their basic right to protest and go on strike. Meanwhile, due to the policies imposed by international financial institutions, small and landless farmers in rural areas are gradually being converted into rural workers, ie. wage slaves. Workers, professionals and students have been deprived of their constitutional right to association, and today most of Pakistan's workers seek their livelihoods in the informal sector which is outside of the domain of both the law and those organisations which can resist the rule of capital. In this period, Leftist groups involved in working-class politics have suffered a retreat due to systematic state pressure as well as their own internal weaknesses. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, a wave of despair prevailed for several years which is only being removed now by the emergence of a new generation of political workers.

- 1.10 Prior to this turn towards the political left, progressive-minded youth were inclined towards non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which during the past few decades – especially in the 1980s – gained prominence in Pakistan and the world in the name of people's rights, development and welfare. Funded by Western and Arab governments, as well as international financial institutions, one portion of NGOs is working towards raising public awareness about human rights and political freedoms. However, another major portion is giving immense ideological, financial and organisational support to religious fundamentalist organisations and

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religious political parties. NGOs carrying out development and welfare work have created a vast country-wide network at the city and village level, and many present themselves as an alternative to the state. Their ideological limits, interests, organisational structure, work and procedures are determined by the donor agencies and countries. The majority of NGOs serve imperialist neoliberal economic, political and ideological agendas. Our party believes in principle that the fundamental responsibility for people's rights and protection, provision of public services and welfare lies with the state.

- 1.11 One major reason why the state has shirked its responsibilities towards the economy and the provision of all basic necessities of life is the complicity of mainstream political parties with the dictates of capitalist globalisation. These parties on the one hand say their source of power is the people, yet on the other hand stand helpless against the domination of global capital. Every government in recent memory has bargained off Pakistan's natural resources and the mass of working people to make possible the profiteering of multinational companies. When these parties are not in power, they beat the drum of people's rights and blame all of Pakistan's troubles on military dictatorships, yet when these same parties come into power themselves then they adopt the same anti-people policies. It is thus that the majority of working people are now repelled by politics. The rehabilitation of the idea of a people's politics in Pakistan free from the machinations of the establishment is the need of the day, and this is the primary duty of progressives.

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- 1.12 Many of the pillars of this alternative politics will be those that Leftist parties have always emphasised, including class struggle, a non-capitalist system of development, liberation from imperial invasions, the principle of the equality of nations, secularism and the establishment of meaningful democratic institutions. In the current era, Leftist politics has an additional fundamental pillar, which is the abolishment of the system of patriarchy based on the supremacy of males. There are few other social groups in Pakistan that have faced more oppression than women. The work of women is neither appreciated nor compensated. Women are not safe in the home or outside, and crimes against them surface everyday which no civilised society would tolerate. Religious minorities are also living their lives in extreme fear while millions of citizens suffer inhuman treatment on the basis of their caste.
- 1.13 All of these conditions demand a genuine anti-imperialist, anti-establishment, secular revolutionary party. Progressives around the world recognise that the replacement of capitalism with a socialist system is not only necessary to save our humanity, but is also imperative for the sustainability of the planet itself. Hence while organising this struggle along economic, political and social lines, it is also necessary to raise environmental questions. We will need to construct a political and economic structure which will not seek profit as its goal, but will rather seek to meet human needs, and in which the collective interest will take priority over personal interests. This long struggle can only begin with the identification of different forms of class struggle, and alongside this, other fundamental social contradictions and

## INTRODUCTION: COUNTRY-WIDE BACKGROUND

their explanation. Through this scientific method, and with the support of the organised force of the poor working people, our party can establish a new socialist system.

## **2 OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS AND OUR PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL BASIS**

### **2.1 Class structure and today's struggle**

2.1.1 In the form of masters and slaves, landlords and peasants, capitalists and labourers, the conflict between the owner and the worker has always existed in all class societies. In Pakistan today also, this class conflict exists in all of its horrific forms, and class oppression is further increasing as a result of the changes that are occurring in our social structure. It is necessary for any Leftist party to analyse the class structure of society closely and with integrity. Only with this foundation can we determine which forms of class struggle are the most useful in today's conditions.

2.1.2 The organised industrial workers' movements of the past are in disarray. Today, only three percent of Pakistan's total labour force hold membership in any trade union, while the overwhelming majority of workers are forced to sell their labour power in the informal sector without any legal protection. A very large number of workers, and especially domestic workers, face the worst exploitation as a result of flexibilisation in the form of the contract system and contract labour. Labour laws have indeed been passed at the national and international level, however workers – especially those in the informal sector – still do not have access to decent

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wages, job security, and respectable working conditions.

This is the reason that the majority of labouring people seek to go abroad to earn their living. Pakistan's number one export today is labour.

- 2.1.3 The industrial sector has gradually been pushed towards destruction. The practical meaning of the “free” market is to permanently make local capital a client of global capital. In sectors like the textile industry, factories outside the sphere of global capital are becoming obsolete, and the institution of permanent employment has disappeared. Local owners are pulling their money out of the industrial sector due to electricity shortages and other problems, as a result of which the control of foreign capital is becoming increasingly secure.
- 2.1.4 Despite the existence of large landowners and feudal and tribal remnants, and their political and social effects, feudal relations in agriculture are rapidly changing. Now, tenant farmers working on the land on a permanent basis are being replaced by rural labourers working on contract. Even the small farmers of yesterday are being forced by the local and international market to leave their land. According to statistics, approximately 30 million people in Pakistan's rural areas have become landless. The economic power of middlemen and other business segments is rapidly growing, and over the past two decades, these groups have emerged as important players in the country's politics.
- 2.1.5 The profit system on the one hand exploits working women on the basis of class, and on the other hand it also increases

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its profit margin through the unpaid labour of women in the domestic economy. In the agricultural sector, the female labourer does not work as an individual but as a member of a family of farmers, and it is the head of the household – and not her – who is compensated. Meanwhile, in other sectors, the labour of female workers is bought at relatively cheaper rates. Pakistani society and the state is not willing to consider these women as farmers, nor does it want to give them the right to organise under labour laws. This is the reason that under capitalism most women are forced to work part-time. And it is for this same reason that they remain economically dependent on men.

- 2.1.6 The population in the cities is rapidly growing and the number of people from rural areas making their way to the cities for their livelihood is constantly increasing. In this way, rural areas are being even further marginalised than before, whereas new housing schemes, cars and all types of other services are being made available for the upper middle classes. The poor residents of informal settlements are forced to sell their labour on the streets. The state is shirking from its responsibilities to provide welfare, while the priority of the private sector is not to meet the needs of the people but to earn profit. In this way, the class conflict in Pakistan is reaching unprecedented levels.

## **2.2 The different forms of imperialism**

- 2.2.1 In Pakistan and the entire world, different forms of imperialism come to the fore everyday. As a result of the spread of



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capital on a global scale and the monopolistic form it has taken, the autonomy of developing countries is rapidly eroding. Whenever needed, imperialist forces directly establish military occupations, otherwise the imperialist agenda is entrusted to local rulers who pave the way for foreign capital. These varied forms of imperialism overdetermine local and regional politics, economy and even cultures. Today, resistance against imperialist globalisation involves organizing not only on the economic and political levels, as even culture has become an important weapon in this fight, an excellent example of which is the promotion of local culture by the proto socialist regimes in Latin America.

2.2.2 The fundamental indicator of imperialism today, as in the past, is uneven development at the global level. In terms of production, China has become the world's biggest economy, whereas in terms of financial capital, the U.S. is the world's capital. The global financial capital crisis has made clear that no country in the world is cut off from the global economic system. On the other hand, it has also been revealed that the crisis of capitalism is not only permanent but is becoming increasingly grave with time. As a result of the spread of financial capital, a tiny minority is in control of unimaginable wealth, economic inequality in societies around the world is rapidly growing, and environmental destruction is increasing. Instead of encouraging the productive and creative capabilities of humans, the values born from the womb of the new financial capitalism have not only converted everything – including humans – into objects of sale and purchase, but are also turning the human lifespan into a work span, and in

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this way classical slavery is being reborn as modern wage slavery. Today, the world's wealthiest one percent has more wealth than 95% of the people.

- 2.2.3 The economic face of imperialism in Pakistan is expressed in the form of the policies and international agreements of these global financial institutions, which pave the way for unstinted privatisation in the name of creating a “free market” and the monopoly of multinational companies. Alongside this, the pressure to repay financial debts has increased to the point that the State Bank is printing over a trillion rupees worth of banknotes annually. Despite this situation, successive regimes have handed over more control of the Pakistani economy to global speculators at the behest of these imperialist institutions. Basic needs industries like electricity, oil, gas, transport, communications and others are being dismantled and sold off at heavily underpriced rates. Meanwhile, land, water, forests and minerals are being mindlessly commodified at such a speed that our eco-system will soon be on the brink of disaster.
- 2.2.4 Imperialist powers have made military incursions in the name of “democracy” and “freedom” in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and several other middle eastern countries, whereas in Afghanistan the ongoing wars of the past 35 years have fueled religious hatred, sectarianism and terrorism. The trade in drugs and weapons has taken the form of an alternate economy in Pakistan. Since the early days of the Cold War, Pakistan has been a frontline state of imperialism, and the

deadly effects of this have become a life-threatening disease for us.

- 2.2.5 Imperialism is not the name of any country. Imperialism is the name for those capitalist extensions and ideas that relies on the brutality of military invasions and profit-seeking to take it forward. Along with controlling the economy, the military, political and cultural effects of imperialism are visible everywhere. With regard to imperialism in Pakistan, the United States is at the top of the list. The economic, strategic, ideological and cultural onslaught of imperialism in Pakistan has led to increasing levels of class, national, gender and religious conflicts and injustice beyond what it was in the past. To rid ourselves of all forms of imperialism and to construct an alternate to the global capitalist system, a difficult struggle is needed which should be carried out with the working classes and humanist forces from around the world.

## **2.3 The political use of religion in Pakistan and its social and political implications**

- 2.3.1 The imperialist and its cultivated ruling classes have always used religion as a weapon against the forces of social change. In Pakistan and the entire Muslim world, progressives and fundamentalists are engaged in an intense intellectual and political conflict with each other. Progressives want to keep the state and religion separate, while the fundamentalists declare that the state should be subservient to religion. The early period of establishment of Pakistan

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paved the way to make the state subservient to religion through the Objectives Resolution. After the independence of Bangladesh, the Pakistani army and its remaining followers in the establishment started the process of turning Pakistan into a fundamentalist religious state to secure their own interests. After the 1978 Saur Revolution in Afghanistan, American, Saudi and Pakistani rulers together not only provided large-scale financial and military support to religious fundamentalists, but they also promoted a “political Islam” on the entire society through textbooks, the media and madrassas, which was bigoted, extremist, anti-people and which denied local cultures. The “jihadi” forces patronised by state institutions not only spread chaos in neighbouring countries, but also incited sectarian strife within the country. Along with this, the state institutions recruited conservative-minded individuals on a large scale, which is why today the intellectual and social attitudes of an entire generation in Pakistan are designated as “political Islam”

- 2.3.2 The virus of religious fundamentalism has severely permeated our society. Religious provocation and sectarian brutality are now an everyday norm, while religious minorities are leaving the country. There is no longer any space for disagreement nor any capacity for tolerance in society. Out of both expedience and fear, the state is now helpless against the monster it created itself. Meanwhile, the imperialist forces have at some times supported religious fundamentalists, and at other times have carried out actions against them which have made it even more difficult to deal

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with them. Today, the organised struggle of the widening circle of progressive people is needed in order to eradicate religious fundamentalism and pave the way towards a secular state, politics and society.

- 2.3.3 It is essential to make fundamental changes to the “official” histories, state structures, national security policies and foreign policy, and to end the use of religion in politics. It is now clear that a state based on “national security” can neither establish peace within the country, nor can it build friendly relations on an equal basis with other countries in the region. Whereas direct steps maybe unavoidable in order to separate religion and the state, to establish a foreign policy with neighbouring countries based on non-interference, peaceful friendly relations and national autonomy, to break the nexus between the establishment and the right wing, and for the state to end all religious extremist organisations without discrimination, it may be even more important to pay attention to questions about the brainwashing of the public by warmongers and conservatives through textbooks and the media.

## **2.4 The question of equality among nations**

- 2.4.1 One of the main reasons that religion was made a state ideology is that the ruling classes have never been willing to accept the multi-national status of Pakistan, even up to the current day. After the creation of Pakistan, the domination of the establishment – made up primarily of Punjabis and

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Mohajirs – became apparent in the form of a nexus with the feudals of other provinces. Kalat State and FATA were forcibly annexed. The progressive and democratic political forces of Sindh and Bengal were declared to be anti-state, armed forces were sent in to their areas and they became the target of state persecution. The rulers used the sway of religion and the ideology of a strong centre as a political weapon, as a result of which conflicts grew between the nations living inside Pakistan.

- 2.4.2 The national question is also related to these political, economic and cultural deprivations which are becoming increasingly serious in Pakistan over time and which have their visible expressions in the vast difference between Pakistan's wealthy and impoverished areas. There has never been a suitable representation of all of nations in Pakistan's state institutions nor has there been a fair distribution of state resources, whereas the Centre has taken control over natural resources from nations and kept it for itself. Alongside these political and economic deprivations, the issue of language, culture and identity within Pakistan is also becoming serious. The Urdu-Bengali controversy of 1948 made apparent the rulers' insistence on distorting the history and culture of all of the nations living in Pakistan. Instead of learning from Bangladesh's independence, our ruling classes are, even today, busy in stamping out the struggle for rights of the Baloch and other oppressed nations. In reaction to the mutilated bodies and target killings, an element of racism is becoming visible within a section of nationalists.

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2.4.3 In this regard, the creation of new provinces and the issue of FATA is also of extreme importance. Creating new provinces on the basis of nations and giving them a new shape based on the desires of the people is a necessary condition of federalism. The pragmatic outcome of the centralism of Pakistan's rulers can be seen in the spread of movements for national independence, because the people after all want to be freed from the oppressive political, economic and social system in any condition. A genuine party of working people will not be formed until all aspects of the national questions are deeply understood, and a solid plan of action is given in which the principle of equality amongst all the nations in Pakistan is expressed clearly.

## **2.5 Patriarchy and the question of women's liberation and equality**

2.5.1 Despite their triple contribution of work in the economic and social development of Pakistani society, women are treated as second-class citizens and lesser than men. Women who are from the working class, or are non-Muslim or belong to oppressed nations are the most marginalised sections of society. This system stands upon the threefold labour taken from women: (1) Women themselves labour as workers in farms, factories, kilns, offices, schools, hospitals and on the streets; (2) she serves male workers so that they stay active and healthy, keep working and continue the process of generating profit; and (3) she gives birth to new labourers whom she cares for and prepares them to become

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labourers. Any deviation from this division of labour or the sexual and social relations, culture, ethics and aesthetics on which it is based results in severe punishment. In order to maintain this oppression and exploitation of women, this system based on male supremacy uses violence. We believe that the material foundation upon which this patriarchal system stands is the domination of men over women's labour, their reproductive power and their sexuality. And that despite their conflicting interests, the nexus of feudalism, capitalism and patriarchy is very strong.

2.5.2 After the creation of Pakistan, there have been some minor improvements in the standard of life of women due to some superficial gains as a result of capitalist development, technological advances, the influx of foreign goods, women's education and the movement for political and social rights. However, even today they are still the target of centuries of societal oppression, exploitation and gender discrimination. Class and gender bias in society have made the lives of women unbearable. Due to gender oppression in attaining education, health, livelihood and justice and in every part of their lives, women are extremely disadvantaged in comparison to men. The productive system, social changes, growing poverty, extremism and terrorism have increased the load of work and gender oppression for working-class by several degrees. In regions in the clutches of feudalism, violence is carried against women in public at the behest of panchayats. Domestic violence is also a problem for all women irrespective of class. In the list of countries considered the most dangerous for women, Pakistan comes



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third, below Afghanistan and Congo. In the United Nation's index of women's development and rights, Pakistan was placed at number 135 among the 136 surveyed countries. After Nigeria, Pakistan has the highest number of children out of schools, a majority of whom are girls.

- 2.5.3 For the survival of human society, the regeneration of humans and the productive process are necessary and inseparable. Through the division of labour, capitalism creates an artificial separation in this mutual connection, in which women are given responsibility inside of their homes, and men outside of the home. Because of this division of labour on gender lines, where the working class male's conflict according to class is with the capitalist, in that same system, inside his home he benefits from the unpaid labour of the woman due to the patriarchal system. It is for this reason that within labour movements, the struggle to end exploitation in the relations of production is carried out, but effort to end the gender exploitation in the unpaid relations of production are not visible, and this is a fundamental weakness of the labour movement. This is why, in our politics, in addition to the gender oppression of women and both the personal and public aspects of their class exploitation, we must also pay attention to its cultural and political aspects.
- 2.5.4 We believe that patriarchy is indeed a major cause of gender oppression, but it is not alone. Gender oppression and class exploitation are inseparably joint together. For example, in a case where an entire family or village is in the control of a

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feudal, tribal chief, or capitalist, it is not possible to completely save a woman stuck in this family system and society from patriarchy and bring about equality and freedom without changing the entire system. This is why for the successful establishment of a classless system it is necessary that the exploited working class abandon their minor interests, which they receive due to patriarchy in the capitalist system. The struggle of the working people to end this exploitative system will not meet success without also seeking the freedom of women from oppression and exploitation and the participation of women. This is why instead of creating gender-based confrontations, the working people must lead a joint struggle against inequality and for the end of the exploitative system. It will be necessary to comprehend, and challenge, the class and gender basis of the state, for without this, it will not be possible to establish a socialist system based on social justice and gender equality.

### **3 THE BASIC GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF OUR PARTY**

- 3.1 The party's ultimate goal is the establishment of a society at country and international level in which every one will work according to his education, knowledge and skill and he will be paid according to his work and in this way with the building of a socialist system, the exploitation of man by man will be eliminated and thus every citizen of the country can have access to equal economic, social and political rights without discrimination along racial, ethnic, gender, national, religious or sectarian lines. For the achievements of these goals, the party will organise the entire working classes and oppressed nations of this exploitation-ridden Pakistan, and will strengthen its relations with the similar movements internationally.
- 3.2 While being cognizant of the historic oppression of women and patriarchy, the party will continue the struggle to end all economic, state and social structures and traditions based on male domination. At the domestic, societal and state level, the equality, development, representation and freedom for women in every part of life will be ensured.
- 3.3 The party will not make any electoral alliance or seat adjustment with any religious or anti-women rights political parties.
- 3.4 The party will struggle to end feudalism, patriarchy, the tribal system and capitalism, and to make Pakistan a modern

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industrial country. It will bring to an end our economic dependence on international financial institutions. Monopoly capitalism, which stands in the way of overall industrial development, will be resisted. The party will adopt a policy of regional cooperation for industrial trade and scientific development.

- 3.5 The party considers Pakistan to be a multi-national state and will struggle to establish a federal state in which all of the units inside it have control over their economic resources and can develop economically, socially and culturally. Being a multi-national country, it accepts the right of self-determination of all nations, including the right to secession.
- 3.6 Our party stands against all forms of imperialism. We seek to create a society in Pakistan in which the economic and political slavery of the imperialism and the domination of its financial institutions is eliminated. And we seek to create a world in which all peoples and nations are free in the true meaning, with respect to economics, politics and culture, where peace is established and all deadly weapons, including atomic weapons, are eradicated from the region and the world.
- 3.7 The party will organise the country's industrial and farm workers, tenant farmers, peasants, professionals and other working people, students, youth and women in their respective organisations and will guarantee them political and ideological training.
- 3.8 The party considers education, health, housing and employment to be the fundamental right of every citizen, and

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ensure that the state fulfils its responsibility to meet all such needs of every citizen of the country.

- 3.9 The party considers religious minorities to be an important part of society and will struggle for their equal economic, political, social and religious rights.
- 3.10 Keeping the above principles and program in view, and with the consent of the federating units, the party will establish a new social contract for the Pakistani state.

## **4 INTERIM PROGRAM**

In accordance with the basic principles outlined above, and as part of the ultimate struggle to establish a socialist society free from exploitation of all kinds, below we present an interim program that clarifies the party's position on basic political, economic and social issues.

### **4.1 Political program**

#### **4.1.1 The State**

- 4.1.1.1 Fully empowered elected governments will be constituted at the federal, national and local levels.
- 4.1.1.2 A system of proportionate representation will be introduced whereby workers, peasants, women, minorities and experts will all be allocated seats in the assemblies.
- 4.1.1.3 Electoral contests will be regulated to ensure meaningful representation by putting ceilings on expenditures and making procedures straightforward.
- 4.1.1.4 All state institutions will be subject to popular control. Clear policy principles will be enunciated and timely implementation ensured.
- 4.1.1.5 The army, police, revenue and judicial apparatuses will be reconstituted in light of the people's needs with an emphasis on efficiency, transparency and accountability.

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4.1.1.6 Defence expenditures will be significantly curtailed. The sale and purchase of weapons will be banned. The army will be expected to contribute to developmental works in peacetime. The wage differentials between high and low ranking personnel of the army and police will be rationalised and reduced.

### **4.1.2 The Federation**

4.1.2.1 Pakistan will be a democratic federation. In which all constituent units will be reconstituted on the basis of cultural, ethno-linguistic, economic and geographical composition in accordance with the democratic will of the people. All federating units will enjoy complete autonomy, particularly with regards to the use of natural resources within their respective territories. In accordance with the recognition that Pakistan is a multi-national state, all nations will be guaranteed the right of self-determination, including the right of secession.

4.1.2.2 The colonial-era oppressive laws by the name of the FCR-40 in the so-called Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) will be repealed. The people of FATA will enjoy the same political, economic and legal rights applicable to all citizens of Pakistan under the constitution.

4.1.2.3 The people of Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Balistan who have been at the centre of the long-running border dispute between India and Pakistan will be guaranteed the right to establish national and geographical units in accordance with their democratic aspirations.

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- 4.1.2.4 Until the resolution of the so-called Kashmir dispute, the oppressive system of political control in Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, including the Kashmir Council and Ministry of Kashmir/GB Affairs will be abolished and autonomous elected governments established in their place that are empowered to place the resources of these regions at the disposal of their people.
- 4.1.2.5 No development projects, including big dams, will be constructed in Kashmir/GB which adversely affect the historical and geographical claims of the people or give rise to ecological concerns. The payment of royalties due to local communities from Mangla and other such mega water projects will be ensured.
- 4.1.2.6 All border disputes between Gilgit-Baltistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa will be resolved, while historical transport routes between Gilgit-Baltistan, Kashmir and Ladakh will be made operational with immediate effect.
- 4.1.2.7 Given that Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan are not constitutionally part of Pakistan, the people of the region will enjoy complete autonomy in constituting their own political parties as well as making policies in every sphere of life. However, residents of these two regions who reside in any part of Pakistan are free to become members of the Awami Workers Party, and the party will also allow for representation of friendly parties from Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan in our federal committee.
- 4.1.2.8 The allocation of state resources will be based on the principle of addressing historical injustices committed



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against under-represented and/or oppressed regions and federating units so as to eliminate under-development and backwardness.

- 4.1.2.9 All Pakistani citizens residing overseas will enjoy the right to vote in elections.

### **4.1.3 Foreign policy**

- 4.1.3.1 The state will support all movements for the establishment of peace and democracy within the region and globally. Diplomatic relations will be established with all countries, including our immediate neighbours, according to the principle of equality of nations. All forms of imperialism, and particularly American economic, political and military hegemony, will be resisted. Struggles for national liberation and popular revolutions will be supported internationally, while the Pakistani state will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries just as no outside intervention will be tolerated within our own borders.

## **4.2 Economic program**

### **4.2.1 Basic needs**

- 4.2.1.1 The provision of education, health, housing, transport, electricity, gas, water and other basic amenities will be the responsibility of the state and the provision of these facilities to the public will be ensured. At least 10% of GDP will be spent on health and so also 10% on education, while a minimum of 5% will be spend on housing.

## **4.2.2 Industry**

- 4.2.2.1 Government will be responsible for overseeing the management and planning of the economy.
- 4.2.2.2 Capitalist globalisation, and in particular the ‘free market’, privatisation and restrictions on the free movement of labour, will be resisted at all levels of policy.
- 4.2.2.3 Domestic industrial production will be encouraged whereas loans issued by domestic banks to rich and powerful interest groups will be recovered and the practice of granting loans to such groups will be discontinued.
- 4.2.2.4 Big industrial units related to the basic needs, including those controlled and run by the military, will be taken into public control. Industrial policy will focus on the development of units supplying household goods and service, including machines that service household needs. These goods and services will be of the highest quality and available at affordable prices.
- 4.2.2.5 Private investment will be permitted for industrial development, particularly in under developed regions. However, no monopolistic practices will be tolerated and labour laws will be enforced without discrimination. The hiring of local workers will be given priority, and these workers will enjoy all the rights and entitlements available to public-sector employees.
- 4.2.2.6 Industrial development and economic independence will be promoted through regional cooperation agreements as well

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as strengthening ties with underdeveloped countries around the world.

- 4.2.2.7 The profiteering of multi-national companies inside the country will be heavily regulated according to the public interest. Wages of workers will correspond to the cost of living. Contractual labour system will be discontinued. Existing legal protections against bonded labour will be enforced and further worker-friendly legislation will be introduced.
- 4.2.2.8 All restrictions on the employment of women workers in society will be lifted, whereas equal pay, working conditions and so on will be guaranteed.
- 4.2.2.9 Energy and water shortages will be addressed on an immediate basis.

### **4.2.3 Agriculture**

- 4.2.3.1 Big landholdings inclusive of sardari and feudal system will be completely abolished. Agricultural lands allotted to or under the occupation of military and civil officers will be resumed and distributed amongst the landless, without discrimination on the basis of gender, caste or any other such identity. A ceiling of 25 acres (irrigated) and 50 acres (un-irrigated) will be placed on all landholdings. The occupation of agrarian holdings by foreign and local investors for speculative purposes will be prohibited while cooperative and collective farming of land will be encouraged.

- 4.2.3.2 The industrial production of pesticides, fertilisers, seeds and other agricultural inputs will be heavily regulated to ensure affordability and ecologically friendly manufacturing processes.
- 4.2.3.3 Agricultural labour will be guaranteed the same rights and entitlements as workers in the industrial sector/urban areas.

#### **4.2.4 Taxation and foreign debt**

- 4.2.4.1 The entire taxation regime will be reconstituted with complete transparency. Indirect taxation will be rationalised and a direct tax on income will be enforced across the board, with an emphasis on agriculture and foreign enterprises.
- 4.2.4.2 Initiatives will be taken according to established global principles to waive all illegitimate loans issued over a period of many decades by imperialist countries and international financial institutions to Pakistani ruling elites, especially military dictators.

#### **4.2.5 Ecology**

- 4.2.5.1 Emphasis will be placed on the establishment of model of development in which the sustainable use of natural resources is prioritised.
- 4.2.5.2 Renewable energy sources will be harnessed with the state in the lead.
- 4.2.5.3 The state will undertake adequate preparation to cope with the effects of natural calamities, including man-made ecological catastrophes.

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- 4.2.5.4 Strict measures will be adopted to control the industrial waste and to curb the indiscriminate cutting of forests and trees.

### **4.3 Social program**

#### **4.3.1 Basic rights**

- 4.3.1.1 Civil liberties of all citizens will be guaranteed by the state.
- 4.3.1.2 The poor and those without means will be provided employment, health, education and housing by the state.
- 4.3.1.3 The social, economic, religious and cultural rights of all citizens will be protected in accordance with established international covenants. Laws that discriminate on the basis of caste, religion, sect, class, gender and ethnicity will be abolished. All citizens will be granted equal opportunities at all levels of society. Affirmative action policies will be applicable to women, minorities and other historically oppressed groups so as to ensure their uplift and the achievement of genuine equality in all spheres of life.
- 4.3.1.4 The rights and entitlements of all professional groups will be guaranteed by the state. The rights to free speech, assembly, movement and association will be inalienable. Collective bargaining, including the right to strike, will be enshrined in the constitution, whereas the organisation of social movements of all denominations will be encouraged.

## **4.3.2 Education and health**

- 4.3.2.1 All citizens will be guaranteed free and compulsory education upto the secondary level while high-achieving students will be provided free education upto graduation level. The class-based system of education will be abolished and the profiteering of 'educationists', as well as the spread of hate-based material through the curriculum will not be tolerated. The curriculum will be reformed to promote secular education, while big private educational institutions including religious schools (madrassas) will be nationalised. The mother tongue will be privileged as the language of instruction.
- 4.3.2.2 All citizens will be guaranteed free health care and the profiteering of pharmaceutical companies will be curtailed to ensure cheap provision of medicines.

## **4.3.3 Women**

- 4.3.3.1 Male domination will be eliminated at all levels of society. Women will be guaranteed equal opportunities in all educational, workplace and other public institutions. Women's representation in all elected institutions will be ensured through a variety of measures. All retrograde anti-women social practices, including violence inside the home and in society at large, will be outlawed. Informal institutions such as the jirga, forced marriage, bride burning and so on will be declared crimes against the state. Women will be guaranteed equal inheritance under the law. Recreational opportunities for women and children will be provided for at

all levels of society. Women will reserve the right to give birth – or not. Maternal healthcare will be available to all whereas the state will also guarantee the free availability of childcare facilities. Women will be granted three months maternity leave during pregnancy whereas one-year of leave will be available to one of the parents of a first-born child. This facility will be available to all families up to the second child.

### **4.3.4 Students and youth**

- 4.3.4.1 A focus on students and youth is one of the main responsibilities of the state. We retain a commitment to extricating our young people from the rote-based learning model that has prevailed in Pakistan since its inception whereby creative and independent thinking is suffocated at the altar of state ideology and hate-mongering. It is only by inculcating critical faculties in our young people that we can expect them to play their necessary creative roles in building a revolution. This will not be an easy task and will require the development of new institutions and a critical pedagogical tradition. A process of de-education will be initiated and a new curriculum free of class, gender, ethnic and religious prejudice will be devised with the purposes of promoting a scientific, secular and democratic worldview.
- 4.3.4.2 All young people will be guaranteed gainful employment. There will also be ample opportunities for artistic and cultural development as well as the fulfilment of recreational needs. Activities outside the academic curriculum will be encouraged and student unions will be rehabilitated.