

Aug 40

WHO RULES PAKISTAN

?

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

As. 3

IN his Id message on August 6—a week ahead of the 'freedom' anniversary of Pakistan — Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, made the following claim of achievements in the year that has passed:

"The history of the last twelve months has been one of continuous struggles against heavy odds, but what sustained us during those dark days was a unity of purpose and firm resolve to see that our young State did not founder under the blow of our enemies. We have weathered the worst of storms and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight... We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions."

As will be seen the Qaid-e-Azam could not claim anything more than having saved the ship from being foundered and can only promise safety which is yet distant. Even this claim is unsubstantiated and a vainglorious boast.

FOUNDERING SHIP

For the ship of Pakistan is getting foundered at every step—and being towed by imperialist policies—by the selfish policies of the exploiting landlords and capitalists of Pakistan who thrive on communal passions and are secretly striking a deal with foreign capitalists for the joint exploitation of Pakistan.

It has foundered on the question of Kashmir where its leaders entered upon an adventurous policy at the behest of the British imperialists, supported the reactionary Azad Kashmir Government and entered into a virtual war against the people of Kashmir and the Government of the Indian Union.

It foundered again on the all-important question of the Pathanistan agitation, when aping the British the Pakistan leaders attempted to subdue the Pathan tribes beyond the border and repress the legitimate aspirations of the border Pathans, of those of the N.W.F.P. for unification, self-determination and a democratic rule.

Not on a single issue has it gone forward to meet the wishes of the people. On the issue of industrialisation, on the issue of working-class demands, of civil liberties and democratic rights, of freedom from religious obscurantism, or even of refugees—there is not one issue on which the leadership has come out as the champion of the people.

In matters of international relations—the leadership is rapidly aligning itself with the reactionary imperialist camp, with the Anglo-American imperialists. Like the India Government, it played the game of the imperialists at UNO on the Kashmir issue and made imperialist intervention inevitable.

Having embarked upon its adventurous plan in relation to Kashmir at the behest of the British, it went to the logical conclusion of its policy—imperialists' help and intervention.

The Indian Union Government in its foolishness appealed to UNO and played the game of the interventionists. The leaders of Pakistan did the same from the opposite end.

UGLY FACE UNMASKED

The leaders who talked about Muslims as a nation—a nation free from class interests and classes—who talked of Islamic brotherhood, have now revealed the ugly face that hid behind these references to Islam, millat, etc.—the face of the landlords and the money-changers.

The year of "freedom" has revealed that power in Pakistan fell into the hands of a corrupt junta of politicians coming from the landlord and the trading and capitalist classes or their direct agents, who masqueraded their class interests behind communal calls.

How boastful is the claim to have saved the State from founding can be seen from the following.

On July 16, i.e., one week before the "freedom anniversary" and nearly three weeks before the claim was made, the Governor General of Pakistan made an order, called the Pakistan Provincial Constitution (Amendment) Order, which contained the following:

"If at any time the Governor General is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the peace or security of Pakistan or any part thereof is threatened, or that a situation has arisen in which the Government of a Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provision of this Act, he may by proclamation direct the Governor of a Province to assume on behalf of the Governor General all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Provincial body or authority."

Who is threatening the peace or security of Pakistan? And can it be protected by suspending the Constitution,

all democratic rights, and transforming the Governor General and Governors into dictators?

The junta that rules Pakistan considers its own security threatened by the effects of its own class policies—especially where its policies have incensed large sections of the masses. And wanting to safeguard its own selfish interests it seeks to protect this so-called security by crushing the rights of the common man, whatever little rights he may enjoy under the imperialist 1935 Act itself.

The new provision is dictated by the fear of the masses developed by the ruling circles whose interests run antagonistic to the interests of the people. And like their counterparts in the Indian Union, the Pakistan authorities are hiding their class interests behind the talk about peace and security of Pakistan. They really are out for establishing peace and security for the propertied classes.

MURDER OF DEMOCRACY

The new ordinance is directed against the masses; it is also directed against any Provincial Ministry which may not exactly fit in with the scheme of Pakistan dictators; it is a blow to deprive Provincial administrations of all progressive initiative and make the Ministries completely dependent on the Governors.

Some time ago a rumour was afloat that in the name of economy the Pakistan Government wanted to abolish all Provincial legislatures and have only one central legislature, thus doing away with Provincial Ministries.

Such a step would have roused too many passions and provoked too many conflicts. Hence this new way of achieving the old objective has been found. Either the Ministers become completely subservient or they walk out.

Commenting on this new order, the Sind League daily **Mujahid**, which is controlled by Pir Ilahi Bux, the Sind Premier, wrote under the caption of "Murder of Democracy:"

"For a long time rumours have been afloat that the Pakistan Government has been preparing to strangle the independence of Provinces and will follow in the footsteps of British imperialism by shortly committing the murder of democracy by promulgating Section 93 or a similar ordinance to strengthen its dictatorship."

Commenting on the grounds of maintenance of peace and order and improvement of Provincial administration

given by the Pakistan Government for launching the step, the paper asserts:

"All these phrases used by the Pakistan Government are exact copy of the policy of British imperialism. Their motive is to strengthen their autocracy. It is all the more sad that what was being formerly practised under foreign rule is now being witnessed by us unfortunates under our own rule."

This is an illuminating comment for a Ministerial journal to make after full one year of "freedom".

The new ordinance was largely dictated by the quick developments in the North West Frontier Province, following the arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

It betrays the fear that the Provincial Government, in repressing the people, may lose the support of the legislature itself—partly because some honest members might refuse to agree to repression and partly because the opportunists who are abroad will not hesitate to temporarily join hands with the honest ones to throw out the Ministry. The League with its emphasis on communalism, with hardly any traditions of anti-imperialist fight and with its weak bourgeois leadership, is very unlike the well-established Congress organisation which rules its legislators with a firm hand.

These developments, showing how quickly the existing Ministries can be isolated, on account of a number of factors, seem to have already taken place in the N.W.F.P.

ORDINANCE RAJ

Three weeks after the arrest and imprisonment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan the Frontier Government passed an ordinance enabling it to arrest and commit a person to custody without a warrant if the Government was satisfied that he had committed or intended to commit an act prejudicial to public safety—the same provisions as are embodied in the notorious Public Safety Acts of the Indian Provinces.

Under it, Red Shirts, working-class leaders, and Leaguers—alike—in short anyone who dared oppose or criticise the policy of the Ministry were arrested. Commenting on the ordinance Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan, member, Pakistan League Council, was reported to have stated the following in the *Imroze* of July 18:

"There is no danger for my province from the Fakir

of Ipi. The real danger comes from the Qayyum Ministry which is inefficient and corrupt. Civil liberties had been murdered through Safety Ordinances, Ordinance Raj has been established in the Frontier Province. Anyone who dares to criticise the Ministry is arrested and detained without trial."

About the Red Shirts he said:

"I can say with certainty that they are not against Pakistan, but they surely are against the Ministry, not because it is a League Ministry, but because it is an inefficient Ministry.

"Not only the Red Shirts but the old League leaders, and the people in general are opposed to this Ministry. Eighty per cent of the arrested people under the ordinance rules are Muslim Leaguers and 20 per cent Red Shirts. The people of the N.W.F.P have no confidence in the Ministry. This is a Ministry of 24 MLAs who are the paid men of Abdul Qayyum Khan."

Making full allowance for factional exaggerations, the situation does disclose a growing isolation of the Ministry and makes it clear that the Ministry may not be in a position to maintain itself, if public pressure goes on increasing.

The *Pakistan Times* made the same comment on the Ministry in its issue of July 10. According to the paper, the Frontier Ministry has suppressed civil liberties, suspended the organs of local self-government and reduced the Provincial legislature to a mere sham. It says, "The sole aim of the Ministry seems to be to remain in the saddle and the entire legislature and administrative machinery is obviously being abused for the purpose."

One can now get behind the new order of the Governor General and also assess his claim to have rescued the ship of Pakistan from foundering. What is the reason for this development of the crisis in the N.W.F.P., which has led to suppression of all rights and thrown even sections of Leaguers in opposition to the Ministry?

The reasons are many.

First, the peasant unrest in the Frontier Province has been welling up. The Frontier Ministry has done nothing to relieve the lot of peasants and attack the privileges of the landlords who, armed to the teeth as they are, are perhaps the worst slave-drivers. One year of freedom has gone by. It has only meant freedom for the landlord to loot the peasant—all in the name of Islamic brotherhood.

The depth of the peasant discontent can be judged from a few reported incidents.

—On February 14 in Hashtnagar, Charsadda, N.W.F.P., there was struggle to limit the jagirdar's levy to one-fourth of the produce and demand release of arrested kisan leaders. It was led jointly by Communists, Red Shirts and Leaguers.

—On April 8 at Takht Bhai, the Kisan Conference called for struggle against the ejection of kisan leaders from land and the zemindars had to run away. It was led by Communists.

—On April 8 at Madrasa, a kisan jirga gave call for struggle against ejection and begar. The kisans were fired upon. They offered armed resistance and fired back.

—About the same time in Tangi a struggle broke out to limit the jagirdar's share to one-fourth of the produce. Many kisans were arrested on May 4 in Charsadda struggle against ejection led by the kisan jirga. It led to arrests of 100 peasants. Once more the kisans were fired upon. The kisans offered armed resistance and fired back. One zemindar was killed. Several kisans were wounded.

Towards the middle of July armed police were sent to nearby 200 villages of Hazara District to preach the message of brotherhood with arms and bullets. Six persons were killed and many were injured.

ONE AIM, ONE CLASS

Face to face with the peasant unrest the Khans are openly collecting arms to drown it in blood. They are raising private armies, private armed bands to suppress the peasants. And the authorities look on as if nothing has happened. Protest was voiced against these organisations of private armies at a public meeting recently held in Bannu under the presidentship of Khushal Khan Khatak. But why should the Government of Khans listen to it?

How unified is the language and practice of reaction! Private armies to hunt the kisans, officials' neutrality, and then repression—from the N.W.F.P. to Malabar it is one world, one aim, one class that is in action against the peasants.

Secondly, Pakistan statesmen, it seems, are getting hoisted with their own petard. The frenzied calls to communalism on the issue of Kashmir strengthened the influence of the worst reactionaries like the Pir of Manki Sharif who are using the same weapon to push aside the authorities and rise to power. It results in weakening the Ministry still further.

But a bigger blow comes from the policy of suppression of the peasants, the democratic aspiration of the N.W.F.P. people—which rouses the national feeling of the Pathans and makes the position of the Pakistan and of the Provincial Government still more unstable and ensures a greater and greater support for the right of self-determination of Pathans, for the Pathanistan demand.

And, lastly, the Pakistan Government, following in the footsteps of the British imperialists, is pursuing towards Pathan tribes across the Frontier a policy which has produced disastrous results, driving certain sections into open rebellion and strengthening the demand for autonomous Pathanistan.

True to the interests of the imperialist overlord, who demands that the border tribes be kept divided, that their leaders be corrupted in the name of protecting the Frontier—and who is afraid that any advanced and stable government would be a danger to the reactionary regime in Pakistan—the Pakistan Government has followed a policy of treating the tribes as special retainers whom they should pay and bribe, and who should be bombed and treated with military invasion if they dare assert their independence

BADSHAH KHAN'S ARREST

Finding that the demand for Pathanistan was getting support in some of the tribal sections, especially those led by the Fakir of Ipi, that it was also encouraged by Afghanistan, unable to solve their legitimate demand for the unification of Pathans in a democratic way, the Government arrested Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

His arrest which came in the wake of clashes between the Fakir of Ipi's men and Pakistan troops at Miranshah in the middle of June led to open burst of hostilities, and on the fringes of Waziristan open warfare broke out. Pakistan armed forces are being used to strafe and bomb the tribal areas, to teach them the League leaders' conception of Islamic brotherhood. The Fakir of Ipi has put forth the demand that all British elements should be withdrawn from the Pakistan administration and that Pakistan should be converted into a 'Shariat' State.

The main instigators of this policy of firmness towards the tribes, of suppression of self-determination, are, of course, the British imperialists. Thus the editorial of the London Times, dated July 10, stated:

"The danger which the Pathanistan project presents to the existence of Pakistan is plain... Those who support the idea are rightly regarded by the Pakistan Government as its enemies... The Kabul Government is... unlikely to oppose any well-designed and firmly executed frontier policy that is backed by all the resources of Pakistan....

"The new ordinance for the North West Frontier prepares the way for further action against those who venture to challenge his (Jinnah's) policy of binding the frontier areas closely to Pakistan by ties of interest (read bombers—writer) and affection (read military reprisal—writer)."

And to make the landlord-capitalist rulers still more panicky and toe the line faithfully the **Daily Telegraph** of London raises the Russian scare. The Karachi correspondent of the paper wrote on July 17:

"It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Russia is the real power behind the scenes in encouraging Afghanistan who is presumably the immediate paymaster to Fakir of Ipi in his struggle for Pathanistan, although official propaganda in Pakistan assures the power to be India."

Thus the interest of the imperialists in stifling all demands for Pathanistan are obvious. The incitement is also complete. The open exhortation for a tough policy, praise for repressive measures, scare about the Soviet Union and, finally, an alluring prospect of British help if anything goes wrong—this completes the picture and exposes the real master who speaks through the rulers of Pakistan.

Is there any surprise that this policy of "suppression of the peasants, of the movement for unification of Pathans, of the movement for democratic rights, has brought things to a breaking point and led to the enactment of the ordinance and barbarous repression? This is Frontier after one year of freedom.

Sadistic terror has been let loose in E. Pakistan against a peasant movement more organised and more conscious than in W. Pakistan.

The Provincial Ministry, which prattled about abolition of landlordism, seems determined to keep the peasant in subjection. Wherever it talks against landlordism, it is only to maintain the interests of the rich peasant exploiters against the tiller and not to free the real tillers.

For the rest, even those rights which the peasants won

in recent struggles, which the Government had to sanction, have now disappeared before the goonda offensive of the jotedars.

The strikes of Government employees, of industrial workers—each and every activity of the workers in defence of their interests is denounced as anti-Pakistan and the Communist Party attacked and falsely charged with fomenting troubles. Every such strike is crushed with the utmost force.

LATEST EXAMPLE

The latest example of brutal repression is the suppression of the police strike—the fault of the police being that they demanded regular payment of wages for work done.

The strikes of Government employees and police demonstrate how things have reached a breaking point and the Pakistan Government instead of meeting the legitimate demands is attempting to stabilise the situation by means of repression.

The repression against the people and the terror under the Public Safety Acts have invaded all Provinces. On July 16 there was a demonstration in Lahore by the students to protest against the Public Safety Act and the high-handed actions of the police. The immediate cause was the assault on a student by the police and the C.I.D. The Muslim Students' Federation and the Democratic Youth League issued an appeal to demonstrate against the police attack.

All opposing voices are being crushed. The arrest and imprisonment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the detention of G. M. Syed were followed by the internment of Dr. Khan Sahib and the arrest of nearly 1,000 persons from the N.W.F.P. itself.

Both in the Eastern and Western Pakistan, several leaders of the working-class and peasants have been arrested. Here the main attack has been against the members of the Communist Party of Pakistan.

Two months ago, the Karachi police suddenly swooped down on the office of the Communist Party and arrested several leaders including Com. J. Bukhari, Secretary of the Sind Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan.

Several leaders have been arrested from E. Bengal. Warrants have been issued against prominent leaders from W. Punjab and the N.W.F.P. Com. Mirza Ibrahim, the popular leader of the N. W. Railway workers, was arrested and

detained under the Public Safety Act and released only after strikes and repeated protests by workers.

Along with the direct repression against the Communist Party go goonda attacks against members of the Party and on Party offices. Sometime ago the Dacca branch of the National Book Agency, Ltd., which sold Party publications and other Marxist literature, was looted by goondas.

The police were nowhere to be seen. Recently the goondas attempted to attack the office of the Communist Party in Dacca, and turned back only when they found that it was strongly defended. With a cynicism and shamelessness which can match that of K. S. Roy, the West Bengal Home Minister, these attacks are described by officials as acts of an angry public.

Pakistan's ruling circles are directing terror and repression against the Communist Party because they hate the Party's championship of the cause of the exploited, because they are afraid that their real face will soon be seen by the masses. In their desperate attempt to establish one-party rule and a police State, they are hitting at the Party and also at all those, like the Khan brothers, who dare criticise them and oppose them.

This attack against the Party and the masses follows directly from the policy of maintaining the present order and keeping the landlord-capitalist-imperialist exploitation intact.

—What have the Central or Provincial Legislatures done to abolish or even lessen the burden of landlord exploitation? Nothing. On the other hand, repressive measures have been taken to maintain this inequitable burden. For the overwhelming majority of Pakistan's population, the Sind Hari and the East and West Pakistan peasant—Pakistan has brought no relief from slavery.

—What about the working-class? One of the first measures of the Pakistan Government was to repudiate the recommendations of the Pay Commission which Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan had accepted as the Finance Member of the India Government. Those who demanded better conditions were repressed, arrested—the latest being Abdul Ghaffar Muslim, Secretary, M.E.S. Workers' Union, who has been detained without trial.

FUNDS ENOUGH FOR RICH!

The Government of Pakistan accepted the obligation to pay high salaries to British officers and high pensions to those

who had retired; they also kept the salaries of I.C.S. Pakistan officers and other high officials at the old level.

For meeting the pension charges of retired British officials, Pakistan had agreed to hand over over £8 million, i.e., Rs. 10 crores, from the Sterling Balances. But when it came to the question of accepting the obligation of the Pay Commission for the miserably-paid railway and Government employees, their treasury suddenly ran empty and they repudiated the obligation.

And when in March last, following the retrenchment in railway and other departments and the appointment of a new Pay Commission, the Pakistan Government Employees' Association decided on a pen-down strike for a day, and the railway workers decided to take a ballot on the strike issue, the Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, threatened the workers with dire consequences.

He warned Government servants against any "subversive methods like strikes" and declared that Government was strong enough to handle the situation that might arise out of these threats.

He declared that the demands of the Government employees were ill-conceived, unreasonable and ill-timed and urged them not to insist on "their pound of flesh". He said that Pakistan would not be allowed to be the "playground for spreading disaffection and class-warfare."

Notwithstanding these threats a section of Government servants in E. Pakistan did go on strike after a month or so.

And after all these threats what has the new Pay Commission offered to the workers as interim relief? A sum of Rs. 2. Could there be anything more insulting than this offer? The employees are being taught that so long as power had not fallen in the hands of the junta, they had some importance; they were flattered as comrades-in-arms. But now they are just employees of the League leaders.

In these circumstances is there any wonder if trade unions become targets of attacks from the bureaucracy, the employees and the hired goondas?

The industrial policy of the Pakistan Government, like the policy of the Government of the Indian Union, is one of opening the floodgates to foreign capital for the exploitation of the rich virgin resources of Pakistan.

On April 27 Pakistan announced through its Washington Embassy that it would "welcome foreign capital seeking investment from purely industrial and economic objectives and not claiming any special privileges."

The stipulation that foreign capital should not seek any special privileges is only intended to lull the people into a false sense of security. For, unless a State directly ruled by the people runs the industries and establishes its control over all key economic projects, any influx of foreign capital is bound to result in creating a special political and economic position for the foreign vested interests.

The stipulation notwithstanding, therefore, the invitation to foreign capital means invitation to run the economic show and gradually to political interference. This has been the recent experience of all countries—even Britain and France, and Pakistan could be no exception to it.

To attract the Americans, the statement of the Pakistan Embassy further declares, "the most striking feature of Pakistan's present economy is the marked contrast between its vast natural resources and its industrial backwardness."

Press reports appearing in March last stated that Pakistan had decided to ask for a big loan from America—a loan which would mortgage the economic resources of Pakistan to American bankers. At present Pakistan has secured credit of a few millions to purchase war surplus stock.

FOR COLONIAL BONDAGE

Announcing Pakistan's industrial policy in April last, Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, then Commerce and Industries Minister, outlined a programme which could only gladden the hearts of the imperialists who seek to retain the colonial status of Pakistan and dashed all hope of a genuine programme of industrialisation, leading to economic self-reliance and strength:

"In view of the predominantly rural economy of Pakistan, the initial emphasis in industrialisation must, perforce, be on agriculture and industries based on them like jute, cotton and sugar."

—No wonder then that Mr. Chundrigar could disclose that "the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan (read United States) had promised to supply Pakistan textile machinery to the extent of 350,000 spindles in the coming two years, while their target for the next ten years was 2.5 million spindles."

—No wonder also that he said, "Some Americans have approached us with proposals for establishing sugar and other industries".

This is exactly what Dr. Grady has advised India, Pakistan and the entire South East Asia. This is exactly how

the satellite Middle East Governments have framed their plans under the influence of American or British imperialists. This is a programme of retaining the colonial bondage of Pakistan, and this sort of "industrialisation" the imperialists themselves would like, for it only perfects the machinery of exploitation.

There are only two nominal limitations on foreign capital. In certain industries like cement, coal, cotton, spinning and weaving, heavy chemicals, shipbuilding, nationals of Pakistan are to be ordinarily given the option of subscribing at least 51 per cent of the capital. In the case of other industries, Pakistan nationals are to be given opportunity to subscribe at least 30 per cent of all classes of share capital and debentures. These industries may include engineering, machine-making, etc., apart from other vital industries.

Another stipulation which is supposed to be a limitation is that only a reasonable proportion of profits would be allowed to be exported.

In practice all these conditions are mere eye-wash and will remain inoperative. First, the Havana Charter, which we suppose Pakistan has already signed or which she is bound to sign, stipulates that the signatories should give the maximum guarantee of safety to foreign capital for its profits and there should be no discrimination. Even the Pakistan capitalists who are begging for a loan are not going to insist on such conditions.

In fact the foreign capitalists—the British capitalists in Pakistan—have already started shouting that enough concessions are not yet made; which means that the Pakistan Government will climb down more and more. How eager the Government is to please the foreign capitalists is seen from the fact that recently it lowered taxes, etc., at the dictates of these very foreign capitalists.

SERVILITY

In his Press conference, Mr. Chundrigar stated that the Pakistan Government's "provision of initial facilities in the shape of taxation relief and depreciation had succeeded in winning over foreign investors from the USA, the U.K. and elsewhere, some of whom had already expressed their intention of starting in Pakistan some industries including sugar and textiles."

Nothing more is needed to show that not only the industrial policy statement but lowering of taxation, etc., was also addressed to the foreign capitalists. With such servi-

lity in the very beginning it is impossible to think that this Government will ever restrict the export of profits.

Similarly, the provision that Pakistan nationals be allowed the option of 51 per cent capital in certain industries is another illusory provision and not likely to put the control of industry in the hands of Pakistan nationals.

Even if it is taken for granted that the provision is strictly adhered to, nothing will prevent foreign capitalists from having dummy partners and forging a joint front with the Pakistan capitalists for exploiting the common man, with the effective control of industry remaining in their hands. Since it is they who are to supply capital goods and have immense resources the Pakistan capitalists will be no match for them.

CONSCIENCE-SAVING DEVICE

It is only a conscience-saving device enabling the Government to hand over the entire industry to foreign capitalists under the plea that requisite capital is not forthcoming. The provision of the option to subscribe 30 per cent capital, of course, does not lay any claim to retain control of the industry even nominally in the hands of Pakistan nationals.

At the same time Pakistan has given the biggest guarantee required by foreign capitalists, the guarantee that there would be no nationalisation. The industrial policy statement is a shameless announcement of the promotion of private enterprises—foreign and national—at the expense of the people. Only the manufacture of arms and ammunition, production of hydro-electric power, railway wagons and some others are reserved for the State—that is, such concerns as are nowadays reserved for the State in the interests of the capitalist State itself.

For the rest, the foreign and native capitalists are to have a free run of the economy. In short, the industrial policy statement is an announcement of the joint partnership of foreign and Pakistan capitalists—with the latter as a subordinate partner.

So long as the resources of the people are not mobilised, industry not run nationally and thus enabled to withstand foreign capital—any deal between foreign and Pakistani capital will mean only subordination of Pakistani capital and economic slavery of the common man to foreign capital.

This is what the Pakistan Government is planning through their plan of "industrialisation" and parading it as liberation from Hindu capital.

PLAN OF MISERY

This foreshadows a growing mortgaging of the country's resources to foreign capital and growing attack on the liberties and rights of the people to safeguard the rights of exploitation of foreign capital. It foreshadows misery, poverty and complete political and economic subjugation of the people to imperialism. This is where after one year of "freedom" the treacherous leadership of the vested interests is leading the people of Pakistan.

In its foreign relations the leaders of Pakistan are leading their people step by step to the reactionary war-camp of the Anglo-American imperialists and ranging themselves against the democratic forces and nations of the world, including the USSR.

First, by directly and indirectly supporting the autocratic rule of the Nizam, Pakistan leaders play the game of imperialism and help reactionary feudal interests who are the enemies of both the Indian people and the people of Pakistan.

Secondly, by their war-like utterances, and by contributing, along with the leaders of the Indian Union, towards creating a situation which amounts to virtual war between Pakistan and the Indian Union, the leaders create enmity between the two peoples—which enables them to sidetrack popular discontent in war channels and only gives imperialism the opportunity to dictate terms to both.

Thirdly, in international gatherings they generally toe the line of British imperialism and pander to the anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism of their masters. At the recent conference on Freedom of Information, for instance, the representative of Pakistan, along with the representative of Greece, had the unique distinction of demanding a clause banning preaching of Communism in the information convention.

This baffoonery was practised in a gathering in which Soviet Russia, Czechoslovakia and other Governments led by Communists were present. It called forth a retort from the Czech representative which put this servile lackey in his proper place.

On the question of Palestine also the leaders of Pakistan supported the stand of the British imperialists and made the people believe that the reactionary Arab leaders, sponsored by Anglo-American reaction, were really fighting for the freedom of the Arabs. They would not expose the treacherous plan of the British and the reactionary role of the Arab leaders.

The year of freedom that has passed thus reveals that the people of Pakistan, whose religious feelings were exploited by the vested interests to reach to posts of power, are being cheated, betrayed and sold in economic and political bondage to the imperialists. The Pakistan leaders sometimes talk pro-British, sometimes pro-American stuff. But the result is the same: bondage to imperialism.

It is because of this anti-freedom policy, because the leaders represent a handful of vested interests—landlords, capitalists, etc.—that the old exploiters continue to exploit with impunity; that freedom and democracy elude the people; poverty and hunger sit on the doorsteps of all.

The fake freedom and fake leadership have been unmasked in the last one year. The people of Pakistan, like the people of India, have yet to liberate themselves and save their country from being sold to foreign exploiters. This can be achieved only through a successful struggle for a people's democratic State—a State in which all power will be in the hands of toilers, peasants, toiling middle class and from which the vested interests will be excluded.

Only a People's Democratic Front of toilers will lead to a victory in the struggle to establish such a State. Such a front will fight:

- For a People's Democratic State, for a really democratic constitution;
 - For nationalisation of industry, workers' control and living wage;
 - For self-determination of national units of Pakistan, like Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, etc.
 - For liquidation of all feudal States;
 - For abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller;
 - For civil liberties, democratic rights, release of political prisoners and rights of trade unions and kisan organisations;
 - For secular education, for protection of minorities;
 - For self-determination of the people of Kashmir;
 - For friendly relations between the two States and foiling all attempts of imperialism and reaction to provoke war;
 - For defeating imperialist plans in Kashmir;
 - For alliance with democratic Powers and opposition to the imperialist bloc; and
 - For day-to-day demands of the masses.
- Such a front will rally all the honest and freedom-loving forces of Pakistan and defeat the vested interests.

The Communist Party of Pakistan, through its leadership of day-to-day struggles, its championing of the economic demands of workers and peasants, its insistence on friendly relations between the two States and its fight for democratic rights and a genuine people's State, carries on this fight for uniting the people in a common Democratic Front.

The working-class of Pakistan fighting its daily battles, and led by the Communist Party, is coming out as a leading force in this battle.

All sections of the masses—all honest fighters in the cause of freedom—workers, peasants, intelligentsia, middle class employees—must support this struggle to build a People's Front if reaction is to be defeated and plans of a police State are to be scotched, and the people of Pakistan are to be really free.

The town and city petty-bourgeois sections, especially the professional and educated sections, have been the special victims of the freedom demagogy. They must now open their eyes and help the Communist Party and the working-class to build the People's Democratic Front—the instrument of defeating reaction and forging a People's State.

Other CPI Pamphlets

ONE YEAR OF FREEDOM As. 3

ONE YEAR OF PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE As. 2

OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESSMEN As. 3

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Available At

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, LTD.,

190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.

FIRST PRINTED AUGUST 1948

Printed by Jayant Bhatt, at New Age Printing Press, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by V. M. Kaul for the Communist Party of India, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.