

**Independent, Democratic
and
Prosperous Pakistan**

**PROGRAMME OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PAKISTAN
(1950)**

Price 2 Ana

The Communist Party of Pakistan wants freedom and people's rule through people's democracy by abolishing the present socio-economic system in Pakistan, the system which creates poverty and illiteracy for the people. The Communist Party wants peace.

The top leadership of Muslim League, from the last three years, through its newspapers, radio and bureaucratic machinery has been propagating and claiming that the people of Pakistan got independence on 15th of August 1947. They say that "on the day of independence the English Governor General was replaced by the Pakistani Governor General, the Muslim League formed the Government and its ministers have taken charge of various ministries in federal Government. We have our own constituent assembly which has all the powers to make and adopt the constitution of its own choice. If this is not the independence than what else is independence."

The Communist Party of Pakistan says that there is no doubt that the pattern and style of governance has changed. Alhaj Nazim-ud- Din is the Governor General of Pakistan instead of Lord Mountbatten, Abdur Rab Nishtar has replaced Modi, the executive council of the Viceroy has been replaced by Liaqat Ali Khan, Ghulam Mohammad, Shahab ud Din, Sir Zafar Ullah and others, the English Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police have been replaced by Pakistanis, we have Ambassadors in different countries and many Ambassadors from other countries have arrived in Karachi but this is not independence. This is the other side of the coin.

For the last two hundred years when the English had a strong hold in India our great people have been struggling for freedom and trying to send the English back to their home and to regain their independence. Why did they want to send them back? Why did they want to regain independence? What was their concept of independence and freedom?

All of them had one common thought and all of them believed that the English were exploiting them and their resources, creating poverty, destroying their agriculture and industry, their homeland had become the market of English goods, their culture, languages, art and literature could not develop further and the slavery of British Empire had just paralysed them materially, intellectually and spiritually.

The Communist Party asks from the leaders of Muslim League who claim that they got independence for the people and they celebrate every year the Independence Day on 15th of August, 'what kind of Independence do you celebrate? Have you stopped the British from plundering the country? Is it not a fact that all our resources are being exploited and used in the interest of British imperialism? Is it not a fact that our style of governance and legal system, as far as the people are concerned, is the same as it used to be during British Raj? '

We know that the leaders of Muslim League refuse to accept these facts. They argue that "Conditions are getting better. If we are in a miserable condition, poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are still prevailing, the reason is that it has only been three years when Pakistan was created. It will take time to improve the conditions."

But the facts and realities are different and cannot be ignored. The facts are that instead of an improvement of our conditions, they are deteriorating sharply. One can wait and tolerate it if the conditions were improving but we are going in the wrong direction and route adopted by the rulers is taking us towards total disaster. There is no logic in their argument that Pakistan was just created three years ago and things will improve with the passage of time. If we do not change the direction, the rulers have adopted for the country, we will see that conditions will deteriorate further, the miseries of the people and poverty will increase. This has been happening for the last three years.

Plundering of Pakistan

What are the facts?

Can the leaders of Muslim League and rulers deny the fact that they are paying thirty to forty million rupees every year to the British capitalists just as interest to them on our railways? These railways were built in our country seventy to eighty years ago. Since then we have been paying them this huge amount of interest every year which is much more than the original capital investment of the British capitalists in our railways. Is it not plundering?

The same is the case with our canals. Under this head, we pay to the British capitalists, interest from ten to twelve million rupees every year.

Attock Oil Company, the fields of tea, the big English companies in Sindh and Punjab, Imperial Tobacco Company, all of these companies are making millions of rupees profit from our country and the money is going out of the country. Why can't this money stays in Pakistan. Can't we run the cigarette factories? Why our millions of Rupees have to be transferred to Britain?

The other big British and foreign companies such as the Rayleigh Brothers and Falkart are controlling our trade. Their profits are in millions of rupees. Do we really need any special expertise in these fields? Are the people of Pakistan incompetent to do trade? Can't we keep our millions in our country by running such businesses?

Most of the Banking industry is owned by foreign banks such as Grindlays, Lloyds, Allied Bank, Imperial Bank and so on and so forth. In this way, the British capitalists are controlling our businesses, trade and industry. These banks earn commissions and interests in millions of rupees. By the way English companies did not bring their own money from Britain to invest in Banks here in Pakistan. These banks are run on our own money, the local money, but the profits that they make from our money go to Britain.

Same is the case with the foreign and British insurance companies which are making profit in millions.

All the imports and exports are handled by English companies, again making profit in millions and all that money goes out of Pakistan.

We buy our industrial material worth millions of rupees, from the capitalists of Britain and America. British companies enjoy special concessional rates and pay less in duties and customs.

Most of our import is cloth. Being a cotton growing country we can easily manufacture cloth locally, provided the government changes the old colonial policy of British imperialism and encourages our own industries. In the absence of an anti-colonial policy of the government our own industry is at a stand-still position and the foreign capitalists are plundering millions of rupees from our country. The plundering by British and other foreign capitalists is not limited to industries, trade and banking only.

We are an agricultural country. Our agricultural products such as jute, cotton, wheat, tea and hide are our main source of earning. We buy foreign goods by selling our agricultural raw material. Because our market is controlled by the British and American capitalists, because our currency is linked with the pound sterling, because our financial system is in the control of foreign banks, because our economy is linked with the world capitalist system, the price of our raw material is determined by capitalists at a very low rate and according to their own will. They exploit and loot our peasants and growers by buying their products at a very low price. It is not just we, the Communist Party who is of this opinion, the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, Mr Zahid Hussain in his speech of August 1950 while addressing the

Pakistan Economic Forum admitted that “the foreign companies in our country through their businesses have a free hand to make unlimited profits according to their wish and will. No efforts have been made to stop the spending of our foreign exchange and national income on these foreigners. We should be doing jobs by ourselves by providing little training and guidance to our own people.”

Two hundred years ago British traders and shop keepers came to our country to plunder our wealth the same way as they are doing now under the present government of the Muslim League. If the hard-earned money of our people is being syphoned off to Britain in one way or another and we are living in poor conditions because of that plundering then this claim of the Muslim League that we are independent and free from the hegemony of British imperialism is false and misleading.

Can the leaders of Muslim League deny these facts?

The Old Imperialist System is still intact

British rulers did two major austerities to us. First, they destroyed our old established industries, the cotton industry in particular. They cut the thumbs of those weavers who used to make fine cloth known as Malmal of Dhaka so that the cloth manufactured on the machines of Britain could be sold to us forcefully. Second, they did not allow us to have the same machines of Britain in replacement of our old traditional cloth making looms. Because of this imperialistic policy of the British rulers, we could not industrialise at the same speed as the West and America. They concentrated on the building and development of roads and railways in our country. The objective was not to help the people of this country but to facilitate their own logistic requirements of military and trade. The companies who invested in railways made huge profits and still continue to do so. We are bound to buy, from a nail to a railway engine from the British capitalists.

The British imperialists did not allow us to have our own industry, heavy industry in particular. Now the American imperialists have the same policy towards us. They suggest that our country is not suitable for any kind of heavy industry, chemical industry, iron and steel industry and the other engineering based industries. We should just depend upon our agriculture and that small industry is enough for us. The rulers, the Muslim League, never protested against such proposals. They fully adopted these policies recommended by imperialists. The result is that during the last three years there is no development in our industrial sector. The Government itself admitted that they could not implement the plans they had about the textile industry.

The owners of textile the mills are complaining that the Government is not helping them to run their mills smoothly. They do not get enough electricity supply and the mills are running at their half capacity. The sports and surgical industry of Sialkot is dying. Thousands of workers have been rendered unemployed.

The workers of mills, factories and workshops in Lahore are being laid off. The textile industry is in a bad shape. The owners and thousands of workers in ginning factories are jobless. This means that the industrial policy of the Government is the policy of not developing industries in Pakistan. This is the same policy of the British rulers. So, we cannot claim that we are a free and independent country. The purpose of this policy is not to help the people of Pakistan but to help the British-American imperialist design about Pakistan.

The other major tyrannical decision of British rulers was to take the land from the farmers and allot it to the newly created class of Feudal lords, khans and nawabs who were loyal to the British Empire. Most of these big landlords, feudal lord, khans and nawabs are the products of British rulers. They were given

these jagirs and huge lands as a reward for being traitors to their own people and country. This is a fact that the Leaders of the Muslim League cannot deny. For the last one hundred and fifty years, these traitors have been loyal to the British imperialists. As a reward of being traitor they have got all the rights and powers to take fifty per cent of the crop from the tiller and sometimes more than that; 'gifts', taxes and forced labour is in addition to that. They can dislodge these tillers from their land without any reason and whenever they want. Millions of peasants and farmers are being made poorer every day, and have been reduced to field workers because of feudal lords. When the grower, who produces wealth for these parasites, cannot feed his family, cannot have proper clothing, when all these feudal lords and landlords enjoy all the luxuries because of the wealth produced by these peasants then how can the country prosper. There is no happiness left in our villages. Poverty, diseases, illiteracy and miseries are common in our villages. Our agricultural production is declining and the number of landless peasants is growing.

The system of exploitation introduced and established by the British imperialist rulers is still intact. The leaders of the Muslim League if sometimes, by any chance, issue a statement about abolishing the feudal system, they announce at the same time that this will be happen, if it happens, only by paying the price of the land to landlords. The peasants will have to pay that price of the land to have the legal property rights of the land. Don't they think that it is the continuation of the same old exploitation just by changing the methods. How are the peasants going to pay when they do not have money to feed their family? As far as our agricultural or village system is concerned there is no change. It is just as it was during British Raj. There is no change except that the rate of corruption, bribery, taxes and contributions has gone up. This is the "shining" freedom of the Muslim League for our farmers.

Governance of the Government

The rulers of the Muslim League claim that their Government is democratic. This claim is totally wrong.

The Central Assembly or the Parliament to whom the power was transferred by British was elected by only 13% of the population of the country and the number of voters was much less. After that, the Government decided to fill the seats of parliament by nominations. Now six nominated members from Punjab and four nominated members from states are sitting in this parliament. It is more than four years when elections were held. Parliament is extending its life according to its own will and desire.

The majority of the population of our country is composed of peasants and workers who produce the total wealth of our country but there is not a single member in the parliament from this majority population of the country. All of them are from rich and the upper class.

The role of our constituent assembly was to prepare a constitution. During the last three years, this assembly has produced only a twenty lines resolution, called "Objective resolution". Majority of the members of the Assembly are employees of the Government in one way or the other, hence the freedom of opinion is not there.

Abdul Qayum Khan, the prime minister of Sarhad, by arresting assembly members or by bribing them through jobs and offering them facilities has formed the majority in his assembly. Most of the members are Khans.

There is Governor Raj in Punjab for the last two years.

This is an open secret in Sindh that the Assembly consists of big landlords and the feudal lords who are known for their ignorance and protect only their own vested interests. Most of them are a purchasable commodity. Whoever offers them privileges, jobs, bribes, money and undue attention, they chose a prime minister from that group of members. There is a reshuffle of the cabinet in every six months.

In two provinces, Prime Minister of Punjab Khan Mamdoot and Prime Minister of Sindh Ayub Khoro are under investigation and cases of corruption and misconduct have been registered against them but they are still important leaders of the Muslim League. The previous Government of Punjab (Mamdoot and Dultana both were part of that government) was dismissed by the central government on charges of corruption, nepotism and misconduct but Mumtaz Dultana with the backing of the central government has again been imposed on Punjab.

The Muslim League party who is running the central government and provincial governments has become an undemocratic party and the majority of the people of Pakistan hate this party. Everyone knows that membership of Muslim League Party is bogus and exists only on paper. The President of the Muslim League, Chaudhry Khaliq uz Zaman, known as “a runaway of the nation” does not enjoy any respect from the people of Pakistan. Big landlords, feudal lords, big industrialists and license holders and a small group of grabbers of allotments of properties, with the help of bureaucrats and ministers are controlling the machinery of the Muslim League. This party is in power only because of the authority of the government, money, fraud and corruption. These people are using the name of Islam and Quad-i-Azam for their vested interests.

Key posts in the General Headquarters of Army, Navy and Air Force are being held by British General and officers. Two directors of Pakistan intelligence agencies are British.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Industries and Trade, Ministry of Finance, all these important ministries are run by English secretaries.

The general Manager of the main Railways (N.W.R) is English.

The officer in charge of Foreign Exchange in the State Bank of Pakistan is English.

In all the provinces, Baluchistan and states the key offices are held by the English.

The governing system in all districts and cities is the same that it was during British Raj. Starting from the Deputy Commissioner, the superintendent of Police to Patwari and police constable, all are ruling the people instead of serving the people. The Government machinery is serving the big landlords, feudal lords and the richclasses. The leaders of the Muslim League are the brokers and pimps of these classes. Bribery, corruption and nepotism is on the rise. The regular collection of money from peasants, workers and middle class in the name of contribution for the government has become a regular phenomenon just as a regular tax of the Government.

There is no freedom for the citizens any more. According to the Safety Act (in the centre and the provinces) any person could be arrested and jailed without any case registered or prosecution through the court. Publication of Newspaper can be banned and a printing press can be sealed without any warning.

The authorities in Sindh and Sarhad provinces have all the dictatorial powers under the Hur Act and Frontier Regulations Act. The rulers of the Muslim League have regularly used these repressive powers against all those who want democracy. Thousands of workers, peasants and political activists have been arrested. The Secretary of the Civil Liberties Union has been arrested and imprisoned under the Safety Act.

According to the Muslim League leaders and rulers, whoever demands a raise in wages of the workers, whoever organises union strikes for the democratic rights of the workers, whoever protests against the evictions of peasants or for a better share for them in the crops they produce or the allotment of agriculture land to tillers, whoever wants to help and save the millions of immigrants from their disastrous economic conditions and asks for their settlement, whoever raises a voice against the exploitation of the

people and the country by the Americans and British, whoever struggles to establish a people's democratic government, is labelled as a "trouble maker", "traitor" and "enemy of Islam", should be arrested, punished and imprisoned.

It is impossible to call this system a democratic system. Basically, it is the same system of slavery which was introduced by the British rulers in our country.

The British and American imperialists are not only plundering our wealth but also using our resources and territory for their imperialistic objectives. What are these objectives?

1. To enslave the nations of the world, Asia and Africa in particular.
2. To start the third world war against those countries of the world where workers and peasants have formed their governments (USSR, China, Korea, East European countries and Vietnam) and crush the people's democratic movements for socialism and communism.

The leaders of Muslim League instead of opposing British American war mongering and plans against humanity, are supporting them and their policies. The majority of the people of Pakistan are against this support to the British American imperialistic agenda.

People of Pakistan want that Pakistan should disconnect its relationship with British Empire (now known as the Commonwealth) and follow an independent policy to achieve complete freedom. But the leaders of Muslim League are converting Pakistan into the colony of British Empire.

Our Prime Minister along with his wife has recently attended the conference of the British Empire held in London. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad and Mr. Nazir Ahmed have attended the conferences of British Empire held in Colombo and Sydney. All these Ministers believe that the British Empire was created for the freedom of the people of the world and to establish democracies on the globe hence Pakistan should remain a part of the British Empire.

Who can deny the fact that British Empire continues to seize by force the freedom of the people of Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Malaya, South and West Africa. Are these countries and people of these countries not being exploited and suppressed by British Imperialists? This is a fact that imperialistic plans are being prepared in those conferences organised by British Empire for the exploitation and servitude of Asian, African nations. The British imperialists in Burma and Malaya, the American Imperialists in Korea, the French Imperialists in Vietnam have imposed wars to conquer these countries and enslave the people of these nations. The Government of the Muslim League is not supporting the struggle of the people of these countries who are fighting for their freedom and sovereignty. The Pakistan Government is supporting the imperialists and aggressors. Sir Zafar ullah most of the time supports Britain and America in the United Nations.

Most recently when Soviet Union proposed in the United Nations that Britain, America and France who are occupying three parts of Libya (Muslim country in North Africa), Tripoli, Cyrenaica and Fezzan-ghadames respectively, should withdraw their armed forces from this region with immediate effect, Sir Zafar ullah did not support the resolution. When the Soviet Union proposed that the use of lethal weapons like the Atom bomb which is an extremely dangerous weapon for mankind, should be banned and all the stock-piles should be destroyed, the representative of Pakistan in the UN did not support this resolution for peace in the world. On the contrary, the Government of Pakistan is supporting the puppets of British Empire such as the Prime Minister of Burma Thakin Nu by giving him the aid of millions of rupees. They are supporting America in the Korean war. They are hand in hand with Britain and America to fight a "holy war", a Jihad against communism in Asia.

The Government of the Muslim League has provided an airbase/airport to Britain and America for their fighter planes to fly from. As a result of this politics of the Muslim League, (support to Britain and America in their wars of aggression against the nations of Asia and America, involvement in the plans of third world war and support to lethal weapons like the atomic bomb) Pakistan has been engaged in this dangerous criminal conspiracy of imperialists. To get involved in such a criminal game means throwing Pakistan into the deep waters of destruction. But the leaders of Muslim League do not care about it.

The dangerous results of being the slave of Imperialism

We have tried to establish so far is that;

British imperialists are still plundering the resources of Pakistan. They do not let us develop our own industry and Muslim League leaders are helping the British Imperialists.

The feudal and big landlord system created by British is still intact. The result is that the social and financial conditions of the peasants are deteriorating.

Pakistan is being governed undemocratically. There are no rights of citizens. The ruling political party of Pakistan, the Muslim League is undemocratic. Through various suppressive tactics and false propaganda and slogans they have imposed themselves on the people of Pakistan.

The British-American Imperialists are using Pakistan, its resources and territory for their imperialistic objectives and the Muslim League is supporting them, facilitating them to do so.

Because of the plundering by British capitalists millions of Rupees are being transferred abroad.

As we are not allowed to develop our industry, the financial conditions of our peasants and working class are deteriorating and the production of crops is decreasing, there is no growth in our national economy. Therefore, no section of our society is happy, satisfied or prosperous except the British, other foreign capitalists, a few Pakistani capitalists such as Isfahany, Habib, Adamjee, Dawood, Qasim Dada, a few nawabs, khans, feudal and big landlords. The Muslim League only represents capitalists, nawabs, khans, feudal and big landlords, not the people of Pakistan.

These ruling classes, because of their class interest have handed over our independence to the British and American Imperialists. They help the British and the Americans in their imperialistic designs and the British and the Americans help them to exploit people, workers, peasants, low income educated classes, middle class, traders and small factory owners.

To keep their margin of profit high, the Imperialists and Capitalists keep the workers in the worst conditions. We have observed that every year the profit of railways is increasing and the wages of workers are decreasing. Same is the case with the workers of Attock Oil Company and other big industries. On the other hand, small factory owners and business men are going bankrupt.

As far as the peasants and farmers are concerned, the feudal and big landlords are fixing the purchasing prices of crops at a very low rate. As a result of which the peasants and farmers are becoming poorer and poorer every year. Hundreds and thousands of farmers are being evicted so that the landlords could get more lease money from the new farmers. In addition, there is collection of irregular taxes and the extraction of forced labour from farmers.

The farmers who immigrated from India have not been given any agricultural land, instead big landlords and the feudal lords have grabbed the agricultural land of those Hindus and Sikhs who left their land and migrated to India.

When the government introduces income tax on agriculture or increases taxes on irrigation the big landlords and the feudal elements transfer the burden of these taxes to their tenant peasants and field workers.

As far as the educated middle class (clerks, workers in the offices, journalists, writers, artists, junior officers) is concerned their wages do not keep pace with the rate of inflation. Thousands of intellectuals and their families are living in starvation.

Because of the financial crises of the last one and a half years the number of educated unemployed has been increased. A majority of the educated middle-class migrants (Muhajirs) neither have any job nor have any house. They are living in critical conditions.

On the one hand the condition of workers, peasants and middle class is miserable and on the other hand the government continues to increase taxes and this extra burden goes on the shoulders of masses.

In all those countries, which are subservient to imperialism, agricultural and industrial productivity is very low and capital formation is also low. Whatever wealth is created goes towards the heavy profiteering of imperialists and capitalists and the rents of the feudal and landlords. The share of workers, peasants, tradesmen and middleclass does not reach them. On top of that, the undemocratic imperialist government of the upper classes need a big force of Army and Police, prisons and the highly paid bureaucracy to protect and continue with the system of exploitation.

All these expenses are born by the masses in the form of an increase in taxes, import and export duties, railways fares, telegraph and postal stamps charges etc. So, the old British system of exploitation is still intact in Pakistan. The only difference is that the expenses of Pakistan government on the Army and Police are much higher than the total expenses of the Army and Police of undivided India. We should not forget that major part of these expenses is spent on the purchases of arms and ammunition for war. This huge amount goes in the pockets of the British and American arms manufacturers and dealers.

The leaders of Muslim League argue that this expenditure on army is of vital importance because of the defence of Pakistan. They also say that India is a major threat to Pakistan. But the recent statement of the Chief of the General Staff of the British Empire, Field Marshal William Joseph Slim, issued last month in Karachi, indicates that the British Empire does not want any hostility or war between India and Pakistan, instead, the British Empire wants to use these armies as “joint defence”. Now the question here is that the Pakistan army shoulder to shoulder with the Indian and British armies will defend Pakistan from whom? It is very clear that the British Empire wants to use our Army against Soviet Union and People’s Republic of China. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan has himself admitted that the Soviet Union does not want any war with Pakistan. Then defence against whom?

By supporting the British and Americans in their wars against Korea and Burma, these leaders of the Muslim League have proved that they are hundred percent in support of the British American imperialistic designs of wars. If most of the government income is spent on Arms and Police than there will not be enough money left for the development of industries, agriculture and rural areas, to reduce the burden of taxes, to increase the wages of the workers, to build hospitals and improve the health sector, for the institutions of education, art, literature and culture and to get the migrants (Muhajirs) settled.

United Front for Freedom and Democracy

This anti people political system of feudalism and semi feudalism for the loot and exploitation of the people, introduced and established by the British and American Imperialists, can no longer be accepted and tolerated by the people, workers, peasants, middle class, educated people, businessmen, traders and

small factory owners. Pakistan has all the resources and potentials for the development and progress of the country. We can reduce poverty and illiteracy in our country in a very short span by introducing modern science and technology, the latest machinery and by using full human potential, capacity and creativity of our workers and our educated middle class through a proper national planning. The present system of suppression, exploitation and hegemony of the imperialists in collaboration with the feudal and capitalists is the reflection of our undemocratic political system which does not permit full utilisation of the capabilities of our working class and natural resources. In these circumstances, social and political revolution is inevitable. It becomes important and obligatory for the forces of production to remove all the hurdles before progress and create new social and political relations which could help them to progress according to their own objective conditions.

The Communist Party of Pakistan reflects and proclaims these productive forces and the revolutionary demand of the dialectical and historical materialism for the progress of the society. That is why when the Pakistan Communist Party places the total freedom from imperialism as its first priority, when the Party demands that the rule of British and American imperialism on Pakistan should end immediately, then the party knows that except the feudal, capitalists and few of their agents, this is the desire and demand of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle-class people of Pakistan. Two hundred year's history of slavery during the British Empire has taught us that without achieving freedom from the foreign rule we cannot take a step forward towards progress, prosperity and people's democracy. Freedom from imperialism means that Pakistan should not be part of British empire, nor under the control of Americans and should declare itself an independent, democratic state.

All the British army generals and officers from other departments should be sent back to their county.

All foreign companies such as the Attock Oil company and tea farms should be nationalised.

The payment to British capitalists for our railways and canals should be stopped.

Pakistan should delink its currency from the pound sterling.

Pakistan should establish friendship with Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and all non-imperialistic countries and powers. Pakistan should ask them for their help to develop our industry.

Pakistan should not support the British and American wars and their designs to enslave other nations.

Pakistan should support peace, democracy, freedom and the right of self-determination of other nations of the world.

The Communist Party of Pakistan aims to liberate Pakistan from the hegemony of British and American imperialism and form a people's democratic government in which all the political power should be with the workers, peasants, intellectuals, middle class nationalists, factory workers and businessmen as their united front. Under such government every adult will have the right to vote. The elected committees in villages, towns, cities, wards and provinces will have the duties and powers to run their local governments. Every nation living in Pakistan (Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathans and Baluch) will have their right of self-determination. All religious and national minorities will have equal rights without any discrimination.

The Communist Party of Pakistan will abolish all the suppressive, repressive and oppressive rules against civil liberties (such as the Safety Act, Hur Act, Frontier Regulation Act, Press Act). People will have freedom of speech and expression, organisation, assembly (processions and demonstrations).

The Communist Party of Pakistan aims to liberate women from all the restrictions which are the product of feudal and tribal systems, so that they could have equal opportunities to progress. They will have equal rights and opportunities in all social, financial and political affairs of the country.

The other important point of the programme of the Communist Party of Pakistan is to abolish feudalism and big lord ownership of land without any compensation and distribute that land amongst the landless peasants. Thus, the financial condition of millions of peasant and tillers will improve immediately and the agricultural production will increase drastically. This will give them more buying power. The consumption of industrial goods will increase, industry will grow and unemployment will decrease.

The Communist Party of Pakistan is trying to get the eviction of tenant peasants and farm workers stopped. The tiller should have hereditary rights on the lease of the land to continue cultivation. The collection of all irregular taxes, (expenses, management fee etc.) and forced labour of the peasants should be stopped. The share of peasant tenant in the crops he produces should be increased. The peasants and farm workers who do not have enough land to cultivate and earn enough money to feed their families should not be allowed to pay any share of crops or lease money to land owners. The industrial consumable goods such as cloth, oil, matches, iron tools which are the essential needs of farmers should be made available to them at subsidised rates. The taxes in the name of contributions from the rural population should be stopped with immediate effect. Railways fares, postal and telegraph charges should be reduced and farm labour should be paid reasonable wages.

The third objective of the Party is to raise standard of living of labourers, workers and middle class in urban areas. They must get enough wages to feed themselves and their families and have a reasonable standard of living. Unemployment allowance must be introduced. Medical care should be free. Housing with good hygienic conditions should be provided to workers. They should have life insurance cover and pension scheme for their retirement. Their children should get free education. They should have their democratic rights, the rights to form unions to strikes, the rights for demonstrations, meetings and processions.

To achieve these objectives all major industries such as textile mills, power houses and oil fields should be nationalised. All banks and insurance companies should be nationalised. Export should be under our national control and an aggressive policy should be adopted to industrialise the country. Investment in new factories and mills should be allowed by those investors who would care for the welfare of the workers and pay good wages. The democratic rights of the workers should be encouraged and supported by these investors.

By adopting these policies, the country will progress in agriculture and industry. There should not be any unemployment in the country. All immigrants (Muhajirs) should be settled and put to work. When the educated and middle classes will come out of the poverty and miseries, the businessmen, ordinary trader and small factory owners will start living a better life, their creative faculties will grow fast, poverty and illiteracy in the country will start decreasing, education, art and culture will develop and the country will prosper.

By following these policies and principles, when country will have strong industry, when education, art and culture will reach to an advanced level then there will be a possibility to adopt the economic principles of socialism, end of capitalism collectivise farming with modern technology and equipment.

We have discussed democratic, agricultural and industrial reforms. These reforms cannot be implemented as long as the political power remains with the British Imperialists, nawabs, feudal and big landlords, dictators (these are the rulers of our country at the moment) and the workers, peasants and middle classes do not get the power and the people's democratic government of workers, peasants and middle classes is

not formed. The Communist Party of Pakistan is the only party of the working class, struggling for such a political revolution, which could take power from imperialists and feudals and give it to the people.

United Front for People`s democratic revolution

A revolution which could establish people`s rule by taking powers from the imperialists, capitalists, feudal etc. is important and possible. This anti-imperialist democratic revolution is possible through a united front, a democratic organisation, of those workers, peasant, intellectuals, middle class, businessman and traders who want freedom. This revolution is possible through a people`s democratic struggle. The repressive government cannot face the people`s democratic force. The Communist Party of Pakistan seeks to form this people`s democratic united front.

During the last three years, the Communist Party of Pakistan has proved through its actions that whenever workers struggle unitedly for their democratic rights, for wages increase, to upgrade their scales, to get their unions recognised, through correct revolutionary guidance and leadership they have forced owners and officers to concede to their demands. That is why the Communist Party continues to help organise the unity and class struggle of the working class. Whenever peasants have conducted organized revolutionary struggle such as under Kisan Committee, they have forced the feudal classes to retreat. They have forced them to stop eviction, got the land back from them to cultivate and got their crop share increased. They have forced the Punjab Government to cancel the tax on irrigation.

Most people agree with the programme of the Communist Party of Pakistan but wonder how these goals could be achieved. They only look at the problems and hurdles in the way. They ask how we can oppose and face the organised power of imperialists, capitalists and feudal, Khan and Nawab of Pakistan. They have lost their hopes. They say that their prayers and good wishes are with the Communist Party and they will be very happy if Party could get people free from their misery and enslavement.

The Communist Party asks them to read history, look around the world and try to understand the events happening around them. History tells us that in any society when the productive forces want to advance but the social economic system stops them, the revolutionary forces emerge to change the old social relationship, create a new society in which the productive force move forward and they are not hampered. During the last five thousand years of known history we have seen that the old primitive commune system was replaced by slavery. Then slavery was replaced by feudalism, then capitalism replaced feudalism. Now the capitalist system has entered into its last imperialistic phase. The end of capitalism and victory of socialism on the globe is a must and inevitable. Capitalism and Imperialism were demolished in 1917 in Russia and Socialism was founded in one sixth of the world.

At the end of the second world war the imperialism and capitalism declined with a great speed. German, Italian and Japanese imperialism was defeated and destroyed. British, French, Dutch and Belgian imperialists became very weak. A hundred million people of East and Central European countries got freedom from Imperialism and opted for socialism. In 1949, the biggest country of the world, the People`s Republic of China got freedom from Imperialism. Half of Korea got freedom and the other half will be free soon. In other countries of Asia, the wave of freedom was so strong that the imperialists were scared to death. USA, although, it emerged as the leading imperialist after the second world war, is facing the internal crises of capitalism. The industrial growth has stopped in USA. Five million workers are unemployed. The billionaire monopolists of America are looking for new markets to overcome their financial crisis. When they look at the Soviet Union, the People`s Republic of China, other people`s democratic and socialist countries, communist parties and all the peace-loving people of the world as the main barrier in their way, they madly try to bring right wing reactionary forces into power to keep the countries under their hegemonic control. People`s democratic movements are suppressed and crushed

through these agents of the American imperialists. Wars are imposed on those Asian countries who are fighting for their freedom (Korea, Vietnam, Malaya, Burma, Philippine) and atomic wars are being planned.

But the increasing political and Economic Power of the Soviet Union, the people's democracies of East Europe, China and Korea, the freedom movements in Asian and African countries, the organisations and United fronts of people struggling against the reactionaries and imperialists, for peace, democracy and freedom under the guidance of Communist parties in the capitalist countries or in the countries under the hegemonic control of capitalists and the continuous defeat of reactionaries and imperialists on various fronts proves that over all the forces of peace, democracy and socialism are getting stronger and more powerful against imperialism, capitalism, feudalism and the reactionaries.

Now the defeat of imperialism and victory of the people's struggle for democracy, freedom and socialism is inevitable.

Now it is possible to defeat imperialism, capitalism and feudalism in each and every country where people are united, organised and led by the most progressive and revolutionary class, the working class and communist party. It is the demand of the day in the present circumstances.

It is not true that oppressive classes are more powerful than the power of the hundreds of millions of working classes and people. Does a mill owner have more power than the thousands of workers working in his mill? Does a feudal has more power than those of hundreds of peasants working in his fields? Does one bureaucrat have more power than hundreds of intellectuals working in offices? No this is not true. The power of these ruling classes depends upon the fact that working classes, because of their own different reasons and circumstances, continue to obey very naively their rulers and masters. When the workers are united, have their unions, organise meetings and demonstrations and show their strength to mill owners and make them realise that without accepting their demands they cannot run their business, the mill owners have no other choice but to accept the united power of the workers. The correct line of action, better understanding of revolution, unity, collective struggle are the great principles which can force the ruling classes to listen to the people and accept their demands. Not only this; if the united workers can get their wages increased, if peasants can fight and get their eviction and forced labour stopped, if office workers can get their salaries increased, then why cannot the oppressed classes through their united struggle challenge the ruling classes and change the system of government?

That is why the Communist Party of Pakistan tries to unite all the oppressed classes, workers, peasants, intellectuals, various groups of middle classes, students and women of the democratic classes and bring them on one platform so that they can struggle together for their rights, move forward and learn through their experiences. The key to freedom of the working class lies in its own strong hands. The Communist Party tries to encourage those conscious revolutionaries to join the party and become member of the Communist Party of Pakistan, the party which unites workers, peasants, intellectuals, middle classes and all those individuals and organisations who are struggling for democracy and freedom. This is the only party built on the revolutionary principles of Marxism and Leninism, the ideology which helps to understand the objective conditions, contradictions and evolution of the society and helps bring revolutionary changes in the society.

The Communist Party of Pakistan is the party of a class which is the most revolutionary class, the class of industrial workers, a class which struggles not only for its own rights but also for the rights of other oppressed classes, struggles for the freedom and prosperity of peasants and middle class by forming a united front with them.

It is obvious that the ruling classes will try their best to destroy such organisations, crush the people's movement, spread rumour and tell lies, find traitors from the working class and buy them to create confusion and discouragement among the working class and masses.

But one thing we should understand clearly that the present time is the time for the victory of the people, the period for the rise of socialism, democracy and freedom and time for the decline and defeat of imperialism, capitalism and feudalism. If in some countries, the dying ruling classes still continue to survive because of the misuse of their power, false propaganda, repression and torture, this survival of theirs is purely temporary. The need of present-day circumstance and the requirement of the productive forces is to dismantle all the barriers, remove all the hurdles which are in the way of the development of social progressive forces. The recent experience in China proves that the people of China defeated the American puppet ruler, Chiang Kai-shek and establish people's democratic rule in spite of the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang had huge military power and the strong repressive machinery of the state.

The imperialists, feudal lords and capitalists cannot solve the problem of people; instead they exploit them every day. Capitalism is in crisis and they are scared of socialism, freedom of the people and the strength and progress of the democratic forces. That is why they are imposing wars in Asia to control those forces (Korea, Vietnam, Malaya, Burma etc.). They are planning madly to impose Atomic War. They are spending millions of dollars on wars and in the planning and preparation of new wars. All the burden of the expenses of war is shifted to the poor shoulders of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle class. Because of the wars, the intensity of exploitation and repression increases in the countries under the hegemony of imperialism (Pakistan, India, Iran etc.).

That is why it is important for the people that they should get organised and struggle for their rights, freedom, peace and democracy. The struggle should continue till the system of exploitation and suppression is defeated and the people take charge of their destiny. All the people of Pakistan who want freedom from imperialism, capitalism and feudalism should form their democratic united front against the forces of exploitation, defeat them with their united struggle and establish their own rule in Pakistan.

The Communist Party of Pakistan invites all of those workers, peasants, intellectuals and people who want freedom from imperialism, capitalism and feudalism to join the Communist Party of Pakistan in its struggle. For the freedom and sovereignty of the country, for the prosperity of the people, to end the poverty, illiteracy and exploitation, to establish the rule of the people in Pakistan, the Communist Party of Pakistan expects from all of its members that, they should improve their understanding of revolution, organise the party in a better way, serve the people with sincerity, be humble and serious, acquire knowledge and courage, be part of the people in their problems and worries, be at the front of the people to fight and face the repression, actions of the ruling classes against the people, continue the struggle for freedom, prosperity and the ultimate victory of the people and be always ready to make sacrifices.

The Communist Party of Pakistan asks the people who are honest and want to see their country free should look at our actions and if they think that this is the party which is sincere, courageous, correct and brave enough to fight for the rights of the people and democracy than they should support us. They should become a member of the party and help the party morally and financially.

The great people like Sirajud Dula, Sultan Shaheed Tipu, the freedom fighters of 1857, Khilafat movement and the brave people of the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Shaheeds of the Mopla Peasants Movement and the Qissa Khwani Bazar and thousands of those who stood against British imperialists, were hanged, are telling us today that our freedom is not a complete freedom.

A nation who fought for two hundred years for its freedom cannot be enslaved forever, a nation who made great sacrifices, the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the nation who sacrificed everything for the freedom of their land cannot be kept as slave forever.

Imperialism and capitalism is a sinking ship throughout the world. Out of the 2000 million population of the world the 800 million people of China have demolished monarchy and feudalism. The biggest country of the world, China, is now free.

The Communist Party of Pakistan trusting upon the wisdom, determination and the force of the freedom loving people of Pakistan, announces that in Pakistan also the system of exploitation, oppression and slavery will end soon. The shining sun of freedom, democracy, peace and prosperity will rise soon and very soon.

False Propaganda against Communists

The leaders of the Muslim League, ministers, capitalists, feudal lords, the agents of the Britain and America in Pakistan, Radio Pakistan, Leaders of Jamaat-e- Islami, few leaders of Awami Muslim League, Newspapers, (Dawn, Civil and Military Gazette, Zamindar, Ehsan etc.,) who are getting funds either from the Government or from the rich to run their business are propagating day and night against communism and workers of the Pakistan Communist Party. The faster the power of communism in the world is growing the faster this false propaganda is increasing. These anti people forces have lost their senses. They think that through their false propaganda they will turn people against Communism and the Communist Party of Pakistan. They are wrong.

They mislead people by their false propaganda saying that “communists are against religion. Do not listen to communists. If they will come into power there will not be any religious freedom. They will force you to abandon your religion”. This is the propaganda of the British and American Imperialists, capitalists, feudal lords and their agents against the communists. These liars are grabbing the wealth of the people, the wealth, produced by workers, peasants and middle class. They own mills, factories and agricultural land. They create poverty and starvation for the masses and they themselves live in palaces and big bungalows.

The reason for this false propaganda is that the people should not unite against them, should not struggle for their rights, food, housing, education, and land. Whoever demands that the country be liberated from British American imperialism, whoever demands the rights of the land for the tillers, whoever demands an increase in the wages of the workers is called a non-believer, atheist, against Pakistan and Islam.

But the fact remains that the Communist Party of Pakistan belongs to the people, the workers, peasants and middle class and it's movements is supported by hundreds of millions of people. The Communists and Party struggle for the freedom and prosperity of the people through democratic means, with the support of the people. Communists fight for the basic rights of individuals or groups, equal rights for minorities and nationalities and the rights to have one's own religion and faith. They want freedom for all the sections of the society to perform their religious activities according to their own faith, customs and traditions without any restrictions by the state.

To the North of Pakistan many Muslim nations have adopted and implemented socialism in their countries and communist parties are in power in Tajikistan, Turkman, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. They enjoy the support of millions of Muslims of the world. There is real democracy in those countries. There are religious leaders, scholars, religious researchers and intellectuals with complete religious freedom. There are places of religious worship and mosques just as we have in Pakistan. But their standard of living is much higher than us because there is prosperity and we live in poverty. How can that be possible

that in a system where workers and peasants are in control of industries, agriculture, banks, courts, police and army, where there is a real democracy, not a false democracy, people could be deprived of their religion or forced to change their religion? The mafia groups or anti people classes do not exist there any more to suppress the people. So, the propaganda that under the rule of communism or socialism people will not have the rights or freedom of their religion and they will be persecuted is based on total lies.

In the constitution of Soviet Union, the freedom of conscious, freedom of faith and religion and its practice has been accepted and respected. This is not just in the constitution but is in practice in the society. The Communist Party of Pakistan accepts and follows the principle of freedom of conscious, faith, religion and all the practices of faith according to every culture and tradition.

The Communist Party of Pakistan not only accepts the rights of conscience but also fights against any kind of aggression, suppression, hate or any activity against the religious freedom of any individual, group or minority. The Communist Party of Pakistan gives assurance to all minorities to struggle with them for their equal rights and conscience. At the same time, the Communist Party of Pakistan tries to understand the nature and history of the ideas and concepts about faith which are prevailing in our society. The ruling classes by encouraging superstitious ideas, spreading ignorance and promoting the unscientific way of thinking, deprive the masses from acquiring the scientific way of thinking and knowledge to continue the slavery of the working class. The Communist Party of Pakistan fights ignorance and superstition prevailing in the society through science and modern knowledge, tries to educate the working class about the evolution of societies so that the people could understand the progressive process of evolution. Life is not static, it is dynamic and progressive. We can build a better society if we have a better understanding of the law of evolution.

The enemies of the communists also propagate that “communists are not loyal to the country, they are agents and want to invite the Soviet Union. Their politics is not free but dictated by Soviet Union”. This is a big lie and totally wrong propaganda against Communists. The Communist Party of Pakistan is a free and democratic party, formed and run by the people of Pakistan. It is not under any foreign power, foreign party or country. We should know who is behind this propaganda. It is the same people who are behind the propaganda about religion. They themselves do not have any interest in faith or religion, they only use religion to save their vested interest and wealth. The same way they tell lies and propagate about communists to be foreign agents but have no hesitation to sell the country to British and American imperialists. This is totally wrong and misleading propaganda about the communists that they are disloyal to the country and they are foreign agents.

The Communist Part of Pakistan value very high and respect the Soviet Union. The reason for this love and respect is that Soviet Union is the first country where imperialism, capitalism and feudalism have been defeated and for the first-time workers, peasant, intellectual and the working class formed their own government. Communists respect the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union not only believes in the principle of freedom of each nation and country but also applies it. Communists respect the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union wants peace and tries to keep peace in the world and struggles to save civilization and people from destruction.

The Soviet Union is the only country where agricultural land, mills, factories, railways, canals and banks are not owned by individuals but are collectively owned by workers, peasants and intellectuals. Because of this collective system of ownership of the people the Soviet Union within twenty years came out of the poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. Exploitation of the people by any person is no longer there. The Communist Party of Pakistan says that if in the people’s democracies of Soviet Union, East European Countries and China, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, by forming their united front can defeat the hegemony of imperialism, capitalism and feudalism then why can’t we defeat them in Pakistan?

The presence of the Soviet Union is not only an example for workers and peasants of all those countries including Pakistan, who want to end imperialism, capitalism and feudalism in their countries but also it is a source of strength to them. The powerful existence of the Soviet Union itself is the weakness of imperialism, Capitalism, feudalism and of all the opportunists. That is why all the workers of the world get inspiration and strength from Soviet Union. They consider that the defence of Soviet Union is their own defence.

The Communist Party of Pakistan struggles, day and night, to get a free Pakistan from the clutches of the British and American imperialists. Communists, loyal to the workers and peasants of the country believe that the freedom and prosperity of the working class means the freedom and prosperity of the country. Communists are enemies of oppressors and exploiters and friends of oppressed and working class. They are part and parcel, flesh and bone of each other. The international friendship of the communists is also for the cause of worker class. Communists are against imperialists, nationally and internationally. The imperialists enslave other nations. There is no contradiction between the loyalty and love of the communists for their country and their internationalism. Because they believe in that internationalism which has its foundations on the principle of unconditional freedom and unconditional democracy for other nations.

Another propaganda of the rulers of Pakistan against the communists is that they create disturbance, disorder and violence to impose their dictatorship by instigating people. Communist do not want to create any disturbance or violence. What they want is to end the violence and disturbance of the rulers against the people of Pakistan as soon as possible and create a better organised society for the people of Pakistan. Is it not a disturbance that hundreds of thousands are unemployed, although they are able and willing to work? Is it not a disturbance that just for the sack of the interests of imperialism, capitalism and feudalism, modern technology and machinery is not acquired. By the use of modern science, technology, equipment and machinery our production could be increased, poverty could be reduced and prosperity for all could be achieved. Communist does not follow the methods of imperialists and ruling classes, but show the workers and middles class the revolutionary way to get organised for a united struggle which is the only way to come out of the present disturbances of the society.

If the workers form unions and demand an increase in their wages out of the profit they generate by their hard labour for the owners and the owners are forced to accept the demands of the workers because of their organised protests then how this act of workers could be labelled as disturbance or violence? If a peasant refuses to die along with his family because of hunger then how his act could be called violence and disturbance? If the workers, peasants and middle class united together gain the power to defeat the ruling class which represents only 5% and rules over 95%, then how this could be an act of violence and disturbance? The ruling class might be scared of the democratic struggle of the people of Pakistan, they might call it a violent, immoral, disturbance, against the religion or whatever, but the working class and the people who want to liberate the country from the clutches of imperialists, capitalists, feudal lords, exploiters and oppressors will not stop their revolutionary struggle.

The Communist Party of Pakistan declares it very openly and clearly that their goal is to end the present dictatorship of imperialists, capitalists and feudal lords and establish the People`s Democratic dictatorship of the workers, peasants, middle class, intellectuals and the people of Pakistan and that they will continue their struggle until they achieve their goal.

(Strictly for Party Members only)

The Communist Party of Pakistan

Translated from the Urdu by Ali Jaffar Zaidi

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This was part of a group of documents sent from the Soviet Embassy in Karachi to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. These documents were forwarded to the CPSU (b) on 29th January 1951.

Appendix

PRAVDA, Friday, October 27th 1950, No. 300, (11772), page 4

PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PAKISTAN

KARACHI, 26th of October. (TASS) As announced in the “Sindh Observer” newspaper the Communist Party of Pakistan has published its programme.

In the programme, the Communist Party mentions the need for Pakistan to leave the British Commonwealth of Nations, discharge all English officers from the Pakistan Army, dismiss from the civil service all English officials, nationalise all industries in Pakistan in which there are a number of industrialise enterprises belonging to foreigners.

The Communist Party demands also from the Pakistan Government that Pakistan leave the sterling bloc and establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the People`s Republic of China and the countries of the People`s Democracies.

Translated from the Russian by Vijay Singh.