

AUGUST 15

**TO THE PEOPLE
OF PAKISTAN**

Communist Party's Appeal

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On the 15th of August, the new State of Pakistan will come into existence.

The hopes and aspirations of millions of Indian Muslims, specially those living in Muslim majority areas, which constitute Pakistan, are bound with Pakistan. Common Muslims have believed that their desire to be free and independent, their will to build democracy, their longing to live a life of happiness, prosperity and of civilised and cultured existence in the land of their birth would be possible through the establishment of Pakistan.

ON the other hand the upper-classes, rich and selfish elements among them, have all along striven through the poisonous weapon of preaching communal hatred, through reliance upon British imperialism, to disrupt the natural process of unity of the exploited Muslim masses with their non-Muslim brethren, they have stood in the way of building the joint freedom front of all Indians, have fostered separatism among the Muslim masses.

The progressive forces have not been strong enough to defeat this policy.

SOVEREIGN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The sixty-eight million Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of Pakistan, like the rest of Indians desire independence, i.e.,

complete liberation from the yoke of British imperialism. They would like to be rid for ever from all domination direct or indirect of their hated enslavers—the British imperialists.

In 1937, the Muslim League adopted the creed of "full independence" in place of "responsible Government under the aegis of British Crown". In the famous Pakistan resolution of 1940, they declared for the establishment of a "Sovereign State."

They did so because they believed, rightly, that within the orbit of the British Empire, the enemy of so many Asian peoples, full freedom was not possible.

Yet voices are being raised today in sections of the League leadership which want the Muslims to believe that 'Dominion Status' is as good as sovereign

existence. Attlee has openly expressed the hope that both India and Pakistan might choose to remain within the Empire—now re-named Commonwealth of Nations.

Who does not know that this Commonwealth is a misnomer to hide the ugly face of British imperialist domination? That remaining within the Empire, even though as an 'independent' Dominion, means, political, economic and military commitments, dragging of our people into the camp of world reaction and creating in the path of their new life barriers of rapacious monopoly capitalism and colonialism?

Therefore, it is necessary that the very first act of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should be the declaration that Pakistan shall be an independent Sovereign Republic—outside the British Empire, and not a Dominion within it.

However, this is not enough. The people of Pakistan have to be eternally vigilant and see that their independent State does not become 'independent' on the Egyptian, Transjordanian or the Iraq model.

There are elements in Pakistan, life-long toady feudalists, who, with independence on their lips, would—like the Nokrashys, the Abdullas and the Nurial Saids—be hand in glove with the imperialist enslavers would be their humble servitors, would be willing to sell their people and their freedom for ignominious self-interest and filthy lucre.

Pakistan should be an independent People's Republic in the real meaning of the phrase where the people shall be sov-

ereign and from where all traces of direct or indirect imperialist control shall have been wiped out.

It is important that a clear declaration is made of the foreign policy which the Pakistan Government will pursue. Mr. Jinnah's recent statement supporting the Indonesian people's battle against Anglo-American-Dutch imperialism is a welcome first step. But a categorical assurance is necessary that Pakistan will always support the peoples of any part of the world struggling to free themselves of imperialist chains, and, in UNO and other Councils of the world, will oppose the direct and indirect attempts of world imperialism to spread its domination.

A necessary corollary of the declaration that Pakistan is an independent sovereign Republic and not a stooge domination of the so-called British Commonwealth is a reversal of the present attitude of the League leadership towards the Indian States.

No one in our country has ever had any doubts about the role the Indian Princes have played as British imperialism's agents nor about the abominable conditions in which the 93 million States' peoples have had to live.

And yet the League leaders have stated repeatedly that the Pakistan Government will respect the right of the Princes to "independence" and will not tolerate any "interference" in the internal affairs of the States.

Such a policy means in practice supporting both the plans of British imperialism to maintain bases on Indian territory and the continued slavery of the States' peoples.

The leaders of the League must categorically declare that they stand for the ending of autocracy and fully support the States' peoples' struggles for Responsible Government and for their free and unfettered right to decide their own future.

POWER MUST VEST IN PEOPLE

To ensure that the PEOPLE shall be sovereign in Pakistan, that power shall vest in them and that they shall rule, it is necessary that the constitution of Pakistan should be based upon firm democratic principles.

It is necessary, in this respect for popular opinion and the democratic will of the common citizen in Pakistan to assert itself, because the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, as of India, has not been elected through adult suffrage, because it is communally divided, because it is overweighted with landlords, Princes' representatives and other reactionary elements.

However, democratic opinion can influence the representatives of the main political parties of Pakistan—the League and the Congress—whose members sit in the Constituent Assembly.

Above all, the principle of people's sovereignty must express itself through the provision that election to the future Pakistan Parliament shall be through adult suffrage; that it shall be direct; that the curse of communal electorate shall be done away with for good and its place shall be taken by joint electorate and proportional representation. Adult suffrage and joint elec-

torates would ensure people's sovereignty and growth of commonness; while proportional representation would ensure that each body of organised public opinion is reflected in the Supreme Parliament of the Pakistan Union.

The Communist Party warns the people in Pakistan that reactionary elements would assail these democratic principles in many ways and under diverse pleas. The danger through communalism is the greatest.

In order to keep up separatism—which ensures domination of reactionaries by splitting the masses—not only communal electorates might be perpetuated, but further new "communities" might be given the right to elect representatives on a communal basis.

Attempts might be made to introduce indirect elections—thus weakening direct popular control over elections.

Proportional representation might be rejected on some spurious plea. Second Chambers, extraordinary powers to Governors or the President are all so many methods whereby the upper-classes check and control full fledged democracy.

The common people in Pakistan must see that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly adopts a constitution which is truly democratic and where the people's will is capable of being expressed and exercised without any let or hindrance.

MINORITY RIGHTS

Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders have given statements wherein they have declared that minorities in Pakistan need have no fear; there shall be no discrimination against

them and they shall enjoy full rights of citizenship in Pakistan. It has been declared, further, that their religious and cultural rights shall be protected. If these principles are adhered to and scrupulously put into practice, all would be well.

However, in the background of the separatist line of the dominant League leadership, of intense communal hatred roused by them in the course of the last ten years, of the tragic events of Noakhali, Hazara, D. I. Khan and Rawalpindi, Hindu and Sikh minorities fear that the majority led by the Muslim League would not do justice to them and that even their life and property would be in danger.

It is, therefore, necessary for the League, the leading political party in Pakistan, to back the statement of its leaders with positive actions to restore communal peace and to win the confidence of the minorities.

FORM PEACE COMMITTEES

It is incumbent on the League in Pakistan to take the initiative and form joint Aman (peace) Committees in each town and each village and each mohalla of the Pakistan area. The League should see that the majority community guarantees the life and property of each and every member.

The Muslim League and its leadership have to consider this joint campaign for peace, for protection of minorities, their immediate and primary task. It is for them to isolate the riot-mongers from their own ranks and render them incapable of doing mischief. It is for them to discourage

and suppress all communal hate-mongering and not to spare even the bigger leaders if they still directly or indirectly encourage minority-baiting.

Democracy in Pakistan cannot flourish, steps for reconstruction and ushering in the era of material prosperity and moral and cultural uplift cannot be taken, even for the Muslim majority, if the communalist hate-monger and riot-organiser is not isolated and crushed from the Muslim ranks.

Such a step taken by the League would find an immediate response from the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan. It will help the sober and patriotic elements among them to fight and defeat the rabid communalists in their own ranks.

Furthermore, such a policy pursued by the League in Pakistan would help to restore communal peace in India, would help the five crores of Muslims in Indian Union, would encourage the patriotic Congressmen and other progressive elements to effectively pursue a similar policy in India.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Pakistan will be composed of five main nationalities—Bengalis, Punjabis, Pathans, Baluchis and Sindhis.

It is clear that the unity of all these in one State can be firmly maintained and all can endeavour for the rebuilding of their own life and for common good, only if each one of these nationalities is assured the greatest possible freedom to grow and develop according to its own genius and in conformity with its own cultural traditions.

The right of national self-determination vesting in each unit of Pakistan, would ensure justice, equality, guarantee against domination of the weaker by the more powerful nationality and freedom to grow and develop in its own way.

The conferring of this right would bring each nationality nearer each other by dispelling all fears regarding domination and would strengthen the unity of the Pakistan State. Furthermore, it would be a powerful lever for the growth of unity all over India.

The Bengali and Punjabi people, artificially split today, would see a possibility of reunification; and all the Indian nationalities would see in it a basis for ending the present era of separatism and the re-union of all Indians.

The recent experience of Yugoslavia shows how self-determination given to the five component nationalities of that State, accompanied by the uprooting of reactionary vested interests, who sowed seeds of national and communal conflicts, has united the entire country.

A similar policy pursued in Pakistan would strengthen Pakistan democratically and pave the way for the unity of all Indian nationalities on the basis of freedom, equality and democracy.

The new Pakistan State will have to tackle immediately the two questions of providing immediate economic relief to the masses and of taking measures to rebuild in a planned manner the economy of Pakistan, to undo the ravages of two hundred years of ruth-

less imperialist exploitation with its bitter fruit of industrial backwardness, agrarian misery and cultural blackout.

PROBLEMS OF FOOD AND CLOTH

The problems of food and cloth and housing shortage and of unemployment will have to be tackled immediately.

The food problem has two aspects—production and distribution.

A drive for increased food production raises the question of granting certain elementary rights to the vast masses of tenants in the Pakistan areas.

The Haris of Sind, the Muzaras of the Punjab and Frontier, the adhiars and the poor peasants of Bengal are today cruelly exploited by the jagirdars, Khans and big landlords and jotedars, who with the support of the British imperialist State have deprived them not only of proprietary rights over the lands which they till, but who through various foul means deprive them also of a fair share in the crop produced by their toil.

RIGHTS OF TENANTS

In the various constituent units of Pakistan, in Bengal, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P. and Sind, immediate legislation should be introduced to secure the rights of tenants over land and over their crops. This will result in increased production of food grains.

Steps should also be taken for the abolition of landlordism, the jagirdari system and all forms of parasitical feudalism fostered in our country by the imperialists in order to

create an entire class of pro-imperialist, anti-people elements.

They keep down the people, hinder agrarian development and perpetuate backwardness and reaction in our entire social life.

The people of Pakistan, particularly the vast masses of the peasantry, cannot prosper, food production cannot increase, the political life of the country cannot be cleansed of corruption and reaction, unless this class—the biggest base of reaction in Pakistan—is liquidated for good.

Immediately steps have also to be taken to uproot hoarding, blackmarketing, profiteering and bureaucratic inefficiency in regard to food. Pakistan is a surplus food area. Still, it was a combination of imperialist inefficiency, inflation, hoarding and profiteering which caused the frightful Bengal famine.

Pakistan should not only provide food for its own people but also do its duty by the rest of India by conducting a vigorous anti-hoarding and anti-black-market drive. A procurement drive with popular co-operation can defeat the profiteer and help the peasants and town people alike—that is also the best means of fighting bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

In order to permanently root out economic backwardness economic planning has also to be undertaken by Pakistan. The nascent capitalist class in Pakistan economy, would, because of its weakness, support the policy of al-

liance with British and American big business—thus jeopardising the very independence of Pakistan. All the horrors of Capitalist exploitation would also follow.

As it is a question of almost starting from a scratch, as far as industry is concerned in Pakistan, it is possible to start all the basic industries on a nationalised basis, thus ensuring maximum and speedy industrial development, and maximum benefit for the people.

In such a plan of economic development Pakistan should seek the help and assistance above all of India. A co-ordinated economic plan for Pakistan and India would be of great help to both and save both from groaning under the economic domination of rapacious British and American monopoly capitalists.

Above all, it has to be realised that a people's democratic economy cannot be built without the active support and willing participation of the working-class itself and their trade unions in schemes of economic planning and industrial development as well as the immediate granting of workers' elementary demands—minimum living wage, adequate dearness allowance, social security benefits, etc

The right of the workers to form their unions, the right to strike must be secured for them.

The people of Pakistan will realise their objective of full freedom and democracy only if the progressives of all parties—League, Congress, Akali Party, Nationalist Sikhs, Socialist Party and the Communist Party—join in a common endeavour to rouse

and unite the people on the basis of the above programme.

The reactionaries and the vested interests will be weakened to the extent the progressives support the working-class and peasant movements struggling for elementary rights and fight for full democratic guarantees to all minorities.

Only by securing full guarantees to the minorities and fighting all discriminations against them will the people of Pakistan forge that unbreakable front of all sections—which will defeat reaction and ensure full freedom for all.

COMMUNIST CO-OPERATION

The Communist Party in Pakistan will sincerely endeavour to bring all progressives together for carrying forward the battle for democracy and freedom.

The Communist Party will further co-operate with the Pakistan Government in everything that it does in furtherance of the above objective. Its aim will be to defeat reaction in all camps and bring the common people of all parties and faiths together to build Pakistan as a democratic State in fraternal alliance with the Indian Union.