

FOR DELEGATES ONLY

# REPORT ON PAKISTAN



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**T**HE formation of a separate Pakistan State roused hopes among the millions of Muslims in the Pakistan territory as well as in the Indian Union that freedom for Muslims has been won at last. The Muslim League leadership propagated the myth that freedom has been won and that henceforth the Muslim masses would be free to shape their own future.

In reality, however, the establishment of Pakistan and Indian Union is neither freedom nor (Independence for the Indian people nor) the fructification of the right of self-determination of the common people of the two States nor of any nationality. It is an imperialist conspiracy to split the democratic movement of the Indian masses to consolidate Hindu and Muslim communal reaction in both the states so that the forces of common democratic movement can be fought.

It registers the culmination of the disruptive and separatist policies of the Muslim League—a policy of treacherously keeping the Muslim masses away from the democratic struggle and misleading them into taking even a hostile stand to it.

Pakistan has come into being through the combination of the following factors :

(1) Imperialist policy of divide and rule produced unprecedented communal strife. In doing so Imperialism made full use of communal differences among the vested

interests and religious prejudices of the masses. Predominance of outmoded caste system and communal outlook due to lack of democratic developments, efforts to keep India backward economically and culturally, careful preservation of feudal autocracy and landlordism and deliberate fomentation of communal strife through bureaucrats, police and other agents—these are the means through which British Imperialism and its local agents disrupted common anti-imperialist struggles. The demand for India's partition was deliberately encouraged by British Imperialist rulers.

(2) India is a multinational country. Her border provinces are inhabited by nationalities who are dominantly Muslim by religion, and whom imperialism has kept in a state of economic and cultural backwardness. The Congress leadership, representing the dominant section of the Indian bourgeoisie in its quest for compromise with imperialism to get a share of power in the imperialist feudal state and a share in the Indian market under the grip of British monopolists refused to see this specific feature. Its policy of dominating over all nationalities coupled with the repudiation of agrarian revolution and other democratic reforms helped the league leadership to wean the Muslim masses away from Indian unity and enabled the League leadership to divert their anti-imperialist discontent into anti-Hindu communal channels. The compromising policy pursued by the Congress leadership which culminated in its capitulation to imperialism served only to strengthen the separatist League leadership.

(3) Dominant leadership of the Muslim League representing Muslim landlords and the bourgeoisie helped imperialism to sow communal discord and played the most reactionary role distorting every genuine anti-imperialist urge of the Muslim masses against vested interests into anti-Hindu channels to keep them away from common democratic struggles, to consolidate Muslim vested interests and to make the Muslim masses line up behind League leadership in the fight for the separatist demand of Pakistan.

#### MEANING OF PARTITION

The growing revolutionary upsurge which was sweeping the country, and which was drawing the oppressed Muslim masses, was striking terror into the heart of imperialism and of the League and Congress leaderships. The great demonstration which the League was forced to launch for the release of Rashid Ali—the INA men—the joint demonstrations and fights of the Hindu and Muslim workers in the strike-struggles, in many places under the leadership of the Communist Party—the great RIN rebellion in which Hindu and Muslim ratings joined hands and symbolised their unity by putting up Congress, League and Red Flags, and in the streets of Bombay Hindu and Muslim workers spontaneously joined together to raise barricades and fight British terror, made it clear that it was difficult to keep the Muslim masses away from the revolutionary struggle. It was significant that both the Congress and League leaders denounced the actions of the masses in Bombay and sought to disrupt the unity that had been forged.

The necessity for imperialism of striking an immediate compromise with the national bourgeoisie, at the same time keeping pressure on it with the help of a rival interest, the necessity of putting an immediate brake on the growing unity of Hindu and Muslim masses that was developing during the upsurge led to the division of India, to two rival states which can be used against one another which can be used to divide Hindus and Muslims and divert their attention from joint struggles against their common enemy, the exploiter, into fratricidal struggles against each other.

The formation of the Pakistan state therefore represents a treacherous compromise of the capitalist-landlord leadership of the League with imperialism, a compromise which enables it to fool the masses with the myth that freedom has been won, disrupt the upsurge and betray the anti-imperialist and freedom aspirations of the masses. It is the same kind of betrayal as was perpetrated by the Congress leadership.

The secession of East Bengal, Sind, Punjab and N. W. F. P. does not in the least represent an assertion of the right of self-determination. The people of these territories are neither freed from imperialist domination, nor from the domination of the landlords and the bourgeoisie; what has triumphed is bourgeois separatism and not the right of self-determination.

On the other hand the new state is based firstly on the disruption of the several nationalities (e.g.) Sind and Punjab with its Hindu minorities persecuted; Punjab and East Bengal with their division; and on the suppression of these nationalities themselves (e.g.) the hostile attitude of the League leaders to the demands of the Pathans for self-determination of these nationalities—opposition and hostility to right of self-determination of these nationalities.

The formation of the new state helps imperialism to consolidate communal reaction in Pakistan, as well as in the Indian Union; it helps imperialism to drive the Muslim masses behind the communal leadership of the League to make them an easy prey to war propaganda against the Indian Union; to the propaganda of defence of Homeland against attack from the Indian Union; it helps it to create a similar feeling against Pakistan and for war among the Hindu masses in the Indian Union. It enables imperialism to play each state against the other, utilise and exploit their fear about each other and if either side is unyielding, utilise the pressure of war to make it bow down. The events in Kashmir, the open support to raiders from the border, the support given to Pakistan in the UNO when the Indian Union leaders expected that they would get the support because law was on their side, all show that the two will be played against one another in accordance with the necessity of imperialist policies till both accept subservience to imperialism in every matter.

The division of India which was accepted by the Congress and League leaders thus constitutes a big blow to the unity and integrity of the freedom movement of the masses—notwithstanding the fact that it has been paraded as freedom or independence by the leaders of the bourgeoisie.

## REALITY OF PAKISTAN

What the Mountbatten Award has given to the Muslim people is neither freedom nor an advance from existing slavery.

The new state of Pakistan is not an independent State but a satellite state, subservient to British and American Imperialism. The classes that hold power namely the landlords and capitalists of Pakistan are the allies of British and American imperialism and maintain Imperialist supremacy through economic, political and military alliances and agreements. Bureaucrats, blackmarketeers, landlords and capitalists are keeping the people in subjection.

The utter subservience of the Government of Pakistan, in these circumstances, is a logical corollary of what preceded. The leadership of the League which mans the Government today had never played any oppositional role, had never led any anti-imperialist struggles of the masses. On the other hand it claimed concessions from imperialism for successfully disrupting the struggle, for keeping the Muslim masses away from it.

British imperialism has now conferred yet another boon on it by giving it governmental power over a vast territory—and thus “freeing” it from the rival bourgeois interest. A vast territory free from “Hindu” capitalists—a territory in which the Muslim vested interests have the power to strike deals with the imperialists and utilise its resources for their selfish purposes—such has been the dream of the Muslim bourgeoisie and they have realised it.

But the State that they have got is at the same time effectively tied by a number of chains to the imperialist post and everyday reveals its utter subservience to the imperialists.

In the six months since its formation the Government of Pakistan has revealed its reactionary character more and more, and the leadership of the bourgeois-landlord class which controls it has revealed itself as anti-people and anti-national.

The Government has done nothing to solve either the agrarian problem or the vital question affecting the working class. Medieval landlordism which condemns millions of the peasantry to poverty and destitution is not only retained; but big landlords dominate the Government and its policies. While prattling about principles of Islamic democracy—not one step has been taken to stop the loot by the landlords.

In the name of exceptional circumstances, the railway workers and other workers are denied even a decent wage; even the recommendations of the Pay Commission are not accepted and Government do not show any intention of accepting them.

In contrast any activity which organises the masses to struggle for their basic demands is suppressed, either officially through the State Machine or unofficially through the goondas. In East Bengal for instance even official orders in favour of the peasants, are not executed because landlord interests, with the aid of the so-called National Guards do not allow it.

On the question of minorities, most of the League leaders have played a game of direct incitement, leading to the murder of tens of thousands and playing the game of imperialism in creating hatred and anarchy in both parts. The massacre of minorities followed straight from the communal policies of the League and the Government could hardly do anything to check it. Quite a number of officials, League leaders, etc. participated in the looting of the minorities.

The bourgeois-landlord clique which has entered into this treacherous compromise with imperialism is in no hurry to draft a new constitution and no one knows whether it will be even drafted.

In the meanwhile many key posts in the Government are held by the British who are really running the State. Almost all the Provincial heads are British. Important members of the army and defence services are British. To

add to it the Governor-General recently imported Rowlands as a financial adviser to evolve "order" out of chaos!

Simultaneously imperialism is taking steps to see that in matters of defence and foreign policy the new state comes firmly under its grip.

Except British officials are already in charge of the army, rumours are current about a South East Asia Defence Pact between Britain, Pakistan, India, Burma etc.; in the meanwhile the imperialists are making full use of Pan-Islamic feeling to get still further hold over Pakistan. There is talk about the coming of a Turkish Military Mission (American satellite) to organise Pakistan's defence. Recently a Mission from the reactionary Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood" came for the same purpose and was warmly welcomed.

Exploiting the fellow-feeling of Pakistan Muslims for Middle East Muslims, British and American imperialisms are trying to draw Pakistan into their anti-Soviet Middle East politics—in the name of cooperating with brother Muslim nations. Pakistan is thus becoming a hot bed of anti-Soviet intrigues with the leadership of the League taking an active part.

The foreign policy of Pakistan Government, therefore, is one of joining the Anglo-American bloc—a policy which netted its dividend on the Kashmir issue. The support and protection given to Pakistan by American and British imperialists at UNO reveals where Pakistan Government stands in respect of its foreign policy and bodes ill for Pakistan.

On every matter therefore the Government of Pakistan like that of the Indian Union follows a policy of subservience to imperialism and betraying the interests of the people. The people cannot be defended, their freedom can not be realised, unless the policies of the Government are opposed, unmasked and defeated.

#### GROWING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SUBSERVIENCE

The territories comprising Pakistan are agrarian areas without much development of industries. They contain some of the richest agrarian areas; they contain areas growing two vital commercial crops—jute and cotton. They constitute excellent colonies for purposes of imperialist exploitation.

These areas are dependent for some of their vital necessities like cloth on the Indian Union. They are also dependent for the consumption of jute crop on India.

For almost every industrial product, they are dependent on the Indian Union or foreign imports. The fear of Hindu domination will be exploited to make this dependence on foreign imports more pronounced than ever.

The weak and newly developing bourgeoisie makes the task of imperialist domination and control easier. This bourgeoisie itself, with its fear of the Hindu bourgeoisie, is prepared to sign almost any agreement for the sake of its petty ambition—a few textile factories, a few light industries etc. Its advanced elements think in terms of aviation—a joint concern—which suits the economic interests of imperialism as well as its war interests—since it gives it aerodromes etc. For all this, however, the local bourgeoisie is entirely dependent on British or American help and must therefore express its growing servility to them.

To the imperialists the development of a few light industries and aviation is an excellent means of getting complete grip over the economy of Pakistan and control of its raw materials,—Jute and Cotton—which also become economic weapons against India. Besides it immediately opens the prospect of exploiting other resources of Pakistan and already foreign experts are busy studying the assets and planning out joint exploitation in several directions. The net result of such joint exploitation will be retention of the colonial order and growing poverty of the people.

But the bourgeoisie cannot move ahead without mortgaging Pakistan's economy to foreign capital. They have

neither the capital resources nor other resources to exploit the wealth of their country. They are thankful if they are allowed to be junior partners. Certain sections will be content even if they get the profits of the comprador section of the middlemen—a position upto now held by their Hindu rivals.

The situation is rendered worse by the prevailing anarchy due to influx of refugees and extermination of minorities. Whatever little industrial production was there is dislocated. Transport is paralysed. Government is on the verge of bankruptcy. The spokesman of the Government realise that they are on the brink of a disaster—and any such thing as war will settle their doom.

That is why there are desperate efforts to secure a foreign loan for immediate purposes. Such a loan will mortgage the vital resources of Pakistan to foreign capital and register economic serfdom of Pakistan to British or American capital.

The policies of the Government—of the League leadership, are selling the people in bondage to Imperialism thus strengthening the chains of slavery in order to defend the interests of the landlord-bourgeois clique.

The bourgeois-landlord leadership of the League opposes agrarian revolution; it talks of developing industry by retaining landlordism, without freeing the peasant from the thraldom of feudalism by retaining the feudal Princes. What it achieves is not industrialisation but growing subjection of the people to imperialist slavery and retention of Pakistan as a colony. Its policy is therefore one of actually fighting democratic revolution and joining hands with imperialism.

There is thus nothing common between the working class and the Government. The people and the working class can march forward to freedom and democracy only by defeating the collaborators, routing them from their present strategic positions and replacing them by a State which will put an end to the present policies and carry forward the task of completing the democratic revolution and achieving freedom for the country.

The Governments of the two territories thus play the same role in relation to the people and the democratic revolution. There is thus no reason to distinguish between the two leaderships.

#### CRISIS AND FUTURE OF PAKISTAN

Almost all industries producing essential commodities are in the Indian Union. Pakistan is predominantly agrarian. Both Indian Union and Pakistan are therefore economically interdependent. Cooperation with the Indian Union is therefore essential for the economic development of Pakistan. But the League leadership is unable to secure this cooperation thanks to communal bitterness and imperialist manoeuvres. The vast masses of the agrarian population of Pakistan is extremely poor and ground down under the weight of landlordism. There can be no prosperity for Pakistan unless landlordism is abolished and land is given to the tillers. But the peasant movement is being ruthlessly suppressed by the Government which is dominantly landlord in composition. Moreover communal riots have created a huge refugee problem. Black market is reigning supreme all over Pakistan. Anglo-American imperialists are utilising this misfortune of the people of Pakistan to further tighten their economic and military stranglehold on the country.

In Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Palestine and Iran the Anglo-American imperialists have already established their economic and military power and are now extending the same to Pakistan thereby hoping to create in the entire Muslim world a strong bastion of Anglo-American monopoly capital based upon the enslavement of Muslim peoples.

In the name of building up Pakistan the League leaders are inviting foreign capital, asking the toilers to sacrifice their living and are suppressing workers' and peasants' movements against exploitation by the vested interests. They are thus only building up a paradise for capitalists, landlords and black-marketeers and a hell for the toiling people. In the name of setting up an Islamic State and introducing Islamic laws they are increasing

the oppression of minorities, disrupting the camp of the people and making Pakistan more dependent than ever before on the succour of British and American imperialists. In the name of extending the territory of Pakistan they are creating a state of war between Indian Union and Pakistan as in Kashmir, strengthening the position of feudal lords as in Hyderabad and Kalat and strengthening the imperialist hold over Pakistan. In the name of defending Pakistan they are suppressing every vestige of democratic movement, consolidating princes, landlords and black-marketeers at the top and thereby condemning the toiling people to poverty and serfdom. In the name of maintaining the unity of Pakistan the League leaders are suppressing the genuine desire for self-determination of different nationalities. Urdu language is being foisted upon East Bengal, Baluchistan is being ruled by an autocratic centre, even autonomy for Sindhis, Pathans and Bengalees is being trampled under foot. In so doing the League leaders are not unifying Pakistan, but provoking conflicts between nationalities and strengthening the same forces that ruined Indian Unity.

The Government of Pakistan manned by the League leadership is a Government of reaction which is leading Pakistan headlong to disaster, only people's democratic forces can lead her towards real freedom and unity.

Hindu upper class circles proclaim that Pakistan is doomed, that it cannot exist economically, that it will collapse very soon and that the Indian Union will soon be able to take it over. The economic crisis which has engulfed Pakistan can not lead to automatic collapse of Pakistan, but rather to the stabilisation of the hold of imperialism which will keep it as a separate State to dominate over both Pakistan and Indian Union. Hindu communalists declare that conquest of Pakistan is a holy progressive mission because it is an outpost of British imperialism. They conceal the salient truth that the Indian Union today is similarly dominated by foreign imperialism and its Government is equally reactionary. League leaders profess that Hindus being hostile to

Pakistan, the only way to economic reconstruction is to seek British and American aid at any price. They are keeping the Muslim masses blind to the fact that the so-called British and American aid in Iraq and Iran have not industrialised the countries but established imperialism's economic and military bases therein. Democratic youth in Pakistan get bewildered by the question how to raise Pakistan from this quagmire? What is her future? The future of Pakistan as well as of the Indian Union will be determined by the unflagging struggle of the common toiling people of both the territories to defeat the policies of both the leaderships and of the two governments, policies of solving the crisis at the expense of the people and by directing the discontent of the people against the other State. It will be determined by the struggle of the masses in both the States for achieving the democratic revolution and for replacing the present Governments of capitalist and landlord collaborators of imperialism by new democratic people's governments in which the working class, allied with the toiling peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie plays the leading role.

Abolition of landlordism without compensation and redistribution of land to the tillers at once will raise the standard of living of the peasants and this one measure will put enormous financial resources in the hands of the Government for rebuilding Pakistan's economic and cultural life. Elimination of wholesale traders from rural trade will help the Government to exchange agricultural goods for industrial plants and essential commodities. Planned agricultural development based upon voluntary cooperation of free peasants will put Pakistan on an equal footing with her industrial neighbours to secure adequate means for industrialisation. Democratic rights for toiling people will attract the sympathy and support of the toilers of the Indian Union and thereby strengthen the position of Pakistan. Equal rights to minorities will pave the way for cooperation with Indian Union and obviate the need for begging before Anglo-American impending for alms. Nationalisation of all basic industries and sources of irrigation and power etc. will pave the way for economic

development without the domination of monopoly capital. A clean sweep of high salaried bureaucrats and reconstitution of the organs of State with elective officials from top to bottom on adequate salary will enable the Government of Pakistan to give living wages to the working people. Granting of full self-determination to all nationalities will make Pakistan immune from internal disruption.

In short, people's democracy is the only guarantee for ensuring real freedom to the people of Pakistan. The Communist Party will endeavour to lead the people of Pakistan along this path through mass struggles for freedom and democracy. The League leadership and the Government constituted by it will always follow the opposite path because it represents classes which fear democracy and love money-bags. The toiling people of Pakistan must therefore wage an irreconcilable struggle against communalists, profiteers, landlords, capitalists and other agents of foreign imperialism. The seething revolt of the people in the entire Arabic world must be an inspiration and eye opener to the toiling people of Pakistan and burst up their illusions about their upper class leaders who exploit the religious sentiments of the Muslim masses for their narrow selfish class interests.

In the absence of popular struggles to fight the crisis that affects people's life in Pakistan, the two leaderships namely Congress leadership in the Indian Union and the League leadership in Pakistan are exploiting and continue to exploit people's misfortunes to strengthen their own reactionary hold over the people, to incite the people of one State against those of the other and create a state of war between Indian Union and Pakistan. In Kashmir for example the popular struggle against Princedom and landlordism has been successfully diverted, for the time being, into a war between the armed forces of Pakistan and Indian Union. This reactionary diversion is helping imperialism to strengthen its own position in both the States and enforce a military alliance with itself.

The propaganda of war between the Indian Union and Pakistan and every hostility between them only

strengthens the hold of imperialism and its reactionary allies inside both the States. The working class both in Indian Union and Pakistan must fight this, unmasking the collaborationist and chauvinist role played by the leaderships of the Congress and the League, by uniting the toiling people both of Indian Union and Pakistan for a democratic revolution, for the establishment of People's democratic Government in the two countries.

#### STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia in Pakistan are the forces which will tear the mask away from the demagogy of the upper classes. The same toiling Muslims who rallied behind the banner of Pakistan in the hope of getting freedom will not tolerate for long the hypocrisy and class policy of the upper class leaders. Disillusionment is already growing, unrest is developing among workers and peasants, a new youth movement is slowly raising its head. With these forces a new democratic front must be built up. The main base of the Democratic Front shall be the organised working class and the organised peasantry. Organisation of trade union and kisan sabhas throughout Pakistan will be the foundation on which a new Democratic Front will have to be built up from below.

There is a real difference between Pakistan and the Indian Union which must be taken into account in deciding immediate question of struggle.

The territories comprising the Indian Union constitute the main area of national democratic struggle and the territories comprising Pakistan barring N W F P and to some extent East Bengal, were generally backward areas. This puts its impress on the set-up in Pakistan which is distinguished by the following :

(1) Weakness of the independent movement of the working class—crystallised in the Communist Party—acting as the critique and corrective to vacillating policies and fighting reactionary policies.



(2) Weakness of the independent Trade Union and Kisan Sabha movements except in East Pakistan—exerting their pressure on the general democratic movement.

(3) Absence of a widespread conscious anti-imperialist movement strong enough to cross sword with imperialism and defeat it.

(4) An organisation—the Muslim League with great influence among the people but with virtually no traditions of democratic functioning, and of serious criticism from the ranks.

(5) The comparative weakness of the Left front—from within the League itself—capable of mobilising the discontented ranks to bring pressure on the Right.

(6) Influence of religion is much greater in Pakistan than in the Indian Union.

In the present conditions when the immediate task is to organise and lead the toiling masses for carrying through the democratic revolution for the liquidation of the old colonial order, these factors are of major importance because they show that in Pakistan the very instrument of realising the aims of democratic revolution—namely the peoples' forces—are weak.

The fight for democratic revolution is therefore to be carried on under circumstances which make it more difficult than in the Indian Union but is more urgent for the same reason. In spite of these factors which make our struggle difficult, the economic crisis and its impact is rapidly disillusioning the masses about the League leadership and the Pakistan Government. The masses in Pakistan have seen with their own eyes the corruption and communal incitement practised by League leaders and Parliamentarians who have escaped the arms of the law whereas the poor have been punished for transgressing it. They see before their own eyes the utter selfishness of the local leaders of the League, of the Ministers, of Assembly Members, who are feathering their own nests while allowing the common Muslims to starve and die. They see that not a single problem is being solved, that

the rents of the landlords are not being touched, salaries of high officials are not reduced and the demands of workers and peasants are not met. The refugees who have come are extremely bitter because the Pakistan officials and the Government are not seriously taking the question of relief while they find bribery and corruption are rampant everywhere. These factors together with the worsening of the conditions due to the economic crisis, the refusal of workers' demands, and the growing exploitation of the peasants, lead to discontent against the present Government and expose its sham character. These lay the objective basis for the building up of a new alliance of classes for the completion of the democratic revolution, for defeating the conspiracies of imperialism and for really freeing the people from imperialist-feudal bondage.

The fact that the Trade Union and Kisan movement are very weak in these parts, the Communist Party itself is very weak and that there is hardly any Left force apart from the Communist Party makes it necessary that we must start with the elementary task of building mass organisations. In the Indian Union the trade unions with their mass following, the Kisan Sabhas with their mass following, the student organisations, the strength of the Communist Party, the strength of other Left parties, constitute a ready-made basis for building the democratic front. In Pakistan we have to build the very basis of the Democratic Front through mass class organisations.

In this context, therefore, great importance attaches to the building of the Trade Union movement and the Kisan movement and to the strengthening of the Kisan Sabha, where they already exist as in East Bengal. The day-to-day struggles of the masses must be conducted vigorously. They must inspire in all members and organisations confidence in the struggle of the people's forces and the entire programme of democratic revolution must be popularised, so that simultaneously these struggles may themselves become levers for building the Democratic Front and a new class alliance.

In conducting the struggles of the workers and peasants, we must do our best to have as much popular

mobilisation behind them as possible, so that they in their elementary form begin to represent the growing unity of the people against the policies of the collaborationist Government and at the same time make it difficult for the Government to crush them. Unless the working class and its Party builds this independent Kisan and working class movement there are no prospects of a Democratic Front being built and people getting disillusioned about the policies of the Government.

The working class and its Party must also organise the middle class employees who are threatened with unemployment by the Government and other concerns, the students which is a vital section of the middle class, the youth from all sections and the women, in their respective organisations and in practice bring about the growing collaboration between these organisations on economic and political issues so that they together gradually begin to develop a common political and economic platform.

The Democratic Front arising out of these mass struggles will thus be an alliance of classes of workers, peasants, middle class, led by the working class and its Party, for the immediate task of defeating the policies of the collaborationist classes and forging ahead with the democratic movement. The central slogan round which these various classes must rally, the central political slogan of the Democratic Front itself, will be a Democratic State based on these three classes, a State from which the collaborators are expelled and a State which really embodies democracy for the common man.

In building up such a front a realistic attitude must be maintained towards the Muslim National Guard. It is composed of diverse elements such as militant peasants, patriotic youth, rabid communalists and criminal elements hired by bureaucrats, landlords and profiteers. The Muslim National Guard is thus divided into two kinds of elements progressive and reactionary. The Communist Party shall patiently explain to the democratic elements the truth about League leaders and the reality about Pakistan. Communists can successfully do this if they are

free from Hindu prejudices against Pakistan and instead of sneering at Pakistan they make the demand for full freedom, people's democracy and communal peace real and irresistible. Communists must be equally free from tailist politics and fear of dominant reactionaries. Full truth must be told to the Muslim masses fearlessly and persistently despite fascist terror launched by landlords, Mullahs and bureaucrats. Toiling people will learn through their own experience and act in a manner that will make the history of Pakistan.

Concrete exposure of the Government and its agents based upon facts and experience of the masses as well as able leadership of struggles for democratic rights, rights of language and education, for land and bread. Bold leadership of such struggles backed by political exposure of the Government and its reactionary agents will open the eyes of the Muslim masses to the real state of affairs and the real way out. Every act of exposure must correspond to the development of consciousness of the masses and every partial struggle must correspond to the actual needs of the situation.

Building up a new youth and student movement must receive utmost care as it will act as a powerful lever for building up a Democratic Front. The urgent task of the youth movement shall be support to oppressed people, their demands and struggles. The watchword of the youth movement shall be full freedom, people's democracy and consistent anti-imperialism.

The position of the Muslim League in connection with the Democratic Front must be properly understood. Though the League leadership is reactionary the masses of Muslims who follow the banner of the League have got to be won over to the Democratic Front. In this connection two points are of significance, firstly the League as an organisation not be a part of the Democratic Front because the front itself will have to fight against the policies of the Muslim League leadership. Secondly, the League masses cannot overnight desert the League and join a Democratic Front. Building up of the Democratic Front

in Pakistan is a process of struggles winning the support of the League masses. Hence for a considerable time the democratic forces will have to continue to fight for a genuine Left-trend inside the League itself while simultaneously the Democratic Front will grow outside the League. The forces led by the working class, should make offers of united front on specific democratic issues with local League organisations so that the masses inside them can join in the common fight.

Parties and organisations dominantly composed of minorities in Pakistan will have a proper place in the Democratic Front only on condition they divest themselves of communalism and genuinely fight for Muslim toilers also.

Nevertheless, the Democratic Front is not visualised as an alliance of parties and groups but a mass organisation with its roots deeply set among toiling people and in which progressive democratic parties and groups work together.

The aim of the Democratic Front is the completion of bourgeois democratic revolution in transition to Socialism through the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that is, the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government based upon direct rule of the people after divesting the vested interests in the proletarian manner and under proletarian leadership.

#### PROGRAMME OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The programme of the Democratic Front and the Left parties should contain the following:

- (1) Complete severance from the British Empire and full and real independence.
- (2) A democratic government representing workers, peasants and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie opposed to collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism and allied to the democratic states working for peace and freedom of all nations.
- (3) A constitution based on adult suffrage and proportional representation guaranteeing full freedom and

democracy to the common man, and fundamental economic rights.

(4) Self-determination to nationalities including the right of secession. A voluntary Federation, autonomous linguistic provinces.

(5) Just and democratic rights of minorities to be embodied in the constitution. Equality and protection to the language and culture of minorities; all liabilities, privileges and discriminations on caste, race and community to be abolished by law, and their infringement to be punishable by law.

(6) Abolition of princedom and feudal rule in the Indian States and the establishment of full democracy. On the question of accession, exposure of the policies of the Governments of parading accession to the Indian Union or Pakistan as a big triumph and explanation to the common people that the urgent and primary task inside the States is the abolition of princedom and feudal rule and the establishment of a people's democratic State. Accession before that is only slavery of the State people both to princely autocracy and to the bourgeois rulers of the Indian Union or Pakistan. It is only after the people of the State become completely free that they will have real liberty to decide the question of accession. At that stage the question will be decided by the wishes of the people.

(7) Cooperation between Pakistan and the Indian Union for economic help, military and political alliance for defence, to pursue a democratic foreign policy in cooperation with the democratic states against the Anglo-American bloc.

(8) Abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of lands to the tillers of the soil. Abolition of the zemindary system must mean confiscation of *khas* lands of the non-cultivating landowners and ensure land to sub-tenants and share-croppers. Liquidation of rural indebtedness and abolition of usury. Living wage for the agricultural labourer.

(9) Confiscation by the State of interests of foreign

capital in banks, industrial and transport concerns, plantations, mines etc. and nationalisation of these concerns.

(10) Nationalisation of big industries, big banks and insurance companies, guarantee of workers' control, minimum living wage, eight hours' day, etc.

(11) Economic plan to develop Pakistan's resources and removal of Big Business and big landlords from strategic economic points. Control of profits in the industries in private hands.

(12) Repeal of all repressive legislation.

(13) Elimination of the bureaucratic administrative state apparatus and the establishment of a democratic administration with elected officials, guided by people's committees.

(14) General arming of the people and the establishment of a democratic army.

(15) The right to free education and compulsory primary education.

(16) Equal democratic rights to women.

#### FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNALISM, WAR BETWEEN TWO STATES AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES ETC.

The Democratic Front and the Communist Party will fight communal reactionaries and riot mongers in both camps. Because of the communal propaganda carried on by the Government and its leaders extreme reactionaries demanding 'Return back to Islam' are coming forward and not only appealing on the basis of communalism but under the guise of defending Islam are propagating theories of State and economic life which will make Pakistan a colonial Fascist State. The Communist Party and the Democratic Front must take a lead in exposing these new dark forces some of which with the armed bands are already terrorising the peasants and will certainly be used against the working class and peasant movements. At the same time they must realise that it is the communal policy of the League and the reactionary policy of the present Pakistan Government

that alone enables these forces to come forward. Notwithstanding the talk about a Secular State indulged in by Mr. Jinnah, the Pakistan Government is creating conditions for the rise of extreme communal reaction which can only be utilised by imperialism against every kind of democratic movement, however mild. The working class and its Party must realise that the present Pakistan Government leaders cannot really establish a Secular State because that means fundamental guarantees to minorities and also means real protection of the democratic rights of the masses of the people.

In building up the democratic movement the Communist Party will have to fight consistently against communalism. In fighting communalism Communists will carefully demarcate themselves from the fake anticommunalism of the vested interests. The Hindu demand for abolition of the Muslim League cannot be given unconditional support. It is necessary to notice that a Section of Muslim vested interests support the demand for converting the League into a Pakistan National League opening its door to non-Muslims. The aim of this demand is to consolidate all reactionaries into one organisation and then to demand dissolution of all democratic parties. Similarly the demand for cooperation between India and Pakistan has also been raised from reactionary quarters under imperialist inspiration for the purpose of a reactionary consolidation against all fighting democratic forces.

We must make a bold stand against the policy of communal incitement, pursued by the League leaders and the direct provocative propaganda for war against the Indian Union. We must warn the people that war means the working class and the peasantry of both territories fighting each other for protecting the interests of imperialists and the landlord-bourgeois classes which man the Governments in the two territories. As against the war propaganda we must put forward the slogan of peace between the two peoples and unity of the fighting millions against their common oppressors.

The Communist Party and the Democratic Front must boldly champion the rights of the minorities, the right to exist, right of culture, no discrimination in government services, protection of life and property etc. and explain to the masses that protection of the minorities is an integral part of the struggle against landlord and capitalist oppression, of the struggle for democracy and freedom. It is an integral part of the struggle against imperialist machinations which seek to divert the anti-imperialist anger of the masses into communal channels. It should also be explained to the minorities that no amount of guarantees given by the upper class leaders will save the minorities. The only guarantee that can effectively safeguard the rights of the minorities is the bond forged in the common struggle against oppression and exploitation and the rights of the minorities will be safe in so far as the minority masses join the common struggle and help to build the common democratic movement.

The Democratic Front must take a clear-cut stand on the question of self-determination of nationalities inside Pakistan. As matters stand today the nationalities composing Pakistan have no real guarantee that they will not be suppressed. On the other hand in the name of unity of all Muslims every effort is being made to subordinate all these nationalities which opens the way to conflicts between them. In the constitution, we must demand the right of self-determination for East Bengal, Baluchistan, Punjab, Frontier and Sind and demand that the people in these areas must be allowed to exercise this right in the most democratic manner possible. If the Democratic Front fails to do it, the reactionary elements in Pakistan are bound to exploit this conflict between nationalities for purpose of imperialist power politics. In this connection we should not allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the attack that might be made against us that we intend to disrupt Pakistan.

In the matter of preparing a new constitution we must raise the slogan of democracy for the common man and

expose and unmask the slogan of Islamic democracy and unmask the plans of the Government to delay the constitution and finally prepare a reactionary one. We must demand a free and democratic State embodying the will of the people together with all the fundamental rights. The demand for a democratic constitution should serve to expose the class character of the present Government.

As against the policies of collaboration pursued by the Government we must demand immediate break with imperialism, concentrate fire on the fact that the Government is being run by British bureaucracy, demand severance of connection with the British Empire and Anglo-American power politics. In the interests of the people we must also demand friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the democratic bloc.

In opposition to the Government's plan of retaining landlordism we must demand abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller. We must expose the Government's economic policy as one of selling the country to foreign capitalists, expose its exploitation of the fear of the Hindu bourgeoisie, and of communal prejudices, to screen the sell-out and we must demand planning on the basis of nationalisation, living wage and workers' control of industries.

We must unmask the intrigues that are going on to throw Pakistan into anti-Soviet Middle East politics with the help of Egypt and other Muslim country and warn the people against the danger.

On the question of States, the working class and its Party must expose the policy of supporting feudal reaction, pursued by the Pakistan Government (Kalat etc.) and demand total abolition of feudal autocracy and full democracy for the people.

In connection with the border States and their accession the working class must expose the collaborationist character of the Government, exposing the policy of the Government of the Indian Union also, and base its attitude on the following three tests :

(1) Wishes of the people of the State or nationality concerned;

(2) How does it help the Democratic movement inside the State and in the two States of Pakistan and Indian Union;

(3) How it affects the relation between the two peoples—that is, the unity of the democratic movements.

The developments in Kashmir show how the two States are playing into the hands of imperialism and where trailing behind your own bourgeois governments lands the working class.

The Communist Party stands for Democratic Front as a non-communal organisation. The Communist Party does not support any and every form of cooperation between India and Pakistan, the cooperation between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Madras Government in arresting peasant leaders is an instance of this kind. The Communist Party stands for peoples' cooperation between India and Pakistan for freedom, democracy and lasting peace. When border incidents take place between the two dominions, the main political task of the Communist Party is to mobilise the people on both sides of the border against any conflict and to prevent attacks by armed raiders from one side on the people of the other side. It will do so by exposing the reactionary role of the Governments of both the States and the game played by Imperialism and its hirelings. Simultaneously it will be the duty of the Communist Party to organise Joint People's Defence against any attack by armed raiders or communal gangs. When large scale migration and transfer of population takes place, Communists will campaign against migration and transfer because they provoke Hindu-Muslim conflict. But if in any instance conflicts break out and migration becomes indispensable for the safety of the population concerned, Communist Party will not hesitate to lend support to it. On the question of accession of States, either in the Indian Union or Pakistan, Communists will in the first instance stand for abolition of Princedom and agrarian revolution, will stubbornly refuse to give accession any prominence before the struggle for

abolition of Princedom and agrarian revolution succeeds and Pakistan or the Indian Union (as the case may be) gives guarantee to that success.

#### CONCLUSION

In the circumstances existing in Pakistan, therefore, the direct mobilisation of masses secured through the newly developed trade union and kisan movement becomes the main lever for building the democratic front. There is hardly any left force besides the Communist Party which has got an independent following. Therefore, the slogan of Left unity has not that importance today as it has in the Indian Union.

The Socialist Party which is supposed to exist in Pakistan is lining up behind the Government, has no following though it may possess some weak links with certain left-minded elements. The main brunt of building the Democratic Front, therefore, falls on the shoulders of the Communist Party and the organisations which it is leading.

The position of the Muslim League in connection with the Democratic Front must be properly understood. The Muslim League still continues to have sway over thousands of Muslims. It uses its influence to support the existing reactionary Government to screen its misdeeds and to pour more and more communal poison into the minds of the masses. The League leaders seek to keep it as an organisation consolidating communal feeling and reaction because only thus are they able to sidetrack the upsurge that is growing under the impact of the crisis. The entire prestige of the League, therefore, will be utilised to fight the independent struggles of the masses, to pass on the burdens of collaboration on their shoulders and to strengthen the chains of imperialist colonial slavery. The League as an organisation, therefore, cannot be a part of the Democratic Front because that front itself will have to wage a struggle against the policies of the League itself.

Nevertheless thousands of Muslims who still stand by the League cannot be left to their own fate. Every effort, therefore, will have to be made to win over these masses and bring them into the struggle and participate in the activities of the Democratic Front. The forces led by the working class, therefore, should make offers of united front on specific issues with local League organisations so that the masses can join in the common fight. Also every help should be given to carry on work inside the League to unmask the policies of the leadership and to disillusion the masses about them. This task also cannot be neglected. It is thus that the working class and its allies must attempt to win the League masses for the programme of the Democratic Front.

Inside Pakistan the Muslim League must be understood not as a national organisation representing the anti-imperialist movement but a communal organisation seeking to consolidate communal reaction and to support the policy of treacherous compromise with imperialism. The policies of this organisation, therefore, have to be unmasked and fought. If work is carried on in this organisation it is not with the hope of winning it over for the programme of democratic movement but to unmask its leadership and win over the masses to the cause of the democratic movement.

It is, therefore, necessary that the working class does everything that is possible to evolve a genuine Left trend inside the League, a trend which will fight the current policies on the basis of the democratic demands of the masses.

A genuine Left trend will arise in the League only in the measure that the Communist Party and the working class organises an independent movement of the masses defending its common rights and demanding a democratic constitution. Only when the petty bourgeoisie are inspired by the deeds and acts of the working class, only when their fear of bourgeois intimidation is eliminated by the bold actions of the working class and its allies, would they begin to speak up against the bourgeoisie in the League, thus giving rise to a healthy Left trend. It should

be the task of the Democratic Front and the working class to create conditions for such a trend inside the League, so that the task of unmasking the leadership is facilitated thereby.

In the building of the Democratic Front, the unification of the Trade Union movement occupies a vital position. The Unions formerly affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress in all parts of Pakistan must be unified under one organisation so that the trade unions are not only able to defend the day to day rights of the working class but also able to play a great role in the political awakening of the working class. They will be defendable by the working class interests only in so far as they stand unified and stand together under one common organisation. The Government of Pakistan is already putting forward a puppet organisation to disrupt this unity, to crush the struggle and to break the link of the working class in Pakistan with the working class in the Indian Union. The working class must see that its central trade union organisation unifies it not only for the day to day demands but for the discharge of immediate political responsibilities, that it defeats the game of disruption and keeps contact with the AITUC so that a common line is taken on common problems so that working class unity and solidarity is kept and the game of incitement and provocation on the basis of Pakistan versus Indian Union, of Hindu versus Muslim, is fought jointly by the working class in both countries.

Similarly, the peasant movement in Pakistan must maintain its links with the peasant movement in the Indian Union so that the two sections of the peasantry see that their task is common and their problems are common, so that it becomes more and more difficult for communal provocateurs to propagate war among the peasants of both territories.

One of the major weaknesses in the Pakistan set-up is of course the weakness of the Communist Party itself. In the Indian Union through years of mass struggle and ideological struggle against bourgeois ideologies, the party

was able to forge the cadre and membership trained in Marxism and years of ideological struggle which gave the Party and the confidence in Marxism-Leninism. But in Pakistan today not only the mass basis is lacking but along with it an independent organised cadre such as could only come out of an independent proletarian movement is lacking. To train and create a cadre in the course of the struggles, in the course of ideological battles, of polemics against the policies of the ruling class and on the basis of hatred for the poisonous ideologies represented by the League leadership and its satellites is a dire necessity. In the absence of this there is a tendency in Party ranks to retreat in a cowardly fashion before the communal onslaughts, before religious demagogy and in the end Party members themselves begin to talk in terms of Islamic and un-Islamic. To forge the cadre capable of carrying on ideological struggle against the reactionaries, of leading the mass battles with firm faith in the victory of the working class and the people, to train every member in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, is a task which can be neglected only at the peril of the Party and the movement.

Great importance therefore attaches to direct propagation of Marxism through study circles etc., not only among the workers and peasants, but also among petty bourgeois youths, students etc., who themselves are talking about socialism. To train them in the Marxian outlook, supply them with the basic criteria to judge the bourgeois ideologies and equip them to fight the poisonous propaganda of communalists, is a task which must be consciously undertaken. What was done in the early days of the Party through Marxist study circles and struggle against Gandhism has to be done again in the new circumstances, so that petty bourgeois intelligentsia and revolutionaries turn in large numbers to the Party of the working class.

The Party in Pakistan will not be able to play the leading role that it must play in forging the Democratic Front, in leading the mass battles despite League opposition and State repression, in winning over new allies and

in maintaining the confidence of its members and the masses in the ultimate victory against reaction, unless its leadership and entire cadres is steeled in Marxism-Leninism and knows how to meet the onslaught of the enemies of the people. With the masses moving to the Left, with disillusionment growing all round, with the myth of freedom won exposed, the future of the democratic movement depends on the independent actions of the working class and its allies and on the lead which the Party gives. If the Party itself suffers from illusions about Pakistan being a freedom government or lines up behind the reactionary Government, the entire discontent will be exploited by the reactionaries by strengthening the chains of slavery.

The Party must get out of this reformist slough and realise that though it is a small Party the masses are moving in the direction of the democratic revolution and therefore it must have confidence in the ultimate victory of the people. Already the Party and some of its leaders have gained great prestige as fighters among organised section of the working class (NWR Union) and if the Party has not forged ahead in these last few months it is only because it has not talked confidently to the masses about the rôle of the League and the developments that have taken place recently. The influence of the League appears to be unshakeable but the reality is that the ground is already shaking under the feet of reaction and the masses are already moving.

It is this that the Party in Pakistan must realise so that step by step without overestimating the process of disillusionment, it is able to guide the discontent of the masses along channels of freedom and democracy, of defeating the plans of imperialism and the collaborating bourgeois-landlord clique.