

INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

File 600

INTELLOFAX 11

COUNTRY Pakistan

DATE DISTR. 9 AUG 51

SUBJECT Aims of the Communist Party of Pakistan

NO. OF PAGES 5

PLACE ACQUIRED

NO. OF ENCLS. (LISTED BELOW)

DATE OF INFO.

25X1C

SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO. 25X1X

The following is an unedited translation of a 19 paragraph Urdu publication issued by the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP):*

What Does the Pakistan Communist Party Want?*

Pakistani brothers and sisters:

- After assuming power the Muslim League leaders dragged our country to the verge of destruction within a period of four years. Millions of Muslims trusted them, hoping that they would free the people from the yoke of British slavery. But what have the League leaders done? They have strengthened the chains of slavery. They have reduced Pakistan to the status of a Dominion of the British Empire. We know that the British exploited our fertile country for more than a century and a half. As a result, our people had to starve; they were deprived of their food and clothing. They became bankrupt. Our industries and our farms were destroyed. Our nation was humiliated. Our culture and civilization were suppressed. Lovers of the country were hanged. Millions of our countrymen were sent behind bars. Even today, British Imperialists have enslaved Muslim countries - Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt, and Sudan. A large part of Africa is under their slavery. They are oppressing the freedom-loving citizens of Malaya. They are suppressing the forces of peace, freedom and democracy by joining hands with the United States. They are preparing to drag humanity into a war. But Liaquat Ali Khan and other League leaders are still appeasing the British Imperialists! They say that Pakistan should remain in the Commonwealth. They state that the British Commonwealth stands for the protection of peace and freedom. They did not support the demand in the Pakistan Parliament that British forces should be withdrawn from Egypt. They are not following an independent democratic policy in the United Nations. The League's Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah, has become a camp-follower of the Anglo-American bloc. For instance, Sir Zafrullah did not support the proposal to outlaw the atom bomb. But when the US attacked Korea, our Prime Minister immediately announced that Pakistan stands by the side of the US. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and other Muslim League Ministers have declared in their speeches that Pakistan is prepared to fight Communism i.e., Russia and China, with the USA and UK, provided these countries help Pakistan.

CLASSIFICATION

STATE #	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NAVY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NSRB	DISTRIBUTION			
ARMY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AIR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FBI				

Document No. **W06**
 No Change in Class.
 Declassified
 Class. Changed To: **TS S C**
 Auth.: **HR 70-2**
 Approved For Release 2000/06/08 : CIA-RDP82-00467R007900520006-6

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2. As far as this aid is concerned, the US imperialists openly say that if any country joins them in preparing for a war against Communism, they will arm these countries with war equipment. But the same US and Britishers do not provide us machinery for the industrial development of Pakistan. In spite of this attitude, the Muslim League rulers are appeasing the US. This foreign policy is not an independent but a slavish policy. This policy is to turn the Pakistanis into cannon-fodder in the Anglo-American war. This, in brief, is a policy of destruction.
3. Coming to the internal affairs of Pakistan, we find that Britishers are dominating our administration. General Gracey is gone, but there are several other British officers in the Pakistan Army. In the Foreign Affairs Department, a British Jew, Creagh Coen, is a Secretary. Secret correspondence is done by another Englishman in Foreign Affairs. In the Commerce Department, the key man is a Britisher, MacFarchar. Two British officers are Deputy Directors in Central Intelligence Bureau. Inspectors-General of Police of the Frontier Province and Sind are Englishmen. The manager of the North Western Railway is also a Britisher.
4. Have the League leaders, who denounce their opponents as traitors, asked the Britishers whether they are loyal to Pakistan or to British imperialism? Instead, they do not hesitate to send their own countrymen like Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim, Khushhal Khan Khattak, Ataulloh Jahanian, Abdul Khaliq Azad, Sobho Ghanchandani, Col. Lateef Afghani, and other compatriots behind bars. They do not feel ashamed for issuing arrest warrants against Sajjad Zaheer, Shaukat Ali, Chaudhry Aslam and Abdul Aziz - patriots, who have devoted their lives to achieve freedom for their country and rights for laborers and farmers. But they seek the friendship of Britain, which enslaved our country. Even today, British companies, British banks and British capitalists dominate our country. Volkert Brothers, Halli Brothers, Imperial Tobacco Company, Imperial Chemical Company, shipping companies, Attock Oil Company, Burmah-Shell, Associated Cement and British owners of tea gardens are all exploiting our country. League leaders, instead of stopping this exploitation, are inviting the British and US capitalists to invest capital in Pakistan so that they may consolidate their exploitation. They do not realize that Pakistan's industries are in a state of decay. Factory owners are going bankrupt and thousands of laborers and workers are unemployed. But the League pursues the policy of dumping foreign goods in this country. They care not at all for their own industry, or their own country.
5. Can we not manufacture cloth in our own country? Why fill the pockets of the British by importing their cloth worth Rupees 100 Crores? Can we not manufacture cigarettes and Biris in Pakistan? Can we not run oil companies and tea gardens? Why hand over crores of rupees to the British? Britain owes us crores of rupees which were borrowed under duress during the last war. But, today, they refuse to return that money. They reduce these balances on some pretext or other. The fact remains that League leaders represent capitalists, landlords and nawabs. Their rule means the rule of the capitalists and British imperialists.

What Have They Done for the Laborers During the Last Three Years?

6. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had promised Pakistani railwaymen that he would implement the recommendations of the Pay Commission of undivided India. But these promises were broken. Thousands of railwaymen were thrown out of employment. When there was a nominal increase in their wages, the laborers protested. The result was that labor union leaders were arrested. League hirelings tried to disrupt labor ranks and intimidated the workers with the help of the police.
7. The Leaguers do not want workers to claim housing facilities, old age pensions, or subsistence allowances during unemployment. They support the owners of factories in the fight between labor and capital, even if they are non-Pakistanis. It does not matter much to the League leaders even if Pakistani laborers die of starvation, while foreign capitalists fill their coffers. This is the labor policy of the Leaguers.

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What Have the Leaguers Done for the Farmers?

8. During the last three years, big landlords and jagirdars have been ousting the farmers from their lands. But the League Ministries always supported the landlords and jagirdars. Illegal gratification continued. But League Ministers and officers did not intervene. In Frontier Province and Sind, League Ministers announced that they are in favor of abolishing the jagirdari system. A bill was also passed in the Frontier Province. But the farmers in that province shall have to pay a heavy price for becoming owners of lands as only ancestral agriculturists are allowed to become proprietors by paying a nominal compensation. But they are very few in number; only one percent; so also in Sind, it was proposed to abolish the jagirdari system. But the very proposal came to an end.
9. The law, which was introduced for the benefit of the Haris, is being used to oust the Haris. Not only the jagirdars, landlords and khans but also the Leaguers have been exploiting the farmers. Foreign capitalists have been dumping their commodities in Pakistan. Moreover, sales tax, railway fare, and stamp duty have been continuously increasing. The farmer is hit hard by the fixation of floor prices of cotton and jute. To add to this, there is an increase in corruption.

What Have the League Leaders Done for the Pakistani Refugees?

10. Even today, millions of refugees are homeless and unemployed. They are squatting on the foot-paths of Karachi. Evacuee property of Hindus and Sikhs has been allotted to a few persons. Land was not allotted to millions of refugee farmers, and those who received lands are paying heavy cash rent. Hence, refugees are suffering.

What About the Educated Class?

11. The educated men are unemployed and homeless. The employees are also suffering as their salaries are being decreased. Small businessmen and mill-owners are either losing or becoming bankrupt. During the rule of the Muslim Leaguers, education is at a standstill, while school and college fees are increasing. The salaries of lecturers and teachers are so small that they cannot maintain their families.
12. Now let us look at our administration. We find corruption and favoritism in each and every department. There is black-marketing of licenses, allotments and government contracts. The Central Government has charged the Provincial Ministers and Assembly members with corruption, bribery, favoritism and inefficiency. League members of the Central Assembly have to be bribed by offering them profitable business. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan has adopted the same procedure. When this system failed, seven Assembly members were arrested.
13. During the recent elections in the Punjab, Muslim League nominated jagirdars, landlords, illiterates, unionist traitors, cattle-robbers and rogues as the representatives of Punjab. Civil liberties have been suppressed! Central Safety Ordinance, Provincial Safety Act, Sind Hur Act, and the Frontier Regulation are enforced to send freedom-loving citizens behind bars. Three newspapers of the Communist Party have been banned. Nawai-waqt and other anti-League newspapers have been suppressed.
14. The Pakistan Communist Party says that the Muslim League and their leaders do not deserve the confidence of the Pakistanis. Their record is not clean. Traitors have caused immense harm to the interest of the country. Time demands that this anti-human regime should be over-thrown. Pakistanis can do it. The Muslim League leaders depend upon the support of British imperialism and its brutal power.

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15. The Communist Party appeals to all sections of public opinion to sink their differences and to form a united front to maintain freedom and democracy and to accelerate the pace of the country's prosperity by overthrowing the League Government.
16. Freedom-loving Pakistanis can unite under this program:***
- a. Pakistan should quit the Commonwealth and become an independent Republic.
 - b. Pakistan should not be a camp-follower of the British-US imperialists. Her foreign policy should be independent. She should support the forces of peace, freedom and democracy and oppose British-US war mongers. She should maintain friendly relations with her peaceful neighbors, Soviet Union and China.
 - c. Pakistan's constitution should be based on democracy. It should be federal. A new Constituent Assembly should be elected by adult franchise. Pakistan's provinces should be given the right of self-determination.
 - d. Civic rights should be protected. Safety Act, Press Act and other such laws should be abolished. People should be allowed to express their opinion freely and to organize parties peacefully. All political prisoners, including workers, should be released.
 - e. The Jagirdari system and landlordism should be brought to an end without paying any compensation to the landlords and jagirdars. Cultivators should own the land. Expulsion of cultivators should be immediately stopped. Cultivators should get ancestral rights. Bribery and free exploitation of labor should be treated as a crime. Cash rent should be reduced.
 - f. Laborers, employees, policemen and soldiers should get living wages and salaries. Old-age pensions, unemployment allowances, free medical aid, and housing facilities should be granted. Workers and technicians should be allowed to organize associations, to hold meetings, to take out processions, and to go on strike.
 - g. Those taxes whose incidence falls on the people should be abolished or reduced. The sales tax should be abolished. Compulsory collection of subscriptions should be stopped.
 - h. Foreign factories, workshops, tea gardens and banks should be nationalized.
 - i. National and patriotic capitalists should be encouraged.
 - j. Women should be offered equal democratic rights. Educational and social development facilities should be provided to men and women.
 - k. Primary education should be free and compulsory. Urdu and other provincial languages and culture should be developed.
 - l. Industrial and agricultural development plans should be formed to increase production and wealth of the country.
17. The Pakistan Communist Party appeals to all patriotic citizens of Pakistan to unite to carry out the above-mentioned program. Peoples' organizations, farmers' committees, labor unions, intelligentsia and middle class societies should be strengthened. Unity of the democratic and patriotic citizens can overthrow the Muslim League's rule.

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18. If you vote for the Communist Party in the Punjab elections and for the labor organizations of the country, you will be hitting hard the puppets of British imperialism and our selfish enemies. If you vote for them, you will be accelerating the progressive movement and the struggle for freedom.
19. The Pakistan Communist Party is a workers' party, which is striving for the freedom, democracy and prosperity of the patriotic citizens of the country. Strengthen the Communist Party, enroll yourself as a member of the party and bring the day of the country's freedom and the peoples' prosperity nearer.

PAKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY

411 McLeod Road, Lahore

(Pakistan Times Press, Lahore)

Printer-Publisher-Firoz-ud-din Mansur

25X1A * [REDACTED] Comment. This publication was intended for general circulation and bears a oneanna price mark, but in practice is hard to obtain because the police seize all copies possible.

25X1A ** [REDACTED] Comment. This publication was apparently intended mainly as a manifesto for the March Punjab elections, although it appears to have been revised somewhat and there is a reference to the recent Punjab election (paragraph 13). It would clearly seem to have been written before the arrest of Faiz Ahmad Faiz in March 1951.

25X1A *** [REDACTED] Comment. There are many similar points of comparison between this document and the Manifesto of the Pakistan Communist Party which was disseminated [REDACTED]

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