



**LONG LIVE  
MARXISM - LENINISM**



**THE TENTH  
CONGRESS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY  
PAKISTAN**

**16 -17 -18 JUNE 2023 ISLAMABAD**



**Emancipation from Imperialism,  
Stratocracy and Feudalism to  
Establish a Secular & Socialist Society**



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10<sup>th</sup> Congress of Communist Party of Pakistan

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One Solution! Revolution

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10<sup>th</sup> Congress Political Resolution

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## PREFACE

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Pakistan was successfully held in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. The party's inaugural Congress took place in Calcutta, India, in March 1948. Subsequently, the second Congress convened in Karachi, Sindh, in December 1975, and it was designated as the Congress of 1976. The first Congress was convened in the open and free atmosphere of independent India, which is why it was not kept confidential. Following the establishment of Pakistan, a series of challenges began for the party. The Congress of 1976 took place during an "elected democratic dictatorship," which necessitated its confidentiality. The party's third congress convened in May 1989 in a field in Sharafi Goth, Karachi, Sindh, under a canopy. This Congress was convened 42 years after Pakistan's inception, partly due to shifts in state violence and the change in the adoption of fascist attitudes within the Pakistani government. Following the Congress, Comrade Imam Ali Nazish, the re-elected Secretary General of the party, along with the members of the Central Committee at that time, conducted a press conference at the Karachi Press Club. During this conference, they briefed the press on Congress's resolutions. One of the key decisions made during the Congress was that, with the exception of a few comrades, the remaining members would engage in overground activities, openly operating under the banner of the Communist Party. It is regrettable to mention that during these 42 years, the party faced difficulties on three occasions. It's worth noting that the party experienced two splits, first in May 1987 and then in May 1989. Following the decisions made during the 1989 Congress, the party organised a monumental gathering on August 9, 1989, at Jinnah Bagh in Larkana, Sindh. This event saw the participation of party members, sympathisers, and pro-democracy allies from Sindh and Balochistan, all on the day commemorating the martyrdom of Comrade Nazir Abbasi. Loudspeakers were strategically placed along the roads leading out of Jinnah Bagh in three directions. People who had come from various regions to attend the gathering filled the roofs of buses, as there was no available space left within the garden to sit and listen to the leaders' speeches. According to the decision of this Congress, the Fourth Congress was held in December 1990 in a community hall in Lyari, Karachi, Sindh. The 5th Congress took place in November 1995 on a plot attached to Comrade Maula Bakhsh Khaskheli's house at Long Bhatti Goth, adjacent to the Rohri Cement Factory, Sindh. The 6th Congress was held in December 1998 in Mandani District, Charsadda, KPK. The 7th Congress took place in March 2002 at the Hyderabad Press Club, Hyderabad, Sindh. The 8th Congress was held in April 2011 at a community hall in Qasimabad, Hyderabad, Sindh, while the 9th Congress was held

in March 2016 at the same location. The 10th Congress was delayed due to the spread of the coronavirus and took place in Islamabad on June 16, 17, and 18, 2023. This means that after the decision of the 1989 Congress, all subsequent Congresses were held at pre-announced locations, and open meetings were also held at their conclusion. During the closed session of the Tenth Congress, held from June 16 to the first session on June 17, the proposed Congress document was approved with some modifications and additions after discussions among delegates from across the country who presented proposals passed by provincial conferences. The Congress set its targets, i.e., 1) To achieve the emancipation of Pakistan from imperialist dominion. 2) To estrange imperialism's parasitic military and civil functionaries from the state and political matters. 3) To establish a genuine secular democracy by subjugating feudalistic and parasitic capitalist political elites and their burgeoning criminal syndicates. 4) To grant nations the prerogative of self-determination, including the entitlement to secede, through a democratic framework. 5) To undertake the ultimate endeavour of orchestrating the socialist revolution, achieved through the unity and mobilisation of the proletariats, peasants, and marginalised segments of society. However, due to archaic modes of production and associated social relations, the construction of socialism shall commence at the stage of people's democracy.

In pursuit of these objectives, Congress has determined that the avenue of mass revolutionary upheaval shall be pursued to foment revolution via class struggle, instilling class consciousness among the working class and the masses. History has demonstrated that oppressing classes who own the means of production do not give up peacefully their process of exploitation. While the party acknowledges elections as a facet of the political process, historical lessons have illustrated that the out-moded exploitative system can not be dismantled only through electoral or parliamentary institutions. The sole enduring path to revolution remains revolutionary mass upheaval.

It is the duty of party comrades to now approach workers and the common people with fresh strategies and tactics. Colleagues must remember to spark widespread agitation by rallying labourers, peasants, and ordinary citizens around their daily issues. Those engaged in this public movement, consistently and passionately, should receive comprehensive education on class struggle, be prepared on an ideological basis, and be integrated into the party and the revolutionary process. Furthermore, it's crucial to recognise the importance of conducting mass work alongside political and ideological efforts. We can foster their goodwill towards

the party by assisting the common people in obtaining access to streets, education, healthcare, electricity, gas, and welfare services. This should not be underestimated, as it is through this connection that strong bonds can be formed with the people.

Imdad Qazi

Secretary-General,

Communist Party of Pakistan

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**ADOPTED POLITICAL RESOLUTION**  
**10TH CONGRESS OF**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF PAKISTAN**  
**ISLAMABAD**  
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## COVID-19 (CORONA)

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In 2020, the world was struck by a deadly epidemic-like disease. This disease, which originated in Wuhan in China, quickly spread across the globe and assumed the form of a pandemic. On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) Director declared a global health emergency. According to Oxfam's report, as of April 8, 2023, this pandemic has claimed the lives of 10.96 million people. By the time of drafting this document, 762,000,000 (Seven Hundred and Sixty-two million) people had been infected with this disease in 229 countries. Initially, there was confusion about its origin and spread. One opinion suggested that the virus causing this disease was created in a laboratory, while another view claimed that it was transmitted to humans from bats. The Imperialistic capitalist countries have established laboratories in their own countries and other developing countries where lethal/deadly weapons, including biological and viral ones, are continuously experimented with. It seems that these deadly weapons will be capable of annihilating human lives and the whole planet Earth. Imperialist countries always conduct various experiments to develop different conventional and non-conventional weapons to gain an edge over other countries. During the Soviet Union era, the World Peace Council (WPC) protested on a large scale against such laboratories producing bacterial, viral, or lethal weapons worldwide. Even today, with the initiative of the Communist Party of Belarus, the Communist Party of Pakistan, along with many other world fraternal parties, has organised seminars and protests to raise awareness among the public.

In any case, all kinds of such ills can be expected from the imperialistic capitalist system. There is a strong opinion that the USA named it the Chinese virus and used it as a tactic to disrupt China's global trade. At the same time, information has also surfaced that this virus was created in USA laboratories through joint research with Britain and was used in China using the Canadian platform. According to the Chinese government, two players in the American military team participating in the 2019 military Olympic Games held in China were intentionally infected with this disease. They had been used as a lethal weapon to spread the infection "COVID-19" in China. To cover this, even before the start of the games, these two military players were brought back to the United States through a special aircraft. Until 2019-20 and 2021, this viral disease affected almost the entire world. Since the virus spread rapidly through human contact, a complete lockdown was imposed in most affected

countries, which was so strict that it reshaped a curfew. About 75% of the world was quickly enveloped in lockdown. Daily life came to a halt, and all businesses were affected. Offices started working online. During this time, a new job emerged in the service sector called "gig economy." Those working in this economy within the service sector are called gig workers, who only work on online orders". During the lockdown, relaxation was available only in intervals for obtaining food items. Factories and various institutions started closing, and millions of workers became unemployed. In Pakistan alone, 27 million people became unemployed as 74% of labourers are on daily wages, and the income of millions already earning the bare minimum decreased significantly, forcing them to beg on the streets. Governments and non-governmental organisations in various countries provided financial assistance to low-income people. Still, corrupt governments and administrations like Pakistan devoured all allocated funds in the name of the people. This pandemic had far-reaching economic and social effects on the world, and its various variants continued to appear and spread in multiple intensities.

In December 2022, this disease spread intensified again in China and is still active. In 2020, according to a report by the International Labor Organization (ILO) for workers, 400 (Four Hundred) million permanent jobs were eliminated, and working hours were reduced considerably, which caused a decrease of \$3.7 trillion (\$ 3700 Billion) in income worldwide, nearly 160 (One Sixty Million) million people became bankrupt. As a result, collectively, one billion people in the world are estimated to be living in extreme poverty. The situation was exceptionally severe in the vulnerable (least developing) countries where, according to surveys by international organisations, women and religious and ethnic minorities were affected in greater numbers. In 2020 alone, 800 million people were suffering from food shortages and from 2020 to 2021, the pandemic caused a \$9 trillion (\$9000 Billion) loss to the global economy, which increased the speed of unemployment so much that according to the ILO report, unemployed people increased from 187 (One hundred and eighty-seven) million in 2019 to 220 (Two hundred and twenty) million in 2020, resulting in a sharp increase in food shortage contributing a steep visible increase in the class differences across the world. COVID-19 increased government losses from 79% to 95%. In contrast, the shipping industry, some superstores, and pharmaceutical companies earned significantly increased profits. During the pandemic, the major pharmaceutical companies were making \$1,000 per second and \$60,000 per minute. Similarly, Amazon, one of the superstores,

increased its profits from \$113 billion to \$203 billion from 2019 to November 2020, which increased the value of its assets by 80% in just the initial six months of the coronavirus period. In other words, Jeff Bezos, the owner of Amazon, saw his wealth increase by \$8.67 million per hour. This was not only the case with Jeff Bezos, as the top 10 richest people in the world doubled their wealth, in contrast to 160 million people who, within this period, moved below the extreme poverty line. While hardworking people and daily wagers were starving and dying from hunger, these elite, richest capitalist classes profoundly increased their advantages and profits. World Economic Council reported that 573 new billionaires surfaced during the COVID-19 period, even though the world's economy shrunk and many governments and businesses went into bankruptcy or reached near bankruptcy in the same period. The energy, airline and tourism industries and the interrelated supply chain businesses were the most affected, contributing heavily towards the loss of employment to millions of workers and daily wagers. 43.5% of the air industry saw a complete closure, and oil-producing countries were appealing to sell for free. The most affected region was the Arab countries, which are heavily dependent on oil and tourism, including the airline industry. Within this region, there was extreme unemployment among the overseas workers' the majority belonging to the least underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa, further worsening the situation in these respective countries.

Corona has proven that the progress and growth achieved by capitalism are solely aimed at profit-making and wealth accumulation, with no priority given to saving human lives, even in crises like pandemics. In fact, even a lethal, deadly pandemic, which claimed millions of lives, was perceived as an opportunity to exploit for capital gains. It is evident that the countries that have claimed the capitalist system of governance to achieve growth and progress have shown no significant preference and priority for saving human lives. They moved no stone unturned to invent and create weapons of mass destruction (the weapons of war that destroy humanity and disrupt nature) but lack even noticeable research on saving humanity as a whole. In contrast, those countries that have adopted policies based on a planned economy instead of a market-based economy have not experienced such significant loss of human lives. Even in capitalist countries, the majority of the poor or low-income people have lost their lives, and an estimated 54% of deaths in these capitalist countries are from the segment of the population living below the poverty line, on the marginalised income and are from the low-income groups.

## POST COVID WORLD' S SITUATION

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As a consequence of the COVID pandemic, the global economy was severely affected, leading to bankruptcy or risk of default for many businesses and governments worldwide, resulting in the decline of income of 99% of people. The impact was severe on the middle-income and the working classes as a whole, especially industrial workers and daily wagers of least developing and developing countries. This caused a sharp, horrifying increase in people living below the poverty line. Oxfam reported that every 4 seconds, one person was pushed into the arms of death due to poverty, and the death of a rich person coincided with the deaths of four poor individuals. The year 2022, to some extent, was projected for the world to be the year of recovery after COVID-19, in which all walks of life, including economic activities, were expected to return to normal. But, on Feb 24, 2022, Russia attacked Ukraine and initiated a new crisis in the world. The United States and NATO's sponsored war between Russia and Ukraine sparked a new human and economic crisis that engulfed the world. A new phase of economic recovery was expected from COVID-19, but capitalists, to compensate for their losses from COVID-19, exploited the new opportunity arising from the war and increased the prices of every commodity. This triggered a new trend severely hitting all major economies, including the United States and Europe.

## UKRAINIAN WAR

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Ukraine is a former Soviet Union state with a land area of 603,705 square kilometres and a population of 40.37 million. Regarding land area, Ukraine is the second-largest country in Europe after Russia. Due to its location, Ukraine is strategically important to Russia in military terms. In Ukraine, under the United States designs, support was provided to nationalist groups by exploiting racial tensions; ultra-nationalists were brought together under extremist slogans, which paved the way to remove Viktor Fedorovych Yanukovych, who was the united representative of all communities in Ukraine, from the presidency and finally facilitated the accession of Volodymyr Zelenskyy to the presidency. Before this, attacks were engineered and carried out on the population of Russian ethnicity in various provinces of Ukraine by ultra-nationalist armed groups. Thus, consequently, Ukraine leaned towards ethnic politics and division within the society, while at the same time, Ukraine filed its request for membership in NATO. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was established during the Cold War as a military organisation comprising 30 countries to protect the North Atlantic, contrary to the Warsaw Pact, the socialist block's joint defence pact. Instead of abolishing it after the end of the Warsaw Pact and the socialist bloc, the United States and Western European countries expanded it. They extended their agreements to Eastern European countries. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Yeltsin, who was inclined towards the Western imperialist capital and entourage (Russian Oligarchy), not only allowed the US CIA to establish its offices across Russia but also granted permission to recruit the Russian population. This then caused not only resentment but also dissatisfaction among the Russian people. With these sentiments, Vladimir Putin took charge of Russia's leadership. He switched his role from the Prime Minister to the President, but in both cases, the centre of power remained concentrated with Putin. When NATO began to expand towards the former Soviet states and the Baltic states, one after another became part of NATO, Russia constantly raised objections. However, when Ukraine bid to join NATO, the situation became complicated and worsened, which eventually led to a declaration of war on Ukraine. These circumstances prompted Finland, Sweden, and other Eastern European states to postpone the inclusion decision in NATO temporarily, but later, on April 4, 2023, Both Finland and Sweden became members of NATO.

Russia reasoned out an attack on Ukraine because of the targeted attack on the Russian ethnic population by ultra-nationalists of Ukraine in areas like Donbas, Crimea, Sloviansk, and others in which the Russian-speaking population were being killed. The other reason cited is that there are USA and NATO designs to establish and encircle its military presence on the Russian border and encircle it. Russia iterated that these provocations would not be tolerated. There is no doubt that Vladimir Zelensky is a racist and a puppet stooge of the USA and the West, and it is also true that ultra-nationalist racists of Ukraine indeed carried out the attacks on the Russian-speaking population. But, it should also be understood that Russia has similar imperialistic ambitions as the USA and the West. Tanks used in this war were given media projections holding the flags and symbols of the former socialist Soviet Union, and the sole intent was to seek solidarity support from the socialist parties worldwide. Supporting Russia's war in Ukraine based on a spirit of love for the former socialist soviet union, which is still hanging in the hearts of socialists, would be an extremely childish act. Russia had also threatened Finland that if it joined NATO, Russia would attack it too. However, Finland later joined NATO, but Russia did not attack it. Therefore, it is clear that Russia's intervention in the war in Ukraine did not happen solely because of its inclusion in NATO. Currently, Russia is not a socialist country; instead, Putin is one of the leaders of the global capitalist and imperialist system, and Russia is a capitalist country where the Russian oligarchy is partnering the power corridors with Putin. On Feb 27, 2023, at the start of the war, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan condemned the Russian attack on Ukraine during its virtual emergency meeting, which lasted for two days. The CC of the Communist Party of Pakistan also strongly condemned the provocation of Russia by Ukraine as the result of bringing fascists to power in Ukraine with a clear role to act as agents of the USA and Western imperialism. The Communist Party of Pakistan demanded and still stands to affirm that NATO's existence after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact is illegal and needs to be dismantled completely. In parallel, Russia must end the war and withdraw its troops to its borders, thereby ceasing the loss of lives and human suffering in the region.

## CONSEQUENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN WAR

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As a result of this war, not only are the lives of Russia and Ukraine's military personnel being lost, but also the lives of civilians of both countries. The people of both countries suffer the effects of war, but Ukraine has suffered the most in terms of lives, properties, and financial losses. The United States and its European allies provided military and economic aid to compensate for the Ukrainian losses. Russia and Ukraine have land masses more extensive than all European countries. In terms of agricultural production, especially wheat, both countries are the giant feeding basket for the world. Due to Russia's economic sanctions and the destruction caused by the war in Ukraine, the global wheat supply has been severely affected, resulting in a food shortage crisis worldwide. Similarly, it has also affected the supply of petroleum products in the global market, which has caused the prices of petroleum all over the world to hit historically high price levels. As a result, the world, especially Europe, has fallen victim to an energy crisis. These cited products' skyrocketed prices have shifted the world towards a global economic recession.

The world had not yet recovered from the deadly and devastating economic and social effects of the coronavirus when the capitalists increased the prices of all commodities solely to enhance their profits significantly. The Russia-Ukraine war further fueled the fire and turned this inflation into a catastrophic phenomenon. Currently, the world is experiencing excess production on one side and struggling with inflation and unemployment on the other. The scientific and technological advancement and the use of automation, computers, and robots have provided an opportunity for capitalists to minimise the cost of production by laying off workers and employees and, at the same time, exploiting increased profits. This tendency has impacted the shrinkage in the market, which has caused the capacity for further production to diminish, resulting in decreased production. This phenomenon is happening rapidly, which has led to a sharp decline in world economies, which in turn slows the rate of progress and growth. The United States is estimated to have a growth rate of 1.5% for 2023, Germany is estimated at a 1.8% growth rate, and France shall achieve a mere growth of 2.6%. Inflation, on the other hand, is also higher in most of the countries. According to the Epoch Times, a far-right international multi-language newspaper, inflation in the United States and Western Europe has broken records over the past 40 years. According to a report from the Bipartisan Policy Center, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank, in January 2022, reported a massive

increase of homeless in the United States. In Western Europe, inflation jumped from 0.3% to 8.4% due to the Ukraine war, whereas Eastern European (Hungary is at 26% and Turkey is at 50%) countries are experiencing even higher inflation rates than Western Europe.

Unemployment rates also have reached their highest levels in the history of the United States and Europe, and the funds for social security have been reduced with significant cuts. This is the situation in the developed countries; however, the situation in Africa, Asia, and Latin America has become even worse. According to the report of the FAO, the food and agriculture organisation of the UN, a more significant portion of people's income, up to 80%, is now spent only on food. As of December 2022, 2.3 billion people (29% of the world's population) suffer from food shortages or food insecurity. Oxfam's report (a British-founded confederation of 21 independent charitable organisations focusing on the alleviation of global poverty) reported that 15,345 (Fifteen Thousand three hundred and forty-five) people, including 1,000 (one thousand) children in the world, die every day due to hunger, in every four seconds, a person is dying in destitution and extreme poverty, while on the other hand, 50% of the world's resources are controlled by only 8 (eight) capitalists, the top ten billionaires in the world hold more wealth than the population of three billion and just imposing an additional 5% tax on their wealth can lift two billion people out of the extreme poverty.

This situation indicates how the capitalist system has created such a horrific situation and how class divisions have escalated. The Ukraine-Russia war has not only brought billions of dollars in profits to arms manufacturers, but it has also concentrated wealth to extreme levels in other sectors as well. Therefore, supporting or assisting any party in this war means sacrificing the lives of thousands of people, destroying properties, causing people to become homeless, and providing an opportunity for the rich to "amass more wealth". Assistance should be provided to alleviate poverty and focus on wealth redistribution.

## EUROPEAN UNION

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The European Union is an economic and political bloc of 27 European countries. Initially, the United Kingdom was partially included in this bloc. The European Union introduced a common currency called the Euro, but the UK decided to keep its currency, the Pound Sterling. In 2021, the UK exited from the European Union, considering remaining separate and independent from Europe financially beneficial. The European Union is the largest trading bloc in the world, accounting for 16% of global GDP. It engages in the trade of manufacturing goods and services with eighty (80) world countries. The total population of EU countries is 440 million, and its per capita income is 25,000 euros. Within the EU bloc, Germany has a GDP of 4 trillion (4000 Billion) euros, France has 2.7 trillion (2700 billion) euros, and Italy has 1.9 trillion (1900 Billion) euros. These three economies are the leading economies in Europe and are among the world's seven largest (G-7) economies. These three economies are directly hit because of the war in Ukraine because of their primary dependence on Russian oil and gas, considerably slowing down the growth rate of the economies. The cost of energy has become prohibitive, causing superinflation throughout Europe. At the same time, wages have stayed the same proportionally, making the lives of the working class and the general public difficult.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Europe continued to unite. Still, this unity gave Germany and France an advantage to fully exploit the member states of Europe, especially those with weak economic structures and states from East Europe that separated from the socialist bloc. The world has witnessed that the economies of these states were practically seized mainly by these two countries. Before the formation of the EU, Western Europe and Britain had always been allies and partners to the USA's imperial ambitions. After the Soviet Union's disintegration, Germany and France asserted power within the EU. They began asserting independent decisions to some extent, reflected in the Syrian Civil War, where these two countries, Turkey and Russia, opposed the US.

The Goldsmith family and the International Jew Foundation (founded in patronisation of the Goldsmith family) attempted to unite Europe and collaborate with Israel to form a new and powerful imperialist bloc in which Britain had to be aligned. Still, it did not come under their control. Later, efforts were made to unite Russia with the rest of Europe by forming this new

bloc. This new powerful imperialist block was designed to use Russia and Ukraine as self-sufficient in agriculture, raw material and energy resources and take advantage of Western Europe's structured solid economies. The intent was to keep Russia and Europe united in this new powerful block and make it more robust than the USA so that it could compete directly with China. Contrary to this, China has also tried to keep Russia sided with it, intending to use Russia's solid military strength and energy resources. That is why Russia has always remained a key member in China's initiatives of SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) and BRICS (an organisation led by China comprising Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). In both scenarios, Europe and China desired a strong partnership with Russia. However, the US war-mongering ambitions to extend NATO across Eastern Europe are meant to sabotage the unity of Europe, which fueled enough to push Russia into war with Ukraine, which has now engulfed Europe in a prolonged conflict. With its militarised strategic tactics, the USA left Russia of no use to Europe or China, and the joint initiative of the Goldsmith family and the international jew foundation could not be materialised for the time being. However, it is evident that in the future, there will be competition amongst China, the European Union and the USA on global imperialism, resulting in solid rifts among them. We, Communists, should not remain under the illusion of any good from these three imperial blocs. Instead, We should strive in our countries to overcome all kinds of imperialist economic and political influence to re-establish regional socialist blocs and blocks of global independent and self-reliant economies.

The block comprising the developed capitalist countries represents an imperialist block because they exploit the markets of natural resources and raw materials of under-developed and least-developed countries in numerous ways. By use of export of trade capital in the form of loans on higher interest rates, this block creates a debt trap which then enables them to syphon the looted capital of these countries. To successfully achieve these targets, they subjugate the ruling elite of these countries through corrupt means, and if, in any instance, the government of any country are aligned to these imperialist designs, then it uses the tactics of regime change to depose such governments or target killings are used to make through their ways in these countries. Contrary to this, the countries in socialist blocks exploit their resources for the needs and prosperity of their own people rather than to make profits. Even the countries of a socialist bloc ensure the trade balance amongst themselves and do not try to syphon the other country's wealth to their countries.

## **WORLD'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM (WORLD ORDER)**

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In the presence of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Bloc, the world was divided into two global systems based on ideological foundations, referred to as the bipolar or the Cold War world. As a result, the world had a rough balance of power. Revolutionary and communist movements were strong, and nations and countries lived according to their own will and autonomy. Despite the dissolution of the Socialist Bloc, the presence of the global communist movement prevented the world from becoming unipolar. However, the United States bulldozed the world as a unipolar or single-polar power. It waged wars from Yugoslavia to Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, aiming to establish its hegemony with only a global system in its favour. It used multi-faceted tactics, i.e., waging ultimately destructive wars followed by construction through its own corporations, organising regime change, and sometimes imposing wars through proxy nations, organisations, and private military contractors or companies and then exploiting capital gains. After 2002, China emerged as a major capitalist country and continued to assert its practical power by challenging the United States' global hegemony. It started establishing military and commercial naval ports at trade gateways across Asia, Africa and Latin America through its capital in the name of investments. Consequently, various governments of the world started getting into the trap of Chinese debt. China initiated a large-scale project called the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), also known as One Belt, One Road (OBOR), and trillions of dollars were allocated in the name of investments, which were debts (To be payable in short mid-terms at higher interest rates) sovereign guaranteed by the respective countries. China used OBOR and gained influence on global financial institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, attempting to renegotiate its share in their administrative decision-making bodies. However, the United States was not ready to relinquish its control of these institutions, despite its diminishing contributed capital in these institutions as compared to China and is still using it as a weapon to maintain its hegemony in the world through these global financial systems.

China continues to increase its influence and representation in these global financial institutions. After repetitive failures, it started conceptualising alternative institutions parallel to these financial institutions. Thus, a group called BRICS, consisting of China, Russia, India,

Brazil, and South Africa, was formed. Under this organisation, the BRICS New Development Bank was established as an alternative to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The plan to establish a BRICS military institution similar to NATO was not yet implemented when the United States manipulated regime change in India and Brazil. South Africa also struck up its economic and political crises, causing the activities of BRICS to remain stagnant for several years.

The military-industrial complex of the United States became powerful to some extent due to wars and, most of the time, by installing security crises between the countries worldwide. On the other hand, through its substantial imported financial capital, China continued to lend and invest to Asian, African, and Latin American countries, particularly in extracting the host country's natural resources and in luxury but expansive infrastructure and energy projects. According to Forbes, China lent to 150 countries, amounting to \$1.5 trillion (\$1500 Billion). So far, China kept itself distant from the regime change affairs in these countries. However, the United States continued its policy of regime change, including influencing the processes of formation of government in these countries with an aim not only to marginalise the Chinese influences in these countries but to undermine the prospects of its investments. Eventually, the emerging trends in the technological advancement of utilising alternative energy sources other than petroleum have started dollar dumping globally. The BRICS, which was established in June 2009, added South Africa to its membership in 2010. In 2022, BRICS reactivation started again, and two key allied countries (Saudi Arabia and Turkey) of the United States bid for the membership of it, whereas Iran had already applied for it. The participating countries in BRICS account for 26.6% of the global GDP. In parallel, the SCO (Shanghai Corporation Organisation), founded in 2001 as a mutual corporation in political, economic, trade, and other fields, includes countries that accommodate 42.49% of the world's population and contribute 24.42% of the global GDP. These corporations in the leadership of China paved the way to include even those countries who had historically not only remained staunch opponents to each other but also remained in the strong influence of the United States. However, the Chinese leadership in these corporations let them work together. These developments indicate that the new world order has started taking shape under the leadership of China and Russia.

## WHO WILL LEAD THE WORLD, CHINA OR USA

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All countries in the world are heavily indebted in terms of global financial capital markets. The United States is the most indebted economy, with a debt of \$31.5 trillion (31,500 Billion USD), which accounts for 96.19% of its GDP. Similarly, China is equally heavily indebted, but most of the world's billionaires are in China. Capitalists use the exploitation tool of lending (Finance Capital) to control the states across the globe, and such an imperialist-designed capital market always employs a policeman, and currently, the United States perform this role. However, since the centre of this international capital market is tilting rapidly towards China, therefore China is preparing to become the new policeman. Due to this, the United States is creating various obstacles for China and is trying to thwart Chinese projects in Sudan, Burma, Pakistan, Angola, Bolivia, Afghanistan, etc., through the formulas of destabilising the governments, regimes change in its favour and even activating the proxies of the military groups. It even created obstacles and challenged Chinese sovereignty on islands in the South China Sea. These islands are rich in natural resources, and according to a survey, these islands have reserves of 11 billion barrels of oil, including 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Another example is that the United States, through a military corporation organisation called “Quad” (Security Dialogue Quadrilateral), which includes Japan, Taiwan, India, and Australia, has started carrying out naval exercises in the South China Sea, resulting in the disruption of China's trade routes and most importantly its supply routes of oil. These sea routes account for 60% of Asia's trade and \$3.4 trillion (3400 Billion USD) of the world's global trade, whereas only China's 40% of trade and 80% of its energy requirements use the same routes. In parallel, the United States is constantly creating a military crisis between Taiwan and China, intending to engage China in a military conflict. China, on the other hand, as the result of the growing tensions in the South China Sea, extended the OBOR (One Belt One Road) to Pakistan with the name CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) in which multi-billion USD projects were launched across Pakistan in which the development of world's one of the largest deep sea port in Gwadar, and the road/rail linkages from China to the sea port of Gwadar are the major projects which in the future shall provide an alternative but will also reduce the trade time and cost for its import from the world. The United States has also tried to sabotage these projects by increasing pressure on Pakistan's government at various times and sometimes used armed militia proxies but remained unsuccessful. As a

consequence of its failure to stop these projects, the government of Nawaz Sharif, which was highly interested in implementing these projects, was removed and replaced with the Baajwa Doctrine, which not only facilitated but employed all legal and illegal means to rig elections and bring Imran Khan in power. Imran Khan's government exercised all such means, which slowed down all the CPEC projects, including Gawadar port, and even on the majority of projects, the Chinese had to demobilise. As a result, China had to explore the alternatives further and entered into a \$400.0 billion investment agreement with Iran, including the Chabahar Port. This port was earlier contracted with Indian investment, which, despite the sanctions on Iran, was permitted by the US by easing the sanctions for this special case. However, India did not successfully materialise the Chabahar port project for unknown reasons. It is pertinent to mention here that CPEC through Gawadar port will reduce Chinese trade travel time and cost substantially, which earlier had to travel thousands of kilometres and take a minimum of one month to reach Shanghai port. Via Gwadar, now this distance shall be reduced to only eight thousand kilometres, and it will transit through one country while to reach China from the Chabahar Port, it would have to pass through Iran and then Afghanistan with increased travel time and cost but the situation further complicated when the new Great Game started in Afghanistan. The United States, including NATO, started the eviction plan from Afghanistan, and eventually, on August 16, 2021, without any fighting, the Afghan capital, Kabul, was vacated and unofficially handed over to the Taliban to seize control. The Communist Party of Pakistan was of the opinion that this had been done as the result of a very well-designed project because the United States and NATO left the majority of the war equipment and supplies in Afghanistan with a perception that Taliban control would be limited to cities only and the warlords and private military militias shall govern the rest of Afghanistan. With the US leftover military hardware, these proxies shall be steered by the US to obstruct trade convoys, ultimately completely disrupting the supply routes linking China from Iran and Afghanistan.

Similarly, the Yemen government gave China a contract to deepen the Aden Port and, in parallel, construct a new port. This has strategic importance because the maritime route becomes narrow from here, similar to the Suez Canal. Chinese already control ports in Djibouti in front of Yemen and Mauritania near Djibouti. To cap China's growing influence in these highly strategic maritime routes, Saudi Arabia was used to initiate a civil war in Yemen, which also engaged Iran through its sponsored proxy. This unending war has now

stretched for many years. China recently tried to end the historical religious and ethnic differences between Saudi Arabia and Iran, which has created an opportunity to normalise their relations. This normality with the mediation of China shall pave the way to end the civil war by forming a new government which shall ensure the participation of various factions in power, hence ending a prolonged conflict.

The USA is determined to control China's growing global influences and is strategising to keep its allies wither away or to keep them aligned with itself. In these new changing alignments of global politics, Russia and China are allies under the leadership of Putin. Russia, the world's second-largest military power, is now trapped in the Ukraine war, which might not be helpful to China from a military perspective due to the prolongation of the war. Europe has also distanced itself from Russia because of its war in Ukraine. Despite these circumstances, China successfully revived the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the BRICS. During the COVID-19 period and even in the subsequent global economic crisis, China's economy has been growing at 5.0%, which is higher than the developed countries of the world. As of November 2022, China had reserves of 3133.15 billion dollars compared to the USA, which, as of December 9, 2022, maintained only 36.6 billion dollars. China's economic strength and increasing influences through OBOR, SCO and BRICS have made China a strong replacement for the USA to lead the new world order, which means leading the world's global financial and capital system. China's economic development is the by-product of the fundamental principles of socialism: (1) central planning and (2) planned economy. But it is worth mentioning here that China's Communist Party does not have a socialist character and is no longer a representative party of China's proletariat and the working classes. It has not only become the political representative of the capitalist elite but fully protects them. It has selected a path of the capitalist economy in the name of socialism to achieve its imperialist milestones. As long as who shall dominate the imperialist world system is not decided, the governments and state systems in various countries worldwide will continue to experience uncertainties, similar to what we are experiencing in Pakistan.

## AFGHANISTAN

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Afghanistan is a neighbouring country of Pakistan and is connected to Pakistan through cultural, linguistic, and ethnic ties, particularly with the southern regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. Afghanistan remained under constant attacks during the British colonial rule in the sub-continent, which was subsidised entirely when the Durand Line was drawn in 1893 and due to expansionist ambitions of British colonial rule before 1947 and Pakistan's henchmen-ship of the US kept Afghanistan close to the Soviet Union. It always retained close, friendly relationships from Amir Habibullah to Amir Amanullah. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the prime minister of Pakistan from 1973-1977, to install a pro-Pakistan government in Kabul, conspired by motivating Afghan students studying in the universities of Peshawar to wage an Islamic jihad (Holy War) in Afghanistan. Pakistan intelligence agency organised these students and gave military training in the training camps in Pakistan so that they sabotaged Afghanistan through terrorism. The power monger warlord Daoud Khan seized power by overthrowing the government of Zahir Shah, which is termed the start of destabilisation in Afghanistan. To strengthen his control and longevity of his power, Daoud established closed relations with the Western imperial powers and their Asian policeman, Emperor Shah of Iran, which signalled Afghanistan going into the US camp. As a result, there was an increase in dissatisfaction within the Afghan military, civil bureaucracy, and state apparatus, which sympathised with the Soviet Union. Through Pakistan-trained terrorist squads, the members of the Parchim and Khalaq parties were targeted, and it worsened when these terrorists killed Ustad Akbar Khyber. At his funeral, the Daoud and the religious extremists planned mass bloodshed of the communists and the people's sympathisers to the Soviet Union. The information of such a terror plan triggered unrest within the columns of Parchim and Khalq party cadets who were patriotic and anti-imperialist who then, after consultation, brought Inqilab Saur on April 27, 1978, which jolted the whole of Asia and imperialist powers of the world.

The United States was already dissatisfied with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was attempting to form a new mutual corporation organisation within the Muslim countries, especially those producing oil, to syphon their money to develop an atomic bomb. Therefore, the US used its regime change tactics and overturned its government through military generals of Pakistan led by Zia Ul Huq, who enforced the brutal dictatorship after seizing power. Finally, on April

4, 1979, Mr. Bhutto was hanged. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's designed Afghan project was later completely taken shape as a part of a broader great game. The whole world's moral, political and financial support was given to General Zia-ul-Haq, who then facilitated the training camps inside Pakistan where thugs and ruffians from all over the world were gathered to wage a Jihad (holy War) in Afghanistan. In these given circumstances, the Soviet Union, on the request of the government in Kabul, intervened in Afghanistan to help Afghan forces to counter these war mongers' savage Jihadis. The US and the West took advantage to revenge for its humiliating defeat in Vietnam. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the war, with Pakistan's help, intensified against Dr. Najeeb's patriotic, revolutionary and people-friendly government. The so-called Mujahideen (Holy Fighters) seized control of Kabul in 1996, ending the revolutionary government in Afghanistan. Since then, Afghanistan has remained an epicentre of internal conflicts and civil war, except for periods of US-sponsored government of Karzai and Ghani. During these periods, the government was made functional in major cities only with the help of international forces led by the US and NATO.

Throughout this period, Pakistan pursued a military doctrine of strategic depth regarding its involvement with Afghanistan. It initially supported the Mujahideen and, later on, Taliban groups. Pakistan designed this doctrine to control Afghanistan as a soft border country, having its strategic depth governed by its puppets in Kabul. Alongside this, the generals of the Pakistan army exploited this jihad opportunity as a business venture, and this mindset still prevails. However, this notion has always been a fallacy. On August 15, 2021, after the Taliban fighters seized control of Afghanistan, the Director-General of ISI, Lt. Gen. Faiz Hamid, arrived in Kabul on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sep 2021 and was seen smiling with a cup of tea and posing for public media pictures in a five-star hotel, which very much then invited the global criticism. The generals of Pakistan portrayed that the capture of Afghanistan by jihadists and Taliban terrorists was their victory, but this flawed doctrine is now collapsing as recently, a minister of the Afghan government, the son of Mullah Omar, openly demanded that the Indian government train the new Afghan army and civil services officers to run the government affairs. This demand served as a slap in the face of Pakistan, which has exposed the flawed doctrine that conspired with US imperialism to destroy three generations of the Afghan people. The Communist Party of Pakistan has consistently advocated for better relations with Afghanistan and neighbouring countries based on peaceful coexistence. However, due to the policies of the Pakistani security establishment, today, every citizen in

Afghanistan and the government of Afghanistan consider Pakistan as their staunch enemy. It is high time for the Pakistani security establishment to change its policies because now Afghanistan has become a home ground of the various world's proxies, terrorist organisations including Daesh and recently, an agreement has been contracted between the Taliban and some Baloch armed groups to fight which has increased the threats for Pakistan jointly. Even Daesh, after surrendering from Syria and Iraq, has taken refuge in Afghanistan, whose role shall be further visible in the future when it creates its hegemony and destabilises the Taliban government. Daesh has consolidated its roots in Afghanistan and, being a US proxy, will target the interests of Pakistan and China in the region. Its influence is rapidly growing in border areas of Pakistan, including KP, where a deadly terrorism wave has been felt in the last few months.

## IRAN

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Pakistan shares a 760-kilometre-long border with Iran. The tyranny and oppressive government of theocracy in Iran left no stone unturned to crush any form of public resistance. On September 16, 2022, a tragic incident took place in Iran where the morality (Veil) Police, who are responsible for brutally enforcing the mandatory veiling laws, arrested, tortured and killed Mahsa Amini for not wearing a proper headscarf. The Iranian people, especially women, staged unprecedented protests against this criminal injustice, spreading to 134 cities and 132 universities and lasting for several months. The Iranian authorities ruthlessly suppressed the demonstrations, resulting in the deaths of 488 people, including 64 children and by January 2023, 19,262 people were arrested, out of which several were given the death penalty. Before this, a similar movement took place in 2019, resulting in the martyrdom of 1,500 Iranians, and numerous strikes by workers and the general public were stages for labour rights. Although this particular wave of protests has largely subsided, the resistance against the oppressive regime of the reactionary extremist terrorist government of clerics (Mullas) has gained strength within Iranian society, which will undoubtedly gain momentum, and the fascist regime will eventually be eliminated. Pakistan has negotiated with Iran to fulfil its gas and oil requirements despite these circumstances. By implementing these agreements practically, Pakistan can save a large amount of foreign exchange used to procure expansive oil and gas from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and other countries. However, Pakistan's security establishment and their nurtured politicians, because of the US pressure, dare not to further take steps in implementing these agreements because their agenda does not include an economically empowered Pakistan that is standing on its own feet. The left parties, the TUDA party and Fadiane Khalq, are under continuous severe oppression in the hands of the extremist theocratic regime in Iran, because of which their activities are not only underground but their role in any movements, especially in strikes and women's rights movements, is invisible. Through Solidnet, a website of the world's communist and workers' parties, we see that the TUDA party is fully active in these agitative activities in Iran.

## INDIA

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In India, Modi's BJP government has shaped India into a regressive and fascist state, as with its actions against the non-Hindu religious communities, the secular image of India has greatly tarnished. The BJP has gained strength in every election that witnessed the increased violence against the Communists in India, which include the burning of its offices, destroying the businesses of its sympathisers and openly torturing the communist and other opposition leaders and workers. The impression is getting more vital that the BJP, in disguise of bourgeois democracy, has the design to implement its agenda of dictatorship and fascism. The resistance against this fascism is also present in Indian society with no signs of abating. The recent examples of farmers' protests against the new agri market laws, workers' strikes against neoliberal economics, widespread resistance against the authoritarian capitalist measures of the BJP government, and even the film Industry, which competes with Hollywood, are staging protests through the cultural exposition of oppression of BJP, are signs of the resistance of Indian society. The Communist Party of Pakistan stands in solidarity and commends the resistance of the ordinary people of India, its various communist parties, farmers, and trade unions against the atrocities and fascist outlook of the BJP.

It is vital to acknowledge that India has now become the fifth-largest economy in the world, and even the internal separatist movements, like in Kashmir, Manipur and the southeastern corridor of Naxalities, have slowed down to an extent. In parallel, Pakistan has a clear split and is currently facing significant economic, political, and societal crises and even the security establishment. Still, with all these variables, which favour India with an opportunity to disintegrate Pakistan, it exercised restraints. In contrast, Pakistan's security establishment kept creating a security crisis with India so that it had the excuse to keep increasing the budget from the depleted economy of Pakistan. This mindset and propaganda are always rejected by the Communist Party of Pakistan, which believes that it is not unnecessary but merely a tactic that strengthens the military's grip on the governance of Pakistan. We believe that the reality of India being the neighbour to be accepted and, despite raising conflicts, measures to be taken to coexist as good neighbours, which is possible if confidence measures like people-to-people contact by easing our visa restrictions, opening of trade routes, and mutually accepted strategic peace plan in the form of no war pact guaranteed by the international power including UN which can be treated as a first step and then can be further

stretched. The result of cordial relations with India has more advantages for Pakistan, which will reduce military expenditures and strengthen the economy by saving valuable foreign exchange. Above all, it is the dire aspiration of people on both sides to have friendly relationships.

## CHINA

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China is Pakistan's neighbour, just like Iran, Afghanistan, and India. China is the world's second-largest economy and is, at the moment, the market leader in the export of trade capital. Its per capita income is lower because of its increased population. Pakistan should not only maintain brotherly relations with China on the principles of sincerity and preferences of its national interests but strengthen them further. Pakistan consistently rates its friendship with China higher than the Himalayas and more profound than the Arabian Sea, but the facts contradict this. Due to the extreme conflict between Muslims and Buddhists in the Arakan state of Burma, many lives have been lost, and more than 500,000 Muslims have been forced to migrate to Bangladesh. Maulana Qadus Barmi, who has been accommodated in Karachi and under his ideological leadership, the Rohingya Salvation Army is behind the gravity of the conflict and is held responsible. The militant group's commander, Ataullah Abu Ammar Jununi, was born in Karachi and has been held accountable by the Bangladesh intelligence reports for the conflict in Rakhine. According to these reports, he was trained by Pakistan's intelligence agency and is fully supported. Since he is fighting to wage a long war while staying in Pakistan, which seems impossible if not supported by Pakistan's security establishment, this argument qualifies to be correct. This means that the US, through the assistance of Pakistan's security establishment, is destabilising Chinese interests in extracting precious gems and other valuable minerals from the mountains of Myanmar, which is a great deal for China to endure patience even knowing this. In 2013, China extended its One Belt and One Road Initiative in Pakistan under the framework of which China planned to invest under sovereign guarantees to develop the world's largest port in Gwadar, enhance and strengthen the energy and transportation infrastructure, and initiate industrial projects in Pakistan. These projects were parked in a new framework called China Pakistan Economic Corridors (CPEC). The Communist Party of Pakistan has always been a staunch critic of the CPEC projects because the contracts for these projects are kept hidden from the general public and even from the parliament; what are the conditions of these contracts, and to what extent do the interests of ours are being watched or compromised, What is the payback period of these loans and on what interests rates and most importantly, how we shall be paying back these loans?. We were well justified to ask these questions in our criticism as the current economic crisis has validated our argument because as a result of these short-term loans with

higher interest rates and surrendering the rights of the local industry to the counter-Chinese part, Pakistan's industry, especially leather, glass, footwear, jewellery, electronics, and bathroom accessories, have physically become non-competitive and is under severe pressure from Chinese imports and very near to complete wiping out. The balance of payment crisis and overburdening of the foreign exchange to pay back these short-term loans and interest payments to China was another proof of our arguments of criticism when it was initiated under CEPC. Similarly, China plans to acquire state lands, which will benefit from using our water and other resources. As a result, the output will be exported to its country, which will not only put extra pressure on food security for the people of Pakistan, but Pakistan shall lose the opportunity to export surplus agricultural commodities even though our land and resources have been exploited. Pakistan is somehow trapped in a situation similar to what happened in Sri Lanka, where it has to default due to its inability to pay back its external loans and guarantees. We should keep in mind that more than 30% of Pakistan's external debts are solely from China, but the difference from the other arrangements of loans is that Chinese loans are short-term and have higher interest rates. It is feared that Pakistan's economy is deteriorating rapidly due to these factors, and the risk of default is increasing. Recent examples can be cited to study the similar phenomena Pakistan faces, like Chinese colonisation in Singapore, which has reduced the original population to only 7%. Chinese luxury state sovereign guaranteed projects in Sri Lanka have crippled the ability to pay its external liabilities. Tajikistan has been trapped in the shackles of debt, which resulted in a bargain for the wealthiest district of Bagh along its border. In the presence of these crises as the result of Chinese debt traps and the arms twisting of the US through IMF, there is the possibility that Pakistan might become the centre of the global power war between China and the United States.

## SAUDIA ARABIA

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In the politics of the Middle East, Central Asia, and Muslim-majority countries, Saudia Arabia always acted as a carrier of US influence. After the rule of Iran's Reza Shah Pahlavi ended, it also performed the role of a regional policeman. It has a significant influence not only at the state level in Pakistan but equally impacts the public at large and at various times. It has been a vital source of economic assistance in terms of aid, loans and provision of fuel on deferred long-term payments. During the first Afghan War, which started in 1980, Saudi state and private capital were extensively used, which facilitated the bringing of Saudi Arabia's Wahhabi Islam into the region and played a significant role in providing ideological foundations to the recruits and supporting the Mujahideen. To date, Saudi Arabia still has a considerable influence over Deobandi or Wahhabi militant groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From the 1980s until now, they have provided billions of rupees to construct mosques and fund madrasas (religious schools) for Deobandi scholars and clerics.

Since 2015, significant changes have occurred in Saudia Arabia's policies, initially under the leadership of King Salman and later by his son, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, assuming the prime minister's charge. It is gradually distancing itself from Deobandi and Wahhabi sects and, to some extent, from Islamist extremism and fundamentalism. After King Salman's delegation of his powers to his son, Mohammed bin Salman, the latter emerged as a powerful ruler of Saudia Arabia. He is trying to transform Saudi Arabia into a liberal state, setting aside the fundamental principles of King Saud and King Abdulaziz. He has openly admitted that the older regimes in Saudia Arabia, on the US influence, not only supported jihadist groups but exploited the religion Islam to meet the interests of the US. He even brought significant changes in the kingdom's attitude towards the treatments related to the Kaaba and the Prophet's burial place. Now, the time will tell to what extent these changes will effectively and efficiently achieve the desired results. Suppose Saudi Arabia successfully distances itself from its tactics to exploit Islam for its political use, hegemony or the interests of imperialism. In that case, the resultant changes shall positively impact the Islamic world. Particularly in the context of Pakistan, it cuts the financial and ideological support to religious extremist organisations, leading to a significant suppression of extremism in Pakistan.

Mohammed bin Salman has also taken a forward-looking approach to the economy as his strategy to limit the dependency on oil being the backbone of the economy is proof of its far-sightedness. Considering the diminishing prospects of a petroleum-based economy due to the growing need to use alternative energies for a global greener environment concept, he has started alternative projects to support the economy's future needs. A new city will be established in Saudi Arabia, attracting industrial, business, trade and tourism opportunities. In parallel, such developments shall significantly transform its cultural and religious influences locally and globally. The recent move by Saudi Arabia to leave the US block and join the Russian Chinese sponsored block, the whole Middle East, the Arab world, and central Asia, including Pakistan, shall benefit with positive impacts. It is to be kept in mind that with all the changes explained earlier, it does not mean that MBS is anti-imperialist or it has now tendencies to be democratic, but the transformation is because of the weakening US influence worldwide and the role played by the US to initiate the legal proceedings in US journalist Khooshgi murder.

## NEPAL

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The long struggle of the communists against the monarchy in Nepal finally succeeded on May 28, 2008, forcing the king to relinquish his monarchy. Currently, there is a coalition government of communist parties. In the November 2022 elections, the Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML), under the leadership of Comrade K.P. Sharma Oli, succeeded in winning the most seats. However, due to not securing a clear majority, the CPN-UML and the Communist Party of Nepal Maoists (CPN-M) formed an alliance. Under a formula, Comrade Prachanda was elected as Prime Minister for two and a half years, whereas, in the last two and half years of the parliamentary period, the CPN-UML will assume the Prime Ministership. A female leader of the CPN-UML also won the country's presidency for two tenures, Ms Bidhya Devi Bhandari, who was the party's Vice Chairperson and became the first female president in the history of Nepal. Due to the split in the CPN-UML and the limited seats of Maoists in the assembly, the candidate of the Nepali Congress Communist Party, Mr Ram Chandra Poudel, on March 09, 2023, defeated the communist candidate and became the president. The establishment of democracy, the relinquishment of the monarchy, and the occupation of power corridors by the communists in Nepal are examples of the Communist Party of Pakistan. In Nepal, the Communist Party was established in 1940 but later split in 1950 because of the differences in the subjects of parliamentary politics throughout the ballot and its treatment of monarchy. The split further deepened due to the rift between Russia and China in 1960. There are two significant communist groups on a national level in Nepal. The guerrilla war of the communists against Nepal's former king started on February 13, 1996, as this communist group under the leadership of Comrade Parachanda was well organised at regional levels in various parts of Nepal and was influenced by the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong to employ tactics of armed struggle to occupy the power corridors. The other group, "the Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML)," under the leadership of Comrade Man Mohan Adhikari, was of the opinion to adopt the path of electoral politics. For the first time, in 1994, under the leadership of Comrade Man Mohan Adhikari, the CPN-UML defeated the Nepali Congress and formed the government, but with a narrow majority of only five seats. After a few months, due to a split in the ruling Communist party, the government collapsed. As a result, a group that split from the Communist Party formed a new government in alliance with

the Nepali Congress, with which the Prime Minister from the Congress and the female leader of the split communist group as the Speaker were elected. In parallel, the Communist Party of Nepal Maoists continued armed struggle under Comrade Prachanda's leadership. In mainstream electoral politics, the power corridors switched between the communists and Congress parties, but the monarchy remained present.

In 2005, the Communist parties engaged in electoral politics once again formed an alliance, and both significantly impacted trade unions and employees associated with the tourism industry. Ultimately, in 2005, these parties announced a strike in Kathmandu, where their influence was the strongest, and this ongoing strike weakened the kingdom considerably. During the same period, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), after successfully capturing the most significant territories of Nepal, surrounded the capital with their guerrillas. The Communist Party, which was leading the strike, urged the Maoists to enter the capital without arms; otherwise, it would give an excuse to the Royal Army to open fire and target the protesters. The negotiations took place between the two parties, resulting in complications. As a result, both parties appealed to India's fraternal party, the CPI(M), for mediation. The current Secretary-General of the CPI(M), Comrade Sitaram Yechury, who was in charge of the party's International Department at the time, successfully mediated an agreement between the two communist parties, which then let the Maoists to disarm themselves and join the protestors. Considering the perilous situation, the king, relinquishing his monarchy, announced the power transfer to the communists. This way, the monarchy ended after 200 years and was replaced with bourgeois democracy. The Bourgeois democracy period witnessed the mergers and separations of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The communists came to power for some time and even remained as the opposition parties after losing elections. Currently, they have been in power corridors for many years. These events were explained because this unique example allows us to analyse three methodologies adopted by the communists in Nepal, i.e., guerilla warfare, the wide-scale public revolt by using strike tactics and participation in the electoral parliamentary politics within the bourgeois democratic system for the last 30 years. In these given realities, the question is, can we consider Nepal a socialist country today? Was Nepal in these 30 years able to adopt the fundamental socialist ideals of the elimination of private property and planned economy and provide the facilities of education, health, housing and jobs to every citizen in Nepal? The answer to these questions

is negative. The question then arises of Why it failed. The tactics of armed struggle or widescale public revolt are used to defeat the opponent classes and enemies. As a result, the power corridors are occupied with an intent to destroy completely the old system to build an altogether new system under which new state machinery can be installed, and a new military structure can be raised. But only adopting a parliamentary or electoral system and coming into power does not allow the abolishment of the old state machinery and infrastructure; therefore, no new system has been installed, which is the basis of the socialist revolution. We learn this from the model of Nepal's communist parties' struggle: popular uprisings were the only means to build a new system by destroying the old system the communists had lost. In the same way, the tactics of the armed struggle or electoral democratic politics can be exercised as a strategy, but revolutionising the current system on socialist principles only through elections or ballots is impossible.

## PAKISTAN-US RELATIONS

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At the time of the Inception of Pakistan, Its political elite, civil bureaucracy and military establishment were desirous of establishing its relations with the United States and joining the imperialistic block led by the US. Despite this, Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was initially invited by the Soviet Union, whereas the Pakistani state awaited an invitation from the United States. It was because the colonial power trained Pakistan's civil bureaucracy and military establishment based on anti-Soviet ideologies; hence, they were entirely adamant about establishing any relations with the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of this prevailing colonial mindset in Pakistan's power corridors, the United States strategised Pakistan as a proxy state, precisely what the civil bureaucracy and military establishment desired. The strong perception of security threats from India and the Soviet Union was used to create a powerful military in the nascent state. Initially, through the civil bureaucracy and later through General Ayub's Martial Law in 1958, the military's involvement in political affairs was increased under the pretext of strengthening the defence capabilities. Accordingly, the United States adopted the strategy that political, economic, and social institutions should remain handicapped and underdeveloped because otherwise, these political institutions, with the support of the masses' opinion, might challenge the US hegemony over Pakistan. Therefore, neither political parties nor the parliament institutions become strong. The economy of Pakistan remained dependent on the US and other imperialists' aid and loans because self-sufficiency could have created possibilities to come out from the US influence. Similarly, the religious, ethnic and linguistic contradictions were exploited to sabotage the unity of the people, which then successfully fragmented the very fabric of Pakistani society. As a result, No federation or national-level party could emerge within the country that could have ensured the collective and nationalist political struggle to protect the interests of the people of Pakistan.

At the time of the formation of Pakistan, the Pakistan Muslim League was the only political party representing the feudal and the landlord elites. The Communist Party of Pakistan was established on March 7, 1948, and as a result, two political parties were formed in the country. The Communist Party of Pakistan was formed from the Communist Party of India after the partition in 1947. Due to the migration of the non-Muslim population to India, most of the communist cadre also left for India. However, there was still the presence of trade

union movements in Sindh and Punjab. In contrast, farmers' movements were also present in Sind, Punjab and to some extent in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Communist Party, due to its trained political and ideological cadre and highly educated leadership, reorganised itself in various regions of the country and established its influential base. On the other hand, the Pakistan Muslim League was the ruling party. Still, it remained more of a party influenced by personalities and feudal leadership rather than being organised as a political party.

In the Second World War, the Soviet Union's Red Army defeated German Fascism victoriously, significantly strengthening communist movements worldwide. Communist parties consolidated power in Eastern Europe, and to curtail the influence of the communist movements worldwide, the United States, to protect its capitalists and imperialist exploitative system, started forming military alliances in various regions to encircle the Soviet Union. Therefore, following the establishment of NATO, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was formed in September 1954, consisting of the United States, France, Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan to counter communism in Southeast Asia. Similarly, the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) was established for military cooperation between South Asia and the northern regions in 1955, led by Britain and involving Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Iraq, to counter the influence of communism.

The Communist Party of Pakistan, from the start, was against the foreign and defence policies' alignment with the US. Therefore, it continued to protest vehemently against it. To suppress the growing influence of the Communist Party, a false conspiracy case was fabricated in Rawalpindi in 1951, inducting and arresting the leadership of the communist party and the patriotic officers within the ranks of the military. Some military officers not aligned with Pakistan's policy to be in the imperialist bloc were also dissatisfied with the truce in Kashmir in October 1948. They carried resentments on the elevation of junior officer General Ayub Khan to the army chief, bypassing the seniormost General Akbar Khan, offering the Communist Party of Pakistan to take control of the state power, but the party rejected it blatantly. During this episode, the Communist Party of Pakistan launched a full-fledged protest campaign against joining defence agreements with the United States. As a result, in July 1954, the Communist Party of Pakistan was banned with its popular fronts, including the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, the Sindh Hari Committee, and the Progressive Writers Association. The Democratic Students Federation, the Communist Party

of Pakistan students front, was banned in 1953. After the Communist Party was banned, a large-scale operation was carried out, leading to the arrest and brutal torture of its leaders and workers. Comrade Hassan Naseer, a young member of the central committee and the most popular leader amongst the party's youth and workers was initially abducted and then brutally martyred in Shahi Qila (Lahore Fort) by the Pakistan military, and later, his body disappeared. Thus, this marked the first instance of forced disappearances and extrajudicial killings in Pakistan.

After the two tenures of the British military chiefs in Pakistan, Major General Ayub Khan, who, as per the history record, was on the payroll of US Imperialism, was designated as the head of the military. To curb the Communist Party of Pakistan rigorously and to expedite the operation against it, on October 17, 1958, martial law was imposed in the country by Gen. Ayub Khan. After Ayub's military government accession to power, Pakistan became a spy ground against the Soviet Union. The U2 Soviet spy plane was shot down from the Bada Ber airfield in Peshawar, Pakistan, which exposed Pakistan as a puppet and a US proxy state. As a result, the influence of the US increased significantly among the Pakistani generals. The US fought the entire war in Afghanistan with Pakistan's assistance. From 1954 to the present day, the US has granted Pakistan nearly \$76 billion in aid because of its services rendered to fulfill the regional interests of US imperialism. This aid corrupted the ranks and files of the civil and military establishment, did not let the country stand on its own feet and wholly destroyed the economic structure, and state national institutions have become beggars. As a result, we suffered, we are suffering, and we will continue to suffer until a revolutionary socialist approach is adopted.

In contrast to Pakistan's approach, India's foreign policy was impartial and, to some extent, aligned with the Soviet Union. Because of this, India was punished by engaging in wars over Kashmir through Pakistan. Similarly, in the 80s, Pakistan was a launching pad to wage war against the revolutionary government in Afghanistan. After Gorbachev assumed power in the Soviet Union, signals were given to the United States that the Soviet Union was not only withdrawing from Afghanistan but would step back from its support to Dr Najibullah's government. This led to the Geneva Accord, which was opposed by the military generals of Pakistan under the leadership of its army chief, General Zia-ul-Haq. As a result, the US killed General Zia in a plane crash. However, Pakistan's military establishment continued to work for US interests in the region. After 9/11, for a new great game in Afghanistan, General

Musharraf was unconditionally ready to assist the United States. But this time, the Pakistan military establishment envisaged the double game by which they wanted the Afghan war to continue so that the US and the West would keep investing in the war through Pakistan, which was formally an acknowledgement that Pakistan had adopted Jihad as a business and same was not only confessed by General Musharraf in his book but the secretary of state of US, Hailary Clinton openly admitted this fact in a congressional hearing. Due to Pakistan's security establishment's double game policy, the United States punished Pakistan by weakening it economically and bringing it to its knees. The consequences of this are evident today that Pakistan has reached the stage of bankruptcy and is groaning and begging in front of imperialist financial institutions. The situation is now so severe that even longtime friends like Saudia Arabia and UAE have imposed conditions that Pakistan must comply with the IMF before discussing any loan or assistance from them.

## CONCLUSIONS

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The global capitalist system, in a way, is not only engulfed in a crisis within a crisis but also suffering from stagflation impact. Inflation and unemployment have skyrocketed in a capitalist manner. A series of widespread protests against the ruling class's policies by workers, professionals, and the general public started in capitalist centres. France has witnessed demonstrations by more than 700,000 people. The number of people living below the poverty line in developed countries is increasing. The number of homeless individuals in the United States is rapidly rising. This means that the contradiction between labour and capital is intensifying. The theories, politics, and organisational wisdom of communist parties in these countries depend on whether they can transform the working classes' struggles into revolutionary qualities and establish a revolution.

On the other hand, the United States faces a significant challenge to maintain its imperialist global dominance. China has successfully brought countries under its influence by leveraging its financial and capital power against the impact of the United States. Will the transformation of capitalist centres occur the way it had been after the First World War when Turkey, Russia, and many other countries lost their imperial status, or will it be like the Second World War when countries like Japan and Britain lost their imperial status as dominant powers? Such a war or limited proxy wars will determine the fate of super-imperialism. This will become evident in the coming years.

For countries like Pakistan, which have been running on imperialist crutches, their governments and institutions will be entangled in crises. Pakistan should end its proxy status and not adopt confrontational foreign policies towards both capitalist centres. In these circumstances, communist parties worldwide need to adopt a clear theoretical position so that hopes of transforming the exploitative capitalist system through revolutionary struggle and establishing a new state and its institutions can be realised practically. Comrade Lenin clearly stated that capitalist democratic institutions should be seen as a platform for politics and must be used for political purposes. However, the transformation of the system is only possible through revolution. He also clarified that it is only possible to dismantle the old institutions with a revolution, and constructing new ones with the reforms of the old institutions is impossible. Therefore, considering these global perspectives, our party must develop practical wisdom.

## PAKISTAN

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Identity crises have always plagued Pakistan, commonly called structural crises. Along with this, it has also been entangled in political, economic, and social crises. However, currently, it is stuck in the vortex of the most severe economic crisis. As a result, political and social crises have intensified. Institutions have become internally conflicted, with the purpose being that the state has become engulfed in the grip of all-encompassing crises. Economic Conditions: Currently, Pakistan is severely burdened under the weight of the highest debt in its history. We have earlier quoted clearly in the chapter on Pakistan-US relations that Pakistan's civil and military establishment policies kept Pakistan a dependent satellite state of the US, which did not let the country stand economically on its own feet. Pakistani generals continued to exploit the aid from the US and its allied imperialist bloc, the loans from international institutions. They protected the interests of US imperialism in the region by rendering their warfare services as their proxy. A portion of such aids and loans were used to keep the state affairs functional, whereas the rest had been employed to strengthen the institution, ultimately benefiting monetarily from this. Upon the exposition of the double game played by the military establishment in the US-sponsored war against terrorism, the US cut off their assistance and influenced the international lending agencies to give Pakistan a tough time. Even in these given realities, the Pakistan ruling elites' extravagance did not stop, and their trend of exploitation of the country's economic resources remains identical to the period of the Cold War. Consequently, the situation has worsened to the extent that Pakistan's default risk is knocking at the door. The following paragraphs further deliberate the facts in this context to comprehensively understand Pakistan's economic crisis.

Pakistan's total budget (2022-2023) deficit was estimated to be 4,547 billion rupees, which has now exceeded considerably from this estimate. In December 2022, Pakistan had approximately a total external debt of 127.16 Billion USD (89.2% of the GDP of Pakistan), whereas the domestic debt stood at 2839 Billion rupees. During the current coalition government (PDM) government, an additional borrowing of 4853 billion Rupees was made. The developmental budget of the country is merely 871 billion Pak rupees, while the non-development budget is 3,070 billion rupees, including a military budget of 1,563 billion rupees. Approximately twelve billion rupees are being borrowed daily to run government affairs. The other key segment of Pakistan's economy is foreign remittance, which is sent by

overseas working-class Pakistanis, which supports Pakistan in the balance of payments. In their period of government spanning forty-five months, the PTI government almost doubled Pakistan's debts and interest payments that previous governments had taken in 70 years. Two measures on the dictation of the IMF played a significant role in increasing this debt and liabilities in lieu of the interest payments. Firstly, a substantial increase in the policy (interest) rate devaluation of the rupee against the dollar. Dr Ashfaq Ahmed, the dean of the National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), said that it is enmity with the country that acceptance of the dictation of IMF for taking a six billion dollar loan from it, has burdened the debt payable with an additional 101 billion rupees. It has been argued that devaluation of the rupee will increase revenues in the form of exports, whereas an increase in policy rates shall control inflation. Both of these arguments were proved wrong as revenues did not increase, and inflation is not controllable and touching above 50%, the highest in the history of Pakistan's economy. Similarly, exports are still far behind what had been budgeted, and even the given export numbers are because of an increase in the value of exports rather than an increase in the volume. Contrary to this, there is a significant increase in the import bill because Pakistan's economic growth is import-driven, which has primarily local consumption and depends on imported raw materials; even the essential household consumables items, including food items, are imported to meet the local demand. Hence, the capitalist modes of controlling the falling economy miserably failed in the given economic challenges of the country. The budget analysis shows that after giving provinces their share of the budget, the federal government is left only to pay the debts, interest payments on the debts, and 69.2% of the military budget. Therefore, to bridge the resultant gap between revenues and expenditures, new debts are secured to meet the budgeted obligations for the remaining military budget allocation, civil bureaucracy expenses, ruling political elites' extravagance, and a small portion of development expenditure.

Here are a few examples of ruling elites' extravagances: During the negotiations for the IMF loan in 2021-22, the daily expenses of the President of the country were increased to three million rupees, while the country's economic growth rate had fallen to 0.4%. On June 9, 2020, twenty-two business class air travel tickets quota was assigned annually to the National Assembly members and their families. If these air travel tickets are not exhausted in a year, then these are carried forward to the following year with an additional quota for the next year. Similarly, during a single term, the provincial assemblies' lawmakers increased their salaries

and allowances twice and surprisingly, in every term, it is made double. These lucrative allowances were always there and are not only given to parliamentarians, but similar size or even more are given to military generals, judicial establishment, and civil bureaucracy. The military establishment's pension quota is taken from the civil budget, which is now more than 450 billion, i.e., half of the country's budgeted development budget, which is every year made surplus on accounts of cuts demanded by the IMF. In contrast, the education and health budget allocation was 2% and 1.5% of the total budget. Consequently, every citizen of Pakistan, including every newborn baby, is burdened with these debts, and according to one estimation, every citizen of the country who was indebted at 179,100 rupees in June 2021, indebted at 216,708 rupees in June 2022. By January 29, 2023, there is a further increase of 37,608 rupees, which is a 21% increase in just six months. As a result, every citizen of Pakistan has become indebted to the amount of 304,097 rupees, which will continue rising yearly. The country has only one doctor available for 963 individuals and one bed in hospitals for a population of 1608. More than 60% of the population is below the poverty line.

According to a published report in July 2022, due to the extreme energy crisis, the higher utility cost of electricity, fuel and gas, and the long load sheddings of these utilities, has increased the cost of industrial production to the extent that the domestic industrial output is now unable to compete with the price of the similar imported product. With these circumstances, new industries are not feasible; even the old industries are shutting down, and according to the President of the Karachi Industrial Alliance, 400 industries have already been forced to shut down. The manufacturing sector's contribution to the GDP is decreasing yearly as, within two decades, it has dropped from 15 to 11%, and the trend is progressing further downwards. Even the share of the industrial sector in GDP has substantially reduced. A significant amount of the capital is being invested in non-productive sectors, such as real estate, due to its provision of tax heaven. The profits generated from the business have the provision of corporate tax of 30-32%, whereas the profits generated from the capital gains of real estate have provisions of only 2 to 4%. How will there be any investment in the industrial sector? In this bleak situation, since local production has become non-competitive and unviable in terms of cost, local capitalists are transferring their capital to other countries, i.e., Bangladesh, Turkey, Azerbaijan, etc. As a result, there is a flight of capital outside the country, distressing the complete business supply chain, causing widespread unemployment, and losing a large amount of foreign exchange due to increased imports. Agriculture is never

given attention, and thousands of acres of land are in possession of small numbers of capitalists, feudal lords, and landowners exploiting the state resources for their lavish lifestyles and using these lands to evade taxes and hide their black money. Therefore, what attention will be given to agricultural production in such a scenario? As a result, agricultural production has greatly decreased to 24%, and 37.4% of the workforce is associated with employment, hence increasing unemployment, and more and more people living in the agricultural areas are going below the poverty line. In 2019, Pakistan, an agricultural country, had a shortage of 36.9%, which has now increased to 50.8%. The World Bank reported that agricultural productivity per acre in South Asian countries is 2.8%, which is lower when compared to the average of the rest of the world. In contrast, in Pakistan, it is just 0.7%. Wheat production, for instance, in Pakistani Punjab has an average of 30 maunds per acre, whereas, in India, it is 50 to 55 maunds per acre. The same report of the World Bank indicated that due to these deteriorated economic conditions, hundreds of millions of skilled and unskilled workers are either unemployed or surviving on limited means of available employment. Consequently, the circulation of the national capital is shrinking, forcing youth and young workers to migrate outside the country for better employment. In 2022, more than 800,000 people left the country legally, and more than this number left through illegal means. Despite the deteriorating state of the economy, in 2020, Imran Khan's government, through an act of parliament, approved a tax relief to the business entities of the military establishment, inflicting an annual revenue loss of more than 100 billion rupees. With the presence of a powerful civil, military and judicial establishment, which has a stake partnership with the country's ruling feudal, capitalist and political elite in the continuous exploitation of the national resources and exporting in the tax heavens outside of the country, it is a logical consequence of the current state of turmoil in every walk of life which has pushed ordinary people are in the extremely miserable condition.

To bring the country's economy to this state, work started in 2008 and continued even after that. The PTI government followed the US plan in true spirit, which has brought the country's economy to a level from which it seems that it is impossible to recover. These conspiracies were intensified by the flooded rains of 2022, further worsening the country's economic crisis. According to official figures, the country suffered a loss of \$20 billion, and 80% of the crops in Sindh, Saraiki areas (South Punjab), and Balochistan were destroyed. It is now more than a year, but water is still standing in the flood areas of Sindh and Balochistan, and due to

this, even the cultivation of Rabi crops was not done. This has wholly deteriorated the agriculture-dependent segment of the population in these areas, who were already suffering from the water logging and salinity of their agri lands, which has caused further complications after rains. In particular, the small landowner farmers and the sharecroppers have been burdened with skyrocketing debts for years. National and international assistance was committed, which had to be disbursed through the Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), which is mainly controlled by the serving and retired military personnel and civil bureaucracy, was massively embezzled with the help of the corrupt local feudal and politicians.

As stated earlier, the agriculture sector (62.56% of the country's population lives in the agriculture economy directly and indirectly), like the industrial sector in Pakistan, had sharp downward trends for decades, and its contribution to GDP is sharply declining, resulting in a shortage of food security. Even being an agricultural country, ordinary Pakistanis spend 45.4% of their income on their food requirements. Agricultural loans are mostly granted to large-holding landowners. For example, 18,606 large landowners (A large landowner refers to someone who owns 50 or more acres of land in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and someone who owns 64 acres or more in Sindh and Balochistan. In Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) forcefully managed to secure agri loans worth 222.7 billion rupees in 2018, while only 183.6 billion rupees were lent in the same year to 1,007,520 small-scale farmers (A small landowner is considered to own 12.5 acres or less, while in Sindh, it is 16 acres or less, and in Balochistan, it is 32 acres or less). Due to the lack of intercession, small landowners, tenant farmers, or self-cultivating farmers don't get access to agricultural loans from government-owned agricultural banks or even from other scheduled private banks. Without credit support on low-interest rates, the capital cost in agriculture is increasing without proportionate compensation for their agricultural output in the open agri market. On the one hand, they are exploited by the middleman in the agri markets; on the other hand, there is no subsidy from the government. Therefore, small landowners or tenant farmers secure credit at higher interest rates from individual private lenders, microfinance banks, and the open agri market's middleman, resulting in extreme exploitation. Suppose any cycle of agriculture is disturbed, as happened in last year's floods. In that case, they are in a debt trap of their output as the result of credits from private lenders, and if even one crop fails, as in the case of the 2022 floods, they are unable to repay the loans and higher compounded interest

payments for years which are ranged from 50% to 100%. They have to sell their agri lands, livestock, and household items to free themselves from these debt traps and interests. Finally, they migrate to urban areas where they either have to work in the industries or do petty jobs and lead miserable lives. Even the urban areas face these expensive credits and highly inflated interest rates where lower classes of society, including low-pay grade employees, are being exploited. Contrary to this, the feudal, capitalist and ruling political elites have a history of exploiting the government banks by writing off their loans and risking banks towards default risks.

## SOCIAL CRISIS

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The rising cost of living and increasing unemployment have intensified the social crisis in the country. Despite these induced crises, the monsoon floods of 2022 wreaked havoc on rural areas and urban centres, disrupting the social fabric in which houses were submerged, the water swept away many people, livestock perished, infectious diseases claimed the lives of humans, and those who survived were left wondering where to turn for help as their lands were submerged. The mud and well-built houses collapsed due to seventy-two hours of torrential rains. Affected families initially sought shelter under open skies in tents without food or drinking water. After several days, the government and NGOs started providing assistance. Our party also reached the affected areas with clothes, cooked food, and essential medicines. Still, hundreds of families live in makeshift camps as the government failed to rehabilitate them. Every day, newspapers and social media are filled with news that economically deprived individuals have committed suicide or started putting their children up for sale in markets. In the past three decades, i.e., since the end of the Soviet Union or the weakening of socialist blocs and communist movements, the state governments of states like Pakistan and even the governments of developed countries have started withdrawing state support on education, healthcare, and employment. Even the system of subsidies and supporting prices have gradually been abolished. Initially, budgets were curtailed for social welfare and eventually discontinued altogether. As a result, education and healthcare facilities are no longer free but privatised for-profit centres of the capitalists.

In Pakistan, the educated population comprises only 58.9%, and the average life expectancy is 67.7 years. Contrary to this, In war-torn Afghanistan, the life expectancy is 62.58 years, and in India, it is 70.15 years. Due to the lack of education, unemployment, and the absence of recreational facilities, Pakistan's population is increasing at a rate of 1.91% annually. As of March 6, 2023, more than 50 million people in Pakistan cannot afford to have a proper meal, and according to a survey conducted on October 25, 2022, more than 10% (Approximately 22 Million) of the population does not have adequate housing. 46% of the country's cultivable land has the top 5% of landowners, while 65% of farmer-owners possess only 15% of the land. The British Raj enforced the feudal system in the Indian subcontinent, and while it was abolished in India after partition, it continued in Pakistan. Before the separation of East Pakistan, its provincial assembly abolished feudalism through land reforms, but the feudal

system remained enacted in the rest of the country. In 1959, General Ayub implemented agricultural land reforms by setting limits on individual ownership, allowing a maximum of 500 acres of irrigated land or 1,000 acres of rain-fed land per person. Still, it proved an eye wash that was easily managed by the feudal in several ways. 1972, under Martial Law Regulation 115, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also introduced agricultural land reforms by setting limits at 150 acres of irrigated land or 300 acres of rain-fed land per person. Five years later, in 1977, another round of agricultural reforms set the limits at 100 acres of irrigated land or 200 acres of rain-fed land per person. These reforms were extended further to include the Shamlat lands (Common shared community lands). The fundamental flaw in all these reforms was that they were based on the notion of individual ownership limits. In contrast, these reforms, if these agri-land reforms had targeted limits based on the family unit rather than individuals, then it would have brought more positive effects. Since then, most feudal lords have been part of the ruling political party, the Pakistan People's Party; the direction of the agricultural land reforms was used against the opposing feudal lords and farmers. Being aware of this, the landlords and feudal belonging to the People's Party transferred the land to their children, including unmarried and innocent children, or in the names of poor peasant families (Hidden Ownership) who were under their influence. The lands mostly redistributed due to such land reforms mainly consisted of barren, uneven, waterlogged, salinity affected and uncultivable lands. Consequently, those landless farmers who received such agricultural lands could not make it productive; most sold it at low prices to wealthy farmers or wealthy elites. General Zia-ul-Haq (Military Dictator 1977-1988) declared agricultural land reforms against the Islamic injunctions, abolished the land ownership limit and revived feudalism by reversing the distributed lands from the earlier land reforms to the feudal lords. The lands were forcefully taken from the farmers, and they resisted state terrorism, such as in the Pat Feeder District of Dera Murad Jamali. Even today, there is ongoing resistance from farmers against feudal lords in many places, such as Jhal Magsi. During the times of military dictators General Zia and General Musharraf, measures were taken to strengthen the landlords, feudal, and custodians of religious shrines to have their support to keep control through them. Who then influenced and decided the administrative boundaries of the districts and divisions. The appointments in critical departments like police, revenue and councils were made based on the recommendations of these landlords, which helped them further deepen their social and political influence; ultimately, with the state protection, authority for open exploitation was

granted. This situation continued even after 2008 (The resumption of civil rule after the military dictatorship period), and the trend is still ongoing in which rural areas practically came under the firm grip of landlords, particularly of the Waderas (feudal lords).

Before 1970, feudal lords and political elites considered employment menial work and kept away their family members, including their children. After 1972, especially during military dictator General Zia's period, the key positions at officer grades in the police, civil administration, bureaucracy, military and other government bodies were filled with the children or immediate family members of the ruling political elite, feudal and capitalists. Because of this, their grip on society has become stronger and stronger. During the British Raj, when the land survey was conducted within the limits of present-day Pakistan in 1898, the land that existed in small villages' agricultural lands was registered in the name of the village, and the ownership was given to the residents of these villages. To accommodate the increasing population, for cemeteries and other community-based utilities, lands were also reserved in these land surveys, which were in the collective ownership of the residents of these villages. But after 2008, these villages' reserved lands were declared revenue lands and allocated/awarded to the big landlords and feudal, denying the right to hold in the community's collective ownership. Day by day, with force under the state protection, they are occupying these reserved lands by forcefully evicting those people who are living there for more than 100 years and bulldozing the crowded graveyards. The ruling Pakistan People's Party government has amended the Sindh Tenancy Act, which was managed through the historical struggle of Sindh's farmers in 1950. In this way, a new form of the feudal system has surfaced in the country, which is certainly not identical to classical feudalism but has tightened its grip on the rural society. This new version of the feudal system has triggered contradictions based on caste, tribal and family affiliations, instigating exploitation and bloodshed, leading society towards stagnation instead of progress. This situation has compelled people to believe that without organising under the tribal and caste system, survival is difficult. Similarly, the free will within the ballot-based democratic system is very much compromised now. For instance, When the head of a tribe contests elections, then an ordinary citizen whose home, land and even basic fundamental rights have been exploited and is forced to survive within the violent tribal differences can cast his vote with his free will or even dare to cast to the head of an opposing tribe.

The prices of electricity, fuel, and gas are soaring daily due to the imposition of excessive indirect taxes. Due to increased costs, load-shedding and shortage of these utilities, the local industries are shutting down or moving outside the country, which initially started in 2008. Still, the frequency of this phenomenon has reached its peak. This has caused widespread unemployment among the working classes and industrial workers, who are already in severe economic crisis due to the absence of new employment opportunities. On the other hand, due to the exuberant growth in the corporate financial capital of partnerships comprising ruling political, feudal and military elites, the labour laws have been made ineffective, i.e., the law of minimum salary is not implemented, the direct enrolment of workers is not done but, a third party contractor has been introduced who provide the workforce to work in industry, farmlands and even for the private businesses. Due to these, the minimum salary is not given, the working hours have stretched from 8 hours to 12 to 15 hours, workers are not registered in social security, the labour laws are not applicable, and even the old age benefits from EOBI are from the worker's welfare funds don't benefit. Above all, trade unions that play a vital role in protecting workers' rights cannot be constituted under the provisions of the current law, which are made non-applicable on third-party contractor ships supplying workers. The existing trade unions have become elites, aligning with the owner's guidelines and protecting their rights. These trade union elites are so powerful that it is impossible now to get rid of them. In military-controlled businesses, the whole machinery is filled with serving and retired military officials, and one cannot even think to take the name of the trade union. This trend is now also introduced in private business entities where human resource and administration departments are run by retired military officials who are well-trained to crush the voices against exploiting workers brutally.

The majority of farm labourers in the Sindh Province of Pakistan are the Dalit caste of the Hindu community. From the period of military dictator Gen Zia ul Haq, religious intolerance increased because of the state sponsorship that has placed the non-Muslim communities as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> rated citizens. As a result, the atrocities against these non-Muslim communities have substantially increased in the name of a change of religion. Their women and under-aged non-adult girls, who work in the fields, are not only economically exploited, but it is common that they are abducted and raped. Above all, these powerful criminals, under the protection of local feudal lords, are bailed out easily by the courts. The farm labourers, either Muslims or non-Muslims, who work on daily wage or on a monthly bare minimum salary,

have practically become slaves. The resulting dilapidated conditions give birth to poverty and mass ignorance. This section of society contributes to crimes and becomes mentally incapacitated and exploited for the Jihad (Holy War) business, especially in the South Punjab and Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa provinces. There is an imminent need to change these circumstances, which cannot be achieved in the name of reforms until the current system is not completely uprooted from its roots. Such a change needs surgery, which is only possible and realisable in the revolution on the ideals of socialism, and any other solution is merely a mirage. We should understand that the parliamentary form of democracy is the political system to watch the interest of the capitalist economic system; therefore, in a feudal and semi-tribal society, how do the institutions of the capitalistic political system of parliamentary democracy work? Believing in a capitalistic political system in the feudal, semi-tribal society means believing the wolf is a goat.

## CIRCUMSTANCES OF PERMANENT CRISIS

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The Communist Party of Pakistan always believed that all federal or national states in the world today came into being due to a historical process or action. As long as a class-based society exists, states' inception will continue. In other words, the state is a product of a class-based society, and as long as a class-based society exists in the world, the state will continue to exist. When classes are abolished, the state will also cease to exist through a process. The state does not result from some natural process whose cycle is moving from the start and shall remain moving till the end. The initial forms of capitalism, particularly the contradictions between trade capital and feudalism, were present. The British Empire exploited this initially to strengthen its colonial rule and later to divide the sub-continent in the name of independent free states. The British colonisation of the sub-continent is a historical perspective because the invasions from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan in its prosperous areas incentivised them to conquer the sub-continent. However, most of these invasions exploited the name of the religion Islam, pronouncing it as the religiously legitimate seizure of the sub-continent, giving them a self-justified reason to settle here permanently and continue to live for generations. Along with this, a significant portion of this region's population embraced Islam. Thus, these Muslim invaders ruled the sub-continent for nearly eight hundred years. British imperialism took power from these Muslim rulers. After the Second World War, the British Empire decided to withdraw from India and since in a newly negotiated political system, there was no possibility that minority Muslims led the governance over the majority Hindus. Therefore, among Muslims, the sense of superiority changed to a sense of inferiority. The British Empire incited the thinking of the Muslims and exploited this to divide the sub-continent into Pakistan and India. As a result of this division, Pakistan has been in an identity crisis for the last seventy-six years. The most cited, famous and historical resolution, passed on March 23, 1940, at Minar-e-Pakistan, Lahore, established the confederation of those states where Muslims are in the majority and included within Pakistan. In other words, Pakistan was supposed to be established as a union comprising various national units, similar to the Indian Union. Unfortunately, instead, a federal bourgeois state was to be created as a confederation; it became a security state through the collaboration of local feudal, civil bureaucracy, military establishment, and migrated aristocrats. This newly envisaged security state bowed to US imperialism and acted as its parasitic proxy to protect its regional interests.

There was no constitution for approximately ten years from its inception, except an objective resolution was passed in 1949 to change the character of the state from secular to theocratic. The first constitution was made in 1956, in which, to some extent, the rights of the ordinary people of Pakistan were given. When Ghulam Muhammad, a bureaucrat, took control of the power corridors as Governor-General, the civil bureaucracy practically subjugated the feudal elites. Unfortunately, it accelerated the differences of opinion between them. Consequently, the powerful military establishment, who had been earlier sharing the power corridors with the civil bureaucracy, on Oct 7, 1958, abrogated the newly made constitution. The first military dictator, Gen Ayub Khan, took control and put the civil bureaucracy and the feudal elites under his command. From that day till now, the military establishment kept the state power in their hands, directly and indirectly. With this unholy occupation of the state power, the military establishment attempted several governance models to strengthen its grip and exhausted various political experiments. Awami League, a political party from East Pakistan in the 70s, resisted, and the differences reached the point where the debacle of 1971 separated East Pakistan as the result of the military establishment's surrender. Their every experiment of governance failed and did not let the ballot-based Borgesian democracy gain its roots in society. To achieve this, the feudal system was fully supported to regain its strength, and religious fundamentalism was spread by promoting religious organisations from various religious schools of thought, which they later translated into a Jihad (Holy War) business. They did not let any political party establish itself according to the sentiments of the masses. They even kept the governance of these parties to remain struck up in their created conspiracies. Because of these circumstances since 1947, all the national units brought into the federation as the result of the Pakistan resolution of 1940 remained in an identity crisis at the hands of the military establishment. That is why these national units refrained from the federation-based struggle.

## FORCED DISAPPEARANCES

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The forced disappearances and unlawful abductions have a long history in Pakistan; however, it was more visually noticed publicly when the imperialist West (NATO) and the USA, in collaboration with the military dictator in Pakistan, waged the notorious war on terrorism in Afghanistan. The military establishment adopted this as a business and benefitted themselves monetarily. Since the military establishment has always ruled Pakistan either directly or indirectly, the phenomenon of forced disappearances remained not only active but accelerated in the so-called democratic governments of PPP, PML (N), PTI and PDM, and it continued openly. The judicial system was crippled as usual in front of the military establishment, which blatantly refused to follow the decisions made in the courts. Even most of the nationalist political forces used it as their political agenda and a bargaining tool to share the power corridors with the blessings of the military establishment. The political parties of the ruling elites, whether operating at the federal level or regionally working under the banner of nationalism, are competing with each other to have the blessing of the military establishment so that they are given a share of power. The military establishment has colonised these small provinces by giving his B teams a small percentage of the benefits from the criminal exploitation of the natural resources of these regions.

The political crisis in smaller provinces over a period of time has developed into an extreme contradiction between the ordinary people of these provinces and the state, which is under the direct and indirect control of the military establishment. These are multi-dimensional in every smaller province. In Balochistan, there had been a continuous struggle against Pakistan's occupation through a controversial agreement with Khan of Qalat, which remained political but was also fought through armed struggle. Now, after the martyrdom of Akbar Bugti, it has continued as an armed struggle since 2006. The political representation of the people of Balochistan had been manipulated through the tribal chiefs and feudal class, whereas the Baloch nationalist political parties were labelled as state enemies. The Baloch population were forced into a minority, which created their identity crisis with the Pakhtoon and other nationalities living in Quetta and other areas of Baluchistan. The capital city of Baluchistan, Quetta, is neighbour to Kandahar, Afghanistan, and was the headquarters of Afghan Taliban Shoorā, which incited religious sectarianism and violence. Due to the strategic position of Balochistan, it remained a corridor of interests of imperialist forces, which is gaining

momentum daily. The denial of jobs to local people and access to basic facilities like education and health, including the infrastructure, is the same as what humans had in the Stone Age. The most critical unrest developed because of the exploitation of the wealth of Balochistan in the form of its natural resources, including Gwadar port, which the military establishment fully controls. The rights of ownership and preference in benefiting these resources had always been denied to Baluchistan. Similarly, in KP, the feeling of nationalism was consistently present from the start, but from the Afghan war in the Cold War period to the US-sponsored war on terrorism destroyed the three generations of Pakhtoons socially, politically and economically whose realisation being exploited by the military and its rented religious mullahs, the nationalist feelings are felt more than ever. The parallel exploitation of its oil & gas, minerals and metals is continued through the shadow companies of the military establishment. In rural Sindh, a single political party, the Pakistan People's Party, was given room to strengthen itself through the feudal class of Sindh. The situation has deteriorated so that now, in Sindh, one cannot find even one feudal who is not an office bearer of this party (PPP) in every layer of power corridors of the system. In contrast, in urban Sindh, linguistic-based conflicts were incited among Sindhies, Urdu-speaking migrated communities and Pakhtoons, occasionally resulting in armed violence. There is now a plan to settle the Afghan refugees alongside the sea belt of Sindh. On the other hand, the nexus of the People's Party, the feudal and the military establishment, have sold the natural resources of Sindh to its partners nationally and internationally, especially Chinese capitalists. Consequently, throughout the country, there are widespread sentiments of aversion, alienation, deprivation and resistance against the principal architect, the "Military Establishment", in every smaller province. They are sometimes expressed in subdued terms and, at other times, openly. Instead of addressing the causes, the path of suppression tactics has been adopted, which led to the basis of the enforced disappearances in Pakistan. The enforced disappearance has frequently been used as a strategy to spread terror within societies. The feeling of insecurity generated by this practice is not limited to the close relatives of the disappeared. It also affects their communities and society as a whole because we believe that the security apparatus expansion within the society contributes to an atmosphere of impunity.

As explained earlier, the issue of enforced disappearance came into the limelight of the public in the regime of Gen Peraviz Musharraf period, but its roots are nested in the history of Pakistan. In 1960, Comrade Hassan Nasir, a member of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Pakistan, was forcibly abducted, disappeared and brutally tortured to death in Lahore Fort. His body was made to disappear without any FIR or court proceedings. Similarly, in 1980, Comrade Nazir Abbasi, a member of the party's Central Committee, a hero of progressive youth, and the founder of the Democratic Students Federation disappeared and was later martyred, subjecting him to violence at the ISI torture cell in Karachi. His body was disposed of as derelict and buried through the Edhi foundation in the Sakhi Hassan Cemetery in Karachi. Similarly, members and leadership of the Communist Party of Pakistan suffered from enforced disappearance by the military establishment from the very start. But, in 2006, it spread on a larger scale, starting initially from Balochistan, but now has spread across Pakistan with a higher concentration in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan and Sindh. Hundreds of youths are forcibly abducted and then subjected to violence at the security torture centres; their bodies are dumped on deserted roads and intersections. There had been issues of mass graves found in various parts of Balochistan where the missing person was identified as buried there. Three young political dissidents were recently shot to death in Sindh, and their car was set ablaze to ashes. The enforced disappearances have now affected thousands. The Supreme Court of Pakistan constituted a high-level commission in this regard, which remained ineffective and powerless because of the direct involvement of the military establishment in these incidents. The legal cases of the missing persons due to enforced disappearances were taken to courts, but the process remained lingering without any concrete judicial measure for justice. The reason is apparent and openly admitted that the judiciary seems compromised and feared by the military establishment. In Balochistan and Sindh, the relatives, women, children, and male members of missing persons are crying out for justice.

The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (CED) defines 'enforced disappearance' as "the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorisation, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which places such a person outside the protection of the law", and despite this coming into force of the CED over a decade ago, Pakistan refrained itself to ratify it. Before the CED, the UN General Assembly had, through resolution 47/133 in December 1992, adopted the Declaration on the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance. Moreover, the prohibition on enforced disappearances remains a criminal norm under

international humanitarian law, constituting a crime against humanity pursuant to the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It is characterised by three cumulative elements (defined in A/HRC/16/48/Add.3), which are 1) Deprivation of liberty against the will of the person, 2) Involvement of government officials, at least by acquiescence, 3) Refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person. Keeping this in view, We believe that the state security apparatus has openly admitted its direct involvement by not ratifying it, which is a violation of the international human law of the UN, to which Pakistan is also a signatory. The consistent violation of international humanitarian law and intensification of the enforced disappearance will never strengthen the federation, and growing contradictions, upon achieving its peak, might be one of the reasons for the defragmentation of the federation of Pakistan.

We, the Communist Party of Pakistan, on the Sindh Progressive Committee's platform, organised an all-parties Missing Persons Conference at the Hyderabad Press Club in 2018 to highlight this issue on a joint political platform. Other than that, we always stand in solidarity with and have openly condemned this heinous crime against humanity through all means of communication. We are committed to continuing our struggle against all odds of oppression, especially on the subject of missing persons. We must remember, in all our endeavours, to eliminate the fascist actions of these enforced disappearances, to release the missing individuals, and to demand their presentation in the courts. We prioritise these objectives in our agenda of struggle across Pakistan.

## **ALTERCATION SCHUFLE BETWEEN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND POLITICAL FORCES**

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As explained earlier, the military establishment permanently contradicted and defiant to the political parties who were elected through their articulated system. Sometimes, these disagreements took the politicians to the gallows. After General Zia's (Military Dictator) death due to a plane crash, general elections were held in 1988 in which Pakistan People's Party emerged as the majority party in the National Assembly, but because of its historical non-cordial working relationship with the military establishment, a power-sharing formula was devised with the military chief General Aslam Baig which then made it possible to transfer power to the majority party in December 1989. How governments were deposed for the first eleven years from the day of Pakistan's inception was replicated from 1989 to 1999 until General Pervez Musharraf (Military Dictator) seized power through Martial Law, lasting ten years until 2008. All the military rules spanned an average of ten to eleven years. Since 2008, the governments that came into power through elections always governed through a power-sharing formula with the military establishment. The Communist Party of Pakistan, In its ninth Congress document, highlighted explicitly by citing the events of the general elections of 2013 when election results were suspended and resumed only when a power-sharing formula was agreed upon between the military chief Gen Kayani and Nawaz Sharif. Such a power-sharing formula decides the range of authority to be given to the ruling political party because the military establishment fully controls key areas of governance. When Nawaz Sharif took control, he tried not to take dictation in some matters. As a result, the military establishment conspired through Imran Khan and Tahir-ul-Qadri, who did a sit-in for 126 days in Islamabad from August 14, 2014, to December 17, 2014, with the purpose to pressurise and blackmail him so that he should remain in their control. Despite these tactics, Nawaz Shareef tried to govern with his own will against the already decided power-sharing formula between him and the military establishment. The differences between them finally ended when he was inducted in the Panama case, which led him not to lose the Premiership of the country, to be imprisoned in jail, to lose the title of being the head of its political party and finally banned him for a lifetime from taking part in the active politics.

## PROJECT IMRAN KHAN

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In 2018, the establishment included Project Imran in its agenda for a new political experiment. Imran Khan, who gained popularity through cricket and winning the World Cup in 1992, was appointed as an ambassador for promoting tourism during Moin Qureshi's government in 1993. Afterwards, the military establishment devised a plan during the time of General Hameed Gul (Ex-DG ISI) to use Imran Khan as a puppet for the position of Prime Minister so that all the powers would remain with them. According to Abdul Sattar Edhi's (A renowned Pakistani philanthropist) statement, General Hameed Gul ® told him that the military establishment is fed up with Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. Therefore, they devised a plan to bring Imran Khan as Prime Minister and Abdul Sattar Eidhi as the President of Pakistan. However, Edhi refused to participate in that conspiracy knitted by the military generals. As a result of his refusal, he was threatened with life, forcing him to self-exile in England. At that time, Pakistan Therek-e-Insaaf (A political party raised by Imran Khan in 1996) was not formed, and it was a covert conspiracy planned to depose the government of Benazir Bhutto, which did not materialise due to the refusal of Edhi. From that time onwards, the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan) was tasked by the military to promote Imran Khan. After the successful coup of Gen Pervez Musharraf, Imran Khan was again considered for the Premiership. The military establishment even apprised him, but he was not made the Prime Minister due to international circumstances. Until 2018, most ISI chiefs carried sympathies for Imran Khan. There was a time when, during the 2016 sit-ins, ISI's Director-General, General Zaheer-ul-Islam, without any consultation with the army chief, General Raheel Sharif, planned to end Nawaz Sharif's government in the first part and then later forcefully depose Raheel Sharif from the post of army chief. During the 2018 elections, Nawaz Sharif was sidelined through ineligibility to take part in politics with the help of the judiciary; the contesting candidates of his party, PML-N, were harassed to revoke party tickets and then pressurised or blackmailed to take party tickets of Imran Khan or stand as the independent candidates. Despite this, elections were massively rigged; the military personnel appointed to provide security for the elections manipulated the candidates' polling agents, and with the collaboration of returning officers, they manipulated the election results and brought PTI into the simple majority in the National Assembly. However, keeping Nawaz Shareef's case (a 2/3<sup>rd</sup> majority was given to him in the 2013 elections) in their mind kept Imran Khan

from becoming truly independent, which is why he was not given a clear majority. Through Jahangir Tareen, the military establishment managed their nurtured independent members and steered small political groups in Parliament for Imran Khan so that he could form the government but remain dependent on their support in running the parliament. During the 2018 elections, it was evident that Imran Khan's party was being brought to power. However, the party's analysis was that PTI would be brought to power, but Imran Khan would not be made Prime Minister. He would be made a puppet master like Sonia Gandhi of India because Imran Khan is narcissistic and unreliable. If a devious politician like Nawaz Sharif or a perceptive politician like Benazir Bhutto couldn't handle the military establishment, Imran Khan could neither. Contrary to our analysis, Imran Khan was made the Prime Minister. However, the military establishment could not perceive Imran Khan's personality as accurately as our party had portrayed his character and personality. Imran Khan fell out of favour with the military establishment. Despite this, his unpredictable nature and temperament strained relations with all of Pakistan's foreign allies. General Bajwa is now quoting that Imran Khan continued to deteriorate relations with friendly nations of Pakistan, and the military establishment made efforts to handle him.

The establishment gave Imran Khan the same script as the centrepiece of its politics, which every general in the past used to depose the elected governments and seize power, i.e., corruption and poor governance. Imran Khan based his entire electoral campaign on this script and presented lofty dreams to change the country, such as creating five million jobs, ten million houses, etc. However, he failed to propose economic, industrial, trade, and agricultural policies and did not share any concrete education, health, or infrastructure plan. After taking control of power, he imprisoned every politician and journalist who disagreed with him and the journalists who were not imprisoned had to lose their jobs. Even the spokesperson of that time's ISPR (Inter-Services Public Relations) had warned that no criticism should be made against Imran Khan. He didn't present any plan to address the abovementioned issues during his quarter to four-year rule. Instead, he deteriorated relations with the friendly nations of Pakistan. He started considering himself the sole authority and assuming the powers of a king for the next at least ten to fifteen years. The technocrats from the United States and Britain were imported to run his government, who worked only to implement the Imperialist agenda to accomplish three critical tasks against Pakistan. Firstly, to accelerate the plan of the US, envisaged in 2008, to default economically. Secondly, the

projects' contracts under CPEC are to be declassified and shut down for good. Thirdly, to push Pakistan into international isolation. Whenever his government lost the majority in the parliament on various issues, the ISI always ensured and intervened to counter the imbalance. There was also an anticipation that in the 2023 elections, the military establishment would secure a two-thirds majority for him to change the constitution from a parliamentary system towards a unitary, presidential system.

## **CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND IMRAN KHAN**

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When the establishment felt that General Faiz Hamid's activities were going beyond the predetermined plan, a decision was made to remove him from the position of DG ISI. However, due to the strong alliance between Gen Faiz Hamid and Imran Khan, who had become so intertwined that Imran Khan was unwilling to let him go, Imran Khan resorted to delaying tactics. The military establishment used a strategy and told Imran Khan that Lieutenant General Faiz Hamid could only be eligible to become the army chief provided he had experience as a corps commander. Therefore, it is necessary to send him to a corps commander. However, Faiz Hamid suggested to the establishment that the ISI should be given the corps status so that he could continue as head of ISI at the corps commander position. From here, a conflict arose between the military establishment and Imran Khan, which continued to grow with time due to the Imran Khan government's incompetence in managing the economic crisis and addressing the challenges of foreign policies of Pakistan. In the end, General Bajwa, the sitting army chief, hinted at Asif Zardari and Shehbaz Sharif, and preparations for a vote of no confidence against Imran Khan began. General Bajwa seemingly continued to present clarifications that we have no role in the motion of no confidence. However, the security establishment had already decided that they needed to remove Imran Khan.

The Project Imran Khan had been ongoing for a while. An environment was created to garner support from various institutions and the masses. The ISI's security establishment used all means to ensure public participation in his gatherings and promote his propaganda campaign to project him as a popular leader, ultimately bringing him to power. However, Imran Khan's government's abysmal performance, narcissism, fascism and flawed mindset made him unpopular among the people. As a result, his failures undermined his chances of success in the 2023 elections. But the forced eviction, through the no-confidence move, allowed him to portray himself as a victim in the hands of the military establishment. The majority of Pakistanis favour anti-establishment and anti-US sentiments. Therefore, Imran Khan held the military establishment and the US administration responsible for his expulsion from power. This propaganda helped him and increased his popularity graph rapidly. Imran Khan's politics

would have been almost buried for good if the general elections had been held after the successful no-confidence move. However, the PDM (The alliance of opposition parties formed during the Imran Khan government) government was formed at the behest of the military establishment when practically the country was at risk of default, which proved a foolish decision. Furthermore, PML-N had a simple majority in parliament; therefore, it had to form a coalition government for various political parties. It led to a government comprising a large force of ministers, advisors, and deputies, and to appease coalition parties, the state's leftover treasure was miserably exhausted. The corruption cases against the leadership of the coalition parties were settled through legislation by altering the laws of prosecution. As a result, the PDM government and the military establishment became discredited. Their discredit and failures fueled the rising support of Imran Khan's propaganda. Imran Khan, about whom our party analysis stated that if his ego is hurt, he can be pretty dangerous to the military establishment, proved correct. Interestingly, the new cones of the US, the International Jew's Foundation, and sections of Pakistan's military establishment stood behind Imran Khan. The conflicting and diverse interests of these partners mentioned above had come together for Project Imran Khan, and under their plans and guidance, Imran Khan fiercely and continuously attacked the current establishment. He does not appear in court; if he does, he brings thousands of people. This makes the judge sitting in court consider himself unsafe. When the police came to arrest him, trained from the section of the military establishment led by General Faiz Hamid, resisted and openly set ablaze the police vehicles, forcing them to retreat. A state within the state has been established. The retired military officers and Imran Khan's supporters on social media are blatantly criticising the current military leadership, i.e., the army chief, DG ISI, and the DG-C, and spreading venomous propaganda day and night. A retired major sitting in London, who used to be a spokesperson for ex-servicemen society, is now inciting the military personnel to revolt against the army chief, General Asim Munir. The country is economically on the verge of collapse. The IMF is extending the lending program to Pakistan daily with new conditions. The PDM government and the military establishment are trying to nail Imran Khan. Still, they are failing, whereas the country is on the verge of default because of the imposition of fluctuating conditions from the IMF and lingering on its sign-off of the agreement with Pakistan. Imran Khan enjoys the full support of the sections of the military and judicial establishment and uses its supporters as shields to avoid arrest, making it impossible for the establishment to control him. In these

circumstances, it is anticipated that as a result of fair elections, his party can easily achieve a majority to form the government, and one can well imagine what havoc he will bring to the system. He will not accept the results if he loses the elections, creating a new political crisis. Undoubtedly, he has become such a mole for the military establishment that they can neither swallow nor spit out.

## **May 09, 2023, IMRAN KHAN SUPPORTED ATTEMPT TO MILITARY COUP**

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After assuming command of the military, General Asim Munir devised a strategic plan to strengthen his grip by manipulating the institutions of the state through the PDM government. He removed individuals from the state civil and military agencies, particularly those affiliated with the Project Imran initiative, and started isolating political elements from the PTI. In response to this situation, retired military officers openly began expressing dissent and calling for a military uprising against General Asim Munir, particularly those former military officers who run YouTube channels and are active on social media. General Asim Munir attempted to arrest Imran Khan on charges plotted against him by the PDM government but could not succeed as the courts kept protecting him with pre-arrest bail. Eventually, on May 9, Imran Khan was apprehended by the Rangers in Islamabad, only to be released the next day by Supreme Court judges. However, the attempted revolt that had been simmering since his removal came to light on May 9. GHQ in Rawalpindi, the Lahore corps Commander House, the FC headquarters in Peshawar, the ISPR regional headquarters in Faisalabad, and various military centres in various cities, including Multan, Karachi, and Quetta, were attacked by the armed groups who had been trained by Gen Faiz Hamid group. It is also known that there was an attempt on General Asim's life, but due to his presence outside Pakistan, the coup attempt to seize power failed. Internet services across Pakistan were suspended from May 9 to 12, resulting in a lack of information within the country. During these three days, it was perceived that a change in power was occurring, and Gen Faiz Hamid's coup had succeeded. However, the restoration of internet communications on May 12 revealed that the coup had failed but had weakened the military establishment. Subsequently, under the leadership of General Asim Munir, groups of generals initiated a crackdown. According to ISPR, the military establishment is conducting court martial proceedings against Lieutenant Generals, Major Generals, and lower-ranking officers, totalling 102, thus undermining those who have not backed off after the termination of Project Imran Khan in Feb 2022. This way, Imran Khan and Gen Faiz, on May 09, gave an opportunity to the military establishment to thoroughly flush all elements of the project of

Imran Khan from every rank and file of the civil and military establishment, including politics.

Following May 9, the power of Asim Munir's establishment increased, which is now evident from the fact that all central and vital allies of Imran Khan within PTI have left him to join Asim Munir's new project, meaning they are aligning themselves with a new establishment supported political party Istieham-e-Pakistan Party and other parties like the Pakistan People's Party and miscellaneous other groups. In the coming days, even Imran Khan's arrest could be possible. This means that, like MQM's Altaf Hussain, Imran Khan will be sidelined from Pakistani politics. After May 9, a struggle was seen between two factions, which is still ongoing. None of these factions genuinely represent the people; they are engaged in battles of vested interests. Imran Khan and Retd. Gen Faiz Hamid's actions on May 9 and the forces behind Project Imran Khan have affected a significant portion of Pakistan's young generation, aged fifteen to forty years, disheartened by politics and the country's circumstances. With misguided intentions, Imran Khan and his associates attempted a military uprising through weak, unorganised public support, which ended in utter failure. Through their actions, they have indirectly harmed the genuine ideological forces capable of causing real public upheaval and initiating a revolution to change the system by seizing control over the centres of power. Despite this, our party should intensify its struggle against the ruling classes, various factions within the establishment, and their global imperial masters, especially in support of the working classes, who bear all the burden of exploitation. Only through this approach can the people be prepared for revolutionary agitation and ultimately be ready for a revolution through the upheaving of the masses for a revolutionary change.

## **THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (PDM)**

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Due to the personal incompetence of Imran Khan and the lack of PTI's clear strategy, the country has been continuously plagued by crises. His ego-driven approach led to conflicts with General Bajwa and the military establishment. To remove him, it gathered all those rejected politicians previously discredited within the military institution and among the masses as the most corrupt, unqualified and incapable. It quickly deposed Imran Khan with no confidence and facilitated all the self-serving political forces to form the government. We believe that these so-called political parties, either the PTI under the leadership of Imran Khan or PDM, which is a platform for all those parties who had been together for the sake of sharing the power, are incapable, incompetent, have no strategy to set any direction of the country but are self-centred to the extent that they can bargain at any price with the military establishment for the sake of power. For the last 75 years, the establishment has been using these political forces to impose governance run by thieves and looters on the people of Pakistan. No hope should be expected from any of these parties to confront the military establishment to have a welfare state for the people of Pakistan. They should not mistakenly consider them as alternatives because all these powerful classes and elite groups are their class enemies, and no hope should be placed in the class enemies for the betterment of society.

Why was there a rush to remove Imran Khan? On the one hand, countries that assist Pakistan, particularly Saudi Prince Mohammad bin Salman, exerted pressure due to his rivalry with Imran Khan. On the other hand, Bajwa and his like-minded establishment felt threatened by Imran Khan. They were concerned that Imran Khan might appoint Gen Faiz Hameed, the head of ISI then, as the Chief of Army Staff, extending his stay in power for a longer period. Therefore, they were playing a double-game policy. Had this happened, the deteriorating consequences of the establishment's double-game policy within the Pakistani military would have proven even more perilous. Additionally, regarding policy matters with the IMF, the outcome of deceit and manipulation resulted in Pakistan's allies turning their backs, and they had even conditioned any further assistance to Pakistan on a prior agreement with the IMF. As a result, Pakistan faced further economic difficulties, which have persisted and continue.

For the labourers, working classes, farmers, and ordinary people of Pakistan, there is no significant difference between the Chief of Army Staff change or the government led by the military for their well-being.

## THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE STATE INSTITUTIONS

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Project Imran Khan is one of the biggest failures of the projects undertaken by the military establishment, making it the most dangerous and unsuccessful venture. This project has caused internal rifts and conflicts within critical state institutions. The division in the military establishment is deep down, and despite changes in the leadership of the intelligence agencies, its network continued to stand with Imran Khan, defying his leadership and command from within. The judiciary is divided, where sections of the judiciary in the lower and higher courts support Imran Khan due to its hostility towards the PDM government and the military establishment, comprised of corps commanders and formation commanders. It would always be appropriate to call it the military establishment rather than the establishment because the civil establishment is ineffective, and their powers have been reduced to the last straw because Ghulam Ishaq Khan was the last chessman of the civil establishment to share power corridors. After him, the military establishment holds power and influence over national politics and higher authorities at every level. Only one establishment seems to remain, with the ISI operating under its umbrella. However, with time, it has also established its parallel establishment. The military establishment comprises around six hundred thousand regular military personnel, while there are anticipations that the ISI headcounts range between 1 to 1.2 million, including regular employees and operatives. The ISI has played a crucial role in undermining various civilian governments, promoting a jihadist culture, and running Jihadi businesses throughout different times. For this reason, the ISI considers itself more influential than the actual military establishment. Individuals like General Hamid Gul, General Pasha, Gen Zaheer ul Islam and General Faiz Hameed have positioned it as a parallel state within the state. Gen Bajwa and Gen Faiz Hamid jointly led Project Imran Khan, as both played crucial and active roles in the country's governance because both desired to run the state affairs according to their thinking and did so wholeheartedly. As a result, the country, the government, and both establishments have suffered a lot. Both were eager to maintain their positions and keep Imran Khan in front, controlling state affairs. General Faiz continued to implement policies of the security establishment, even going beyond its policies.

As there is a quote, “Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely”. From the tyrannical rule of General Zia to this day, the military establishment has gained even more power in each era, leading to excessive abuse of authority among them. During this period, Gen Faiz Hamid and Gen Qamar Bajwa have broken all records of misconduct and corruption. Faiz Hamid consistently made efforts, even with Nawaz Sharif, to establish himself as the Chief of Staff by networking in the United States. He built relations with the Afghan Taliban and TTP (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan). When he was removed from his position and appointed as the corps commander in Peshawar, he provided opportunities to the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) to reorganise in border areas of Pakistan with Afghanistan, which brought a new wave of terrorism. In these ways, he strengthened his position. Even after retiring from the army, he remained engaged with his former connections and challenged the command of both sides of the military establishment, including Gen Aasim Munir and General Nadeem Anjum, who replaced him as DG-ISI. He exhausted all possible channels in his earlier command, used the money to influence, and exploited through blackmailing to manipulate a parallel judicial system operating in the Supreme Court, Lahore High Court, Rawalpindi Bench, and Islamabad High Court. He knitted a parallel establishment that positioned Imran Khan to gain such strength to have a straight head-on collision with the PDM government. The military establishment's role is to protect the country from external threats. Elected civil governments strengthen the country to maintain harmony within society, unite the people, and create a strong nation by promoting consensus. However, instead of uniting the people and empowering them, the military establishment has needlessly and unlawfully intervened in state affairs and has divided society along familial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and sectarian lines, scattering the fabric of society. The establishment created this situation to protect itself from any united, organised struggle of the people of Pakistan. But, the reality is that the key institutions of the state have now fallen victim to division. This is what is called a reprisal of history.

There was a time when criticising a military general was considered a grave sin. Those who criticised were labelled as traitors from all sides of society and used to be imprisoned, or they were made to disappear for good. Retired military personnel, especially from the ex-servicemen Society (an organisation of retired military officers), are now appealing to stand against their military commander, General Asim Munir. The divisions within institutions, especially military institutions, are also a result of the new changes occurring in the global

perspective. The US imperialistic world order is weakening, and China's imperialism has not yet reached a level where it has its world order. As long as the world order of Imperialism is not determined, the state institutions of countries like Pakistan, which are imperialist parasites, will continue to struggle for survival. However, the exploitation and oppression of their people in the hands of these state institutions will continue. Mutual conflicts, rifts and contradictions have deepened and become more severe within Pakistan's state institutions. The military establishment is no longer capable of imposing martial law or cleansing the institutions on a large scale to control or manage the growing divisions among the state institutions. The military establishment has become extremely weak, and the possibility of further weakening is apparent. We are not in a position to take advantage of this situation either. There is a Russian saying, "When a dog appears, you can't find a stone, and when you find a stone, the dog doesn't appear." If the party's organisational position of the 1980s had happened today, a revolution could have been achieved by taking advantage of these. Because the people of Pakistan have become fed up with all civil and military rulers, including the political parties, and these ruling elites, including the military establishment, have become naked in their eyes. These ruling elites now have no means or methods available to reduce the people's anger. However, the three major splits in the communist party of Pakistan in 1987, 1989 and 1991, and the international crisis due to the adoption of counter-revolutionary policies by Gorbachev frustrated Pakistan's communist cadre, which consequently weakened the Communist Party Pakistan. The party should make a special effort in its organisational expansion and cadre building, enabling it to achieve a stage where it can benefit from the current crisis.

## **THE ROLE OF IMF IN THE STATE CRISIS OF PAKISTAN**

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An International Monetary Fund, commonly known as IMF, has always been used by the United States to fulfil its imperialistic objectives. The IMF's primary function is to provide loans to indebted economies so that they can stand on their feet. It helped Western European countries to regain stability after the Second World War. However, there is no example of a developing country that borrowed from the IMF and achieved economic growth. Along with lending, the IMF assumes the role of managing the economy to fix the country's economic conditions. As a result of its instructed policies, the indebted nations were further struck up into debt traps. Mainly due to increased interest (Policy) rates and a devaluation of the currency, the debt of such nations increases to a level where they remain at risk of default. In such a situation, the country has to sell off all its assets, meaning the privatisation of the state-owned institutions to pay back the international borrowings and the interests on these borrowings. But the debt still stands with interest payments, exhausting the country's every source of revenue. Ultimately, such countries lend more loans yearly to repay their old loans and the interest payments. There are two significant examples of getting rid of IMF loans. One is an example of Egypt, where it had to bow down to Israel at the wish of the US, and as a result, its loans and interest payments were written off. The other example is Brazil, where Lula De Suza, being the patriotic ruler of the country between January 1, 2003, and December 31, 2010, refused to take further loans and managed state expenses with correct economic policies to get rid of the IMF loans and burden of interest payments.

Pakistan is currently negotiating to revive the IMF program to avoid an economic collapse and minimise the risk of default. This program was signed off during Imran Khan's government but has not been reinstated after being stalled. Every day, Pakistani leaders are being coerced under new conditions by the IMF. The ordinary people of Pakistan are burdened with increasing taxes and rising inflation, yet the government is failing to repay its debts. Even Pakistan's friendly nations have imposed conditions on Pakistan to secure IMF programs first for any further financial assistance or investment from them. Pakistan has to obtain \$8 billion from the IMF and other sources by June 2023 to keep its balance of payments steady. By 2025, Pakistan will need \$30 billion to pay external debts and interest

payments. This means that Pakistan is now entirely under the grip of the IMF. The elite class of Pakistan is not facing much hardship due to these conditions because the IMF neither condition to eliminate their perks nor impose significant cuts to their high salaries because they act as their agents, exploiting the general public to repay the IMF's loans and interest. These conditions have enslaved the working class and the lives of ordinary people.

The US and Western imperialist countries are using the IMF as a lever or tool to achieve their imperialist objectives, and they continue to do so today. Pakistan is intentionally blackmailed through the IMF to remain trapped in its economic crisis so that Chinese investment and loans in Pakistan's infrastructure can risk failure. The Chinese loans and investments account for approximately 30% of Pakistan's total external debt and are owed to the Chinese government and state banks. The US and its allied Western imperialist bloc have already subjected Argentina in 2002, Greece in 2010, and Sri Lanka in 2022 to default after playing the same tactics. In Greece, the default was orchestrated to exploit Russian black money from its banks, while in Argentina, the left-wing government and China's investment were undermined by default. Similarly, Sri Lanka's default was deliberate because it was heavily indebted to Chinese loans and investments. It seems from these experiences that Pakistan will either be forced into default or China's investment will be sabotaged.

Until Pakistan is freed from the crutches of self-serving generals, bureaucrats, and elites, it cannot escape the grip of China, the US, the IMF, the Paris Club, or other imperial financial institutions. Until the perks, benefits, and exuberant state spending on luxurious lifestyles of Pakistan's political elite, comprising the opposition and ruling parties, landlords, capitalists, feudal lords, Grade 18 and above civil and military officers, and judges, on the cost of poor people of Pakistan, are not cut down or eliminated, the country will not be able to break free from the debt traps. To bring progress to the country and make the people prosperous, it is essential to relinquish self-serving authority, strive to achieve self-sufficiency and promote indigenous means of resources.

## ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND ITS EFFECTS

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In 2022, the Monsoon rains in Pakistan caused massive devastation. Gilgit-Baltistan, Kashmir, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where the Monsoon begins, experienced heavy rainfall, resulting in destruction. Relentless downpours that lasted for three days created flooding and flash floods. A study revealed that the Monsoon in Pakistan was 190% above average in 2022. The water swept away settlements along the rivers. Areas such as South Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan were submerged. Villages, towns, and several cities were either submerged or partially affected. Around four million people live in tents and makeshift settlements in the submerged areas. According to the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), approximately seventeen hundred people died from these torrential floods. Twenty-two hundred thousand houses were damaged, their crops worth billions of rupees, including livestock, were destroyed, and roughly an equal number of people were affected to the extent that they became homeless. As a result, eight million people were displaced as a whole. The health situation deteriorated due to these rains and floods, which caused widespread diseases such as dengue, malaria, diarrhoea, respiratory ailments, and waterborne diseases. These are official numbers that could be documented. Still, the numbers are too high; either those are deaths, people who had been displaced or the number of damaged houses and even the economic loss the people of these areas had to bear. NDMA estimated that the rains and floods affected 40% of Pakistan's area, and 33% of the land remained waterlogged for four months. Even now, there are several areas where stagnant water remains, preventing the cultivation of the Rabi season.

According to the World Bank's November 2022 report, immediate actions are required in Pakistan to prevent such devastation in the future. If no steps are taken, glaciers will melt rapidly due to intense heat, leading to water scarcity in Pakistan after some time. On the other hand, the duration of monsoon seasons will increase, and rainfall will intensify. But why have Pakistan's weather conditions deteriorated to such an extent? Pakistan contributes only 1% to greenhouse gas emissions, but experts say that the effects of global climate change are disproportionately impacting Pakistan in Asia. Industrialised countries contribute the most to greenhouse gas emissions and pollution of the oceans. According to the September 2022 report on the global environment, China contributes 28%, the United States 18%, India 7%, Russia 5%, and Japan 3%, totalling 60% of pollution. The other 15 countries contribute 18%,

and the rest of the world contributes only 21%. Even the United States is being affected by frequent coastal storms. Other nations are suffering the consequences of the pollution caused by these countries.

Human progress is closely linked to industrial and agricultural development. Still, several important factors are causing global environmental pollution and climate change, which are,

1) uncontrolled growth of industries: Emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, discharge of industrial waste into the oceans or burying it underground without proper disposal, and improper handling of leftover raw materials contribute to environmental degradation

2) Unplanned population growth: Converting prime agricultural land into residential societies or colonies based on commercial interests, indiscriminate deforestation to obtain timber, cutting mountains for cement and concrete for housing schemes and roads, and dumping carbon dioxide emissions, human waste, and polluted water into rivers and oceans are degrading the natural environment. The increasing population also leads to the emission of carbon dioxide from transportation. To tackle these issues, better management of water transport systems and water conservation practices are needed. Developing low-water-demanding crops for agriculture, constructing infrastructure according to new requirements, planning housing developments according to the environment, and revamping municipal systems to address these challenges is necessary.

To protect the pollution-free natural environment and prevent the rise in global temperature by one degree, people need to rethink and work towards creating an environmentally friendly habitat. The Kyoto Protocol holds great importance in this regard. However, despite the recommendations presented by experts in various environmental conferences, industrially advanced countries, which bear the responsibility of global stewardship, are not prepared to take action. It is essential to establish a world peace organisation, such as the United Nations, with the power to enforce restrictions on fossil fuels, nuclear weapons, and other dangerous arms to prevent experimentation on land and sea and promote global peace. The capitalist system, driven by the pursuit of profits, is currently leading to the destruction of nature. Therefore, it is necessary to mobilise and strive to eliminate this exploitative and nature-hostile system for the welfare of workers, farmers, labourers, and the general public.

## CONCLUSION OF THE DOCUMENT

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Approximately a century later, the world of humanity faced a viral disease called COVID-19, which claimed the lives of millions of people. This pandemic emerged in 2019 and quickly spread across the globe, and nearly all the nations across the continents were affected by it. From Dec 2019 to 2021, life remained paralysed in various countries, resulting in the closure of businesses and industries, directly affecting daily wage workers' livelihoods. In contrast, the workers in other sectors faced difficult circumstances with sustaining employment and even faced salary cuts and many jobs were finished for good, mainly in capitalist countries. During COVID-19, remote office work and online commercial activities became more prevalent. The gig economy, especially in sectors like food delivery, purchase of goods, and transportation, witnessed an increase in gig workers. Gig workers appeared to be independent but were trapped in exploitative servitude. Gig workers are increasingly becoming the most vulnerable group, with no fixed wages or working hours. They had to wait until late at night, often until dawn, to fulfil orders and earn a living. During the Covid-19, Pharmaceutical companies like Pfizer and Moderna made billions of dollars in profits under the guise of saving lives. Big international superstores like Amazon earned immense profits during this period and had extraordinary asset growth. This pandemic took a toll on human lives in capitalist economies, while countries with planned economies suffered minimal loss of human lives. Cuba, in particular, demonstrated to the world that despite economic constraints, it not only saved the lives of its citizens but also went to other countries to rescue people from the dangerous effects of this pandemic. Some weaker variants of this virus are still spreading in different countries, but their harmful effects have been reduced to a great extent. With precautions and vaccination, it will be prevented from assuming an epidemic form. COVID-19 has proven that the capitalist systems did not take special measures to save humanity. Imperialist capitalist centres like America lost millions of lives, while socialist Cuba successfully saved the lives of its citizens.

After COVID, trade, business, and industrial activities have resumed, but the world is entangled in inflation due to increased profit rates. Along with that, the use of online work experiences and automation has increased unemployment, especially in developed capitalist countries. Inflation and unemployment have worsened poverty and destitution in developing or backward countries compared to advanced centres. To reduce the burden of public debts

and state expenditures, pension plans have been abolished, retirement ages have been extended, and austerity schemes like arbitrary cuts in elderly allowances have been initiated. Against these, a wave of public protests has emerged in most European countries, reaching as far as the United States and China. These countries, especially France, Britain, Germany, Spain, Italy, etc., have seen opportunities for the communist parties of these countries to transform protests into revolutionary movements with expanding public support.

In the least developed and underdeveloped countries, there doesn't seem to be much agitation regarding the economic and social issues of the people, especially inflation. In Pakistan, religious influence has been increased and strengthened under state patronage, and the notion has been implanted in people's minds that "as the people are, Allah (GOD) will give them rulers of the same type," "so correct yourself, turn to Allah, He alone can change your situation." Religious influence is spreading and expanding rapidly in India. Now, its effects are also becoming apparent in Nepal. As Hinduism grows, the Muslim population's reaction starts inclining faster towards their religion. Despite these issues, there is a need for communist parties to organise public movements against unbearable inflation and unemployment.

The US world order is gradually weakening in world politics. As a rising imperial centre, China is increasing its influence and planning a new world order under its authority. Russia is its strong ally and has strategised to break the US-sponsored world's imperialist system and, in parallel, fully support China. However, the US has trapped Russia by involving it in the Ukraine war and prevented Russia from its plans to support China fully. On the other hand, the US has also implemented practical measures to contain China, such as maritime blockades with the help of Australia in its neighbourhood and defence treaties with India, South Korea, Australia, and Japan. Nevertheless, China has gained financial imperial status by exploiting global markets over the past 40 years, primarily by exporting cheap goods and other inexpensive products, and at the same time with the export of capital in the name of developments through its state-owned and private commercial banks. Many African and Latin American countries are already trapped in China's debt. Now, China possesses more reserves in its financial imperial institutions than the international lending institutions. It appears that if the global communist movement does not break the capitalist imperial system in the current century, China will rise as a more powerful imperial centre than the US and will succeed in implementing its world order. Indebted economies, which are at the lower

levels of development, are currently struggling against the IMF, World Bank, and Western imperialism. In the future, their struggle will be against Chinese imperialism. Pakistan, too, is increasingly becoming entangled in Chinese debt. The influx of Chinese products has plunged Pakistani industries into crisis. Just as there are sentiments and emotions against the US now, similar sentiments will surely emerge against China.

The state crisis in Pakistan is intensifying, and the state institutions are being torn apart. As a result, the country is facing a situation of administrative anarchy. The ruling political elites, feudal lords, and Civil & military establishments have exploited the impoverished population to further their self-interests. The IMF is in unholy collaboration with all these groups and classes to strengthen its grip on Pakistan's economy and politics to undermine China's influence and interest in Pakistan. Consequently, the nation is experiencing economic turmoil, and mafias are becoming more powerful, exacerbating the economic and social crisis. The ruling nexus of establishment, politicians, local capitalists, and feudal, with the blessing of the international imperialist forces, mercilessly exploited the resources of oppressed smaller federation units of Pakistan. As a result, it has deepened the inclination of the people of these federation units towards separating from Pakistan. Under these circumstances, the country is trapped in economic, political, and social crises. The Communist Party and left-wing forces are weak, whereas the political forces advocating regionalism or separatism and those struggling for national rights do not have any significant influence. Contrary to this, religious organisations established by state security agencies or working under their patronage have become quite powerful. Furthermore, the economic deterioration and deprivation the people are subjected to pose a threat of anarchy, from which religious or reactionary forces will benefit. Therefore, it is fundamentally important to gather the forces of the left on a common platform and organise them for the struggle of ordinary people's social, political and economic issues.

Various experiments were done at different times to salvage the remnants of the capitalist-imperialist and pre-capitalist social systems. These experiments to bring change have been attempted through the ballot, gaining power through parliamentary recognition, slightly altering the old machinery, and an armed struggle like guerrilla warfare to seize power. The experiments to bring change through the ballot include Iran in the 1950s, Indonesia in the 1960s, and Chile in the 1970s, where these attempts were unsuccessful. Successful examples of revolutionary change through armed struggle include China and Cuba. Is it possible in

today's era to bring about a revolution solely through armed struggle? Experiences of European social democratic parties and socialist governments persisting for the past 25 years in the Caribbean and Latin American countries, as well as the acquisition of power by communist parties in Nepal, on the face of it, illustrate the examples of the concept of bringing change through the ballot but the question is that after seizing power in these examples, were they successful in bringing the change? Was private property abolished and brought under state control? Are the fundamental rights guaranteed in a successful revolutionary change, i.e., education, healthcare, employment, and housing facilities from the state, provided? The answer is a big NO. In these countries, the provision of fundamental rights and the abolition of private property is a distant matter, as in these countries like Nepal, the curse of commodification persists; the NGOs, which are the virtual institutions of Imperialism, are fully functional and even contains centres of the regional spy agencies.

Therefore, to uproot this exploitative and class-based system, a sustained way is only the mass revolt resulting from a public revolutionary movement. Therefore, gaining control over the state and ultimately dismantling the old machinery of the exploitative system that governs the working classes are primary requisites to installing new state machinery for the new state system. Through this implementation, a successful socialist system can be started, gradually achieving its height. This certainly does not mean that participation in the electoral process will be neglected, considering it the platform of bourgeois politics. This essential political platform should be used to reach people with the party program and ideology without incurring much money. The party must plan to direct its efforts towards the revolutionary popular movement using all possible means.

## DUTIES

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In Pakistan, it will be a fundamental duty to establish a socialist revolution for the well-being of the masses, the marginalised classes, and oppressed nationalities, hence eliminating all kinds of exploitation and ensuring economic prosperity and social security and protection, which will be carried out through democratic norms. The details of these are already mentioned in the Communist Party of Pakistan's manifesto, but the key points are as follows,

1: Resisting global financial imperialism, neocolonialism, and neo-liberal policies will be of primary importance in our duties. Priority will be given to developing state production and services in key fundamental industries. Investments will also be allowed in the light and non-essential industries in the private sector.

2: The state infrastructure will be established on non-sectarian and secular foundations. Under the principles of practical socialism, spreading religious biases and sectarian conflicts, which are strategised by imperialism, will be eliminated. Religion and belief will be regarded as individual matters, and the individual's freedom in matters of religion will be protected and guaranteed. Citizens of Pakistan belonging to all religions and beliefs will be granted equal rights. Women will be given equal rights as men in all walks of life. Religious influence in state affairs and politics will be eliminated.

3: The military's role will only be limited to the country's defence needs. Their commercial and industrial business, including agriculture ventures, will be terminated and brought under state control. Dirty games like "jihad business" will be separated from the national army. Their interference in national politics and state affairs will be eliminated, and state power will be entrusted to the elected representatives of the working class, farmers, women, and the general public.

4: Agricultural reforms will be implemented, ending the feudal system and organising agriculture in collective and state farms. Measures will be taken to eliminate the feudal culture and its social effects. Former landlords and feudal will not be allowed to participate in electoral activities or cast votes.

5: All the nations living in Pakistan will be granted the right to self-determination and will have authority over the wealth and all kinds of resources. The constitution will also include a

method for giving the right to self-determination. It is necessary to clarify here that the meaning of the right to self-determination is not that every nation must necessarily separate. Just as giving a woman the right to divorce does not mean that every woman must necessarily seek a divorce, giving this right ensures equality between men and women, and the same applies to different nations, which eliminates exploitation. All forms of national bias and racial discrimination will be eliminated. Special efforts will be made to promote the languages of all nations and nationalities. Pakistan will be made a federal entity based on the consent of the nations. A "Union of Socialist States" will be established.

## STRATEGY

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To achieve its objectives, the party will foster class consciousness among the working class, peasants, women, and marginalised communities to organise them within its public fronts and advance revolutionary efforts against exploitation. The struggle for the national rights of oppressed communities will be linked to the struggle of the oppressed classes. The strategies will be made to form united fronts of progressive forces, including workers, peasants, employees, women, students, and non-Muslim communities.

To reach the destination of a socialist revolution, the path of people's democracy will be adopted. For this purpose, democratic forces that firmly stand against the military establishment will be organised to empower democratic institutions.

A united front shall be organised comprising all secular forces in Pakistan to establish a secular democratic state. Feudal political and social systems and the remnants of the feudal culture and influences will be dismantled, and anti-feudal united fronts will be organised.

To achieve these objectives, various sections of society will need to be organised into different fronts. In a united front, political parties, professional organisations, and trade unions will be brought together. Each united front will have a different nature. It is essential to understand that this will only be viable and successful if the party itself is strong and the nucleus in organising all such strategies.

To make our party's popular fronts effective and efficient in implementing these practical strategies, increasing their capacity and strengthening their capabilities is imperative. To achieve this, we must build our fundamental political strength until it becomes powerful enough. Without this, we won't be capable of forming united fronts, nor will we be able to play a key role in them. Our revolutionary strength can only convince large and small forces from other political parties and different segments of society to come into a united front. To eliminate the country's fascist security establishment, their nurtured reactionary forces and imperialism, it is extremely important to form united fronts. The party and its mass fronts should engage in constant struggle on the daily issues of the common people, much like workers' trade unions. We must always be prepared to assist the workers of the party and public fronts in addressing the social needs and issues of the common people.

We must firmly believe, without any doubt and with an open mind, that revolutionary changes and uprooting the old system are impossible without mass-level political upheaval, for which an organised party of a well-prepared and ideological-based cadre is indispensable. To attain these objectives, our strategies will primarily adopt the political course in which Participation in elections will also be part of such strategic political actions. We must not forget that the bourgeoisie democratic institution that constitutes, as the result of such elections, does not qualify to perform in a feudal-based social structure.

**Long Live the Socialist Revolution**

**Long live the Communist Party of Pakistan**

**Down with capitalism, Imperialism, Feudalism, Staratocracy and Revisionism**

**ONE SOLUTION! REVOLUTION!**

**LET THERE BE LIGHT!**

**GET ACTIVE NOW! JOIN THE CPP**

Comrades, if you are determined to play an active role in achieving its goals, it is essential to join the Communist Party of Pakistan formally. To do so, it is necessary that first, you actively participate in the following fronts of the Communist Party of Pakistan so that you are ideologically and politically well-prepared:

- All Pakistan Trade Union Organization (APTUO), 0311-3930763
- Sindh Hari Committee (SHC), 0334-2805658,
- Punjab Kissan Tahreek, 0333-8652494,
- Buzgar Committee, 0333-7907802
- Democratic Students Federation (DSF), 0344-1708611, 0336-0321841
- Democratic Youth Front (DYF), 0300-3084290
- Progressive Writers' Association (PWA), 0300-3231918
- Democratic Women Association, 0306-2961927
- Pakistan Peace and Solidarity Council (PPSC), 0300-3022506, 03214255167
- CP Social Media Cell (CP SMC), 0331-1111303

You gain experience in any of the above fronts and then become the Communist Party of Pakistan's member. Let's step forward, join your representative class political party, and wage the revolutionary struggle.

**LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

**COMBAT THE VIOLENCE & EXPLOITATION OF CAPITALISM, IMPERIALISM,  
FEUDALISM, AND STRARTOCRACY**

**TO**

**BUILD A SECULAR AND SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

**TO**

**SAVE THE FUTURE AND LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE**

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The Communist party, as the political vanguard, solely qualifies to lead the proletariat in the revolution. The Communists, therefore, are, on the one hand, practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the lines of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. The immediate aim is the formation of the proletariat into a class, the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, and the conquest of political power (Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto").

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the organisation of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class to crush the oppressors. An immense expansion of democracy, which, for the first time, becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy, for the exploiters and oppressors of the people. This is the change that democracy undergoes during the 'transition' from capitalism to communism (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917)

Applying this principle of democratic centralism and autonomy for local party organisations, in practice, will sometimes give rise to disputes and misunderstandings, but only through this principle can all disputes and all misunderstandings be settled honourably for the Party. This principle implies universal and complete freedom to criticise, so long as this does not disturb the unity of a definite action; it rules out all criticism that disrupts or makes difficult the unity of an action decided on by the Party (Lenin, "Criticize and unity of Action", 1905)

In Russia, where in November the revolutionary struggle ... set at stake the establishment of socialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois power, the struggle between the socialist traitors (Socialist Democrats) and the protagonists of socialism had to be decided by force of arms. The Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Right and the Mensheviks were on one side of the barricades with all the counter-revolutionary swine; the Bolsheviks were on the other side with the workers and the soldiers. Blood has created a gulf between us and never will be forgotten. It is why we had to give our party another name (Communist Party), to distinguish us from these traitors of socialism. (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works, Vol. XXVII, pp. 140-141", 1934)

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## THE HISTORY OF ALL HITHERTO EXISTING SOCIETY IS THE HISTORY OF CLASS STRUGGLES

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