

PRINT CULTURE AND LEFT-WING RADICALISM IN
LAHORE, PAKISTAN, c.1947-1971

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

This thesis has also not been submitted for any degree in any university previously.

Irfan Waheed Usmani

21 August 2015

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SUMMARY

This study looks at the PPL newspapers and the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) as sites of resistance. It demonstrates how literary and cultural spheres provided an alternative vision of Pakistan. This study presents this argument to challenge the existing scholarship, which has looked at Pakistan through statist frames by highlighting issues of authoritarianism, civil military relations and Praetorianism. The statist frameworks have neglected the Left which has been seen as a passive historical actor in making of contemporary Pakistan. This enquiry seeks to complicate this picture and makes an effort to rescue to the Left the historical role it played in the political discourse in Pakistan, in its formative years, as a united nation, in restricting the Right-wing agenda to Islamize Pakistan and to add to vibrancy of political debate.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All India Muslim League
AIPWA	All India Progressive Writers Association
APPWA	All Pakistan Progressive Writers Association
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
EFUJ	East Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
KUJ	Karachi Union of Journalists
N.A.J	National Association of Journalists
NAP	National Awami Party
P.P.H.	People's Publishing House
PFUJ	Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
PPL	Progressive Papers Limited
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PT	Pakistan Times
PTUF	Pakistan Trade Unions Federation
PUJ	Punjab Union of Journalist
PWA	Progressive Writers Association
PWM	Progressive Writers Movement
RCC	Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SUJ	Sindh Union of Journalist

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Statement

This study seeks to examine print culture in promoting and sustaining the idea of the Left in Lahore, Pakistan. By focusing on two major agencies of print culture—two daily newspapers of the Progressive Papers Limited (PPL)—and the role of the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM), a radical literary movement, it looks upon print culture as a site for examining radical interventions in the formative years of Pakistan during 1947–1971. Academic scholarship on Pakistan has looked at the Left from a statist perspective. Ayub Khan, Pakistan’s first military ruler, denounced the Left in Pakistan as an alien ideology.¹ In 2004, S. P. Cohen, a US scholar on South Asian security, noted that, ‘The Leftist vision of Pakistan was incompatible with that of the Establishment; Pakistan’s Western allies had to be shown that Pakistan was free from revolutionary impulses’.² This view shows that the Establishment considered the Left inconsequential.

However, recent scholarship—for example, the works of Kamran Asdar Ali, Saadia Toor, Anushay Malik, and Taimur Rehman—has begun to look upon the Left with empathy.³ One may also include the works of Ali Raza and Talat

¹ Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.188 and p.166.

² Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Pakistan edn (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), p.72.

³ Kamran Asdar Ali, *Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), Kamran Asdar Ali, ‘Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan’s Early Years’, *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 03 (May 2011): 501–34.

Ahmed in this category.⁴ In 2013, Raza described the Leftist project as a dream that had potential but could not be realized.⁵ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a major progressive Urdu poet of the twentieth century, once described the Left as ‘a dream that was shattered by *kasrat-e tabir* (multiplicity of interpretations)’.⁶ The views of scholars such as S. P. Cohen and Ali Raza implicitly suggest that the Establishment did not provide the Left political space.⁷ Further, it may be noted that the systematic suppression of the Left by the Establishment has reinforced the perception that the Left remained a passive actor in the history of contemporary Pakistan.⁸ One can analogize it with Edward Said’s seminal work *Orientalism* which, while critiquing the Orientalist discourse produced by Said’s work, unintentionally ends up hegemonizing it. While reverting to the discussion on the Left in Pakistan, one may contend that the dominant trend of academic scholarship on Pakistan shows that Establishment was so powerful that it did not allow Leftist politics to flourish.

Additionally, this thesis will argue that, because of the radical nature of their agenda, the Left had to face organized suppression by establishments in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly during the Cold War. The radical politics that the Left sought to carry forward involved radical interventions. Often, these went against the interests of the dominant classes—

⁴ Ali Raza, ‘An Unfulfilled Dream: The Left in Pakistan Ca. 1947–50’, *South Asian History and Culture* 4, no. 4 (1 October 2013): 503–19, and; Talat Ahmed, ‘Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup’, *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 45, no. 1 (1 January 2008): 115–49.

⁵ Ali Raza, ‘An Unfulfilled Dream: The Left in Pakistan Ca. 1947–50’.

⁶ M. Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Tahrey Ajnabee* (Lahore: The Classic, 2004).

⁷ Barring this issue, this author agrees with Raza’s overall analysis.

⁸ Saadia Toor, a scholar on the Pakistani Left has used the ‘paranoid state’ to express the attitude of Establishment towards the Left. Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam: Culture And Cold War Politics In Pakistan* (London: New York: Pluto Press, 2011), p.

which favoured the status quo⁹—and led to conflict and the suppression of Leftist movements. One can provide several examples to illustrate the nature and form of repression. The period under study coincided with McCarthyism in the US.¹⁰ One can find clear echoes of its ideological effects in Muslim countries like Iran and Malaysia during the 1950s and in Indonesia after the Suharto regime came to power in 1965.¹¹ Of the other Third World countries,

⁹ ‘Radical’ means root and branch reform. Jonathan Bradbury, ‘Radical Politics’, in *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, ed. Ian Mclean and Alistair Macmillan (London: Oxford University Press, 2003). For Anthony Giddens, a British Marxist intellectual, radicalism goes beyond the sense of change as he described it as ‘breaking away from the hold of the past’. Anthony Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1994), p. 1.

¹⁰ In general parlance, it refers to the aggressive, restrictive and hard-line policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations against Leftists in the US throughout the 1950s. Its name comes from Joseph McCarthy’s initiative. McCarthy, a young senator from Wisconsin, revealed in February 1950 that he had compiled a list of 205 communists working in the federal government. The US administrations of Truman and Eisenhower, finding it politically beneficial, embraced this idea with enthusiasm. McCarthy’s campaign developed into a virulent witch-hunt against Leftists. An editorial on 29 November 1953 in *The Washington Post*, during McCarthyism’s heyday, identifies its characteristic traits: ‘McCarthyism has three principal elements. First, it refers to sensational charges without evidence to support them. Second, it involves gross distortion of facts and situations. Third, it relies heavily upon assumptions of guilt by association.’ ‘Editorial: What Is McCarthyism’, *The Washington Post*, 29 November 1953. McCarthyism can also be described as a mind-set, as the emergence of this phenomenon illustrates. The right-wing protagonists of McCarthyism doubted the loyalties of all elements (individual and groups) that expressed political dissent against the government. They were not necessarily Communists, but they held divergent political views. Some of these people were liberals, and some were strongly oriented towards non-Marxist neutrality. See Edwin Harwood, ‘McCarthy Lives on—Among the Leftists’, *Los Angeles Times*, 14 December 1983. For an in-depth historical understanding of McCarthyism, see David Cauter, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge under Truman and Eisenhower*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1978, and; Edwin R. Bayley, *Joe McCarthy and The Press*, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. For a critical understanding of long-standing debates, see: R. Bruce, Bonham, ‘McCarthy Re-Considered: A Look at How the Historiography of Joseph McCarthy and McCarthyism has Changed in Light of New Information’, (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 2001), and Scott Allen Rausch, ‘McCarthyism and Eisenhower’s State Department 1953–61’, (PhD. thesis, University of Washington 2000), Chapters 2–3 and Conclusion.

¹¹ For the historical background of the Leftist movement in Iran particularly since the 1940s, see Sepher Zabih, ‘The Dynamics of the Communist Movement in Iran 1920–1962’, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1963), Ahmed Ghoreichi, ‘Soviet Foreign Policy in Iran 1917–1960’, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado 1965), Part IV, Chapter 2, and Part V, Chapters 2 and 3. also see Sussan Siavoshi, ‘The Failure of the Liberal Nationalist Movement in Iran 1949–1979: An Analysis of Structural Constraints and Political Choices’, (Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1985), Chapters 3 and 5. The American policy towards Iran was more strategic. Initially, the US did not seem very concerned about the Leftist movement in Iran. The Iranian scholars Ahmed Ghoreichi and Djamchid Darvich Kodjuri, in their doctoral theses on the external influences on Iran’s foreign policy, have pointed to the fact that US officials became gradually aware about Iran’s potential significance in the Middle East and South West Asia between the years 1942 and 1947. See, A. Ghoreichi, ‘Soviet Foreign Policy

the Indian state in the later years of the Nehruvian era had turned hostile towards the Left, although Jawaharlal Nehru had been espousing ‘socialistic’ ideology since the 1930s.¹²

Having considered the larger developments, this thesis argues that in the context of the Pakistani Left, a mere focus on its suppression alone is not adequate. Rather, one needs to examine its different interventions in society to

in Iran 1917–1960’, pp. 261–262 and 218–219, and D. D. Kodjuri, ‘Image and Perception in International Relations: A Case Study of Relationship Between Iran and the Great Powers, 1919–1953’, (Ph.D. thesis, Miami University 1976), Chapter 4. This realisation later metamorphosed into grave US concern about the growing Soviet influence in Iran. It largely shaped the US policy towards the Soviet Union in Iran. Given this increasing Soviet influence, the US became deeply frustrated. Thus, quite understandably, it got particularly suspicious of the Iranian Left. S. Zabih, while clearly pointing to this aspect, writes that the US policy ‘was aimed at preventing the massive unity of all nationalist progressive forces and isolating *Todeh* party’, ‘The Dynamics of the Communist Movement’, p.309. The Iranian government became openly hostile towards the *Todeh* party, Iran’s sole Leftist party representing the Marxist Left, and it was banned in 1949. (Another Left-wing party, the Toilers’ Party, which espoused non-Marxist Leftist ideology, was established in 1951.) For details about the suppression of the Leftist movement in Iran, see S. Zabih, ‘The Dynamics of the Communist Movement in Iran’, See: Chapter 4, pp.229–230; Chapter 5, pp.260–261, and 265, 271, and; Chapter 6, pp. 278–280 and pp.313–314. The suppression of the Malaysian Communist Party (MCP) emerges as another related theme of a serious comparative study looking at this historical process in the Muslim world during the Cold War. For the historical background of the Leftist movement in Malaysia, see C.C. Chin, ‘The Cold War and the Rise and Fall of the Communist Movement in South East Asia: Chronicle of the MCP’s Revolution’, *Journal of Cold War History*, August 2010, pp. 364–379, and Sze-Chien Ng, ‘Challenging Received View of Malay’s Revolutionary Past’, (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University 2011). This study makes an incisive critique of the colonial discourse about the Left in Malaysia, which over time created ‘an accepted version of history’. Ng tries to reinterpret and revise the current established history’ of the Malayan Left. By foregrounding the MCP’s role in the country’s national independence, Ng asserts that it was engaged in a ‘genuine anti-Colonial struggle’. While correcting this misleading and widespread impression about the MCP’s entity as ‘an extension of International Communism from China’, which was created and further reinforced by the British, she emphatically contends that it was indigenous to Malaysia. She further informs us that this discourse of the ‘rise and demise of popular radicalism’ remains conspicuously ‘missing’ from official and textbook histories, S.C.Ng, ‘Challenging Received View’, pp.103–105, 109–110. For concrete details about the suppression of the Leftist movement in Malaysia, see C.C. Chin and Karl Hack, (ed.), *Dialogues with Chin Ping: New Light on Malayan Communist Party*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 2004. For the wider context of the Leftist movement in Indonesia until the mid-1960s, see Ruth T. Mcvey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1965, and; Keith Floucher, *Social Commitment in Literature and the art: the Indonesian ‘Institute of Peoples’ Culture’ 1950–1965*, Clayton: Victoria, Centre of South East Asian Studies, Monash University, 1986. For a broad overview of the Indonesian Left’s ordeal after Sukarno’s fall and before Suharto’s advent, see, Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor, eds., *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia, 1965–68*, Singapore, NUS Press; NIAS Press; Asian Association of Australia, 2012. For details about the suppression of the Leftists and the Political Islamists in Indonesia after Suharto came to power in Indonesia in 1968 to the early 1980s, see *Indonesia: Law Propaganda and Terror*, London, Zed Books, 1983.

¹² Z.A. Ahmed, *Mere Jewan ki Kuch Yaddian* [trans.]. Yaqoob Khawar, 1st 2004 ed. (Karachi: Idarah-e Yaadgar-e Ghalib, 2004), and; Judith M.Brown, *Nehru* (Longman, 1999).

understand the larger resistance that it put up against all odds. This thesis argues that the Left exercised agency and that, despite all the limitations imposed by the Establishment's hostility, it was able to exert a profound influence on contemporary Pakistani society. To support this argument, this work has chosen two newspapers and the radical literary movement in Lahore. By doing so, this study sees ideas and discourses at the level of literary production and Left-wing journalism. Such focus shows how radical journalists and progressive litterateurs shaped a political discourse that came to influence the sensibility of the citizen.

Having stated the main argument of this thesis, let us define its scope. While exploring print culture and literary production, this study narrates the struggles of journalists and litterateurs by focusing on the city of Lahore during the years 1947–1971. Lahore serves as preeminent site to examine the nature of the cultural politics of the Left and the literary resistance it produced. The study examines in detail two dailies of the PPL, the *Pakistan Times (PT)* and *Imroze* (Urdu newspaper), as the main agencies for the dissemination of Leftist political discourse in West Pakistan. The founder of the PPL, Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din [hereafter Iftikhar-ud-Din], was a social democrat deeply influenced by socialist ideology. The Establishment maintained strict vigilance on PPL publications during the decade of the 1950s. It became sceptical of the PPL's role as Left-wing newspapers, and the military regime of Ayub Khan felt no qualms in taking the drastic step of taking over the media organization.

On the surface, this ended the most radical phase in the history of PPL and transformed it into an 'official' organ. The general perception of the episode is

that it changed the radical character of this institution. However, this study suggests that, despite this setback, PPL journalists continued their resistance through other forms. Journalists who remained within the PPL put up internal resistance. Understandably, the level of this resistance was different from that before the takeover. Nevertheless, this study shows that the journalists continued to play a defiant role within their limitations, and continued their resistance through other platforms, as they either launched a number of progressive magazines and newspapers between 1963 and 1970, or worked for these.¹³

In its heyday, before the takeover, PPL publications had become so effective that Tariq Ali, a scholar-cum-Leftist activist, noted that PPL newspapers were the ‘Left in West Pakistan. An attack ... [on PPL newspapers] was a direct attack on the progressive movement in West Pakistan’.¹⁴ This statement attests to the critical importance of the PPL within the Leftist movement. Even critics of Left-wing politics acknowledged the pivotal role that the PPL publications played. The views of two prominent right-wing journalists, Abdul Karim Abid (1927–2005) and Irshad Ahmed Haqqani (1928–2010), reinforce this view.

The former contended that:

When Pakistan was established, a powerful circle of the progressives was present in the country. But it was the PPL newspapers that provided them real strength... [The PPL] had all the trappings of communist [socialist] journalism. [Its journalists] used to work in systematic and ingenious ways. They were well trained and kept on working with

¹³ These included the *Funun*, a quarterly literary magazine; the daily *Musawat*, a newspaper launched by the PPP; the *Lail-o-Nahar*, a weekly, which was a reincarnation of the PPL’s *Lail-o-Nahar*; and the daily *Azad*, a radical daily of Lahore.

¹⁴ Tariq Ali. *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?*, London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1970), p.104.

seriousness. They did not come up with emotional slogans and remained detached from the petty rivalries of politics.¹⁵

Irshad Haqqani opined in 1999 that:

[The PPL] certainly set high standards in the field of journalism in terms of professionalism, and introduction of new ideas and brought on expertise. Both the newspapers of the PPL and later the weekly it launched brought dignity to the progressive journalism. Aside from this, I see no other worthwhile endeavour or contribution of the progressive movement in this field.¹⁶

It would be unfair to claim that Left-wing print culture, particularly the PPL, has not drawn the attention of Pakistani academics. At least four MA students and a PhD scholar of the Punjab University Journalism Department [renamed Mass Communications Department] have written theses that explore key themes like PPL newspapers (*Imroze* and the *PT*), the history of PPL, the role of Left-wing press of Lahore in promoting Leftist ideas and aspects of progressive journalism in Pakistan.

The Progressive Writers Movement (PWM), the other agency this study focuses on, had its beginning as the All India Progressive Movement (AIPWA) in 1936, and blazed a trail in the literary culture in India.¹⁷ This enquiry investigates the PWM as an independent branch of the AIPWA.

The AIPWA had played a major role in the Indian freedom struggle in the realms of literary resistance and labour mobilization. It made pioneering efforts towards fostering political and social awareness using theatre and cinema. It galvanized an alternative vision, and tried to promote a radical agenda to solve the difficulties of common people. Pakistani progressive

¹⁵ Abdul Karim Abid, A.A. Naz's Interview with Abdul Karim Abid in A.A. Naz, (ed.) *Makalmat*, (Lahore: Al-Qamar Enterprise 2003), pp.225–227, n.d.

¹⁶ Irshad Ahmed Haqqani, interview by A.A. Naz, in, A.A. Naz, (ed. and comp.), *Makalmat*.

¹⁷ For more details, see Sajjad Zaheer, *The Light: The History of the Movement for Progressive Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Sub Continent*, trans. Amina Azfar (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

writers too were inspired by these ideals. The PWM influenced several generations of litterateurs. The enquiry examines the PWM as an alternative avenue of promoting radicalism in society and their role in post-Partition Pakistan, and tries to assess it on its own terms.¹⁸ The qualification ‘on its own terms’ is crucial because few of the PWM’s detractors could examine it impartially despite its profound impact on the cultural and literary milieu in Pakistan.¹⁹

Literature came to be used in various ways as the medium for expressing political dissent. Progressive littérateurs employed it as a means of conveying their radical message in both direct and indirect ways. A cursory look at Urdu progressive literature suggests that radical poets used this medium to make their voices heard.²⁰ Further, literary writers used the repertoire of literary forms—poetry, *ghazal*, *nazm*, *afsana* (short story) and novel, to name only a few. These forms not only enabled them to express themselves but also to differentiate their radical message. These literary genres carried a large stock of metaphors, similes, allegories as well as vocabulary from the literatures and literary traditions of other languages. Radical poets, particularly Faiz Ahmed Faiz, used Persian-ized vocabulary very effectively in their poetry.

As explained earlier, the Leftists in Pakistan confronted a hostile Establishment. Therefore, the role of the PWM and the Urdu radical literati assumes added significance for this thesis, as the literary arena provides a veritable lens to look at political resistance. The Pakistani progressive literati

¹⁸ I am grateful to Mushir-ul-Hasan, a historian of colonial and modern India, for drawing my attention towards the need for seeing the PWM from that perspective, and for promoting literary radicalism, in a more positive light. Mushir-ul-Hasan, 26 January 2014.

¹⁹ Waheed Qureshi’s work on the PWM provides an explicit example of this kind of critique.

²⁰ Table 7.1 in Chapter 7 indicates that the progressive littérateurs had a clear idea of the social functionality of the major genres of Urdu literature.

were aware of the critical importance of literature and of their role as writers. In 1967, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, a prominent literary writer and editor, compared and contrasted the roles of literary writers and professional historians, and accorded writers higher status:

They [the literary writer] recount the history of their country, its people and contemporary [period]'. This kind of history is altogether different from history documented by the 'professional historians'. Because it is based on sensibilities that only literary writers can grasp. Therefore, the writings of the litterateurs directly/ faithfully reflect the feelings of the society. The historians, on the other hand, are concerned with 'events or reaction caused by these events'. That conditions the focus of their 'gaze'. And any history that does not capture the sensibilities 'will always remain as mis-representation'.²¹

Majnoon Gorakhpuri (1904–1988), a progressive literary critic and writer, wrote in 1966, 'Literature is also history as well, that presents the pictures of ever-changing culture in different periods of a country or a nation'.²² The views of both these progressive writers convey their firm belief in the usefulness of literature to mirror societal attitudes and give us a glimpse of cultural consciousness.

To sum up, this thesis looks at the intellectual resistance that radical journalists of the PPL and progressive litterateurs in Lahore both offered. Scholar of resistance literature Barbara Harlow succinctly notes that resistance itself is an act of creation,²³ and a proactive, not defensive, act. Taking cue from this insight, this thesis examines print culture and literary radicalism and

²¹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Adab Aur Baray Log', in *Pas-e Alfaz (Tanqid)*, eds. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Mansoor Ahmed (Lahore: Asateer, n.d.), p.233 One can disagree with Qasmi regarding the narrow conception he had of the role of the historian, but when he wrote this, history writing in Pakistan was event-centred.

²² Majnoon Gorakhpuri, *Nukat-e Majnoon*, (Karachi: Maktaba-e-Azm-o-Amal, 1966), p.128, cited in Razia Gahfoor, *Urdu Tanqid Aur Haqiqat Nigari* (Lahore: Sanjh Publications, 2012), p.107.

²³ Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (Methuen, 1987), vi and Chapter 10.

shows that civil society, of which journalists and *littérateurs* constituted an important part, had been putting up resistance against the authoritarian Establishment which, despite being well entrenched in the class structure of post-colonial Pakistan, it could not fully subdue.

1.2 Conceptualizing the Left in Post-colonial Pakistan

Discerning the precise meaning of ‘Left’, which is a very broad term, may help to explain the type of Left that existed in Pakistan during the period this study seeks to examine; identify the major Left-wing forces; and categorize them based on their political standpoints within the Left.

In common parlance, the term ‘Left’ refers to the support of a liberal point of view, and an idealized view of an egalitarian society, which requires that the state play a proactive and interventionist role in economic and social affairs. The Left–Right semantics refer to social and political divisions in society on issues of public policy, ideology and ownership. The Leftists and Rightists have different visions of constructing, organizing and directing the state and society. These represent different lines of thought, and different conceptions of human nature underlie these lines of thought.²⁴ These terms explain the ideological commitments of various groups and factions in a society that subsequently create ideological divides. Stefano Bartolini, an Italian scholar of the West European Left, has used the analogy of ‘ontological opposition’ to explain this phenomenon.²⁵ This debate about the ideological agenda of the

²⁴ Roger Scruton, *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (London, Macmillan, 1983), pp.303–304, Abdul Rashid Moten and El-Faith A. Abdel Salam, *Glossary of Political Science Terms: Islamic and Western*, 1st edition (Singapore: Cengage Learning Asia, 2004) Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, 2nd edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 493–494.

²⁵ Stefano Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left*, (Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), p.9. John Keane, ‘Democracy and the Idea of the Left,’ in

Left and of their opponents is an overarching theme in this study. The binary opposition between Left and Right, besides pointing to a ‘dyadic way of thinking’, and particular interests of different groups, indicates the direction in which political and social forces representing the Left and Right want any society advance.²⁶

Political scientists use different methods to evaluate the political divide in a society or country. This thesis refers to the ‘axiological scale’ and ‘continuum diagrams’.²⁷ These approaches take public opinion as continuity or sequence of thought in a particular society to assess the political and ideological positions of political parties, which implies that the concept of the centre assumes critical importance in this schema of characterization,²⁸ and demonstrates difference both within and between ideological camps.²⁹ A number of scholars focus on one of the characteristic features of the Left to

D.Macmillan and S.Sayers (eds.) *Socialism and Democracy* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1995), p. 6. Elizabeth Zechmeister, an American political scientist traces the long-term impact of ideological labelling on the political behaviour of voters. She informs that the political scientists use ‘Left-Right semantics’ for ‘elite packaging’ that highlights ‘contextual influence’. She considers usage of this approach as a ‘useful heuristic’ method, Elizabeth Zechmeister, ‘What’s Left and Who’s Right? A Q-Method Study of Individual and Contextual Influences on the Meaning of Ideological Labels,’ *Political Behaviour* 28, no. 2 (June 1, 2006):154.

²⁶ Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*, trans. Allan Cameron (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.2–3.

²⁷ John Keane, ‘Democracy and the Idea of the Left’, in D.Macmillan and S.Sayers (eds.) *Socialism and Democracy* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1995), p.6.

²⁸ Marcel Gauche, *La Droite et la gauche* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1992), cited in, Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right*, endnote no. p.105.

²⁹ Andrew Haywood, a British political scientist, who writes politics textbooks, presents a brief but useful overview of some of the major approaches that political scientists use to conceptualize the Left. Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp.252–253. In his Introduction to Italian scholar Norberto Bobbio’s work, British classist Allan Cameron defines the essence of Bobbio’s approach: ‘The two axes in politics combine to produce four categories: the extreme Right, the moderate Right, the moderate Left, and the extreme Left.’ Allan Cameron, ‘Introduction,’ in *Noberto Babbio, Left and Right: The Significanse of a Political Distinction. Translated with an Introduction by Allan Cameron* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996). Cameron’s definition explains the concept of the axiological scale Bobbio equates with ‘historical use’. Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right*.

convey the essence of this concept. I have incorporated these ideas in a tabular form.

Table1.1 Operative Words Expressing Characteristic Traits of the Left

Name of scholar	His/ Her characterization of Left
Norberto Bobbio	‘Equality’
Vittorio Foa (1910—20)	‘Liberty’
D. Cofrancesco	‘Attitude and intentions.Emancipation’ ³⁰ and ‘attitude towards power’ ³¹
Willie Thompson	‘Progressivism’
Geoff Eley	‘Socialism’
Tony Judit	[Marxism]‘Politics at grassroots’ ³²

Sources: Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right*, (Chicago: 1997), p. 61. Vittorio Foa, cited in N. Bobbio, *Left and Right*, p. 96, Dino Cofrancesco, cited in, N. Bobbio, *Left and Right*, p. 47, and Chapter 5, end note no.7, pp.109–110. Willie Thompson, *The Left in History* (London: 1997), p., Geoff Eley. *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: 2002). Tony Judt, *Marxism and the French Left: 1830-1981* (New York: 2011), p.19.

This table explains the core concepts of the Leftist ideology. The concept of the Left embraces other traits, like idealism to transform the state into a welfare institution, sympathy with the poor segments of society and focus on radical programmes that advocate the rights of labourers and trade unions. In one of his works on the European Left, Marxist historian Geoff Eley acknowledged the contribution of the Left in the evolution of democracy.³³ The concept of the Left takes on a different meaning if one defines it with the

³⁰ Dino Cofrancesco, *Destra E Sinistra*. Se cade 10 spartiacque I L SECOLO XIX 14 August 1990, cited in, N. Bobbio, *Left and Right*, p. 47.

³¹ Dino Cofrancesco cited in, N. Bobbio, *Parole Della Politica* (Pisa: La Libreria del Lungarno, 1993), Chapter 5, endnote, no. pp.109–110.

³² A number of scholars, particularly Geoff Eley and Richard Flack, press this point. Eley holds that the study of the Leftist Movement becomes the history of society, due to the movement’s connections with grassroots politics, Geoff Eley, ‘Socialism by Any Other Name? Illusions and Renewal in the History of the Western European Left’, *New Left Review*, I, no. 227 (February 1998): 97–115. Richard Flacks, a scholar of the New Left’, wrote, ‘An effective Left must integrate its politics with the routines of daily life.’ Richard Flacks, ‘Towards A History of New Left,’ in R. David Mayers, (ed.), *Toward a History of the New Left: Essays from Within the Movement*, (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1989.), p.125.

³³ Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

ideological referents of Communism, Marxism and Socialism, which are open to diverse interpretations, as Table 1.2 indicates

Table 1.2 Definitions of Left based on Ideological Referents of Communism, Socialism and Marxism

Descriptive Terms	Name of Scholar	Definition
Communism	James C.Docherty	‘Revolutionary tradition of Socialism’
	Frederic Jameson	A ‘historical movement’.
Socialism	F. Jameson	‘Political and societal aim and vision’.
	Donald Sasson	‘What parties calling themselves socialist do and think’?
	Göran Therborn	He emphasizes to differentiate between ‘two major sets of meanings’ of this concept, as a ‘set of institutions’, and, ‘as a set of values’.
	Angelo S. Rapport	A.S. Rapport’s dictionary of Socialism provides 40 definitions of Socialism
	J.C.Docherty	There is ‘no agreed upon definition of Socialism...variety has been... [its] outstanding feature’. He establishes its 3 broad categories with in which he identifies its more than 17 distinct varieties.
	Donald Sassoon	Socialism aims at ‘civilizing of capitalism’.
Marxism	Maxime Rodinson	‘Marxism [is]...is a series of neo-Marxist totalitarian synthesis each claiming to be the only legitimate once’. He adds that ‘For me, these is not just one Marxism, but several Marxisms, all with a common core, it is true, but also with many divergences, each version being as legitimate as any other.’
	F. Jameson	‘A dialectic’ [a reasoning process] and unfinished project’ that conceives ‘mode of thought and reality that have not yet come in to existence today’. One can comprehend its problematical nature by showing ‘allegiance to complex of problems whose formulations are always in movement and in historic re-arrangement and re-construction, along with the object of study’.

Sources: J. C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*, pp. 1, and 1–2, Frederic Jameson, ‘Actually Existing Marxism,’ in S.M.Ceasre Casarine and R.E.Karl, (eds.), *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York:1995), pp.14, and 19—20, Maxime Rodinson, *Marxism and the Muslim World*, (London: Zed Press, 1979), p.50. Göran Therborn, ‘The Limits of Social Democratic Admirableness,’ *New Left Review*, I, no. 227 (February 1998):124., Angelo S. Rapport, cited in, J. C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*,p.1., Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred*

Years of Socialism (London: 2010), pp. 776–777, and Herbert Kitschlet, *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: 1999), endnote 38, p.289.

Table 1.2 shows that the definitions do not represent any consensual view on the Left. Another difficulty of associating the Left with ideological referents is that these referents are not interchangeable. The purpose of specifying the problematic nature of these definitions is to argue that the concept defies simplistic interpretations, and that caution needs to be exercised in extrapolating both the broad and specific notions that this term that has been used to connote in different political and social contexts—it is not to critique the concept of the Left in its being inherently flawed. The term embraces three distinct notions: idea, philosophy and movement. I agree with Herbart Kitschlet, a scholar of political science, that we cannot provide a precise and unambiguous definition of the Left because of ‘the historicity multi-dimensionality’ of this phenomenon.³⁴ A number of scholars like Norberto Bobbio, Sergio Benvenuto [Italian philosopher and psychoanalyst] and Jan Otto Anderson [Finish political economist] have identified the existence of several Lefts.³⁵ Thus, one cannot determine the meaning and composition of the Left without specifying the nature of a particular strand of Leftist thought that existed within a particular time and space.

The reference in the previous paragraph to the term ‘movement’ draws attention to the fact that the idea of the Left is closely related to a number of movements and mobilizations. But even if one traces the historical evolution of such movements over a period of two hundred years, it would reinforce the

³⁴ Herbert Kitschlet, *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), p.44.

³⁵ Bobbio, *Left and Right*, 16. Sergio Benvenuto, ‘Tramonto Della Sinistra?’ cited In, Bobbio, *Left and Right*, *Studi Critici* 2, no. 1–2 (October 1992): 111–25. The Table 1.3 that shows the typologies Leftist parties in Pakistan during 1947–71, attests simultaneous presence of multiple Lefts.

same conclusion about the all-encompassing nature of this phenomenon.³⁶ Not surprisingly, a number of scholars such as Bartolini, Revelli, Bobbio and Eley have placed great emphasis on a relativistic understanding of the concept of the Left.³⁷

So far, we have looked at the Left from the perspectives of Western scholars. Let us now consider how Indian and Pakistani scholars have captured the essence of the concept. Aditya Mukherjee, a historian of modern India, has pointed out that parties of peasants and workers became the carrier of Leftist politics in India where the ‘Communist Party’ was very weak. These parties developed ‘largely independently of, and often, contrary to, communist formulations made abroad’.³⁸ Mukherjee finds the roots of these parties in the Left groups that existed in various provinces of India,³⁹ and points towards the indigenous nature of the Leftist movement in India. Shalini Sharma, a scholar

³⁶ Appendix 2 provides an overview of historical evolution of this concept over two hundred years. It gives an idea of changing nature of historical meaning of Left. It attests that it is difficult to determine precise meaning to this concept.

³⁷

S.Bartolini	S.Bartolini a scholar of West European Left, describes the historical concept of Left as ‘relational’ that changes ‘overtime’. He asserts that one should not ‘attempt to define Left independently of the name of its historical actor’
Marco Revelli	The concepts of Left and Right are ‘situated in political space’ the dividing line between them in terms of issues is determined by ‘time and space’
N.Bobbio	N.Bobbio considers the terms Left and Right relative to such an extent that he wonders, ‘How long vocabulary of Right and Left would persist in such conditions’?
J.Eley	Geoff Eley, a historian of Modern Europe and Left, while reviewing, Donald Sassoon’s work, <i>One Hundred Years of Socialism</i> , [1998] suggests the ‘Socialist history’ should be ‘situated in multiform, micro-political context of the movement’.

Sources: Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left*, p.10, Marco Revelli ‘*Destra E Sinistra*’ Type Script, p.30, Cited in N.Bobbio, *Left and Right*, p.56. and; Eley, ‘Socialism by Any Other Name?’, p.113.

³⁸ Aditya Mukherjee, ‘The Workers and Peasants Parties 1926–30: An Aspect of Communism in India’, in *Indian Left: Critical Appraisal*, ed. Bipan Chandra (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1983), pp.3 and 15.

³⁹ Jameel Umar, an intellectual and Leftist activist, in 2009 made the similar observation about the Leftist movement. Jameel Umar, interview with Jameel Umar, 27 October 2009.

of Left-wing politics in Punjab, drew attention to the ‘inwardness of the Communist movement in India’.⁴⁰ Such studies highlight the salience of trade union movements in Leftist politics and that the Leftist movement followed a distinct trajectory of their own.

Table 1.1 provided the characteristics of the Left identified by western scholars. Table 1.3 lists the traits South Asian scholars associate with the Left.

Table 1.3 Operative Words Expressing Characteristic Traits of the Left

Name of Scholar	Characterization of Left
P.C. Joshi	‘Economic determinism’
Shalini Sharma	‘Deployment of language of class struggle’ ⁴¹
Tariq Ali	The perspective of CPP as ‘reformist’. He insists that they were struggling for ‘bourgeoisie democracy and bourgeoisie democratic rights.’ ⁴²
Ishtiaq Ahmed	‘Essence of Pakistani Left as a democratic Left’ ⁴³
Taimur Rehman	‘Struggle for Democracy’
Syed Jamal-ud-Din Naqvi	‘Progressivism’

If we compare Tables 1.1 and 1.3, we find a number of common traits. So far, this discussion has not referred to an important element of Left-wing thinking: anti-imperialist consciousness. There are two traditions. One stemmed from the radical nationalism of the Indian National Congress and, later, the

⁴⁰ Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition*, 1st edition (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), p.3.

⁴¹ Ibid. She has also assessed its long term impact in terms of fostering awareness of ‘nationalism’ and ‘democracy’, and its role in giving voice to the poor, creating awareness about ‘economic development’ strengthening the secular space in the society, Ibid, p.117.

⁴² Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People’s Power*, p.43.

⁴³ Ishtiaq Ahmed elaborated that ‘What I meant about the Pakistani Left was that it became the main force demanding secular democracy - socialism was a faraway goal. Pakistan was based on reactionary religious nationalism and the left then became the representative of democratic ideal and values but it was a hopeless situation because the state was already based on anti-democratic values’. 14-8-2015, billumian@gmail.com.

Congress Socialist Party and other Left-wing groups that sympathized with the Congress. The other, which created awareness among Muslims, sprang from religio-political movements like Deoband and Khilafat and, later, political parties like Majlis-e Ahrar and Khaksar Tehrik, which provided impetus to anti-imperialist feelings. Also, in north western India, Maulana Obaid Ullah Sindhi influenced many Muslims. These movements inspired several prominent among Muslim Leftists, such as Jamal-ud-Din Bokhari, Comrade Ghulam Mohammad Leghari, Fazal Elahi Qurban, and Feroze-ud-Din Mansoor.

1.3 The Left-wing Parties in Pakistan: A Typology

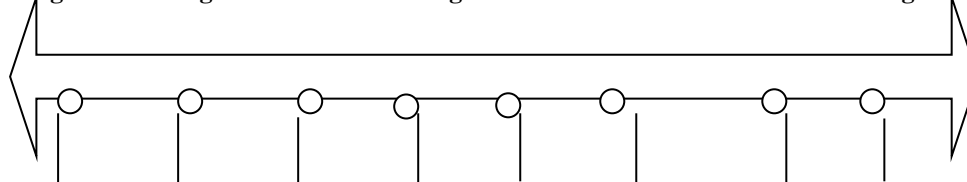
This section tries to explain the ideological differences within Leftist parties by constructing broad typologies of political parties in Pakistan and by making a continuum diagram that demonstrates such typologies. Sumanta Banerjee, a scholar of the Left, categorizes Indian Left-wing parties into the parliamentary Left; offshoots of pre-Independence nationalist and armed revolutionary groups; socialist groups, inspired by the Congress Socialist Party; and pro-Chinese, militant, Marxist–Leninist groups, called Naxalites.⁴⁴ This section attempts to develop a typology of Leftist parties in Pakistan based on Banerjee’s categorization and on the discussion on the relativistic understanding of the Left in Section 1.2. Based on this broad conceptualization of the radical Left, we may include those groups and parties in post-colonial Pakistan that possessed these characteristics:

⁴⁴ Sumanta Banerjee, ‘Naxalbari and the Left Movement in India’, in *Social Movement and the State*, ed. Ghanshyam Shah (New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2002), pp. 152–153.

- parties that adhered to Marxism–Leninism or Maoism, or were organized on class lines, or for which any variant of Marxism constituted the main agenda or political creed;
- regional or ethnic parties that subscribed to the Leftist orientation in terms of anti-establishment, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, pro-socialist and pro-provincial autonomy stances; and
- populist political parties with a sizeable proportion of Leftists and with a Left-wing as well as socialist orientation of programme.

This classification may include parties that desired to harmonize Socialism with the Islamic concept of social justice and equality as enshrined in the notion of *Masawat-e Muhammadi*. Based on this broad definition, we may classify radical Leftist forces into this typology: the (a) Traditional Left (b) Working class parties (c) Militant Left; (d) Regional Left; (e) Populist Left; and (f) Islamic Left.⁴⁵

Diagram 1: Categorization of Left-wing Parties in Pakistan on Continuum Diagram



[Militant] [Regional] [Working Class] [Traditional Left] [Moderate] [Populist] [Non-Marxist] [Islamic]

This broad typology is a vivid, overall picture of the Left-wing parties in Pakistan during the period of this study but, since this evaluation is subjective, some of its aspects may be problematic. For instance, serious scholars of the Left in Pakistan may differ with the inclusion of a group or party in a specific category, and the overlap of party programmes and ideologies may lead one to

⁴⁵ I have provided details of types of Left-wing parties in Pakistan between 1947–1971 in Appendix 1.

arrive at different conclusions. This problem in forming a typology of Left-wing parties reinforces the earlier contention—any conceptualization of the Left is ‘relative to the national context’⁴⁶—and supports our main contention, which is that the idea of the Left in Pakistan should stem from its political space, and be subject to neither narrow interpretations of Marxism nor Euro-centric constructs of the Left.

1.4 Review of Literature

This section is a review of literature under themes such as ‘Post-colonial Pakistan’, ‘What is ‘Left’?’ and ‘Print Culture as Resistance’. These provide entry points to locate this work in the evolving field of Post-colonial Pakistan Studies.

The work of scholars like Craig Baxter, Rasul Bakhsh Rais and Alyssa Ayers⁴⁷ highlight the limitations in the processes of state- and nation-building, and demonstrate how Establishment policies on political integration, federation strengthening and resolution of ethnic conflict proved counter-productive. These scholars paint a gloomy, yet realistic picture of the political circumstances of post-colonial Pakistan. The issues they raise are those that the ruling elite had prioritized and that fed into their policies. But the Leftists and their allies, the regional elite, who had a different vision of state and nationhood, opposed these policies vehemently.

⁴⁶ David Robertson (ed.), *Instant Reference: Politics: From Absolutism to Zionism*. (London: Teach Yourself, Hodder & Stoughton, 2001), p. 116.

⁴⁷ Craig Baxter, ‘Political Development in Pakistan’, In, Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Pakistan: Founder’s Aspirations and Today’s Realities* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 126–48. Rasul Bakhsh Rais, ‘Building State and Nation in Pakistan’, In, Charles H. Kennedy, et al., (eds.), *Pakistan and the Millennium* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1–25, and; Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

The works of V. R. Nasr, Paula Newberg and Oskar Verkaaik look at the state in Pakistan from different new theoretical perspectives. Nasr applies the theory of governability, Newberg looks at the state by focusing on the decisions of the higher courts and Verkaaik uses ‘ethnographic approaches’ to look at the ‘state from below’.⁴⁸ But they do not address or engage with the key themes of the Left in Pakistan.

The works of Ayesha Jalal and Farzana Sheikh show a disjunction between ideological imagination and political realities,⁴⁹ and describe Islam as the *raison d’être* of Pakistan. Jalal views Islam with empathy; pinpoints insufficient engagement with the true essence of Islam as the underlying cause of the problems of democratization; and investigates the issue of the disconnect between the ideals of nationhood and the reality of statehood. The issue of citizenship exemplified this, because it exposed the territorial limitations of the nation-state vis-à-vis the claims of its ideological expansiveness.⁵⁰ Sheikh, on the other hand, shows how political leaders and the Establishment used Islam and how it proved ‘problematic ... [and thus remained highly] ... contested’.⁵¹ By implicating Islam, she means over-engagement with its perverted interpretations and lack of consensus over

⁴⁸ Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, ‘Democracy and the Crisis of Governability in Pakistan,’ *Asian Survey* 32, no. 6 (June 1, 1992): 521–37, Oskar Verkaaik, ‘The Captive State: Corruption, Intelligence Agencies and Ethnicity in Pakistan’, In, Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (eds.), *States of Imagination, Ethnographic Explorations of the Post Colonial State*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp.345 –364 and; Paula R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁹ Ayesha Jalal, ‘Ideology and the Struggle for Democratic Institutions’, in *Old Roads and New Highways: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, ed. Victoria Schofield (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.121–38, and; Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, First Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁵⁰ Ayesha Jalal, ‘Ideology and the Struggle for Democratic Institutions’, pp. 121, and 128–131.

⁵¹ Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, p. 2.

‘what Pakistan stood for’.⁵² Sheikh feels that all the major problems Pakistan faced after Partition stemmed from the ideological confusion that arose from the chequered relationship between Islam and the state.⁵³

Another strand of scholarship analyzes the impact of the colonial legacy on post-colonial Pakistan. These can be categorized into the works of Hamza Alavi and Imran Anwar Ali, which highlight the effect of colonial legacies on the political economy of the post-colonial state,⁵⁴ and the works of Ian Talbot and Marcus Daechsel, which highlight the impact of colonial attitudes on the political culture in post-Independence Pakistan. Alavi established the theoretical framework of the ‘over developed’ state structure to show that rule bequeathed to post-colonial state Pakistan, a state structure which the non-political forces [the Establishment] retained dominance over other classes. The Establishment tried to maintain a political and economic structure to safeguard its interests as well as those of other privileged classes, such as the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, by protecting private property and adopting capitalism. Alavi uses the term ‘military–bureaucratic–oligarchy’, which encapsulates the concept of the ‘Establishment’ in Pakistan that this study

⁵² Ibid, p.1.

⁵³ The Left-wing parties could not resolve ideological ambiguity regarding engagement with Islam and the Muslim past. This confusion found its initial manifestation in the differences within the CPP. I have discussed this issue in Section 2.11 of Chapter 2 and Section 6.3 of Chapter 6.

⁵⁴ Hamza Alavi, ‘State in Post Colonial Societies Pakistan and Bangladesh’, in *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, eds. Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp.145–73, Imran Anwar Ali, ‘Past and Present: The Making of State in Pakistan in *Pakistan Contours of State and Society*’, eds. Soofia Mumtaz et al., (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.24–42, Ian Talbot, ‘Back to the Future? Pakistan, History, and Nation Building’, in *Pakistan at the Millennium*, eds. Charles Kennedy, et al., (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 65–94, and; Markus Daechsel, *The Politics of Self-Expression: The Urdu Middleclass Milieu in Mid-Twentieth Century India and Pakistan*, 1 edition (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).

uses.⁵⁵ Ali examines the long-term impact of the economic policies devised and pursued by the British, and seeks to establish that these policies stratified the political economy and society of Pakistan⁵⁶ into dominant and subordinate classes, which is the class structure the post-colonial state inherited.⁵⁷

These writings inform of the major constraints that democratic forces, particularly Left-wing parties, faced during their struggle. Despite their broader relevance, both works convey the impression that the privileged classes' dominance over the political economy let them force the opposition, dominated largely by Left-wing parties, into total submission, and that the opposition did not put up any resistance. Thus, in a way, they reinforce statism, as referred to in Section 1.1. This study seeks to refute that view by exploring Leftist resistance in the cultural sphere in Lahore.

Talbot focuses on the legacy of the Pakistan movement,⁵⁸ critiques the historical reconstruction that has informed general understanding about the movement and points out the dismissive attitude of the adherents of the Two

⁵⁵ I pinpoint two reasons of using this descriptive term. First, it allows me to specify the nature of dominance of particular section of society or some of privileged classes in the political system or over the state. The majority of the Left-wing and liberal scholars like Hasan Nawaz Gardezi, Feroze Ahmed and Tariq Ali, to name a few, have used the term 'state'. They have depicted the latter as an institution that was decidedly hostile to Left, democratic process, democratic forces, and egalitarian politics that the Left-wing and other working-class parties wanted to pursue. Though, these writers do not intend to malign the country Rather, by referring to 'State' they meant that it had been dominated by a particular clique that had developed its stakes in the political economy of exploitation at the expense of larger interests of the society. Second, the frequent invocation of the term 'State' in a broad sense allowed the scholars and activists of Right-wing and pro-Establishment persuasions of interpreting this kind of characterization as '*riyasat ko gali*' (abusing the state). This thinking still pervades in the sections of intelligentsia sympathetic to the political Islamists, the Establishment, and some of Pakistani nationalists who hold very exclusivist view of the Pakistani nationalism. Therefore, I will prefer to use the term 'Establishment'.

⁵⁶ Imran Anwar Ali, 'Past and Present: The Making of State in Pakistan', in, *Pakistan Contours of State and Society*, pp.25–26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.32–33, and 34–36.

⁵⁸ Ian Talbot, 'Back to the Future? Pakistan, History, and Nation Building', in *Pakistan at the Millennium*, pp. 65–94.

Nations theory towards those who sought an ‘alternative understanding of [the] Indian community’.⁵⁹ According to Talbot, this kind of historical thinking has deflected the attention of the authorities from ‘plural and ethnic realities’⁶⁰ and, more alarmingly, fostered a rigid and intolerant attitude towards opponents who were ‘carried into’ Pakistan after Independence.⁶¹ Daechsel explores the ‘cultural process’ that shaped the middle class milieu during 1930–1950 and describes it as a social formation.⁶² This strand of thought shapes and reinforces a particular behaviour pattern of the middle class towards politics, and develops the ‘cultural consciousness’ that marks ‘an inward turn’.⁶³ This politics is manifested in the middle class material culture that Daechsel analyzes through the vantage of the politics of consumer behaviour.⁶⁴ His work examines the widespread repercussions of this kind of politics on both nationalist as well as Left-wing politics, and its effect on both Indian and Muslim nationalist movements; and observes that this politics affected the course of the Muslim nationalist movement more adversely. In post-colonial Pakistan, the exponents of this politics, who he describes as ‘[the] new bogeymen’, changed the very objectives and meanings of independence within the initial few years.⁶⁵

This category of literature enables one to understand the attitudes of the Pakistani nationalists and the behaviour patterns of the middle class. Talbot

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.68.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Markus Daechsel, *The Politics of Self-Expression*

⁶³ Ibid., pp.16–17.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.207–208.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp.208 –209.

accurately depicts the realities that the political opposition in Pakistan had to face. Daechsel analyses print culture and literature in the Urdu middle class milieu in Northern India, and captures the nuances of the region's cultural politics between the late nineteenth century and the 1950s. The way he extrapolates the conceptual paradigm based on the cultural politics of pre-partition Pakistan to post-colonial Pakistan points towards its deterministic trappings. Similarly, he does not view the Left on its own terms. Although this author disagrees with Daechsel on certain points, and his brilliant work enriches our understanding of the cultural politics of Northern India and Lahore, it is irrelevant to this study.

Praetorianism has emerged as a major category in the history and politics of post-colonial Pakistan. Therefore, the scholarship on its military and politics offers us another interesting vantage. Two kinds of studies have engaged with this theme. One examines how this phenomenon emerged. The writings of scholars like Hamza Alavi, Hasan Askari Rizvi, Ayesha Jalal, Mazhar Aziz and Aqil Shah provide answers to this question.⁶⁶ The other analyzes the impact of Praetorianism on the state and society. The works of Hasan Askari Rizvi, Ayesha Siddiqa Agha, Ishtiaq Ahmed and Stephen P. Cohen represent this trend of scholarship on the military.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Hamza Alavi, 'The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh', *New Left Review*, I, no. 74 (August 1972): 59–81. _____, 'Class and State, in Hassan Gardezi and Jamil Rashid (eds.),' in *Pakistan: Roots of Dictatorship, The Political Economy of a Praetorian State* (London: Zed Press, 1983), 40–93, Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Hasan Askari Rizvi, 'The Paradox of Military Rule in Pakistan', *Asian Survey* 24, no. 5 (May 1984): 534–55, _____, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan, 1947-86*, 4th edition (updated) ed. (Lahore: Progressive Publisher, 1987), Mazhar Aziz, *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State* (London: Routledge, 2008), and; Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*, 1st edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁶⁷ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State, and Society in Pakistan* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 2000), Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (London : Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Pakistan Garrison State: Origins,*

Alavi explains the structural reasons of the dominance of the military and bureaucracy. In 1974, Rizvi's work pioneered the tradition of systematic studies on the military's role in Pakistan's politics. His first book identified the factors instrumental in the military's rise to power and investigated the circumstances. Rizvi deploys an elite-centric approach to examine Praetorianism in Pakistan. Jalal's definitive study focuses on the early militarization of the Pakistani state, and on an in-depth 'historical analysis' of the first decade after Partition, to find the historical roots of the dominance of non-political forces in politics. Her work shows 'how the institutional balance shifted in favour' of non-political forces in the crucial period when the 'state was being constructed'.⁶⁸

Aziz [2008] applies Douglas North's theory of 'path dependency' and scholarship on historical institutionalism to the discourse on military intervention in Pakistan.⁶⁹ He pinpoints the 'threat to [the] military's institutional interests' as the main reason for the military takeovers in Pakistan⁷⁰, and explores the role of the beliefs [subjective perceptions] of the officer corps as an important factor in the military coups.⁷¹ Shah provides a detailed exposition on the role of the beliefs of the officer corps in the military coups, and explains the military's preponderance in politics by focusing on '[the] neglected point of view of [the] military's belief system, what is

Evolution, Consequences (1947-2011) (OUP Pakistan, 2013) and; Stephen Philip Cohen. *The Idea of Pakistan*. Pakistan edn. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005.

⁶⁸ A. Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Mazhar Aziz, *Military Control in Pakistan*, pp.23, and 36.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.77.

⁷¹ Ibid, p.82.

commonly known as the military mind-set or the military mentality'.⁷² Shah demonstrates the 'tutelary belief and norms' that the military elite had played their role in cultivating the latter's self-image, affecting their 'perceptions about other democratic institutions'.⁷³ Drawing conceptual insights from the sociology of institutionalism, he uses the notion of 'logics of appropriateness' and examines its impact on the behavioural norms of the military as an institution, which in turn influences the behaviour patterns of the officer corps of the military.⁷⁴

All these reinforce the impression that the military was well entrenched in the power structure, and that this further limited the space for popular movements, in which the Left was a pivot, and implies that the Left existed passively in society. But this study questions the view that the Left was a silent spectator in the presence of an all-too-strong Establishment. It argues that the Establishment's containment of the CPP in 1954 is taken as a sign of dissemination of Left in Pakistan. The study argues, further, that it was presumed incorrectly that the containment would spell doom for not only the party but also a host of other movements and organization that sympathized with the Leftist cause but were not under the organizational control of the CPP.⁷⁵ Therefore, to assess the effectiveness of the Left, one needs to decouple it from the political narrative of the CPP. One useful way of doing so is by examining the role of its agencies, as the work of Anushay Malik demonstrates, by focusing on the labour movement in Lahore, and this study

⁷²Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy*, p.8.

⁷³ Ibid. pp.2 –3.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 7, 21 and 261.

⁷⁵ Anushay Malik makes this point persuasively. Anushay Malik 'Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s', *South Asian History and Culture* 4, no. 4 (21 August 2013): 520–37.

seeks to do, by examining the role of the PPL and the literary radical movement.

As mentioned earlier, the second category of literature on Praetorianism investigates its impact on the state and society. Rizvi explores the impact of Praetorianism in engaging with the theme of '[the] military's colonization of the state and society'.⁷⁶ Siddiqa, a scholar of civil–military relations, considers the political economy of the institutional interests of the military, which she terms 'milbus', and defines as '[the] military's hidden economy which is hidden from [the] public'.⁷⁷ She presents the military as a predatory class which—with the collaboration of other clients, like capitalists and politicians—had expanded its role in the economic sphere and built an empire that fostered 'authoritarianism' in the country.⁷⁸

Ahmed, a political scientist and scholar of post-colonial Pakistan, draws on the theme of 'the strong military imperative and its translation into [a] culture [of] militarization of [the] state and society'.⁷⁹ He applies the theoretical paradigm of American political scientist Harold Lasswell on the Pakistani state to show how it evolved over a few decades from an 'authoritarian type of state' into a 'garrison state' and how that led to its degeneration into a sham democracy.⁸⁰

The increasing influence of the military made it so powerful that, in the early

⁷⁶ Hasan-Askari Rizvi, 'The Paradox of Military Rule in Pakistan', *Asian Survey* 24, no. 5 (May 1984): 534–55.

⁷⁷ Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc*, p.243.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.249, and p.251.

⁷⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Pakistan Garrison State*, p.vii,

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4, and p.19 p. 236, and 462. For more details see; *Ibid.*, p.461. H. Lasswell, in his work [1937], had predicted that 'the specialists on violence' would assume dominant control in the garrison state, H. Lasswell cited in Ishtiaq Ahmed, p.461.f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.461.

1990s, scholars began to entertain the notion that the Pakistani Establishment has grown into a ‘deep state’.⁸¹

Cohen, a scholar of military and security issues in South Asia, examines the far-reaching impact of Praetorianism in Pakistan,⁸² and points out that Pakistan had to live with this reality that the military had appropriated and ‘impose[d] its own idea of Pakistan’ on all institutions, like the bureaucracy, religious parties and regional parties, ‘through economic, foreign, and security policies’.⁸³ While alluding to the Left, Cohen noted, ‘The Leftist vision of Pakistan was incompatible with that of the Establishment’s; Pakistan’s Western allies had to be shown that Pakistan was free from revolutionary impulses’.⁸⁴

This stream of scholarship on Praetorianism complements the previous category in many ways. In their work, this group of scholars briefly allude to the insignificant presence of the Left; they do not consider it as a theme. While exploring the larger consequences of Praetorianism, these scholars implicitly assume that the opposition, including the Leftists, remained passive actors, and could not offer sustained resistance against the powerful Establishment. But this study constructs the narrative of the Left-wing resistance in the cultural domain to suggest a different opinion.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 455.

⁸² Though this work qualifies to be fitted into the category of works of Ayesha Jalal and Farzana Sheikh that highlight the problematic progression of the Islamic ideology in the post-colonial Pakistan. Still I have placed in the category of works that assess the impacts of authoritarianism.

⁸³ Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, p.94.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.

What is 'Left'?

This sub-section examines how the Left has been engaged in the academic field in Pakistan. The first stream of literature pertains to the strands of the Leftist movement. The works of Iqbal Leghari, Talukdar Maniruzzaman and Ishtiaq Ahmed fall in this category.⁸⁵ In his seminal work on the Leftist movement in Pakistan, political scientist Iqbal Leghari describes the strategies socialists adopted to resist suppression by the Establishment, and critiqued the way they tackled the four important questions: 'the national, the nationalist, the class and religion and traditional culture'.⁸⁶ Munir-uz-Zaman's work provides an historical account of the radical politics in East Pakistan. Ishtiaq Ahmed examines the origins, growth and ideology of the Maoist strands of Leftist politics in West Pakistan,⁸⁷ investigates how Maoist parties and groups influenced Leftist politics in Pakistan and concludes that the 'impact' of this movement 'was out of proportion to its political strengths in the overall balance of power'.⁸⁸ This category of literature helps one understand the historical development and ideological standpoints of Leftist parties in Pakistan and the dissensions within the Left, but do not cover print culture or literary radicalism.

Another important theme that has engendered a considerable body of literature relates to the scholarly accounts of some prominent Leftist activists, like Tariq

⁸⁵ Iqbal Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan' (Laval University, 1979), Talukdar Maniruzzaman, *Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh* (Dacca: Bangladesh Books International, 1978), and ; Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Left and the Moaist Movement in Pakistan', *India Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2010): 251–65.

⁸⁶ Iqbal Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan', p.xi.

⁸⁷ Maniruzzaman, *Radical Politics and the Emergence of Bangladesh*, and; Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Left and theMoaist Movement in Pakistan'.

⁸⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Left and theMoaist Movement in Pakistan', p.251.

Ali, Badr-ud-Din Umar and Lal Khan.⁸⁹ These provide an inside story of the Leftist forces in Pakistan, and can be described as a view from within the movement. These three works enhance our understanding of the nature of Leftist politics in Pakistan, but do not consider the role of Left-wing newspapers or Leftist literary writers. Only Tariq Ali comments, briefly, on the PPL, and terms it the ‘more important factor in radicalizing ‘consciousness’ and undoubtedly the strongest Left-wing force in the country’.⁹⁰ This statement describes how this institution had assumed central importance for Leftist politics in West Pakistan.

Contrary to the scholarship discussed in the previous paragraphs, a body of scholars have looked at the Left from the standpoint of the Establishment. The writings of Hafeez Malik and Shafique Ali Khan are sceptical of the Leftists, particularly of their loyalties.⁹¹ The work of bureaucrat-cum-scholar Hasan Zaheer on the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case takes a pro-Establishment position throughout and can be placed in this category as well.⁹² This stream of

⁸⁹ Tariq Ali, ‘Revolutionary Perspective for Pakistan’, *New Left Review* I/63, no. September–October (1970) 43--55. Badr-ud-Din Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan* (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2004). ———. *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Rise of Bengali Nationalism, 1958-1971* (Oxford University Press, 2006), and; Lal Khan, *Pakistan’s Other Story: The Revolution of 1968-69* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2009).

⁹⁰ Tariq Ali, *Military Rule or People’s Powers*, p.44, also see Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 56.

⁹¹ Hafeez Malik, ‘The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan,’ *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 4 (August 1, 1967): 649–64, and; Shafique Ali Khan, ‘The Pakistan Movement and Inconsistent Attitude of Communist Party of India’, *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* XXXIII, no. Part I (January 1985): 1–72. An excerpt from Ayub Khan’s autobiography shows that how the ruling elite had been conceptualizing the Left. Ayub Khan described ‘communism... [as] ‘an alien philosophy of life’, and expressed the apprehensions that ‘unfettered democracy, can..., prove dangerous especially nowadays when communism from within and without is so quick to make use of this weakness’, Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, pp.166 and 188.

⁹² Hasan Zaheer, *The Times and Trials of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951 The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan*, 1st edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

literature fails to understand the nuances of the Left's resistance to the Establishment.

Since the mid-2000s, scholars have begun to see the Left in a new light—that is, with more empathy. Scholars like Talat Ahmed, Kamran Asdar Ali Saadia Toor, Ali Raza and Anushay Malik⁹³ seek to understand the Left on its own terms and present it as a movement that tried to promote an alternative vision for society and the nation. They draw our attention towards the promise it held, point out its potential importance and recognize its contribution. As noted in the statement of the problem, several scholars studied the Leftist movement in Pakistan, and analyzed its agenda, message and struggles despite unfavourable circumstances. But the Establishment and political Islamists tried to brand Leftists as a threat to the larger interests of the country and the society. Scholars like Kamran Asdar Ali and Talat Ahmed point out how the Establishment tried to erase the Left from national memory,⁹⁴ and try to find out why the dreams Leftists had for the country and its people could not be realized. Their attempts to answer this open-ended question offer us plausible explanations that may help to understand what went wrong with the Left [if such an attempt to understand is made with an empathy with it]. The present work is located in this evolving field of scholarship. With the exception of the work of Toor and Ali, most of the scholarship focuses on Left-wing politics and the labour movement. They put forward two plausible explanations. One, and a familiar line of argument, is that the Left had to face an intolerant, suppressive Establishment. The other, a critical analysis of the Left movement,

⁹³ Kamran Asdar Ali, 'Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan: The Early Years,' *South Asian History and Culture*, 483–502, Ali Raza, 'An Unfulfilled Dream, 503–19, Anushay Malik, 'Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives, 520–37, and; Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam* .

⁹⁴ Talat Ahmed, 'Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup', 115–49.

particularly of its initial phase when the CPP had been acting as its vanguard, puts forward their blunders during their struggle.⁹⁵ The present study relies on this scholarship, and extends this debate into a new domain—the Left’s print culture and literary and cultural radicalism in Lahore. But, unlike the work of Ali and Ahmed—that focuses on the polemical dimensions, by highlighting the CPP leadership’s blunders during 1948–1954—this study seeks to construct a detailed historical narrative of the two main agencies of the Left in Lahore and explain the whole process of their resistance, without glossing over their shortcomings.

A number of studies approach the Leftist movement in Pakistan by focusing on one of its main agencies, like the PWM or the labour movement,⁹⁶ as their close connection with the Leftist movement provides a window into the larger context of Left-wing politics. The articles of Ahmed and Ali examine the role of progressive writers; and some of their work, and all of Taimur Rehman’s, which deal with the labour movement or the political dimensions of Left-wing

⁹⁵ Writers like Kamran Asdar Ali [2011 and 2013] and Ali Raza [2013] have pointed out some of these mistakes: the implications of the CPI’s inconsistent policy towards the Pakistan movement and its consequences for Left-wing politics in West Punjab; the radicalization of the party line under Sajjad Zaheer; the approval of the CPP’s central committee to the decision to negotiate with some army officers who wanted to stage a coup; and Zaheer’s strategy of focusing on the development of the urban cadre at the expense of organizing the rural proletariat. While extending this debate to the post-Cold War period, Saadia Toor points out that the ‘decimation of [the] Left’ had created a vacuum, and that liberals took advantage of this opportunity. She trenchantly criticizes liberals for supporting General Pervez Musharraf’s military government overtly and covertly and for taking recourse to NGOs. She construes penetration as the ‘NGO-ization of liberal politics’. This development, in turn, distracted liberals’ attention from the ‘real issues’ of ordinary people, and became almost indifferent to ‘mass-based’ politics, Sadia Toor, *The State of Islam*, p.193.

⁹⁶ If one looks at the course of Leftist politics in India between the 1920s and 1947, one finds that from the early 1920s, the CPI began using trade unions as agencies for creating social and political awareness among the masses, particularly by mobilizing the urban cadres. Later, the All India Progressive Writers Movement, particularly from 1943 onwards, began using trade unions for this purpose. As the first secretary general of the CPP, Sajjad Zaheer also placed disproportionate emphasis on organizing the party in urban areas. As these agencies were very important in Leftist politics, scholars of the Left use them as a vantage to examine the Leftist movement from other, different perspectives.

activism, provide illustrative examples of this trend in the scholarship on the Left.⁹⁷

All these are important for and relevant to this study, as these do not depict the Left as a passive actor, but bring out different dimensions of the role of the two agencies and show their critical role at crucial junctures in the state, politics and society. This project is a localized study of a city (Lahore) that, by focusing on two agencies (print culture and literary movement), attempts to explore the wider dimension of the Leftist movement in Pakistan—particularly, its intellectual resistance, democratic struggle and sustained effort to promote liberal and egalitarian vision in society. Malik’s doctoral thesis comes closest to this work, as both studies examine Leftist interventions in politics within the geographical space of Lahore; cover the same period (1947–1974); and share empathy with the Leftist movement. However, the choice of agencies—the PPL and PWM, in the case of this enquiry, and the labour movement in Malik’s—make these works distinctly different.

Scholars like Hamza Ali, Saghir Ahmed, Hassan Nawaz Gardezi and Feroze Ahmed have focused on class to assess the successes and limitations of the Leftist movement⁹⁸ and done pioneering research on class in Pakistan.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Talat Ahmed, ‘Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup’, 115–49, Kamran Asdar Ali, ‘The Strength of the Street meets the Strength of the State: The 1972 Labour Struggle in Karachi,’ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 01 (February 2005): 83–107, Taimur Rehman, ‘The Labour Movement in Pakistan’, in *Democratic Governance and the Politics of Left*, ed. Sabhoranjan Dasgupta, (New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2015), pp.166–183, and; Anushay Malik, ‘The Labour Movement in Lahore 1947–1974,’ (Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2013).

⁹⁸ ‘Class’ being a blanket term bears a variety of meanings. ‘Hierarchy’, ‘Occupation’ and ‘Political Conscious’ constitute useful descriptive categories to understand this concept.

⁹⁹ Hamza Alavi, ‘Class and State’, 40–93, Hassan N. Gardezi, *A Re-examination of the Socio-Political History of Pakistan: Reproduction of Class Relations and Ideology* (Lewiston, N.Y., USA: Edwin Mellen Pr, 1991), and; Feroze Ahmed, ‘Structure and Contradiction in Pakistan’, in, *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, eds., Kathleen Gough and Hari P.Sharma (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp.173–202, and ————. ‘Ethnicity, Class

Though their works do not cover the Left directly, they enable an understanding of the Pakistani state and society from different angles. Particularly, they add the Marxist perspective into the scholarship on post-colonial Pakistan, and explain why the Leftist movement could not expand their support base.

More recent work, by scholars like Christopher Candland [2008] and Taimur Rehman [2011], make worthy additions to this corpus of scholarship, by helping one understand the dilemma of the working classes in post-colonial Pakistan.¹⁰⁰ Rehman examines the vast expanse of class structure, based on the Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP), which prevailed in India since ‘the period of the Mughal Empire’ up to ‘contemporary Pakistan’. The last reference indicates that his primary focus is on the ‘economic dimension’,¹⁰¹ but he concludes, ‘These Asiatic relations can only be destroyed through a combination of a battle of ideas and a struggle against those real oppressive economic relations’.¹⁰² While his conclusion appears very abstract on the surface, and grounded in traditional Marxism, his work enlightens one on the class structure in post-colonial Pakistan.

Before moving towards a new category of literature, this section on class would like to conclude by saying that this study does not engage with this type of scholarship directly, as it is not a study of the political economy of class

and State in Pakistan,’ *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no. 47 (November 23, 1996): 3050–53.

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Candland, ‘Worker’s Organizations in Pakistan: Why No Role in Formal Politics,’ in, *Whatever Happened to Class? Reflections in South Asia*, eds., Ronald J Herring and Rina Agarwal (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.73–90 and; Taimur Rehman, *The Class Structure of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Taimur Rehman, *The Class Structure of Pakistan*, p. xv.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.241.

relations in Pakistan or of labour politics, or a political history of the Left in Pakistan. Rather, as discussed earlier, it deals with the ideas of the Left emerging from print culture, including the radical literary movement in Lahore, during 1947–1971. These works are useful in that they sharpen one’s understanding of the social basis of the Left-wing support base in post-colonial Pakistan. Further, all these works have a common denominator: they reveal the weakness of the working classes vis-à-vis the powerful classes and the Establishment. In a way, that reflects the social and political reality but, on the other hand, brings in statism, which this study seeks to contest.

Print Culture in Pakistan as Resistance

This section focuses on two major dimensions of print culture, newspapers and literature; these form the core components of this enquiry. In a society, the press performs important functions. If proprietors opt for their newspapers to play the role of watchdog on the executive, the press provides a ‘journalism of opinion’.¹⁰³ Newspapers help form public opinion, and influence government policies through agenda setting.¹⁰⁴ Scholars of journalism use the analogy ‘mirror’ for a press that reflects social and political realities. In this capacity, it

¹⁰³ Silvio Waisbord, ‘Watchdog Journalism in a Historical Perspective, in *Journalism: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, vol. IV, ed. Howard Tumber (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp.1162–188.

¹⁰⁴ Agenda-setting means that how does the media agendas drive the public agenda. The scholarship on agenda-setting theory explores the terrain of agenda-setting role of media and the new dimensions that it has assumed like agenda-framing and agenda-priming, to examine the impact of media on various sections of Western and non-Western societies. The American scholars like Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw and David Weaver have pioneered this approach. For more details see, Maxwell McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion* (Polity, 2004), Maxwell E. McCombs, Donald L. Shaw, and David H. Weaver, eds., *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory*, 1st edition (Mahwah, NJ: Routledge, 1997). The scholars like James W. Dearing and Everett M. Rogger have further influenced this field with their seminal work *Agenda-Setting* (SAGE Publications, 1996). The latter, besides advancing our understanding about this theoretical framework and basic ideas, also explains the phenomenon that how does agenda-setting influences and conditions the policy agendas.

gauges and shows opposition response and public reaction to government policy.¹⁰⁵

There are three major trends of scholarship on journalism in Pakistan: censorship and the other pressures the press in Pakistan had to face; the growing awareness of the obligations of the media in response to the changes in its scenario since 1988; and the debate centred on examining the consequences of the rise of fundamentalism in Pakistan on its media.

A vast body of literature on journalism discusses the issues of press freedom and, in this context, the ‘government–press relationship’ dominates this debate. The work of Zamir Niazi, M. Shams-ud-Din, Sharif-ul-Mujahid, Razia Bhatti and Zafar Iqbal addresses this theme.¹⁰⁶ One can glean the instances of Press repression by the Establishment, particularly the Left-wing press, to construct the milieu in which PPL newspapers had to survive, and to illustrate the complexity of those circumstances. However, with the exception of Niazi’s book, these scholarly works do not discuss in detail the takeover of the PPL in

¹⁰⁵ Moreover, there are some other areas in which the influence of newspapers is fully acknowledged. It is regarded as one of useful indicators to understand societal attitudes and norms. The seminal works of Walter Lippmann [1922\1997] and Daniel Boorstin [1961/1997] on public opinion assess its influence on beliefs, and its role in achieving social control of human relations. In this particular context they examine the role of newspapers in formation of public opinion. While emphasizing the role of public opinion W. Lippmann argues, ‘The world that we have to deal with is politically out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It is to be explored, reported and imagined’. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, Reissue edition (New York: Free Press, 1997), and Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage, 1992). The newspapers further make critical interventions in the process of identity formation of both nationalities and ethnicities. They may reinforce identities through their support, or oppose them, by subjecting them to criticism. In either ways they condition these processes. Moreover, the case of ideological and partisan press, like the Left-wing press add another dimension to its role that assumes/takes on additional responsibility of advancing the cause of reforming society according to a specific vision.

¹⁰⁶ Zamir Niazi, *The Press in Chains* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1987), ____, *The Web of Censorship* (Karachi: Karachi Press Club Publication, 1992), M. Shamsuddin, ‘Constraints on the Pakistani Press,’ *Media Asia* 14, no. 3 (Singapore or 1983 1987): 167–73, Sharif-ul Mujahid, ‘Press System in Pakistan,’ *Media Asia* 18, no. November (1991): pp.123–33, Razia Bhatti, ‘The Influence of Policies and Government on Communication Ethics,’ *Media Asia* 22, no. 1 (1995): 1–8, and; Zafar Iqbal, ‘Pakistan’s Press and Politics in the First Decade(1947–580: An Analysis in Structural-Functionalist Perspective,’ *Journal of Political Studies* XVII (June 30, 2010): 109–130.

April 1959.¹⁰⁷ That the PPL has not drawn the attention of serious scholars on Pakistan may appear an over-generalization, but the big gap in this area of research attests to this contention. Before Niazi, only Tariq Ali, a scholar-cum-journalist and activist, had recounted the PPL's takeover critically, by highlighting its significance of this institution.¹⁰⁸

The media has undergone fundamental changes since 1988—successive governments granted the press more freedom. One of the manifestations of such freedom is the opening up of the field of electronic media, and its growth—due either to the launch of new TV channels or the availability of foreign satellite channels.¹⁰⁹ But proprietors and some influential journalists, who had developed connections with agencies or with political and religious parties, began to abuse this freedom, and worried scholars of journalism concerned about the responsibility of the press. The work of Naeem-ul-Haq and Arif Sheikh [1994], and Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial [2010], reflect this trend,¹¹⁰ but focus on contemporary or existing media, and afford one only brief glimpses on the past; therefore, these have little bearing on this study, which is focused on the pre-1971 period.

¹⁰⁷ For further details about the PPL, see, Zamir Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.

¹⁰⁸ Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive? The Death of a State*, pp. It would be relevant to add that in 1969, Shirin Ali, a master's student of the University of Punjab, had done her thesis on the *PT*, Shirin Ali, 'The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study' (M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, 1969). But she could not analyze *PT* on its terms. Neither she could not frame critical research questions, nor could undertake extensive fieldwork. Therefore, on account of all these factors, she could not maintain scholarly/ analytical rigour in her work. My study attempts to fill this gap by offering a detailed account of the PPL, its history, prominent journalists and more importantly analyzing its role as agency of Left-wing resistance in Pakistan between 1947 and 1971.

¹⁰⁹ The number of channels that stood at 1 in 1988, had risen to 50 by 2002, and in the next 10 years they reached 86.

¹¹⁰ Nadeem-ul-Haq and Arif Sheikh, 'Concerns of Intelligentsia in Pakistan,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 11, 1994, 1482–14486, and; Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial, *Media and Governance in Pakistan: A Controversial yet Essential Relationship*, Clingendael, 2010, <http://www.clingendael.nl/publication/media-and-governance-pakistan-controversial-yet-essential-relationship>.

Since the early 2000s, some scholars have analyzed the adverse effects of the upsurge of religious fundamentalism on the Pakistani media. Studies by Imran Munir, Ashok Kumar Rajput and Khaled Ahmed¹¹¹ assess the growing influence of religious fundamentalism in society, and the measures taken by successive governments, particularly since the 1980s, that led to this point. This inquiry indicates that the decline of PPL newspapers, which had been acting as a bellwether of liberal public opinion, led to the ascendancy of conservatives in Pakistani journalism. Among scholars included in this category, only Munir alludes to this point.

Now, this narrative needs to consider literature as the site of resistance. Recent studies on literary resistance in post-colonial Pakistan, by V.G. Julie Rajan [2005], Christiana Osterheld [2007] and Nukhbah Taj Langah [2012], amply demonstrate the utility of literature as a tool of resistance.¹¹² Each of these studies has a different topic, but all focus on genres of literature—short story, novel and poetry—as instruments of literary resistance. None of these works implicate Left-wing resistance per se, but all engage with the discursive strategies of *littérateurs* (who they have chosen for investigation) to identify and explore the themes of resistance in their work.

¹¹¹ Imran Munir, 'The Consequences of Fundamental on Pakistan Media' (M.A thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2002), Asok Kumar Rajput, 'Nation's Vision: The State between, Media, and Religion in Pakistan' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 2005), and; Khaled Ahmed, 'Media in Pakistan: Ideology, Indoctrination, Intimidation' (Islam in Modern South Asia, Culture, Communications and Commerce, Singapore: (Draft Copy) Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), National University of Singapore, 2011).

¹¹² Christiana Osterheld, 'Urdu Literature in Pakistan: A Site for Alternative Visions and Dissent,' in, *New Perspectives on Pakistan: Visions for the Future*, ed. Saeed Shafqat (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. V. G. Julie Rajan, 'Rewriting Nation: Post-Independence Narratives of Resistance Written by Women of India and Pakistan', (Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers: The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, 2005), and Nukhbah Taj Langah, *Poetry As Resistance: Islam and Ethnicity in Postcolonial Pakistan*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Routledge India, 2012).

The PWM remained a major source of disseminating the Leftist agenda in the sub-continent. Scholars like Carlo Coppola [1975] pioneered the trend of a detailed study of the PWM, and conducted case studies of five major progressive Urdu poets of India and Pakistan that highlight ‘what is progressive in each writer’s poetry and what is not and why’.¹¹³ Talat Ahmed [2009] and Rakhshanda Jalil [2014] undertake exhaustive studies on this theme,¹¹⁴ and provide nuanced views on the relationship between the Soviet Union, CPI and PWA. They contradict the view that first the British government had presented about the relationship between the communist parties and the PWM. [This study will indicate that the Pakistani Establishment followed the same line.] Both scholars share empathy with the progressive literary movement, and this author subscribes to their views on all these points.

However, Chapter 5 of this enquiry is different in many ways, particularly in terms of focus, scope and period. Also, while the other two works sought to demonstrate that the vision of progressive writers was associated with the larger project of Indian nationalism, this study attempts to describe the vision progressive writers of Pakistan had embraced for nation- and state-building. Similarly, this study is altogether different in terms of engaging key literary figures; I can isolate Faiz Ahmed Faiz as a common link between this enquiry and the work of Rakhshanda Jalil. Last but not the least, both works focus on

¹¹³ Carlo Coppola, ‘Urdu Poetry, 1935–1970: The Progressive Episode’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Illinois, 1975), pp.iii–iv.

¹¹⁴ Talat Ahmed, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism: The Progressive Episode in South Asia, 1932-56*, 1st edition (New Delhi: New York: Routledge India, 2009), Rakhshanda Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change: A Literary History of the Progressive Writers’ Movement in Urdu* (OUP India, 2014).

one agency, the literary movement, and its extension in theatre and films, but this work covers two agencies—print culture and the PWA.

The recent studies of another group of scholars of the PWA—Priyamvada Gopal [2005], Neetu Khanna [2011] and Sarah Waheed [2012]—grappled with a host of new concerns.¹¹⁵ The work of Gopal and Khanna are thematically related, as they place progressive literature in the larger context of empire and nationalism, and attempt to bring progressive literature [that formed a part of the Marxist project] within the ambit of post-colonial studies. Gopal examines the PWA by employing psychological and gender approaches, deals with questions of ‘literary subjectivity, political consciousness and representation’ by focusing on prominent writers like Rashid Jahan, Ismat Chughtai, Saadat Hasan Manto and Khawaja Ghulam Abbas. She examines ‘each writer as an individual artist’ and contextualizes their work ‘in relation to the issues and debates generated by [the] PWA’. Khanna positions her work with that of the latter and aligns it with the larger stream of scholarship in the ‘emerging field of affect studies’.¹¹⁶ She argues that the nomenclature and very definition of ‘progressive’ drew one’s attention towards ‘feelings’. She quotes a telling phrase of Mulk Raj Anand, one of the pioneers of the PWA—‘the feeling of new feelings’—that according to this author’s understanding defines the main approach of the work.¹¹⁷ From this

¹¹⁵ Priyamvada Gopal, *Literary Radicalism in India: Gender, Nation and the Transition to Independence* (Taylor & Francis, 2005), Sarah Waheed, ‘Radical Politics and the Urdu Literary World in the Era of South Asian Nationalisms’, (Ph.D. thesis, Tufts University, 2011), and; Neetu Khanna, ‘Visceral Logics: Revolution of Feeling and the All-India Progressive Writers Association’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Neetu Khanna, ‘Visceral Logics: Revolution of Feeling and the All-India Progressive Writers Association’, p.28.

¹¹⁷ Mulk Raj Anand cited in N. Khanna, *Ibid.*, pp.1–2.

standpoint, she examines ‘the aesthetics of affect in fiction of the progressive writers’.¹¹⁸

The doctoral dissertation of Sarah Waheed [2012] provides a historical narrative of the PWA, and covers issues like ‘minority Urdu culture, Left-politics and nationalism’.¹¹⁹ While navigating this conjectural terrain, she delves into the discourse of Muslim identity. This work might be termed a sort of revisionist history of the PWA, as it tells us much about the underlying tensions within the PWM; differences in ideological motivation between Urdu progressive writers and those who wrote in Hindi and other regional languages; and the progressive writers’ reservations towards ‘narrowly defined interpretation of nation’.¹²⁰

The works included in this category engage with intellectually stimulating themes, but bear limited relevance to this study, with the exception of a chapter of Waheed’s work on Faiz that focused on his life and work to examine the course of the PWM in post-colonial Pakistan.

Another contemporary trend of scholarship in Urdu literature centred on the ideological debates between literary writers, particularly progressives and their detractors. Scholars like Mehr Afshan Farooqi [2004], Nauman Naqvi [2008] and Kamran Asdar Ali [2011] presented ideological perspectives of the opponents of progressive writers, among whom Muhammad Hasan Askari was most prominent. In her important 2011 study on the cultural project of the Left, Sadia Toor, besides engaging with these debates, presents the viewpoints

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp.8 –10, and 28.

¹¹⁹ Sarah Waheed, ‘Radical Politics and the Urdu Literary World in the Era of South Asian Nationalisms’, p.111.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

of progressive writers. Cumulatively, all these studies provide deep insight into the debates between progressives and their ideological opponents. Nauman Naqvi uses the concept of ‘melancholia’ as resistance to highlight the ‘aporetic impulse’ of the political thought of Muslim nationalists who supported the Pakistan movement and strongly critiqued the progressive project.¹²¹ This framework allowed him to incorporate the works of Askari, Kazmi and Hussain, as the themes of nostalgia and melancholia are the defining features of their work. Naqvi appears so convinced of the superiority of this discourse that he proclaims that only these kinds of writing provide the possibility of constructing ‘an effective history’.¹²² While engaging Askari and the Left, he pinpoints that ‘the Left was the most important conversational partner Askari had in mind’.¹²³ As the studies placed in this category do not assess the role of the Left-wing press, this category is not directly relevant to this thesis, but it is particularly helpful in historicizing the ideological debates that centred on visions of state- and nation-building.

¹²¹ Syed Nauman Naqvi. ‘Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity: Moments in Post-Colonial Literary Culture’, (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 2008), pp.10 and 173. S.N.Naqvi has examined the Urdu literary milieu spanning over a period of more than a century, [between the mid-Nineteenth century and almost the third-quarter of the Twentieth century] and tried to conjure up the ‘melancholic memory of defeat, colonization and loss’. But Naqvi does not confine himself to the usage of melancholia that Ranajit Guha, a historian and leading scholar of post-colonial studies, had used in 1998. R.Guha had used it in terms of ‘spiritualization of subjugation’. Naqvi, on the hand construes it ‘not so much as a register of loss, but of affirming the continuity of nation’s great destiny, actual and potential’, S.N. Naqvi, ‘Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity’, p.2. I found an article of Eva Tattenborn, a scholar of English language quite useful in understanding the deployment of this concept in literary studies, Éva Tattenborn, ‘Melancholia as Resistance in Contemporary African American Literature’, *MELUS* 31, no. 3 (1 October 2006): 101–21.

¹²² Ibid.p.183. S.N.Naqvi construed it as history which succinctly captures the historical moment. He termed the latter as ‘cognitive moment’ or ‘*Tarikhi Shaur* [that he translated as historical awareness]’, Ibid. S.N. Naqvi, ‘Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity...’, p.183. He identified its characteristics as it recaptures the past or it is more self-aware of the past [Naqvi uses the word incorporate]. It ‘reflects present’ more faithfully, and allows for the future possibilities. According to Naqvi, M.H. Askari Urdu ghazal presented its perfect illustration. And the work of S.N.Naqvi indicated that he considered the litterateurs like Akbar Allahabidi, Muhammad Hasan Askari, Nasir Kazmi and Intizar Hussain as its best practitioners. He has explored the latter’s works as avenues/ vantages to assess the ‘moments of reassertion’ that are ‘riddled with aporia and belatedness’, p.5.

¹²³ Ibid, p.128.

1.5 Approach and Methodology

Until now, the narrative justified the choice of agencies, the PPL newspapers (the *PT* and *Imroze*) and the PWM. Section 1.3 indicated a substantial gap in both areas of scholarship. The section on Lahore demonstrated the importance the city had assumed as a hub of literary culture and as an important centre of Left-wing activism. Thus, in both cultural and political respects, the significance of Lahore is well established, and led to its choice as vantage in this study, which examines the Leftist interventions in the cultural domain in post-colonial Pakistan. All these dimensions influenced the approach in this thesis.

It is equally relevant to justify the choice of the period of this study. It coincides with Pakistan's state- and nation-building experiences. In this context, the role of the two agencies assumes critical importance to gauge the dissemination of radical ideas at the level of literary production. Akhil Gupta, a political scientist and scholar of modern state, wrote about newspapers in 1995 that they assume meaning as 'cultural texts'.¹²⁴ This reference impels one to look at the role of newspapers in a new light, and this study uses it as another supportive argument to justify the choice of PPL newspapers as an agency. Similarly, the views of progressive *littérateurs* like Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Majnoon Gorakhpuri about the role and obligation of literary writers (presented in Section 1.1) reinforce the argument that progressives were quite aware of the social functionality of literature. The chapter on

¹²⁴ Akhil Gupta is a political scientist and a scholar of modern state. For details, see Akhil Gupta, 'Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State', *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (1 May 1995): 375–402.

littérateurs examines how they viewed the developments of this period and how these were reflected in their literary work.

Additionally, this period constitutes a high water mark in the history of the Leftist movement in Pakistan, as the level of Left-wing labour mobilization reached its peak, and the 1970 elections showed the ascendancy of the Left.¹²⁵ Further, the Left became progressively weaker from 1972 to the 1990s, although it appears on the surface that the Leftist movement reached its zenith between 1972–1977, as the PPP government that professed socialism took several symbolic and substantive measures to expand the state's welfare functions. There are two major reasons. The first pertains to the disillusionment of the Leftists with the PPP, and the second was the deterioration of the relationship between the PPP and the NAP and its consequences for the Leftist movement in West Pakistan.¹²⁶ After the PPP

¹²⁵ The results of the 1970 election confirmed this. For the first time in the history of Pakistan, the people voted overwhelmingly in favour of Left-wing political parties. Anushay Malik writes, 'Industrial workers took over factories all across urban centres in Pakistan, and demanded socialism.' Anushay Malik, 'The Labour Movement in Lahore 1947–1974', abstract.

¹²⁶ The Leftists felt discomfited with the chasm between the populist rhetoric and the radical change that the party's leadership claimed. The authoritarian tendencies of the Bhutto government and the tussle between Right-wingers and Left-wingers in the PPP frustrated the Leftists, and led to the expulsion of leaders like Mukhtar Rana, Khursheed Hassan Mir and J. A. Rahim. As these developments coincided with the corresponding ascendancy of the Right-wing element in the party, the Leftist influence in the party waned considerably. For more details, see: Iqbal Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan: An Historical Survey, 1940–1974', pp.159–185, Anwar Hussain Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp.207–214, and Khalid B. Sayeed, 'How Radical Is the Pakistan People's Party?', *Pacific Affairs* 48, no. 1 (April 1, 1975): 42–59, Philip E. Jhones, 'Changing Party Structures in Pakistan: From Muslim League to People's Party', in *Contemporary Pakistan Politics Economy and Society*, ed. Manzoor-ud-Din Ahmed (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1982), pp.114–39, and; Syed Waqar Ali Shah, 'Pakistan People's Party: The Twin Legacies of Socialism and Dynastic Rule', in *Political Parties in South Asia*, vol. IV, eds. Subrata K.Mitra, Mike Enskat, and Clemens Spies (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004), pp.156–175. As noted earlier, the relationship between the PPP and the NAP deteriorated after the Bhutto government dismissed the NAP provincial ministry in Baluchistan. The resulting tussle culminated in a 1975 Supreme Court ban of the NAP. Thus, the government's dealing of NAP pushed the latter and the other parties of regional Left closer towards the camp of Right-wing parties, between 1975 and 1970. All these developments negatively affected the Leftist movement in Pakistan. A number of workers of NAP, like Shah Mohammad Marri and Hafiz Taqqi-ud-Din Ahmed, and Farooq Qureshi in their writing

government fell, Zia-ul-Haq's military regime followed a systematic policy of destruction of the Left.¹²⁷

Three major scholars of the Leftist movement in Pakistan—Iqbal Leghari, Anushay Malik and Kamran AsdarAli—have examined almost the same period.¹²⁸ This reinforces the importance of this period and justifies the choice made in this study.

Section 1.1 briefly highlighted the potential of Urdu literature to serve as a powerful medium of registering or expressing resistance. This point warrants critical attention, as this study focuses on the major genres of Urdu literature—short story, novel and poetry and its two major forms (*nazm* and *ghazal*)—and examines them as mediums of literary resistance. Chapters 5 and 7 of the study indicate how radical litterateurs expressed radical and critical thoughts through these channels. Their potential and practical utility as major tropes of resistance need a brief explanation. The Urdu ghazal, the oldest genre of literature, is characterized by a diversity of thought, as each of its couplets conveys a different meaning. It enables visionary poets—whether Leftists or non-Leftists—to articulate their message through different levels of

apportion blame on the government of Z.A.Bhutto for these developments. S.M. Marri, *Baba-e Balochistan, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo*, pp.73, and, *-Usshaq kay Kaafley C.R.Aslam*, pp., and; Hafiz Taqqi-ud-Din Ahmad, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Jamaatain Aur Tahrikain*, pp.416–417, and 474–477. On the other hand, some other Left-wing activists take less partisan view of this situation. For instance, Fateh Ullah Usmani, also took critical stock of the policies of NAP under Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Fateh-ullah-Usmani, *Narbada Say Mehran Tak* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005), and Zafar Ali Raja earmarked it to rivalry between Z.A.Bhutto and Wali Khan, Zafar Ali Raja, *Pakistan Men Bain Bazoo Ki Siyasat* (Lahore: Fiction House, c.1990.)

¹²⁷ Saadia Toor described it as a 'decimation of the Left'. S.Toor, *The State of Islam*, pp.135–178. Later the disintegration of the communist bloc and the fall of the Soviet Union came as a severe blow to the morale of the Leftists. The Pakistani Leftists like their counterparts in other parts of the world are still trying to overcome this setback. Some Leftists like Jam Saqi and Syed Jamal-ud-Din Naqvi vented their frustration publicly, Jam Saqi, Amir Riaz's Interview with Jam Saqi, in, *Awami Jamhoori Forum* 31, (August 2006), pp.17–25., n.d., and; Syed Jamal-ud-Din Naqvi with Humair Ishtiaq, *Leaving The Left Behind* (Karachi, 2014).

¹²⁸ Iqbal Leghari and Anushey Mailk have looked at the 1947–1974 period. Kamran Asdar Ali's work covers almost the same period that this study deals with.

meanings, literary and political. Thus, it possesses tremendous capacity to hide any political message and the expressive power to communicate it eloquently.¹²⁹ The Urdu *nazm* (literally, organization) developed under the influence of Western poetry. It is characterized by continuity of thought and considered a very effective means of expressing political ideas.¹³⁰ Forms of fiction, such as short stories and the novel, allow literary writers to portray a real picture of the political, social and societal conditions of the contemporary age.¹³¹ Likewise, novels afford literary writers a much larger framework to describe the cultural and civilizational aspects of human life. They also enable the author to depict the psychological dimensions of a society.¹³² More importantly, both genres allow writers to communicate critical thoughts through fictional characters without earning the wrath of ruling establishments.

One may cite a number of examples of the fictional writings that the progressive writers had written, to argue that how the progressive writers were able to depict stark social realities through literature. I would cite Saadat Hasan Manto's story, *Allah ka Fazl hai* (Great is Allah's Grace), Ghulam

¹²⁹ Ralph Russell, *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature: A Select History*, (London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Zed Books, 1993), chapter 2 and; Zaheer Kashmiri, Introduction to *Tagazzul, Ghazalain*, by Zaheer Kashmiri (Lahore: Naya Idarah, 1963), pp. 13 –20.

¹³⁰ Sadia Huma Majid's work about social sensibility and ethos in the Urdu nazm provides broad understanding of the contributions of progressives in the realm of Urdu poem, Sadia Huma Majid, 'Jadeed Urdu Nzam Men Samaji Dard-Mandi Ka Ansar', (Ph.D. thesis, National University of Modern Languages, 2006).

¹³¹ The work of Urdu literary critic Gopi Chand Narang contains insightful articles on evolution, forms, development and techniques of the Urdu short story. It also includes 15 articles on short stories of 6 major progressive short story writers Prem Chand, Saadat Hasan Manto, Rjinder Singh Bedi, Ismat Chughtai, and Qurat-ul-ein Haider, Gopi Chand Narang (comp.), *Urdu Afsana Riwayat Aur Masail, Majmua-e Maqalat Hind-o-Pak Urdu Afsana Seminar Maa Muntakhib Maqalat* (Delhi: Educational Publishing House, 1981).

¹³² Hayat-e Iftikhar's work provides detailed understanding of how the progressive writers used Urdu novel to articulate their vision, Hayat-e Iftikhar, *Urdu Novel Men Tarraqi Pasand Anasir* (Lucknow: Naseem Book Depot, 1988). Also see, Mumtaz Ahmed Khan, *Azadi Kay Baad Urdu Novel, Het, Asaaleeb, Rujahanat* (Karachi: Ajuman-Tarraqi-e Urdu- Pakistan, 1997).

Abbas's literary master-piece '*Hotel Mohenjoaro*', and the second novel of Khadija Mastoor *Zamin*.¹³³ The reference to Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and views of Majnun Gorakhpuri that I cited in section 1.1 further attested that the progressive writers were supremely aware of their obligations as literary writers. Hence, the examples that I have cited in this paragraph influence my approach in a study a substantial portion of which, deals with literary resistance.

After having discussed the factors that guided my approach, I would explain how I went about it while conducting this research. The chapter 2 employs a number of methods to construct the narrative. First, I have used non-official sources [mainly published] like the documentary material on the Leftist parties such as Pakistan People's Party (est.1948), the CPP (est. 1948), and the Azad Pakistan Party (est.1950), to present point of views of Left on agrarian reforms, national and international issues including the foreign policy of the country, the questions about the lingual policies and regional autonomy, and last but not the least fundamental rights to ensure political freedom. I have adopted this approach to demonstrate that how and in what ways the PPL newspapers had been mirroring the political positions the Leftist parties were taking on these issues.

I have collected the material on PPL newspapers from three libraries.

Abdullah Malik collection of the G.C. University Library that contains the files of *PT* and *Imroze*, since the inception of these newspapers to the mid-

¹³³ I have only presented the examples from the works of scholars like Christiana Osterheld, V.C.J.Rajan, and Sarah Khokhar, Manto cited in, Osterheld, 'Urdu Literature in Pakistan: A Site for Alternative Visions and Dissent', pp. 152–175; V.G.Julie Rajan, 'Rewriting Nation: Post-Independence Narratives of Resistance by Women of India and Pakistan' (Ph.D. thesis, The State University of New Jersey, 2005), pp.114–120, and Ghulam Abbas cited in Waheed, 'Radical Politics and the Urdu Literary World in the Era of South Asian Nationalisms.' pp.1–3.

1950. I have retrieved relevant record of these newspapers from 1955 onwards till 1959, and some important files of 1960s, from Punjab Public Library and the Punjab University Central Library. I have also retrieved some of the material on the *PT* from the collections of editorials its two pioneering editors of this newspaper, Mazhar Ali Khan and Faiz Ahmed Faiz that contain more than 350 editorials. I have made a random selection of these editorials.

The chapter makes content analysis of the editorial and opinion pages of the *PT* between 1947 and October 1958, and *Imroze* March 1948 and October 1958. This chapter analyzes these editorials by dividing them into thematic categories. For instance in the case of the *PT*, I have attempted to frame the debate by identifying the themes of difficulties of ordinary people, and mobilization of commoners. I have used ordinary people as a broad category that includes *muhajirin* (refugees), peasants and their class hierarchy, proletariats and industrial workers. I have fitted the other sections of commoners like women and minorities into different category as a represent a vertical category. I have analyzed the editorial and opinion pages of *Imroze* under two themes: the first highlights its radical vision in domestic politics and the second, underscores its policy agenda on Left.

The chapter 2 on PPL contains profiles of more than ten prominent journalists. I have written these profiles by retrieving biographical and autobiographical material and relevant pieces of evidence from the obituaries written by PPL journalists about their colleagues. For this purpose I found the writings of Hameed Akhtar, Khalid Hasan, I.A.Rehman, Munno Bhai very useful.

In the Chapter 3 on print, I have tried to indicate that while treading on the path of radicalism these Left-wing newspapers antagonized the Establishment.

It describes the challenges the Left-wing press and PPL had to face in form of censorship and press laws. I have retrieved this information on censorship by utilizing major works of Zameer Niazi, a progressive journalist who has meticulously documented the history of censorship in Pakistan as well as writings of two important scholars of Pakistani journalism, Sharif ul Mujahid and Abdul Slam Khursheed.¹³⁴

This chapter further utilizes some primary source material that I have collected from the Press Laws Branch in the second section that deals with the PPL takeover. To construct PPL's narrative, I consulted file of *PT* (Lahore), *Imroze* (Lahore, Peshawar and Multan), from the Press Laws Branch Civil Secretariat Lahore.¹³⁵ I have used some relevant documents from these files to gauge the changes in the perception of the Establishment about the PPL publications between 1947 and 1959.

I have tried to present a more thick description of the incident of takeover by incorporating both the perspectives—the point of views of Establishment and of the PPL journalists who were eyewitness to this development. This chapter further benefits from the relevant official documents (published), released by the US Department of State that are part of Foreign Relations of U.S. (FRUS) series.

Chapter 4 describes the narrative of the PPL after takeover till 1971; I have mainly relied on interviews and autobiographical material that include the

¹³⁴ Naizi, *The Press in Chains*; _____, *The Press Under Siege*, and _____, *The Web of Censorship*, Sharif-al-Mujahid, 'Pakistan', in *Newspapers in Asia: Contemporary Trends and Problems*, ed. John A. Lent (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1982), pp.480–502, and; Abdus Salam Khurshid, 'Pakistan', in *The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution*, ed. John A. Lent (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1971), pp.298–316.

¹³⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Sami, Deputy Director of this branch and his staff for providing me detailed access to these files.

writings of some of prominent journalists of the PPL like, Mohammad Saeed, Ahmed Ali Khan, and Ahmed Bashir.¹³⁶ I have also relied on Asrar Ahmed's autobiography, who was an important figure in the trade-union activism of the journalists.¹³⁷

All the three chapters on the PPL its history and content of newspapers, censorship and takeover, and post-takeover developments drew heavily on information retrieved through important theses on Left-wing Print Culture and PPL by Shirin Ali, Kausar Praveen, Naila Raza, Mohammad Naeem and Akhtar Naz.

In addition to these I have utilized all forms of interviews, personal interviews which I conducted with journalist like I.A.Rehman, Masood Ashar, Azeem Qureshi, Munno Bhai, Altaf Ahmed Qureshi, as well as published interviews, one of Akhtar Naz's works contains many valuable interviews of journalist belonging to both the Left and the Right.¹³⁸

The students of the University of Punjab that I mentioned earlier had included in their theses brief excerpts of un-published interviews of the prominent journalists of the PPL like Zaheer Babur, Hameed Jhelumi, Azhar Javed, and F.E.Chaudhry, who were then alive but now they have passed away. Their opinions provide wealth of details which are not available other-wise.

In the chapter 5, I have used a combination approaches to construct the story of section the 5.1 that offers historical account of the activities of PWA in

¹³⁶ Saeed Mohammad, *Ahang-e Baz-Gasht* (Islamabad: Qaumi Idarah Brai Tahqiq-e Tarikh-o-Saqafat, 1989); Muhammad Saeed, *Lahore: A Memoir* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1989); Ahmed Bashir, *Dil Bhatkay Ga* (Lahore: Sang-eMeel Publications, 2012); Ahmed Ali Khan, *In Search of Sense: My Years as a Journalist* (Karachi: SAMA, 2015).

¹³⁷ Asrar Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears* (Lahore: Classic, 2011).

¹³⁸ Ahsan Akhtar Naz, *Tarraqi Pasand Tarikh-o-Sahafat* (Lahore: Classic, 2002), and *Makalmat* (Lahore: Al Qamar Enterprise, 2003).

Pakistan during 1947–1971. I have relied on both official and non-official primary sources. The former include, the first two volumes of the report that Anwer Ali, had compiled and it was based on the documents of the CPP and the PWA that police had confiscated during frequent raids against the Leftists between years 1948 and 1951.¹³⁹ The non-official sources that this chapter uses, comprise, some important documents of the CPI concerning some important policy decisions, that the Indian communist party had taken 1948 and 1949 and that influenced the policies of both the AIPWA and PWA particularly during 1948–1950. The two other documents that I would like to mention include the proceedings of the PWA conference that was held in Lahore in November 1947 and the memoirs of a progressive writer and activist Muhammad Rafique Chaudhry, *Meri Dunya*, that include report on the proceeding of the third conference of the PWA that was held in Karachi in July 1952.¹⁴⁰

I have further examined film as an alternative media as an extension of the progressive project and as an alternative arena of Left wing cultural politics while engaging films I have focused on the intention of the work and biography of the film writers/ film makers. Though my work makes a historical overview of Left-wing films but the approach I have followed is influenced by ‘auteur theory’ that emphasis ‘personal factor in artistic

¹³⁹ Anwer Ali was the D.I.G.(Deputy Inspector General) C.I.D.(Criminal Investigation Department). Mohammad Anwer Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, vol. 1 (Lahore: Government Printing Press Civil Secretariat, 1952).

¹⁴⁰ Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He, Kul Pakistan Taraqqi Pasand Musaneefin ki Conference Munaqida 11,12,13 November ki Mukamal Ruidad*, non-official (published) (Lahore, Al Jadeed, n.d.), and; Rafique Chaudhry, *Meri Dunya, Tarraqi Pasand Tehrik say Mutaliq Yadashtain* (Karachi: Punjab Rang Publications, 1987).

creation'.¹⁴¹ By applying this theory I have pointed out two aspects, first the impact of individuals on films and the other, these film represent a distinct strand of thought in the history of film industry in Pakistan. Because they could not become part of main stream Pakistani cinema.

Chapter 6 discusses literary and ideological debates, and to cover this theme I have utilized the works of M.H. Askari, and M.D. Taseer, the main opponents of progressives, as well as all the major works on these two personalities. To incorporate the point of view of opponents of the progressive writers, I have collected material from some of the issues of literary magazines like *Naqush*, *Adab-e Latif* and *Sawera* between the years 1947 and 1952 on random basis. Along with these magazines, some of the published collections of source material that compile important writings of the progressive writers dating back to late 1940's and early 1950's have proved extremely useful, so as the published collections of interviews edited by Tahir Masood, Ghulam Hussain Azhar, Mohammad Ayub Nadeem.¹⁴²

Kamran Asdar Ali, an anthropologist and scholar of Left in Pakistan, in his works, has made the ideological and internal debates an entry point to examine the politics of the CPP and the PWA in late 1940's and early 1950's. I have also followed this approach in this chapter but more than using it as a polemical debate I have tried to bring out about more details about the thinking of the progressive writers about the problems of ordinary people and

¹⁴¹ Andre Bazin cited in James Monaco, *How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, and Beyond*, 4th edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.463.

¹⁴² Tahir Masood, comp. *Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabaon Kay* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2012). Ghulam Hussain Azhar, comp. *Rubaru* (Mir Pur: Vari Nag Publications, 1991), and; Mohammad Ayub Nadeem comp. *Woh Huyey Ham Kalam* (Lahore, Dar-ul-Shuur, 2013).

their awareness about alternative solutions that they tried to create/promote through literature.

While the Chapter 5 tried to present a macro-view of the struggle of the progressive writers, in contrast to that in the final chapter of the study, I have chosen five prominent litterateurs of Lahore that include Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor, and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. It would be relevant to explain the criteria of selecting these litterateurs. As I have further explained in the table 7.1 of chapter 7 that they were more than twenty prominent progressive literary writers in Lahore during 1950s and early 1960s. Therefore, it was a hard choice to select a group of five representative writers.

But as the study focuses on gauging the idea of the Left that was expressed through the print culture and literary production. Therefore, I have chosen five literary writers who remained more closely attached to either Leftist politics or progressive activism. Among the writers that this study examines four, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor remained closely attached to the traditional the Left. Whereas, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi who represented a non-Marxist Left, but I justify his inclusion in the list of writers that I have selected because he remained Secretary General of the PWA during its most vibrant phase of radical activism. That is the reason that this study excludes the some of the virtuosos of the art of progressive writing like Saadat Hassan Manto, Ghulam Abbas and Ehsan Danish.¹⁴³

While reverting back to ideologically committed progressive writers I would point out that the criteria upon which this study has chosen the representative

¹⁴³ Also see, Asdar Ali, *Communism in Pakistan*, 'Introduction'.

radical writers, excludes, three prominent figures that deserve to be included in a work on Lahore's literary writers. They include Safdar Mir, Arif Abdul Mateen and Hameed Akhtar. But of these Safdar Mir was such a dynamic figure that he acted in various capacities, – journalist, poet, and play-right and Punjabi radical activist. But had I included him then I would have to exclude Khadija Mastoor, a female representative of the radical writers. Engagement with the literary works of the writers necessitated use of new category of source material– poetics that included collections of poetry, short-stories, and two novels and other literary prose writings of *littérateurs*.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, to cover such wide expanse of literary works of these writers, between 1936 and 1971, I have consulted maximum range of sources that I could retrieve. I have further used two de-classified documents of the US State Department to demonstrate how the US diplomatic officials had kept a watchful eye on the activities of Faiz Ahmad Faiz.

While focusing on the writers this study seeks to contextualize them in their socio political milieu and see the impact of their socio-political milieu on their vision which invariably impacted their oeuvres. In this context I have taken cue from the notion of Richard Altick who suggested that 'literary scholarship....deals with human consciousness and the art it produces'.¹⁴⁵ Edward Said, in *Culture and Imperialism* stresses the influence of consciousness on the work of the writers work; he opined that 'authors' are largely influenced by 'the history of their societies... and their social

¹⁴⁴ Khadija Mastoor, *Aangan* (Lahore: Sang-eMeel, 2012). [Its first edition was originally published by Al-Tehrir Publisher in 1963].

¹⁴⁵ Altick, Richard Daniel, and John J. Fenstermaker, *The Art of Literary Research*. Norton, 1993, p.14.

experience in different measure'.¹⁴⁶ All these insights in certain ways have informed my approach.

I would like to differentiate my work with the other detailed accounts of this PWM, by arguing that scholars like C.Cappola, Talat Ahmad, and Rakhshanda Jalil, have historicized the role of the movement in Pakistan till mid-1950 when the Establishment had placed ban on the PWA. Thus this area allows me to make a modest effort to extend this research on this topic till 1971. Though, I must concede that few chapters may not substitute for a book-length study, on PWA.

After having explained these nitty-gritty details of my methods in orderly manner I would like to mention few points that I could not fit into this sequential narrative but they concern with the overall context of my method. I have consulted 53 issues of Left-wing magazine *Awami Jamhoori Forum* between 2002 and 2014, and few issues of another magazine *Awami Jamhooriyat* between the years 2011 and 2013. This study further utilizes extensive range of M.A., M.Phil. and Ph.D. theses written by the students of Pakistani, British and American universities as well as of the NUS. Similarly, I have also obtained wealth of information from large number of biographies that I have gone through during these years. Moreover, I have gathered published interviews related to the topics of this study from the other newspapers like *Jang*, *Dawn*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Pakistan*, *Express*, and *Jinnah*.

In matters of translation I have been careful both towards their 'literal', and 'non-literal' aspects. For instance, former are more useful if one has to do

¹⁴⁶ Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage Books, 1993, p.xxi.

“line-by-line” translation. We may provide its more specific example from the poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz. A number of scholars like V.I.Kerinan, Aga Shahid Ali, Nomi Lazard, and Mahmood Jamal have translated parts of his poetry. Of these works, V.I. Kerinan’s work is considered the most literal one. But at times, one needs to employ ‘non-literal’ translations to express the larger meaning. Moreover, in most of the cases [other than Faiz’s poetry] one has no choice between the literal and non-literal one. Therefore, I have used the other translations whatever were available. And, where I could not find any translation I have tried to do my ‘literal translations’.¹⁴⁷

To maintain uniformity in the style of transliteration I have followed John B. Platts’s dictionary, entitled, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, [1884], but without apostrophies.¹⁴⁸ And in the case of those words that the Platt’s dictionary does not cover I transliterated them in a way to make them phonetically understandable to English speaking readers. I have not used diacritical marks for convenience of reading.

1.6 Organization of Thesis

This study examines the forms of radicalism in the cultural domain within the geographical space of Lahore city. It takes a close look at the PPL and PWM, the two particular agencies of radical politics. Hence, the radical resistance will run through as recurring theme in all the individual chapters of this study.

I have organized this study into eight chapters including ‘Introduction’ and ‘Conclusion’.

¹⁴⁷ In this paragraph I have mainly paraphrased the ideas of Aamir Mufti, a scholar of Urdu literature and post-modernist themes in literature, who in 2004, explained the principles of ‘engaging ‘translations of the poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Aamir Mufti, ‘Towards a Lyric History of India,’ *Boundary* 231, no. 2 (August 5, 2004): fn.no.5, p.248.

¹⁴⁸ John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English* (Lahore, Pakistan: Urdu Science Board, 2005).

The 'Introduction', sets out the importance of this enquiry, and attempts to justify the choice of this topic as well as the inclusion of the PPL and PWM as the main agencies of Left-wing cultural politics that remain central to the concern of this enquiry. I have tried to elucidate their particular nature in the previous four sections from different angles. The 'Introduction' makes a case of cultural domain as a veritable site of examining three forms of Left-wing interventions in the society that include print culture, radical literary movement and films.

The Chapter 2 assesses the role of the PPL as an institution. It narrates the story of its founder Iftikhar-ud-Din. It provides biographical sketches of some prominent journalists that formed its pioneering team of journalists of its major dailies in Lahore, *The PT* and *Imroze* [an Urdu newspaper], that were launched in 1947 and 1948 and offers a brief historical account of the development and subsequent expansion of the PPL. It further makes an overall assessment of the contribution of the PPL by highlighting its role in the development of journalism in Pakistan, as well as in modernizing newspaper industry. It examines its distinctive characteristics a newspaper institution/establishment that had created ideal working conditions for its employees, and the role of this institution in establishing, fostering and upholding the traditions of trade unionism in the Pakistani journalism.

This chapter juxtaposes the stances and political positions that the Left-wing parties and politicians had been taking with the coverage of the PPL newspapers had been providing. It mainly relies on the opinion pages that is, editorials, articles, letters to the editor and political and social cartoons. I have tried to cover the issues that these newspapers had been raising by grouping

them thematically into certain categories to demonstrate the role of these newspapers as a carrier of radical ideas in the society. It may help me in the ‘Summing up’, to make a comparison with the concept of the Left that I developed in the section 1.1, and to indicate in some ways that these newspapers been advancing this radical agenda quite effectively.

The Chapter 3 locates the PPL under altogether different set of circumstances, after the PPL had been taken over by the state and the role of its newspapers as outspoken supporters of Left-wing opposition had come to end. The first section of the chapter shows the how and in what ways the Left-wing press and the PPL newspapers had to pay the price of their radicalism. It delineates the details of the censorship laws through which the Establishment tried to reign in the Press. The second section of the chapter focuses on the PPL takeover, and delineates the circumstances that led to this development.

Chapter 4 on PPL covers the history of the institution after the takeover up till 1971. By highlighting a number of themes, like the fate of Iftikhar-ud-Din after losing PPL and the changes the takeover brought in the management of the PPL, it examines the entire process that placed limitations on the role and capacity of these newspapers to function as independent Left-wing press, which had been supporting the radical causes quite consistently over a decade. This chapter seeks to contest this widely held view that the radicalism that remained the hall-mark of the PPL newspaper had died down. Hence, in this sense, the thread of resistance runs through this chapter as well. But I insist that one may not appreciate the nuances of this resistance without keeping in view the limitations that the PPL newspapers and their journalists had to face

after the takeover. This chapter offers considerable details of this challenging situation the journalists who worked at the PPL had to confront.

Unlike the Chapter 2, which examines the opinion pages of the PPL newspapers, the chapter 4 chapter attempts to recover the story of resistance by engaging the inside views of the senior journalists and editors of the PPL. It demonstrates that despite all odds PPL journalists continued their dogged resistance. This Chapter explores some new areas, such as the proactive role of the PPL's journalists in the establishment of the PPP and the important part they played in the trade union movement of the journalists at the all-Pakistan level, and their radical stances they had adopted on important political issues between 1968 and 1971. It is hoped that exposition of these wider dimensions of the PPL's history may enable us to highlight the long-term impact of the struggle of its journalists.

The chapter 5 uses literary activism of the PWA as lenses to examine the Left-wing interventions in the cultural arena. It takes a close look at the PWA as an agency of articulating radicalism in the society and outlines its strategy, focuses on its activities, and examines its role between 1948 and 1954.

This chapter examines the progressive ventures in the Pakistani film industry as another alternative site to assess the radical endeavours to influence the society. It presents a brief overview of the progressives' ventures into the film industry between 1953 and 1971, to provide ideas about how the progressive vision was played out on the celluloid screen.

Moving away from the literary radicalism of the PWA at all-Pakistan level, the Chapter 6 engages the ideological debates that took place between the progressives and their opponents, whom, I describe as 'the exponents of

Pakistani cultural nationalism'. By historicizing these debates, this chapter seeks to assess, firstly, the response the progressive ideas elicited among their opponents and, secondly, what kind of dreams the progressives had/cherished about state and society in Pakistan and for the fulfilment /realization of which, they had been expending their energies.

As mentioned earlier the Chapter 5 has presents a detailed picture of literary radicalism at the national level by focusing on the activities of the PWA and later the struggle of the PWM, the Chapter 7 narrows the scope of debate to the five prominent litterateurs of Lahore___ Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. It presents a kind of case study of these literary writers to attest that how did they use literature as a political weapon to register their resistance

The Chapter 8, 'Summing up' recapitulates the main arguments of the enquiry. It makes a comparison of the definitions of that I provided in the 'Introduction', with the discourses on Left that emerge from the chapters 3 and 5. In other words, I will try to demonstrate that how far this study has been able to accomplish the major objectives by answering the questions that I raised in 'Introduction'. It may enable me to answer this question whether this study allows me to see what I wanted to show?

In addition to these aspects the 'Summing up' may give me opportunities to raise a number of points. For instance, it may allow me to discuss/enter a few caveats about the Left-wing politics during 1947–1971. Apart from assessing these limitations, I may also reflect on the long-term impact of this movement, as well as, highlight the relevance of this work to the recent context of Pakistani politics in general and the current scenario of the Left-wing politics

in particular. The conclusion may offer me a space to explain how this study opens up a window on the larger context of the Leftist movement in Pakistan between 1947–1971. Though this study was not aimed at exploring the political dimensions of the Left in Pakistan. But the discourse on Left provided the general background of the debate that drove this study.

Chapter 2

Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) and Radical Print Culture in Lahore, 1947—1959

This chapter looks at the role of the PPL newspapers as major agency to examine Leftist interventions in Lahore. This chapter argues that the PPL newspapers functioned as one of most effective agencies of the Left in Pakistan in a situation where the Left-wing parties found it difficult to maintain their existence. But the PPL newspapers not only served as vocal/outspoken supporters of the Left-wing agenda but they disseminated radical ideas in more creative and ingenious ways than the other Left-wing parties, during the period 1947—1958, that marked critical phase in their history as independent institution.

By focusing on editorial and opinion pages of the PPL newspapers— the *PT* and *Imroze*, this chapter offers detailed insight into the alternative vision these newspapers had embraced.

It attempts to frame the debate on *PT* in the sections 2.6 to 2.8 by identifying the themes of difficulties of ordinary people, and mobilization of commoners. I have used ordinary people as a broad category that includes *muhajirin* (refugees), peasants and their class-hierarchy, and proletariats and industrial workers. I have fitted the other sections of commoners like women and minorities into different category as they represent a vertical category. By focusing on the latter theme, this chapter, seeks to indicate that how the journalists of *PT* were trying to mobilize ordinary people against the nexus of the ruling elite and the Western powers, and their underlying motive was to encourage them to struggle to enhance the latter's say in the affairs of the country and civilian input in the state policy. They considered that the

establishment of un-diluted democracy in the country could provide the only recourse. I have analyzed the editorial and opinion pages of *Imroze* under two themes: the first, highlights its radical vision in domestic politics, and the second focuses its policy agenda on Left. In general sense the chapter shows that what positions these newspapers had been taking of different issues. Apart from editorials and articles I have used quite a few cartoons to vividly demonstrate the policy agendas these newspapers were pursuing.

2.1 The Founding of PPL

Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) was one of the largest newspaper chains in Pakistan during the united Pakistan era. In many respects, the PPL newspapers—the dailies the *PT*, *Imroze* and the Weekly *Lail-o-Nahar*—stand out as representatives of the ideological tradition of Left-centred radical journalism. In fact, no other institution in postcolonial Pakistan, including the political parties, was able to disseminate progressive ideas in such a sustained manner as the PPL did. Thus, the PPL's story becomes an integral part of the Left's history in West Pakistan. Though Pakistan's Left has recently become the focus of academic work, the part played by the PPL remains unexplored. Apart from the political dimensions, there are other facets of the PPL story. For instance, its pro-workers policies were manifested not only in attractive salary packages and job security for employees, but also in the liberal atmosphere and working conditions that made the PPL stand apart from other newspaper enterprises. Its radical journalists played a pivotal role in initiating, nurturing and strengthening a vibrant tradition of trade unionism in Pakistan's journalism. On top of these, the PPL was a veritable nursery that produced and trained at least two generations of professional journalists in West Pakistan.

Here I would like to problematize this debate by citing reference of Tariq Ali who had argued that PPL newspapers had become more effective than the leftist movement. I would argue that such a depiction of PPL challenges the limits of influence that newspapers exert in a society and make one believe that newspapers could assume the role of a movement. It would be useful to juxtapose the opinion of Hassan Abdi, a radical journalist who earned fame in magazine journalism and also worked in *Lail-o-Nahar* during 1957–1962. He pointed out in an interview that

The newspapers have to rely on political parties to play a political role. They derive strength from political parties and also support them. But it would be wrong to presume that they could take the mantle of political movements unless there is a political movement in the country. If the country is engulfed by political silence then it becomes almost impossible for newspapers to become a political force by themselves. The readers ---influenced by the press and the newspapers and magazines create their following of like-minded in imperceptible ways but they do not/ could not bring radical/ definite change in the country on their own.¹⁴⁹

These two points of views point towards or indicate two extreme positions regarding the role of radical newspapers in Pakistan. I consider that in case of PPL newspapers both hold true to some extent. However, I have followed Hassan Abdi's analysis as it in an indirect way reinforces the mirror analogy that I discussed earlier.

2.2 Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Man and His Vision

PPL was founded by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din [hence after Iftikhar-ud-Din] (1908–1962). To understand the PPL's role as a pioneer of radical traditions in Pakistan's print journalism, we need to study Iftikhar-ud-Din's background and personality, which left an imprint on the institution that he founded.

¹⁴⁹ Hasan Abadi, Interview by A.A. Naz in *Mukalimat*, p.145.

Iftikhar-ud-Din belonged to the elite, but in his early years he went through two diametrically opposed intellectual and ideological phases: Islam and Marxism. He was the son of Mian Jamal-ud-Din, an influential landlord of Lahore, who belonged to the Arian *biradari* of Baghbanpura.¹⁵⁰ His father died when Iftikhar-ud-Din was only eight years old, and his close relatives, particularly his maternal grandfather, started manoeuvring to grab his property. During this crisis, his mother and older sister provided him with protective support.¹⁵¹ He received his early and secondary education during 1916–1926 at Aitcheson College, Lahore. It was one of the earliest colonial educational institutions in Lahore, which had been established to inculcate loyalist values among the scions of feudal elite, particularly of north-western India.¹⁵²

From the late 1920s he became so predisposed towards the *Barelvi* sect under the influence of Maulvi Dedar Ali (Ameer of Barelvis in Lahore and *Khateeb* of Wazir Khan Mosque) that he almost turned into a religious fanatic.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Mian Mohammad Shafi, 'Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din: The man and crusader', *View Point* (weekly), 4 June, 1976, p.21. For the family tree of *Arians* of Bhaghbanpura, see M.Ibrahim, 'Role of Biraderi System in Power Politics of Lahore: Post-Independence Period,' (Ph.D. thesis, Bhau-ud-Din Zakariya University Multan, 2009), pp.80, 94 and 95. For comprehensive details about his family, see Abdullah Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Aalmi Communist Tahrir*, [Biography: Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, International Communist Movement] Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1985, chapters 4 and 5, pp. 66–83, 99–113.

¹⁵¹ Abdullah Malik has included two letters of Aziz Begum, Iftikhar-ud-Din's mother, from Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din's family documents, addressed to Deputy Commission Lahore on 7 October 1917 and 3 January 1918. In the first letter, Aziz Begum contests her father's application of guardianship and seeks D.C Lahore's protection. After approval of her application, in the second letter, she gives her consent for management of estate by the Court of Wards. Abdullah Malik infers from the handwriting that these letters were written by Khurshed Begum, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din's elder sister, *Ibid.*, pp.118–128.

¹⁵² While providing insights into its feudal ambiance, Abdullah Malik has incorporated a list of 56 Muslim students who were admitted to this college it was a school during 1916–1922. He informs us that during Iftikhar-ud-din's 10-year stay in Atheson College, the number of Muslim students was 97. *Ibid.*, pp.173–181.

¹⁵³ For details, see M.M. Shafi, 'Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din,' pp.21–22; Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Aalmi Communist Tahrir*, pp.185–186; Sorish Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Ek Mutalia Ek Tajzeeia*, [Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din: A Study, An Analysis] (Lahore: Chattan Printing Press, 1967), pp.27–28 and 85–86.

However, when he went to Oxford University, he went through a key intellectual transformation. His educational sojourn at Oxford had a moderating influence on him, which transformed him into a Liberal who started taking an interest in Marxism.¹⁵⁴

These ideological influences shaped his career choices as well as his stand on socio-political issues. Upon his return from Oxford, Iftikhar-ud-Din joined the Indian National Congress, because of its anti-imperialist stance. He proactively worked for the Congress for the next thirteen years, between 1932 and 1945. He was elected a member of the Punjab Assembly on its ticket in 1936 and was appointed as Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Punjab Assembly. During these years, the Congress in Punjab was facing a factional tussle between the Rightist and the Leftist groups, and even the latter was divided. As can be expected from his Leftist leanings, Iftikhar-ud-Din sided with the pro-peasant groups led by Sohan Singh Josh and Teja Singh Swatantar.¹⁵⁵ In 1945, he resigned from the Congress and joined the All India Muslim League (AIML).¹⁵⁶ In February 1947, he launched *The PT*, which served as the Muslim League's party paper in Punjab during the last leg of its struggle for a separate Muslim homeland.¹⁵⁷ From this, we see his commitment to the cause of the Muslim League.

¹⁵⁴ Abdul Rauf Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 2009), p.97. For Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Ek Mutalia Ek Tajzeeia*, pp.27–28.

¹⁵⁵ M.M. Shafi, 'Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din', p. 22. Also see Syed Sibte-ul-Hasan Zaigham, 'Ek Ahd Ek Shakhshiyat', *Awami Jamhoori Forum*, n.d, p.14.

¹⁵⁶ For details on Iftikhar-ud-Din's resignation, see M.M. Shafi, 'Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din', p. 23. and Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*. p.92.

¹⁵⁷ *The Pakistan Times* in its first editorial described its creed as 'a Muslim Leaguer with Leftist Leanings', cited in Shirin Ali, 'The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study,' (M.A. thesis, University of the Punjab Lahore, 1969), p.27.

His inclusion in the AIML provided an impetus to its increasing popularity among the Muslims of Punjab. Iftikhar-ud-Din played a significant role in organising the anti-Khizr agitation, which led to the resignation of the Khizr–Baldev ministry.¹⁵⁸

After the establishment of Pakistan, Iftikhar-ud-Din was given the important portfolio of the Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation in the Punjab government. In this capacity, his proposals were innovative. He proposed that all refugees belonging to a village or *tahsil* should be re-settled in the same place. He also suggested that land should be allotted to the refugees based on a subsistence unit that could be decided after a uniform land ceiling was fixed.¹⁵⁹ However, his liberal ideas soon clashed with the interests of other groups. During his brief stint as provincial minister, he tried to convince the representatives of Punjab in the Constituent Assembly to oppose the Security Ordinance so that it could not get statutory status.¹⁶⁰ This ran counter to the vested interests of the feudal leadership in Punjab and led to his expulsion from the Muslim League. It also went against the centralisation drive of the Liaquat Ali Khan government.

Though he had been inclined towards the Left from the early 1930s, Iftikhar-ud-Din was not a Communist. He acknowledged, ‘I am not a member of the Communist party, nor its enemy. I have always held their certain creeds and their *jihad* against the economic inequalities with great reverence’.¹⁶¹ The urge

¹⁵⁸ Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Ek Mutalia Ek Tajzeeia*, pp.22–23; M.M. Shafi, ‘Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din’, p.23. Also see Zaigham, ‘Ek Ahd Ek Shakhsiyat’, p.19.

¹⁵⁹ Zaigham, ‘Ek Ahd Ek Shakhsiyat’, p.19.

¹⁶⁰ Zubair Siddiqi, ‘Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din: A Man of Courage’, *View Point* (weekly), 4 June 1976, p.27.

¹⁶¹ Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, pp. 60–61.

to ameliorate economic inequalities remained the key point of his vision. Iftikhar-ud-Din sought its solution in class struggle, socialism, Islamic socialism and the nationalisation of basic industries, all of which envisaged an egalitarian state. He lamented, 'Pakistan was not created so as to be deprived of political independence and fell under domination of few people who consider themselves absolute geniuses'.¹⁶²

Iftikhar-ud-Din believed that religion alone could not guarantee Pakistan's unity. He was of the opinion that Pakistan was not a nation-state but a land inhabited by various nationalities, and its future unity and integrity lay in according complete legitimate rights to the nationalities.¹⁶³ Against the call for a unitary form of government, he supported a federal form of government.¹⁶⁴

He opined that the interests of 'eighty thousand people' who owned 'more than two squares of land' were given preference over the interests of 'one *Karor* seventy two *lakhs*'. This can be reconciled with his vision of preferring 'our people to our 'property'. He argued that mobilising public opinion in favour of this issue 'would make it easy for the ministry to adopt it'.¹⁶⁵

On foreign policy, we see a continuation of his anti-imperialist stance. He was among the political figures that unequivocally spoke in favour of an independent and non-aligned foreign policy, even before the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p.41.

¹⁶³ Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, pp.28–29.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.p.29. Also see ABC, 'The Vision of Mian Iftikhar-ud-din', *View Point* (weekly), 29 April 1979, p.22.

¹⁶⁵ 'Prefer People To Property' (Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din's Press Conference in Lahore, 27 November, 1947), in *Selected Speeches and Statements, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, ed. A. Malik (Lahore, Nigarishat, 1971), p.66. Also see *The PT*, 27 November 1947.

¹⁶⁶ Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p.28.

Iftikhar-ud-Din's vision showed progressive streaks that fed into the newspapers that he founded, and over time was to become a hallmark of his institution and its publications. His allusion to the role of a mobilised public opinion in creating a favourable atmosphere for government action needs to be explored because it opens up two issues. The first implies that although only mobilised public opinion can encourage governments to pursue egalitarian public policy, by the same token it gives them no excuse to adopt delay tactics. Second, it implicates the press in the crucial role of a socialising agency. Later in the study we will show how the PPL newspapers tried to play this role in post-colonial Pakistan.

2.3 PPL Publications: Background

The English press in Punjab during the mid-1940s was dominated by pro-government and pro-Congress newspapers. M.A. Jinnah was aware of the need of an English newspaper that could support the cause of the Muslim League.¹⁶⁷ Abdullah Malik, a renowned intellectual and journalist, while tracing the motives underlying the establishment of the PPL, argues that it was established out of a desire 'to project Muslim League's theoretical and conceptual basis through print media'. He goes on to contend that:

Till May 1946, there was no newspaper in Punjab, which could be rightly regarded as the true spokesman of AIML. Even one or two Urdu dailies, which claimed to be sympathizers of Muslim League's cause, were not playing any effective role in projecting the theoretical and conceptual basis of Muslim League's identity, as well as carrying party's point of view to the chambers of the government. Particularly, there was conspicuous absence of

¹⁶⁷ F.E. Chaudhary's article in *Pakistan Times' Forty years Supplement*, cited in N. Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited Tarikh Aur Urooj wo Zawal', (M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, 1992), p.13.

a newspaper that could have communicated in government's [meaning official] language.¹⁶⁸

This line of argument shows that M.A. Jinnah's initiative provided the impetus for establishing the PPL. At the meeting of the Muslim League Central Committee in Lahore, Jinnah met Iftikhar-ud-din and asked him to bring out an English newspaper from Lahore.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, from its first publication, it carried the caption 'Founded by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah' on its masthead.

Figure 2.1 Masthead of Pakistan Time's first Issue that preceded its formal launch.



Source: Ijaz Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyaan*, Lahore, 2011.

The PPL came into existence as a private limited company in May 1946. Iftikhar-ud-Din owned 51 percent of its shares and was appointed Chairman. Rafi Butt (d. November 1948), an industrialist from Punjab, was its second major shareholder with 25 percent of the shares. The other notable shareholders were Iftikhar Hussain, Mamdoot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who were the President and General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim

¹⁶⁸ Abdullah Malik, *Purani Mahfilain Yaad Aa Rahi Hain (Aap Beeti)*, Lahore: Takhliqaat, 2002, p.397.

¹⁶⁹ Excerpt from Pakistan Times, Forty years Supplement, *The Pakistan Times*, 16 March 1987, cited in N.Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited Tareek Aur Urooj wo Zawal', p.13.

League.¹⁷⁰ Abdullah Malik provides a list of seven directors; of these, five were feudal lords, one was an industrialist and one was a banker-cum-industrialist.¹⁷¹ Over time, Iftikhar-ud-Din bought more shares from the other directors. By the time it was taken over by Ayub Khan's regime in April 1959, Iftikhar-ud-Din personally owned 75 per cent of the shares and his family owned the remaining 25 per cent.¹⁷² Iftikhar-ud-Din bought the Congress newspaper *Tribune* as well as its building to launch the PPL.¹⁷³

Iftikhar-ud-Din launched *PT* in February 1947, and its sister publication, *Imroze*, a year later. Both of these newspapers set new trends in Journalism.

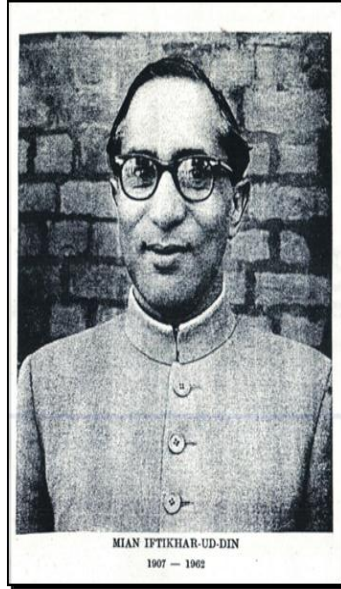
¹⁷⁰ For details, see Malik, *Purani Mahfilain Yaad Aa Rahi Hain (aap Beeti)*, p.398; Ahmed Salim, *Pakistan of Jinnah: The Hidden Face*, Lahore: Brothers Publishers, 1993. Also see Zaigham, 'Ek Ahd- Ek Shakhsiyat, Punjab Ki Gumshuda Awaz, Main Iftikhar-ud-Din (One Epoch- One Personality, The Forgotten Voice of the Punjab: Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din), p.18.

¹⁷¹ He enumerates these names: Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Mr. Mohammad Rafi Butt, Mr. C.M. Latif, Syed Amir Hussain Shah and Mian Iftikhar-ud-din; Punjab C.I.D. Report on *Communist Activities in the West Punjab* mentions that there were 174 shareholders in the PPL. It puts the number of directors at 19. It was launched with initial capital of Rs.19,10312. Its board of directors appointed Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din as Chairman and Amir Hussain Shah as Managing Director', *Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action*, Vol.4, Police Department Punjab, p.6, cited in A.A. Naz, *Tarraqi Pasand Tahrik-o-Sahafat, Makalmat*, Lahore, Al- Qamar Enterprises, 2003, p.77.[The author wonders where did A.A.Naz get the copy of Vol.IV of Anwer Ali's report?]

¹⁷² Malik, Sawanih *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p.49.

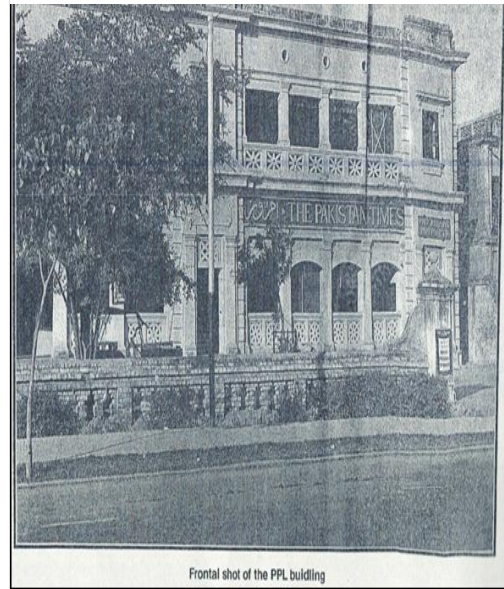
¹⁷³ Hafiz Taqi-ud-Din Ahmad, *Pakistan ki Siyasi Jamatain aur Tahrikain*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Classic, 2001), p.307.

Figure 2.2 Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din



Source: A.Malik, *Speeches and Statements*, Lahore,

Figure 2.3 PPL building on Mall Road, Lahore where *PT* was



Source: Weekly Friday Times, Oct 5–11, 2001. 1971.

Figure 2.4 The Tribune building that housed Lahore's two leading newspapers in the twentieth century.



Source: Ab woh Lahore Kahan, Lahore, 2011, p.

Initially, the PPL's newspapers circulation was not very large, which can be attributed to the low purchasing power of people, low levels of literacy and the transitory phase in West Punjab before and immediately after partition. However, within a few years the PPL newspapers became popular throughout Punjab. *The PTs'* circulation rose from 8,000 to 34,000 during 1947–58;

Imroze's circulation was 6,000 until 1950 and increased to 40,000 by 1958.¹⁷⁴

The expansion of the PPL network of publications is another indicator of its growing readership. *Imroze* was launched from Multan, Karachi and Peshawar.¹⁷⁵ *Imroze* Multan became one of the most popular newspapers of southern Punjab, which covered the areas of lower Sindh up to Sukkhar.¹⁷⁶ The increasing circulation of *Imroze* Lahore and Multan can be inferred from the caption on its masthead, which claimed it was 'Urdu newspaper with largest circulation'.¹⁷⁷ *The Pakistan Times* also established its dominance as a 'national daily with largest circulation'.¹⁷⁸

The PPL also ventured into magazine journalism and launched the weekly *Lail-o-Nahar* on 20 January 1957, which continued publication until 1964. It initiated new trends in Urdu magazine journalism because it attempted to cater to the tastes of diverse readers. Magazines of that period were one-dimensional in terms of thematic content, focusing on literary, or political, or

¹⁷⁴ Circulation figures supplied by the Circulation Department of the PPL, cited in Ali, Shirin, 'The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study', (M.A. thesis, University of the Punjab Lahore, 1969), p.108.

¹⁷⁵ K. Chaudhry, 'Roz-nama *Imroze* ki Khususi Ishaat "*Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi*" ka Tanqidi Jaiza 1949–58', (M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, Lahore, 1978); Interview with Masood Ashar, 30 January, 2013. Its Karachi edition was started in June 1949 and it continued to be published until 1 August 1961. *Imroze* Karachi was closed in 1959, on account of the financial loss it suffered. Masood Ashar is of the view that *Imroze* could not develop its readership in Karachi as it was more 'intellectual', whereas the readership trend was disposed towards newspapers that were more commercial such as the dailies *Jang* and *Anjam*. In Peshawar *Imroze* was able to survive for a few months. It was launched in 1959, and National Awami Party's leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had applied for its declaration; however, publication had to be ceased after the PPL takeover by Ayub Khan's military regime

¹⁷⁶ Masood Ashar, founding editor of *Imroze* Multan, told me that within a short time its circulation increased to 20,000–25,000. Masood Ashar's interview in Akhtar Naz's book provides further insights. Here Masood Ashar narrates that 'Its circulation reached 30–35 thousand. Once it touched the figures of 40,000, we established our Sukkhar bureau', A.A. Naz, p. 160.

¹⁷⁷ Its circulation touched the figure of 100,000 by 1970.

¹⁷⁸ The figures of the circulation department of the PPL show that its circulation was 42,000 in 1960, swelled to 50,000 in 1965 and increased to 60,000 in 1969. See Shirin Ali, 'The Pakistan Times', p.108.

religious content.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, the PPL publication contained articles on political, socio-cultural, economic and literary themes. The PPL also launched *Monthly Sports Times* in 1959, which grew into Pakistan's premier sports magazine and continued to be published until 1984.¹⁸⁰

The kind of ideological journalism that Iftikhar-ud-Din wanted to promote through the PPL could not be sustained only on the basis of circulation and advertisements, which are the two main ingredients of commercial journalism.¹⁸¹ To make the PPL self-sustaining, he established a company called Pak Rose that imported coal from China and sold it to the Pakistan government. He diverted its major income to the PPL, which enabled him to pay the salaries of PPL employees in time.¹⁸² Iftikhar-ud-Din, as the major shareholder of the company, handed over all his shares, except his mother's, to the PPL.¹⁸³ He also imported newsprint from the Soviet Union at subsidised rates, which provided further financial resources to reduce the cost of newspaper production.¹⁸⁴ Khawja Aslam Kashmiri, the former chief news editor of *Daily Imroze*, writes, 'PPL's founder was not concerned with financial rewards; rather he considered these newspapers as means of fulfilling

¹⁷⁹ Naila Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited', pp. 44–45.

¹⁸⁰ Initially the *Monthly Sports Times* was launched by Sultan F.Hussain. He sold the magazine to PPL in 1959. In its previous phase circulation was around 2,000, but once it came under the PPL, its circulation exceeded more than 15,000 and then rose to a maximum 23,000. The famous sports journalists who were associated with this paper included S.F.Hussain, Abdul Hayee, Captain Syed and Ilyas Baig. Mahmood Butt was engaged as resident artist. It also launched its Urdu Edition for a brief period during 1967–1970. N.Raza, *Ibid.*, pp.51–54.

¹⁸¹ Jameela Khatoon, who did her master's thesis on *Imroze*, also writes that *Imroze's* management and journalists confided that *Imroze* received fewer advertisements, as it used to oppose the vested interests of the classes that provided advertisements to newspapers, J. Khatoon, 'Roz-nama Imroz Ka Tanqidi Jaiza', (M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, Lahore, 1969), p.42.

¹⁸² Khawaja Aslam Kashmiri, 'Kya Likhon', *Weekly Taqazey*, 31 July 2001, p.13.

¹⁸³ F.E.Chaudhary's article in *Pakistan Times* cited in N.Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited,'

¹⁸⁴ Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Ek Mutalia Ek Tajzeeia*, p.19. Also see Hasan Zaheer, *The Times and Trials of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951*, p.224.

his political mission'.¹⁸⁵ However, this assessment should not make us believe that the affairs of PPL were managed in a non-professional manner. Rather, there is sufficient evidence that the PPL management was running these newspapers in a highly professional manner. In fact, Iftikhar-ud-Din considered this institution 'the most important achievement of his life'.¹⁸⁶ The traditions that came to be associated with this institution point to the high professional standards set by its founder.

2.4 PPL and Professionalization of Journalism

Iftikhar-ud-Din managed to rope in the best available talent among journalists and literati, who were appointed to all the major sections of the newspapers, such as their editorial boards, to work on magazines, in the newsrooms and for reporting. He also engaged several brilliant cartoonists, calligraphists, art editors and photographers to improve the layout of his newspapers. While giving them jobs, he did not compromise on professional standards. Critics of the PPL, particularly rightist intellectuals such as Zia-ul-Islam Ansari, Z.A. Suleri and Abdul Karim Abid, accuse the company of becoming a bastion of Leftists and communists.¹⁸⁷ This criticism gives the impression that

¹⁸⁵ K. A. Kashmiri, 'Kya Likhon', p.13. He further argues, 'The founder of this institution was neither interested in the circulation of its newspapers nor its income. But he and his companions wanted to get the voices of their newspaper heard, and to keep their standard high so that these newspapers could continue to project their political policy.' Ibid., p.13.

¹⁸⁶ K. Hasan 'The Pakistan Times', Khalid hasanonlinewww.khalidhasan.net/2008/07/23/the-pakistan-times/. p.8; I.A.Rehman also maintains that the PPL management was quite serious about circulation. He contends that 'Initially in many places circulation was quite low; therefore, this problem was resolved by improving the quality of the newspapers so as to compel readers to purchase them. In this manner circulation was increased in the cantonment areas.' Interview with I.A.Rehman, 9 February 2013.

¹⁸⁷ M. Shafiq quotes Zia-ul-Islam Ansari, a veteran journalist, former Chief Editor of *Daily Mashriq* Lahore. Ansari contends, 'One opinion about *Imroze* of that period was that it had become a 'trench of red elements', and any Islamic-minded journalist, who was influenced by any tinge of Islam, did not dare go near the premises of this institution. This institution, besides, providing intellectual fodder to the communists elements also served as a source of encouragement and protection. PPL was the bastion of the progressive literati and so-called intellectuals,' M.Shafiq, 'Lahore kay Urdu Akhbarat ka Saisi Kirdar (August 1947-July

association with the Communist Party or other Leftist organisations was a sufficient requirement for appointment in the PPL. Contrary to these assumptions, the two most senior employees of the PPL—I.A. Rehman and Masood Ashar—emphatically assert that Iftikhar-ud-Din did not prefer to appoint communists because he did not want to see his newspapers transformed into an organ of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP). In fact, members of the CPP were discouraged from becoming part of this organisation. This became a convention and a job was not provided on the criterion of being a Leftist.¹⁸⁸

The PPL encouraged various non-Leftist writers to send their writings for publication. This was equally beneficial for the PPL, since it brought in a semblance of diversity and had a moderating influence on the tone of the publications.

Another hallmark of the PPL was that its founders paid attention to all the technical matters of newspaper production, such as make-up, layout, presentation and display of news, in addition to printing. It is not surprising to find that PPL publications came to set new benchmarks in all these domains. *The PT* became one of the best-edited daily newspapers of Pakistan.¹⁸⁹ *Imroze* had various ‘firsts’ to its credit. It was the first Urdu newspaper to make a conscious effort to improve the make-up; it introduced a balanced make-up, as

1977),’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Punjab Lahore, 1987), p.36. In an interview with Akhtar Naz, Z.A.Sulehri opined, ‘this institution was threat for Pakistan...in practical politics it did a lot of sabotage’, A.A. Naz, *Makalmat*, p.88. Abdul Karim Abid former editor of Dailies *Mashriq, Jasarat and Insaf*, though acknowledges that the PPL newspapers were of ‘high standards,’; however, he also accuses that its correspondents in Multan, Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan used to become members of Iftikhar-ud-Din’s party’, *Ibid.*, pp.225–226.

¹⁸⁸ Interviews with Masood Ashar and I.A.Rehman on 30 January and 9 February 2013.

¹⁸⁹ Khalid Hasan, while alluding to its high standards, recalls, ‘seldom has a finer bunch of journalists been assembled under one roof’, K.Hasan, ‘Photo feature: Progressive Papers Ltd’, *Friday Times*, October 5–11, 2001, p.23.

manifested in the presentation and display of news. It broke new ground in pictorial journalism as well as feature writing. It made the calligraphic style less dense, more delicate and sophisticated. It brought in diversity in news coverage; instead of relying on political news, it brought in a range of international, commercial, cultural and literary stories and features and gave regular coverage to sports events. It also modernised how news was gathered and presented. It was the first Urdu newspaper that was printed on a rotary web machine instead of a litho machine, even though litho machines remained in vogue in newspapers until the late 1950s. Thus, to *Imroze* owes goes the credit of modernising print journalism in Urdu.¹⁹⁰ The PPL newspapers also took the lead in introducing sections on children, women, labour and literary in print journalism. *Imroze* went on to introduce sections or special pages related to Punjabi, labour and literary themes.

Iftikhar-ud-Din also created amicable working conditions for PPL employees. This tradition is still revered by the journalist trade unions of today. PPL is remembered as an institution that catered generously to the basic needs of its employees. The PPL was the first newspaper institution in Pakistan to pay a handsome remuneration to its contributors.¹⁹¹ It was the first private newspaper to pay salaries based on specified scales.¹⁹² The PPL management

¹⁹⁰ For details about these aspects of *Imroze*'s role, see Jamila Khatoon, '*Roz-nama Imroz Ka Tanqidi Jaiza*' (M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, 1969), pp.10,17,41–46 and 48, 52, 138–142 and 156, Kausar Chaudhry, '*Roz-nama Imroze ki Khususi Ishaat 'Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi Ka Tanqidi Jaiza 1949–58*', pp. 13 and 17.

¹⁹¹ S. S. Zaigham, '*Ek Ahd- Ek Shakhsyat*', pp.18–19. According to Hameed Akhtar the prose writers of *Imroze* were given remuneration of seven rupees per column during late 1940s and early 1950s. Also see A.Salim, *Sawanih Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, Lahore, Book Home, 2010.

¹⁹² Interview with Masood Ashar; Masood Ashar in its interview with Akhtar Naz recalls that 'when he joined *Imroze* in 1954 he was given special grade and his salary was Rs. 250, which was at that time equivalent to CSP officer's salary', A.A. Naz, *Makalmmat*, p.158. During those days the PPL offered junior sub-editors 210 rupees and a senior sub-editor's salary was

was so attentive to professional issues that it allowed reporters in smaller towns to send their reports through telegrams, and the PPL bore the additional expenses.¹⁹³ All these measures ensured job security as well as self-respect to its employees. Moreover, Iftikhar-ud-Din gave a free hand to editors and the editorial staff to formulate and implement editorial policies. In most cases he respected their decisions.¹⁹⁴ He did not even force them to give coverage to his party's activities on the front pages. I.A.Rehman, sharing one incident with me, revealed:

I was a junior sub-editor during those days. Somebody did a *sifarish* to get a certain news item published. I bluntly replied, '*Mian Sahib se kahoo khud chapwa dein. Agar khabar men dam hoga to chap jai gi*'. (Ask Mian Sahib to get it published. If it has news value, it will automatically get published).¹⁹⁵

Khalid Hasan, a distinguished journalist, mentions an incident involving F.E.Chaudhry, who is a pioneer of photographic journalism in Pakistan and is popularly known as *Chacha*.

Once *Chacha*, who on rare occasions could show flashes of temper, felt upset over something Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had said to him. '*O Mian ja, Men teri naukari nahin karni*.' (O Mian, here it is: I do not want to work for you any longer). And he walked out. But that was not the end of the story. A day later, the man who had founded and who owned the PPL empire apologised to *Chacha*, urging him to come back. '*Ley phair Chaudhry keenvain chudd ke ja wain*' (All right, Chaudhry, so we shall see if you do actually succeed in leaving). *Chacha* came back and never left.¹⁹⁶

250 rupees. See F.E. Chaudhary's article in the *Pakistan Times*, cited in N.Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited', p.17.

¹⁹³ S. S. Zaigham, 'Ek Ahd- Ek Shakhsiyat', p.19.

¹⁹⁴ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's interview to Akhtar Naz, *Makalmmat*, p.4. Also see K.Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.8.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with I.A.Rehman, 9 February 2013.

¹⁹⁶ K. Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', Khalid Hasan online, pp.

These instances testify to the high professional standards set by the PPL during its heyday. It was not easy even for veteran journalists to get into this institution. There is a long list of journalists who after leaving the PPL served as founding editors of new newspapers in Pakistan, or even infused new life into the newspapers of its rivals. Given the PPL's influence on journalism in Pakistan, it appears as a bridge between pre-1947 journalism and modern journalism.

Naila Raza, a student of journalism, makes an interesting comparison between the financial position of working journalists (particularly Muslims) before and after the establishment of the PPL.

Journalism before the establishment of this institution was not regarded as a full time profession but as a mission and a vocation, on account of that not only journalists but also the proprietors of the newspapers always faced financial hardships.¹⁹⁷

She adds:

In those days the journalists were considered to be a destitute class and it was quipped about them that nobody gives a journalist loan or his daughter...but the PPL for the first time gave journalism the status of a full time profession. Now it used to be said about the PPL journalists that, not only they get married but also get loans.¹⁹⁸

The effectiveness of an institution can be measured by how it is viewed by its opponents, and on that account the PPL ranks quite high. Even Soorish Kashmiri, a veteran Urdu journalist who has written a harshly critical biography of Iftikhar-ud-Din, describes the PPL as a 'great institution' and the

¹⁹⁷ N.Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited', p.17.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

services that Iftikhar-ud-Din rendered for its establishment as ‘an unforgettable achievement’.¹⁹⁹ He adds:

Mian Sahib would have established huge mills had he wanted so. He possessed qualities of a businessman. It was not difficult for him to assemble the business geniuses. Anyhow he was witness to the birth of our industrial and capitalist class and had seen it becoming a monster. However, he preferred his political vocation and launched two great newspapers for the intellectual orientation of the country. This great service of Mian Sahib is not a mean achievement. The fact is that in this domain nobody could surpass him in this country.²⁰⁰

This brief overview of PPL highlights its role in transforming the traditional journalism of pre-1947 into professional journalism in the true sense of the word.

Figure 2.5 The PPL building after its closure—A witness to the glory of bygone days



Source: Ijaz Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyaan*, Lahore, 2011.

2.5 The *Pakistan Times* and Progressive English Journalism

The radical identity of *The PT* seems to have been largely shaped by the radical journalists who were running the newspaper. In fact, its most distinguished journalists, such as Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Mazhar Ali Khan and Ahmad Ali Khan, who intermittently served as editors between February 1947

¹⁹⁹ S. Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, pp. 29 and 41.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.29.

and April 1959, were activists.²⁰¹ Along with a strong passion for trade union activism, they were inspired by ideals of secularism, democracy and humanism; their worldview had a significant impact on the *PT*'s editorial policy.

The *PT* management gave primacy to developing all the sections connected with content and production, such as the editorials, newsroom, reporting and magazine sections. It had a formidable editorial staff, comprising journalists like the three mentioned above as well as Kamal Haider, Jameel Ahmed, Khawaja Asif and Zohair Siddiqi.²⁰² The newsroom deals with news management, display and layout. The *PT* newsroom had highly professional and trained journalists such as Kamal Haider, Mohammad Hussain and Abdul Shakoor. For reporting, Mian Muhammad Shafi (Meem Sheen), an experienced journalist, worked as chief reporter until April 1950. When he resigned, *PT*'s Rawalpindi correspondent Syed Iftikhar Ahmed became chief editor until April 1959 when Ayub Khan's military regime took over the newspaper.²⁰³

Competent editors like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Mazhar Ali Khan and Ahmed Ali Khan played a pivotal role in defining the newspaper's agenda, creed, style and content. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, the sub-continent's celebrated Urdu poet, was

²⁰¹ Faiz's first stint (1947–1951) in the PPL coincides with his most active phase as a trade unionist. For further details, see Abdul Rauf Malik, *Faiz Shanisee, Faiz Ahmed Faiz ki Hama Jahat Shakhshiyat Kay Ojhal Pehlu* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre Jamia Karachi, 2011). This book contains a chapter on Faiz as a trade unionist, pp.35–44. Ayub Mirza, *Faiznama* (Lahore: The Classic, 2005), pp.82–89. Mazhar Ali Khan during his student life was elected Secretary General of the All India Student Federation's Lahore branch in the late 1930s. Shah Mohammad Marri, *C.R.Asalam*, Lahore Sanjha, 2007, p.16. Ahmad Ali Khan, was among the founders of the Punjab Union of Journalists (PUJ) and the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ). Zamir Niazi, 'The Pioneers: PFUJ', accessed on 30 May 2013, file:///G:/The Pioneers PFUJ-htm, p.1.

²⁰² Ahmed Ali Khan, interview by A.A. Naz', *Daily Pakistan*, 6 July 1998.

²⁰³ A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Shafat*, p.79.

appointed its first chief editor in February 1947 and he remained associated with the *PT* in two different stints.²⁰⁴ The first spanned the years1947 to 9 March 1951, when he was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case and spent almost four years in prison. After his release, Faiz re-joined *PT* as chief editor on 5 February 1956 and continued until 2 June 1958. In his brief journalistic career, his influence on PPL's policy and the style of its publications was profound. The *PT* grew into effective newspaper under his editorship. He initiated consultative, democratic procedures in the *PT* (and later its sister publication, *Daily Imroze*) by starting a tradition of daily meetings in which the senior staff participated and were allowed to express their frank opinions. This is considered normal practice in journalism today, but at that time it was quite novel in Pakistani journalism.²⁰⁵ Iftikhar-ud-Din had a volatile temperament, even at times he behaved like businessmen, but despite such personal failings he had given space to editors and journalists.²⁰⁶ Intizar Hussain, a prominent literary writer launched his career as a journalists wrote that when there occurred differences between management and

²⁰⁴ Faiz's journalistic career was interrupted in March 1951, when he was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. The establishment depicted it as an attempted coup on the part of some military officials and accused them of acting in connivance with the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), purportedly to establish a communist dictatorship. It was used as a pretext to stifle the Leftist movement in Pakistan. For an academic perspective on this case, see Estelle Dryland, 'Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Rawalpindi Conspiracy', *Journal of South Asian Literature* 27, no.2 (Fall 1992), pp.175–185, and H. Zaheer, *The Times and Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case*, Chapters 3–5 and epilogue. For Faiz's version, see 'Faiz Ahmed Faiz,' About myself and what I have been up to', *Think India Quarterly* 14, no. I (Jan. – Mar. 2011), pp.59–71. Later, he went abroad on private visits to some European countries and returned just before PPL's takeover. After this development he tendered his resignation along with the *PT*'s Editor Mazhar Ali Khan and *Imroze*'s Editor Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi.

²⁰⁵ Ahmed Ali Khan, 'Faiz Ek Sahafi', special Faiz number, ed. Sehba Akhtar, *Afkar*, (Karachi), September 1965, pp.436–437.

²⁰⁶ The mass resignation by eight *Imroze* journalists in July 1951 is one manifestation of Iftikhar-ud-din's difficult temperament as a business person. S. Kashmiri in his brief biography on Iftikhar-ud-Din provides details about this side of Iftikhar-ud-Din's personality and character, but his account is so biased that it borders on character assassination and should be read with caution.

journalists Faiz exerted his moderating influence and used to resolve such differences.²⁰⁷

Faiz staunchly believed in the editor's autonomy and strengthened the position of the editor vis-à-vis the proprietor.²⁰⁸ He laid out the political creed of the PPL newspapers, which was underpinned by radical ideals of 'people's supremacy', support for the marginalised and exploited classes, projecting the problems of peasants and the proletariat and orienting people to their fundamental civil rights.²⁰⁹ Faiz regarded journalism as a political mission. In an interview to a journalist in 1959, he described 'reform of country's politics' and 'orientation of political consciousness of people' as the two primary tasks of a newspaper; he asserted emphatically, 'any newspaper that fails to fulfil these obligations does not deserve to be called a newspaper'.²¹⁰

Mazhar Ali Khan, as an editorial writer and editor, was a radical journalist, who had a firm belief in democratic values. He defined the newspaper's policy and ethics in clear terms. He was the scion of a feudal family of Campbellpur (present District Attock) but later became a committed communist. He joined the *PT* in 1947 as assistant editor and was appointed its editor during the turbulent phase when Faiz was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case.²¹¹ He wrote 334 editorials during 1947–1959.²¹² He fully realised a

²⁰⁷ Intizar Hussain, *Ciraghoon ka Dhuan*, (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2012), P.

²⁰⁸ I.A.Rehman, 'Misali Editor', in *Teri Yadon Kay Naqush*, comp. Shakir Hussain Shakir (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2011), p.67.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.66-68.

²¹⁰ *Haft Roza Nusrat* Lahore Kay Numainday Say Guftagoo, 'Kuch Sahafat Ki Baatain', special Azadi number *Weekly Nusrat*: 1959, in *Makalmat-e Faiz*, comp. Khalil Ahmed (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2011), p.281.

²¹¹ A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, pp. 92–93. Mahir Ali, 'Mazhar Ali Khan: Fight goes on', accessed 23 March, 2013, <http://www.viewpointonline.net> ; Ahmed Rashid, Pakistan's veteran journalist and a scholar on Central Asia and Afghanistan, wrote an obituary on Mazhar Ali Khan in June 1993, and ranked him among 'the greatest newspaper

newspaper's crucial role in building public opinion in a democratic polity, for he argued that 'in a democratic state it is only through the uninhibited clash of views that a vigilant public opinion can be built up'.²¹³ He stuck resolutely to this conviction throughout his journalistic career.

Figure 2.6 *Pakistan Times* Editorial Staff 1947. Mazhar Ali Khan is seated, second from the right.



Source: Alys Faiz, *Dear Heart*, Lahore, 1985.

Figure 2.7 Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911–1984)



Source: Alys Faiz, *Dear Heart—to Faiz in Prison*, 1985.

Figure 2.8 Mazhar Ali Khan (1923–1993)



Source: *Pakistan the First Twelve Years*, 1996.

Figure 2.9 Ahmad Ali Khan (1923–2007)



Source: *Daily Times* (Lahore), 14 March 2007.

Ahmed Ali Khan, who is considered among the pioneers of modern English journalism in Pakistan, joined the *PT* in 1949 and his association with this

editors' of the Indian sub-continent in the twentieth century. 'Obituary', *The Independent* (London) Gazette Page, 30 June 1993.

²¹² See *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years: The Pakistan Times Editorials of Mazhar Ali Khan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1996, p.746.

²¹³ 'Editorial: Ghaffar Khan's Arrest', *The PT*, 19 September 1955.

newspaper lasted thirteen years, after which he moved to *Dawn*. He believed in the editor's motivational role, his autonomy in a newspaper environment, his role as guardian of the interests of journalists working under his editorship and his adherence to the principle of objectivity, irrespective of any pressure or intimidation by state political parties or pressure groups. He initiated many of these traditions during his stint at the PPL and carried them to his illustrious career in *Dawn* (Karachi) that spanned almost four decades.²¹⁴

Anwar Ali, *PT*'s distinguished cartoonist, was born in Ludhiana and graduated in 1942. From his college days he had a passion for drawing cartoons. At first, he drew cartoons of students and professors and got them posted on the college notice board. He wrote in his autobiography that during his college days this little fame went to his head and 'while sitting alone, I used to consider myself India's greatest cartoonist, just a step below Shankar'.²¹⁵

Anwar Ali joined *PT* on 31 January 1947, and completed thirty years of service in January 1977.²¹⁶ Initially, he drew political cartoons and later he introduced a cartoon character called *Nanna*. The first Nanna cartoon appeared in 1953 as a 'light-hearted domestic cartoon' that 'held a satirical mirror to society'.²¹⁷ As the scions of wealthy people are born with silver spoons in their mouths, Nanna was born with a thermometer in his mouth, because he suffered from election fever.

²¹⁴ Kaleem Omer, 'Poetic License: Welcome Back, Mr. Khan', *Dawn* 25 June 2003. Also see news reports on Ahmed Ali Khan's death in *Dawn* (Karachi) and *Daily Times* (Lahore) on 14 March 2007.

²¹⁵ Anwar Ali, *Gawachiaan Gallaan*, (Punjabi), (Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Board, 1998), p.105.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.146.

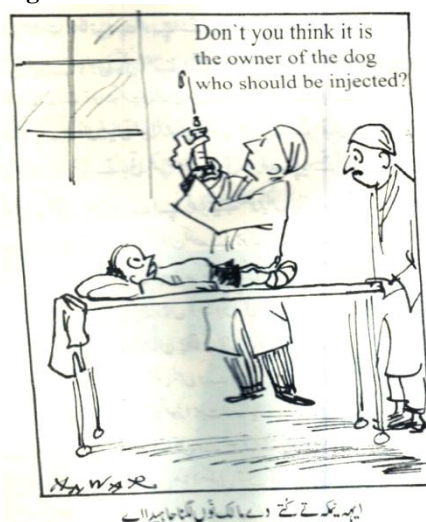
²¹⁷ Ajaz Anwar, *Nain Reesaan*, p.337.

Figure 2.10 The First Nanna Cartoon



Source: I. Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyann*, 2011.

Figure 2.11 Nanna Cartoon



Source: I. Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyann*, 2011.

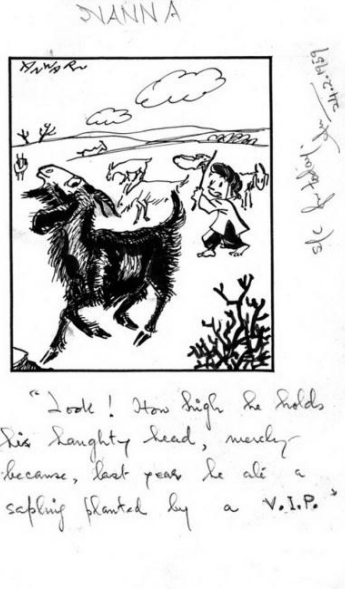
While commenting on this character, Anwar Ali's son, Ijaz Anwar writes that Nanna '*challis sal taun zaida ersay wahddiyan naun sach wakha kar ghusa dilanda raheay*' (infuriated the higher-ups by showing them the truth for more than forty years).²¹⁸ Ijaz Anwar recalls that Anwar Ali as a cartoonist:

...excelled in drawing, one can decipher a clear difference between the anatomy of a horse and a donkey in his cartoons. His initial training as a calligrapher made him a more skilful cartoonist. It enabled him to bring in both elements of thickness and thinness of lines in his illustrations. Like every great artist, he believed in the notion of 'maximum effect with minimum labour'. Therefore, instead of drawing a whole picture, he remained content to draw only what was required. As a cartoonist, he took care of economy of lines as well as economy of words.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ajaz Anwar, in discussion with the author, 5Feb 2013, Lahore.

Figure 2.12 Nanna Cartoon



Source: www.ajazart.com

Figure 2.13 Nanna Cartoon



Source: www.ajazart.com

Figure 2.14 Nanna Cartoon

NANNA and The Visiting Foreigners



Source: www.ajazart.com

Figure 2.15 Nanna Cartoon

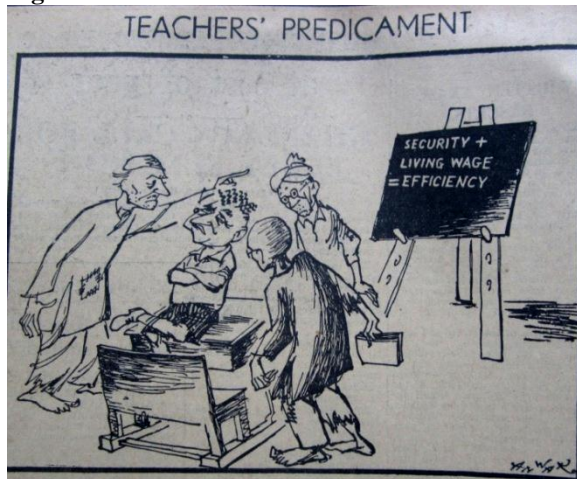


Source: www.ajazart.com

Anwar Ali was secular, liberal and 'anti- Maulvi' in his outlook. The dominant themes in his illustrations were progressive, for they portray the common person's difficulties with transport, housing and education, discuss women's

rights and show concern for cruelty towards animals. Through these themes he tried to ‘bring out the extraordinary from the ordinary.’²²⁰

Figure 2.16 Anwar’s Cartoon



Source: The *Pakistan Times*, 19 February 1957.

Figure 2.17 Anwar Ali (1922–2004)



Source: I. Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyann*, 2011.

F.E. Chaudhry, who according to Khalid Hasan deserves to be called ‘Baba-e Press Photography’ (father of photographic journalism), joined *PT* in 1949.²²¹ He was employed as Pakistan’s first full-time news photographer. His stint with the newspaper spanned almost three decades. He revolutionised the field of photographic journalism in Pakistan by introducing innovative features such as the depiction of natural scenes; for instance, he mounted clouds, used images of raging rivers in flood, and contrasted photographs of the sunset at the end of a year and the sunrise at the beginning of a new year. His camera captured monuments that were ‘becoming extinct’ as well as illuminated minute details of popular culture, everyday life and the common man’s

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ K.Hasan, ‘Chacha Zindabad’, *Dawn*, 13 May 2002.

problems.²²² As a photographer he was known for his quick judgement; the US diplomat, Witis, named him ‘one-shot man’.²²³ F.E. Chaudhry ‘pictures truly reflected the country and Lahore as they actually were’, opines Azhar Jafri, a photographer at *Dawn*.²²⁴ He was a true character of Lahore and was popularly known among journalists as ‘Chacha’.²²⁵

Figure 2.18 F.E. Chaudhry (1909–2013)



Source:
pakistaniat.com/page121?s=
‘The+ F.E. Chaudhry + Gallery’

2.6 *PT*’s Content (1947–1959)

The *PT* was formally launched as a Muslim League paper on 4 February 1947.²²⁶ This phase up to the partition coincided with an antagonistic relationship among Lahore’s three major communities: Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Since newspapers mirror dominant political events, the *PT* gave considerable coverage to the political situation. Moreover, as a leading

²²² F.E.Chaudhry, (ed. Munir Ahmed) *Ab Woh Lahore Kahan*, [an exhaustive interview with the living legend of Lahore] (Lahore: Aatish Fashan, 2009), p.190. K.Hasan, ‘Chacha’, and ‘F.E.Choudhry: The Man that he was’, *The Nation*, 16 March 2013.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.202.

²²⁴ Azhar Jafri cited in Intikhab Hanif, ‘Celebrated Photographer F.E. Choudhry is no more’, *Dawn*, 16 March 2013.

²²⁵ Veteran journalist and F.E. Chaudhry’s old friend Hameed Sheikh coined the term ‘chacha’ for him. See Majid Sheikh’s column on F.E. Chaudhry, *Dawn* 18April 2009.

²²⁶ Anwar Ali, *Gawachian Gallan*, pp.145–46. ‘Editorial: Ourselves’, *The PT*, 4 February 1947.

spokesperson of the All India Muslim League in the Punjab, it reflected the AIML's political views. The dominant political trend influenced the newspaper's content, as can be seen in its news coverage, editorials, articles and letters to the editors. Despite this tendency to reflect partisan politics, the newspaper played a responsible role, because its journalists remained mindful that they should not become an instrument in igniting communal frenzy. For instance, Anwar Ali in his autobiography mentions that his family was still in Ludhiana when he moved to Lahore in January 1947 to join the *PT*. He had to visit Ludhiana on 8 August 1947 because his infant son had fallen seriously ill. At that time Punjab was witnessing horrific communal violence, which left him stranded for almost one month. When he returned to Lahore he wrote an eyewitness account of his terrible journey titled 'A Journey into the Land of Fear' and published the first instalment in the *PT* in September 1947. However, later he decided not to publish the next instalments, lest it provoke further senseless violence.²²⁷

One can glimpse a progressive tone in the newspaper's content even during its initial months. This radicalism was mainly directed against the colonial government. It also manifested a passionate desire for nation and state building, inspired by progressive ideals.

PT's first issue that appeared as a supplement during the anti-Khizr agitation is a concrete example of its anti-British stance. The late 1940s witnessed the intensification of anti-colonial resistance in the colonies and evoked the anti-imperialist passion of radicals. The *PT* supported the anti-colonial liberation

²²⁷ Anwar Ali, *Gawachiaan Gallaan*, p.157. He further wrote that he remembered M.K.Gandhi's advice that such reports should not be publicised, which might incite the people from both sides to kill innocent people. Ibid. For details, see Chapters 43 and 44.

movements, particularly the Indonesian struggle against the Dutch authorities. An editorial condemning the brutal suppression of the Indonesian resistance movement, which appeared in July 1947, branded the Dutch as the ‘indisputable aggressor’.²²⁸

This radical voice was intensified in its editorial, ‘Promise and Fulfilment’, which was published on 8 August 1947. It drew a vivid picture of the challenges that the representatives of the people would have to face. It strongly criticised the continuation of the British style of governance in the provinces and reminded the Chief Minister designate, Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot, about radical transformation in situation, as ‘there are no screens between the people and the individuals they elect to govern over themselves’. It drew attention to several promises that the Muslim League made to the electorates in its radical Election Manifesto in 1944, such as the nationalisation of basic industry, agricultural reforms, the enhanced role of the public in financing agricultural schemes for development and the ‘extension of the provisions of the Land Alienation Act to the feudal land-sharks’.²²⁹

The reference to the people in the previous paragraph is very critical here. As this chapter will show that the PPL newspapers followed a consistent strategy to highlight the difficulties of ordinary people or commoners, or common people. I will prefer it to the term ‘problems of common man’, as the latter is a catch-all phrase/term that is used in South Asia quite frequently.²³⁰ Similarly, the usage of the word problem, entails its own problems as American historian

²²⁸ ‘Editorial: For Freedom’, *The PT*, 30 July 1947.

²²⁹ ‘Editorial: Promise and Fulfillment’, *The PT*, 8 August 1947.

²³⁰ We can further identify that even the *PT*’s journalists used this category quite frequently; one specific instance is the *PT* published an article in its special edition on Jinnah on 25 December 1958, which was titled ‘The Common Man’s Leader’. Similarly, in Urdu the phrase ‘problems of Common man’, is translated as the ‘*Am Adami kay Masail*’.

Christopher Lasch succinctly explained in his manual of style, and he recommends that one ‘difficulties’ or some other word instead of ‘problems’.²³¹

First, in this section we use it in its broadest meaning, which include maximum range of ordinary people or commoners folk such as refugees, peasants (small and middle farmers, landless tenants and rented and bonded labourers), proletariats and industrial labourers as well as other working and subaltern classes. But to show that how these newspapers had been highlighting the difficulties of ordinary women and minorities that represented vertical category.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the *PT* consistently projected the difficulties of ordinary people. In particular, it gave in-depth coverage to the problems of salaried employees; it focused on the issues of day-to-day survival of the working class and persistently demanded a reasonable increase in salaries and allowances. The developments concerning the Pay Commission’s Award, immediately after Pakistan’s independence, gave it plenty of opportunities to apprise its readers about the miseries of the working class.²³² The letters to the editor on this theme shed light on other issues, such as peoples’ expectations of the nascent state and their grievances about the slow functioning of the bureaucratic system.²³³

²³¹ Christopher Lasch advises to ‘Confine the word to its original meaning: a question of proposed solution’, for more details how does C. Lasch problematizes the word ‘problem’, *Plain Style: A Guide to Written English*, (Edited with an introduction by Stewart Weaver) Philadelphia, PENN, 2002, p.108.

²³² It published at least six letters to the editor on this issue between the last weeks of December 1947 to 23 January 1948.

²³³ From the standpoint of academic scholarship their nuanced meaning can be gleaned if they are analysed under the concepts of ‘every day state’ and ‘newspaper as cultural texts’. Sarah Ansari, a scholar on Sindh, while engaging the conceptual paradigm of ‘every day state’

An analysis of its content shows that the newspaper made certain classes or sections of common people, such as *Muhajirin* or refugees, peasants, the working class, women and minorities, the focal point of its socialising agenda. In the next two sections we will analyse its ‘strategy’ of highlighting the difficulties of the commners. We will reflect on the long-term or structural solutions it proposed, which constituted the essence of its agenda-setting role.

2.7 The Common People: Focal Point of *PT*’s Agenda

During 1947–1959, the refugee problem remained a central theme of the *PT*’s content. It covered the issue in a comprehensive manner by projecting all its major aspects, such as the day-to-day problems of refugees, the problem of unfair rent assessment, refugees’ complaints about the working of claims offices, irregularities in the verification of claims as evident from cases of multiple allotments through fraud and corruption, and controversies around the auction of evacuees’ industrial concerns. It stressed the need for a more radical solution by linking it to the larger question of land reforms; therefore, from November 1947 it began to support Iftikhar-ud-Din’s formula, which had proposed a radical solution of the issue of *Muhajirin* through the settlements of the migrants belonging to one area or locality into one district and to distribute the agrarian land according to a fixed ceiling. An editorial titled ‘Land and the Tiller’ identified the main issue as ‘finding enough land’ for the

analyses the letters to the editor published in *Dawn* during 1950–53. She underscores their importance in the ‘social agenda of newspapers and argues that even for the latter they are not ‘random’ as they have their own agendas and these letters play a complementary role in furthering their agendas. The concept of every day state denotes citizenry’s experiences in lived culture arising out of their day-to-day interaction with the state. Thus it signifies ‘the discursive construction of state in public culture. S. Ansari, ‘Every Day Expectation of State during Pakistan’s early years: Letters to the Editor, *Dawn* (Karachi) 1950–53’, *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no.1 (2001), pp.159–178. Akhil Gupta, a scholar on modern state, construes newspapers as ‘cultural texts’ as they provide insights into the ‘political culture’ of a particular period. See ‘Blurred Boundaries: Discourse of Corruption: the Culture of Politics and Imagined State’, *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 2 (May 1995), pp. 375–402.

rehabilitation of refugees and contended that it could be solved by distributing land among refugees, keeping in view ‘human...consideration’ over ‘property rights’. It proposed that while distributing land among refugees, priority should be given to ‘smaller land-owners and tenants among refugees and the non-refugee tenants working on evacuee property’, so as provide them with opportunities for ‘reasonable living’.²³⁴

²³⁴ For Iftikar-ud-Din’s formula, see *The PT*, 28 November 1947; ‘Editorial: Land and the Tiller’, *The PT*, 27 June 1951.

Figure 2.19 Anwar's Cartoon



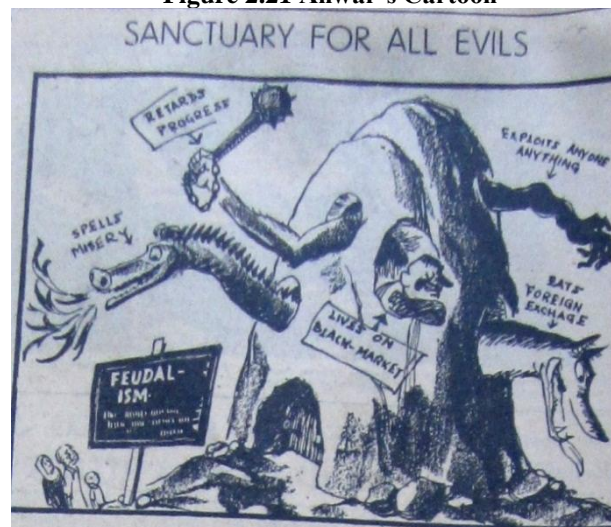
Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 5 December 1957.

Figure 2.20 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The PT*, 13 March 1957.

Figure 2.21 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The PT*, 29 January 1957.

The *PT* propounded an all-inclusive concept of ‘tiller’ that embraces diverse categories such as ‘landless labourers, seasonal workers, rack-rented or ejected tenants, and small peasant-proprietors’.²³⁵ The *PT* identified obvious manifestations of peasants’ exploitation at the hands of feudal lords, ranging from illegal ejections of peasants to other unresolved issues like *begar*, *batai* and *khud kasht* and the problem of rack-renting.²³⁶

It prioritised the human dimension of peasants’ problems by taking a principled stance that the land belonged to the tiller. In an editorial on land reforms on 29 January 1948, it reminded opponents of land reforms that their proprietary right ‘without work’ ‘is not as old as they imagine’. It explained that before British intervention ‘the land in theory belonged to the state and in practice to the man who tilled it’. The writer, Mazhar Ali Khan, advised protagonists of feudalism to study the book, *The Punjab Chiefs*, to get acquainted with the process of creation, growth and validation of ‘recent holdings of landed families in lieu of their services to the British raj’.²³⁷

An editorial on 6 July 1956 clearly indicates its pro-peasant policy. It reacted strongly to the quelling of a demonstration that was organised by ejected peasants in Lahore. After vividly advocating the rightfulness of the peasants’ rights and demands, it articulated its pro-peasant sentiments in these words:

...this unkempt inelegant crowd did not come to Lahore asking for shares in evacuee factories or cinemas; they did not come begging for route permits or refugee doles;... They came only to ask that they should either be allowed to retain

²³⁵ ‘Editorial: Criminal Waste’, *The PT*,

²³⁶ *Begar* means ‘forced labour’, *batai* denotes a mechanism that settles the crop-sharing ratio between the landlord and the tenant, and *Khud kasht* signifies self-cultivation. Rack-renting means illegal exaction of rent from the tenant. For detailed insights into these issues, see the editorials ‘Land Reforms’, ‘League Reforms’ and ‘Agrarian System’, published on 29 January 1948, 1 September 1949 and 3 October 1951, in this newspaper.

²³⁷ ‘Editorial: Land Reforms’, *The PT*, 29 January 1948.

their meager holdings, or that the government should honor its oft-repeated but oft-belied promise and give them alternative land. They came to ask for work and bread, and in reply they were given only stones.²³⁸

The problems of the working class also figured prominently in its content. Like the problems of peasants, it proposed long-term solutions directed towards improving working conditions, particularly of industrial workers. It believed that industrialisation, accompanied by pro-worker industrial reforms, could resolve the two major problems of the working class., fragile economic base and low level of industrial development. It considered, industrialisation as solution to these problems as it could help expand the fragile economic base in Pakistan and substantially improve the quality of life of industrial workers.

Immediately after partition, the *PT* started stressing that the state needed to play an active role in steering the national economy towards balanced industrialisation.²³⁹ It urged the government to initiate economic planning in order to make more co-ordinated and concerted efforts to address the problems of blue collar workers and industrial labourers. As early as in January 1948 it called for creating ‘an additional portfolio of economic affairs’.²⁴⁰ The very next day, it proposed the nationalisation of utilities, particularly of the electric power companies in West Punjab.²⁴¹

The *PT* projected a nuanced view of nationalisation, because it realised that large-scale nationalisation could prove counterproductive.²⁴² An editorial on

²³⁸ ‘Editorial: Bread and Stones’, *The PT*, 6 July 1956.

²³⁹ Munir Hussain, M.A., Lahore, ‘To the Editor: Industrialization of Pakistan’, 16 January 1948. Also see ‘Editorial: Industrialization’, *The PT*, 23 November 1957.

²⁴⁰ ‘Editorial: Economic Affairs’, *The PT*, 23 January 1948.

²⁴¹ (An editorial note below the) ‘Editorial: Anglo–Iraqi Treaty’, *The PT*, 24 January 1948.

²⁴² Editorials, ‘Economic Affairs’, 23 January 1948, and ‘Economic Policies’, 20 February 1957.

economic policies drew a distinction between the roles of the landlord and the industrialist. It viewed the role of industrialists as a progressive force. It argued that ‘the average landlord makes no investment in the land he owns, the industrialist makes a direct investment and the existence of industry depends on the contribution of industrialist’.²⁴³ Despite this sympathetic view of industrialists, it continued to warn about their profiteering behaviour and the fallout on the ordinary people.²⁴⁴

On Pakistan’s ninth Independence Day, an editorial described the ‘plight of working class’ as a ‘disgrace to civilised society’.²⁴⁵ Another editorial two years later portrayed the wretched condition of labourers in these words:

A vast majority of workers are still very poorly paid, live in dismal hovels amid unbounded squalor, and cannot afford to send their children, to any kind of school; security of employment, medical aid facilities and provident fund benefits are boons beyond the dreams of most of them.²⁴⁶

Pro-labour legislation in the industrial sector and the re-organisation of labour–employer relations remained the dominant solutions that the *PT* continued to propose in order to improve the lot of the working class.²⁴⁷ It identified some genuine lacunae in the labour laws that rendered them ineffective. It also drew the attention of the authorities towards the crucial role of trade unions in ensuring the effective implementation of labour laws and described them as an effective check against the ‘recalcitrance’ of employers

²⁴³ ‘Economic Policies’, *The PT*, 20 February 1957.

²⁴⁴ Nafis Bano, ‘To the Editor: Nationalization of Industry’, *The PT*, 20 February 1948. Over a period of time, it began to view industrialists with a more critical gaze. See ‘Editorial: The Seventh Year’, 14 August 1954.

²⁴⁵ ‘Editorial: Workers’ Welfare’, *The PT*, 13 November 1956.

²⁴⁶ ‘Editorial: Worker’, Welfare’, *The PT*, 26 December 1958.

²⁴⁷ See editorials, ‘Minimum Wages’, 7 December 1957 and ‘Worker’s Welfare’, 26 December 1958.

in implementing worker's welfare laws. In particular, it emphasised their usefulness in counteracting the advantageous position of employers in an industrial environment.²⁴⁸

Whenever the Punjab government tried to suppress trade unions through brutal force, the *PT* came out as a staunch champion of labourers' rights. Mirza Ibrahim, Pakistan's veteran trade unionist, was arrested and tortured by the police under the Punjab Safety Act in February 1951. The *PT* wrote a strong editorial on this incident. It argued that 'the system that allows such happenings deserves condemnation'. It described Mirza Ibrahim as 'one of Pakistan's most respected citizens' and told the government that 'in the eyes of the public, in such cases the guilt of the persecutors is far greater than the supposed guilt of the persecuted individual'.²⁴⁹ When seven workers were killed in Lyallpur as a result of police firing in 1958 during an industrial dispute, it condemned the killings in these words:

Pakistan's industries are important to the country, but not more important than the lives of its people—Pakistan's industries must surely be made into monuments to national progress and prosperity, they cannot be treated as sacrificial altars presided over by high priests whose rights are sacred and holy.²⁵⁰

2.7.1 *PT*'s focus on difficulties of Women and Minorities

The problem of women and minorities figured prominently in the *PT*'s content, because they represented a substantial portion of the common people of Pakistan. The issue of women rights was extremely sensitive, given the prevailing socio-religious taboos. In the early months of 1948, the *PT*

²⁴⁸ See editorials, 'Workers' Welfare', 13th November 1956, 'Anti-Strike Law', 14 October, 1957 and 'Trade Unions', 8 April 1959.

²⁴⁹ 'Editorial: Medieval Terrorism', *The PT*, 7 February 1951.

²⁵⁰ 'Editorial: Lyallpur Killing', *The PT*, 22 June 1958.

published a series of letters to the editor on '*Parda* in Islam', and used them as an entry point into an open debate on the contentious issue of women's rights in a newly independent state.²⁵¹

The letter by 'Mere Woman' that appeared on 24 February 1948 was an effective intervention in this debate.²⁵² 'Mere Woman' unapologetically pleaded for women's emancipation. The writer rejected the 'weaker sex' argument ascribed to women by traditionalists after teasing out its metaphorical meanings in both senses: physical and moral. She criticised orthodox elements who objected to modern women putting on make-up and reddening their lips because they were indulging in acts of 'immodesty'. She criticising their double standards, pointed out that nobody objected to a man's efforts at enhancing his looks by 'twirling of moustaches', 'blackening the eyes' or 'growing beard'. She viewed these attempts as efforts to 'deprive women of their rights' 'as a class'.²⁵³

A second letter by 'Mere Woman' was published on 25 March 1948. It portrayed the helplessness of *burqa*-clad women. She compared the confused state of such a woman while crossing a road to 'an idiotic chicken' that 'flutters...backwards and forwards'. She contends that the situation has come to such a pass that:

²⁵¹ The first letter was published on 16 January 1948 and the last significant letters on 25 March 1948. During this period more or less fourteen letters were published.

²⁵² It evoked such a response that 14 letters were written in the *PT.*, between 16 January and 25 March 1948; among these four provide detailed insights into Islamic perspectives on this issue. Mirza Mohammad Hasan, 'Sex Ideologies'; Mufakkir, 'Purdah in Shariat' 2 March 1948, Mere Observer, 'Mere Woman Answered', *The PT*, 5 March 1948, and; Fazl-ur-Rehman, 'Purdah in Shariat', *The PT*, 10 March 1948. This debate provided it the space to unpack the progressive interpretation of Islam on women rights more openly. This point of view has been highlighted in two letters that were written in response to orthodox Islamic critique on 'Mere Woman's' first letter. See Justice, 'To the Editor: Mere Woman Supported', *The PT*, 9 March 1948, and Mukhiq, 'To the Editor: Mufakkir Answered', *The PT*, 18 March 1948.

²⁵³ Mere Woman, 'To the Editor: Purdah and Pigtails', *The PT*, 24 February 1948.

Parents have been afraid of giving even elementary education to their daughters lest they should write love letters or receive them...women have been allowed to die of pneumonia because men first disallowed women the right to learn the art of healing and then disallowed men doctors the right to run a stethoscope over a women patient.²⁵⁴

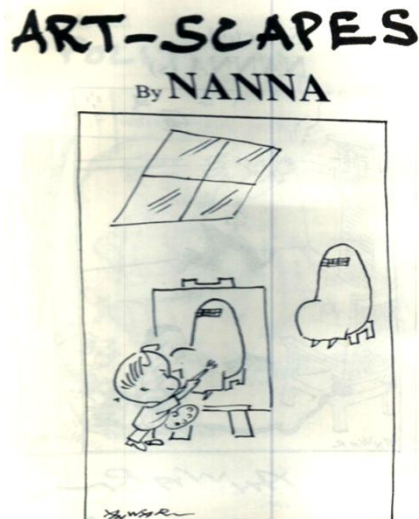
She argued that women had been deprived of their rights because they had been subjected to ‘degradation’ for ‘centuries’, as a result of which ‘woman’ had lost her identity. For the writer, the real issues were ‘acquiring a soul’ and the ‘restoration of women’s dignity as human beings’. She urged women to fight for these rights, because she considered them ‘something much more urgent’.

It would be relevant to point out that most of the above-mentioned letters were published under pseudonyms like ‘Sufferer’, ‘Justice’, ‘Mukhiqiq’, ‘Mufakkir’ and ‘Mere Observer’. Thus they were ‘fake letters’ and purpose of their publication was to raise awareness among women about their rights.²⁵⁵ The *PT* also used cartoon illustrations to reflect on the conditions of women in ingenious ways.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

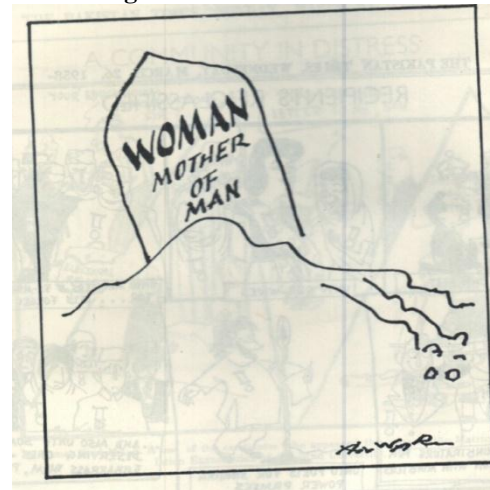
²⁵⁵ Faiz’s revelation about the authorship of ‘Mere Woman’s’ letter corroborates this contention. He informs us that its author was not a woman rather, A.S. Bokhari wrote it for *PT*. The latter was Faiz’s teacher, friend and a renowned academic who was serving as, principal of the Government College Lahore, at that time. Faiz further mentions that how Bokhari used to take an active interest in *PT*’s affairs by rendering his services in editing and correcting some of the letters to the editor, that generated serious public interest. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘(46), Keh Gohar-i-Maqsood Guftagoo Ast’, in *Faizan-e Faiz*, comp. Sheema Majeed (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), p.250.

Figure 2.22 Nanna Cartoon



Source: I. Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyann*, 2011.

Figure 2.23 Nanna Cartoon



Source: I. Anwar, *Nain Resaan Lahore Shahr Deyann*, 2011.

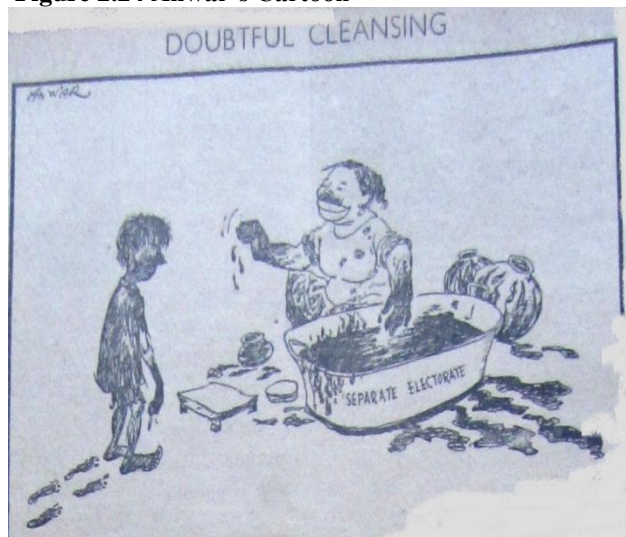
PT professed a liberal perspective on the rights of minorities in Pakistan. It espoused a secular vision to integrate minorities into Pakistan's body politic. Its content shows that it followed a well-considered strategy for bringing the minorities and public opinion closer to this unifying and integrative vision. First, it tried to mitigate the fears of minorities that they would be condemned to the status of second-class citizens. Second, the newspaper enthusiastically advocated the system of joint electorates by bringing to the fore its integrative potential and vehemently opposed the system of separate electorates by highlighting its divisive fallouts. These two planks are complementary and together they project an inclusive concept of Pakistani nationalism.²⁵⁶

An editorial published on 23 March 1947 before the establishment of Pakistan reassured the minorities that Pakistan was not going to be a 'religious state' in

²⁵⁶ In the period before and immediately after the promulgation of Pakistan's first constitution, it articulated its opinion more frequently on this issue. For instance, it published three important editorials on 14 February, 30 July and 3 August 1956 that unequivocally projected its inclusive concept of nationalism. We find echoes of this debate in another editorial, 'General Elections', *The PT*, 22 January 1958.

which *jizya* would be imposed on non-Muslims.²⁵⁷ The *PT*, while projecting a secular image of Pakistan, persistently reminded policymakers about Pakistan's liberal moorings, and to foster awareness it published articles written by close confidants of Jinnah. Nawab Ghazanfar Ali Khan, a veteran Muslim League leader, while providing insights into Jinnah's vision of minorities' rights in post-independence Pakistan, categorically asserted, 'Quaid-e-Azam's concept of homeland for Muslims of this sub-continent was definitely not that of a state where non-Muslims would be treated as strangers'.²⁵⁸

Figure 2.24 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 26 November 1957.

The character, whose hands are covered in mud, is Sardar Bahadur Khan who 'thinks that quitting office on separate electorates will enhance the Muslim League's prestige.

2.8 *Pakistan Times*: Content Analysis

The *PT* tried to mobilise the common people by making them aware that they had been alienated and reduced to non-entities by a group that was ruling Pakistan immediately after independence. Initially, it identified feudal lords

²⁵⁷ 'Editorial: Pakistan Day', *The PT*, 23 March 1947.

²⁵⁸ Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, 'Quaid-i-Azam and Joint Electorates', *The PT*, 20 March 1956.

and bureaucrats as the main participants of this group.²⁵⁹ *PT* bitterly opposed the initiatives by the country's ruling elite to make it a satellite of the Western bloc. Throughout the 1950s, in implicit and explicit ways, it brought into focus the nexus between this group and the Western powers, which excluded the common man. It reiterated that parliament should be proactively involved in foreign policy issues, particularly those involving American economic and military aid and Pakistan's inclusion in the Cold War alliance system.²⁶⁰ In an editorial on American aid published in July 1948, it warned of the consequences of Pakistan's falling into the 'net of American's dollar imperialism'. It argued that the penetration of American capital has 'all the possibility of creation of foreign vested interest in our country'.²⁶¹

The *PT* tried to mobilise the people against the feudal lords by making them conscious that it was at the cost of the country's core interests'. The country can either preserve the privileges of the mighty lords of *latifundia* or it can preserve its economic and political independence; it cannot possibly save both and it has little time left to make a choice'.²⁶² From the mid-1950s, it started

²⁵⁹ Hamza Alavi, a renowned sociologist and political economist, has theorised the notion of dominance of propertied classes in his works in a detailed manner. Alavi's notion of nexus is quite comprehensive and encompasses military-bureaucratic oligarchy', feudal lords and comprador indigenous bourgeoisie. He points towards the 'strong structural presence' of former colonialists in the form of their vested interests such as western capital and uses the term 'metropolitan bourgeoisie' for them. His work demonstrates the existence of a greater nexus of propertied classes with metropolitan capitalism. He argues that the Western powers were not only interested in the perpetuation of this oligarchic dispensation, but also in keeping Pakistan 'within the ambit of world capitalism'. For details, see Hamza Alavi, 'The Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan', *International Socialist Journal* 3, no.14 (March-April 1966): 149–81 and; _____, 'Class and State', pp.40–85.

²⁶⁰ For details, see *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years*, pp. 441–499. Section 6 (Parts I–II) contains 31 editorials on these themes.

²⁶¹ 'Editorial: American Aid', *The PT*, 3 July 1948.

²⁶² 'Editorial: State of the Republic', *The PT*, 23 March 1957. In a literal sense the term *latifundia* denotes large landed farms or estates where conditions of primitive agriculture prevail and labourers are exploited, Andre Gunder Frank, a distinguished anti-imperialist intellectual, frequently uses this terms while explicating his paradigms of 'development of underdevelopment' and 'underdevelopment of development'. He also deploys this term in the

exposing the political economy of dominance and exploitation by this group in more explicit terms. The editorial 'Vicious Circle' defined the nexus as a 'rule of clique' where, more or less, the 'same type of people' managed to retain their dominance over power by employing the 'same corrupt method' that they used 'at the advent of freedom'. It identified the complementary role of both 'economic privileges' and 'political power' in their perpetuation and survival, and contended that undue economic privileges bring them to a position of 'undeserved near-monopoly of political power'. It demonstrated how jealously this alliance was trying to safeguard its privileges. It used the term 'conspiracy of silence' to pinpoint the deliberate policy being pursued by the landed aristocracy to wean attention away from land reforms. The *PT* construed it as a conspiracy, designed to hide from the 'people', the overall implications of this issue'.²⁶³

Indian context as he contends that British capitalism capitalised and transformed 'a pre-existing *zamindarlatifundia*' into 'agents of world capitalism'. Andre Gunder Frank, *Development Accumulation and Underdevelopment*, London, Macmillan Press, 1978, p.90.

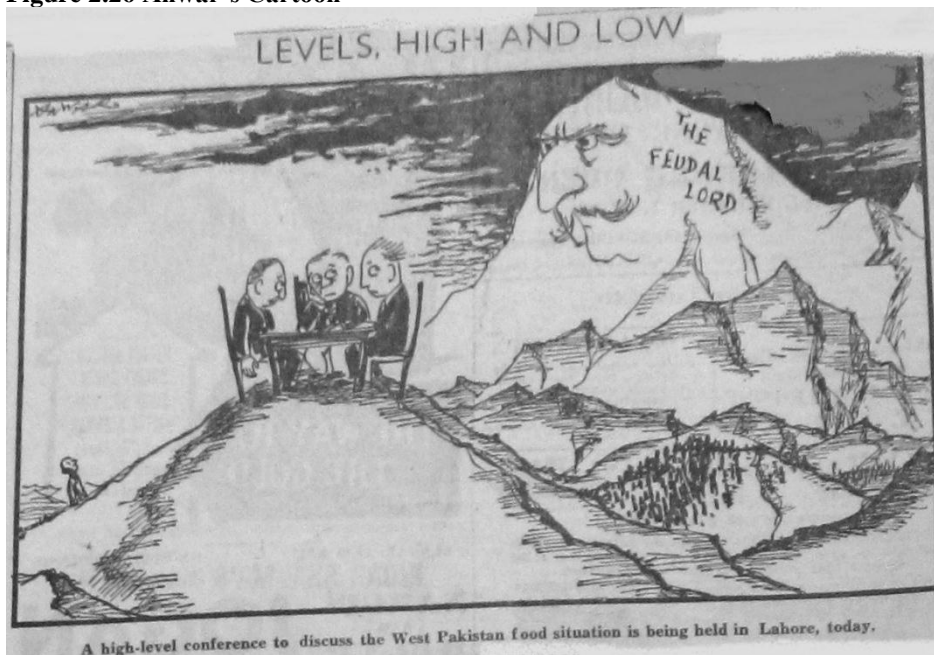
²⁶³ 'Editorial: Vicious Circle', *The PT*, 26 February 1957. It used the term 'Conspiracy of Silence' quite frequently, in its editorials, in the period between 1957 to April 1959. In a specific editorial on this theme in January 1957, it argued that, the ruling elite were interested in maintaining status quo mainly because, 'it ensures large un-earned incomes to a small but politically influential section of people'. 'Editorial: Conspiracy of Silence', *The PT*, 29 January, 1957.

Figure 2.25 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1957.

Figure 2.26 Anwar's Cartoon

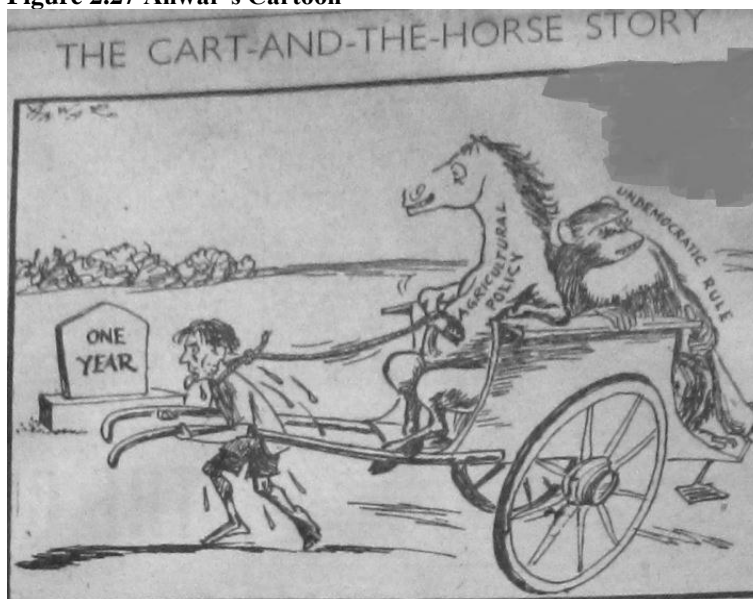


Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 25 October 1957.

The newspaper also tried to mobilise public opinion around critical questions involving the common people's say in domestic and foreign policies during the 1950s. It highlighted the detachment of state policy from national sentiments, the weakness of the legislature vis-à-vis the executive, the denial of the electorates' right to choose and change and the lack of civilian input in

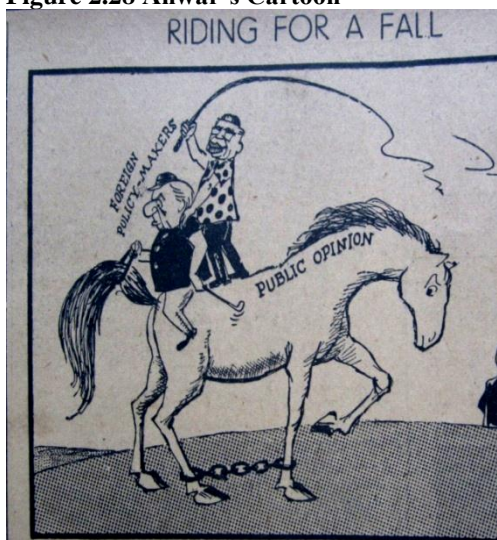
foreign policy formulation. It continued to expose this disconnect between public opinion and foreign policy through cartoons as well.²⁶⁴

Figure 2.27 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 23 March 1957.

Figure 2.28 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 18 November 1956.

Figure 2.29 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 13 November 1956.

²⁶⁴ The Suez Crisis of 1956 provided it a conjuncture to express its anti-imperialist sentiments and vehemently oppose H.S. Suhrawardy's government alleged pro-West stance. S. Ali informs us that in the month of November 1956, it published seven editorials the on Suez Crisis., S.Ali, 'The Pakistan Times', p.76.

The *PT* used the theme of civil rights to socialise its readers into the real concept of freedom. It deployed this theme to reflect on the original moorings set by Pakistan's founders, so as to assess how far the objectives had been realised. We can refer to three important editorials that were published on the eve of Pakistan's Independence Day in 1949, 1955 and 1956.

The first editorial of 14 August 1949 envisaged freedom as an inclusive concept that involved both the 'physical and mental state'. On the surface it appears the editorial-writer could not frame it properly. However, we can capture subtle nuances of the difference that it wanted to highlight. It asserted poignantly that 'the substance lies in the degree of civil liberty that the people of a state possess and in the formulation of policies by which they wish to be governed'.²⁶⁵ The second editorial of 14 August 1955, while laying bare the deeper meaning of freedom, argued that it symbolised more than acquiring the 'right and opportunity' of carving out a state; rather, it denoted a process that results in placing a 'native government' in the saddle in place of a 'foreign one'.²⁶⁶ The third editorial of 14 August 1956 teased out the meaning of real freedom in even clearer terms, by differentiating between territorial independence and popular freedom. It raised a critical question: When will the day of independence coincide with the day of freedom?²⁶⁷ Through these

²⁶⁵ 'Editorial: Second Year', *The PT*, 14 August 1949.

²⁶⁶ 'Editorial: The Eighth Year', *The PT*, 14 August 1955. This discourse is remarkably close to Frantz Fanon's ideas, and demonstrates that how the post-colonial Marxist intellectuals during 1950s were thinking on similar lines and suggesting identical solutions. See, Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965), pp.29–74, p.133 and 159–163. Also see Jean-Paul Sartre, preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*, by Frantz Fanon (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965), pp.10–13.

²⁶⁷ 'Editorial: How Far is Freedom Yet?', *The PT*, 14 August 1956. Fanon also highlights difference between 'freedom of state and freedom of individual', in his seminal work, *Black Skins, White Masks*, trans. Charles L. Markmann (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Books, 1967), pp.229–231. For further insights into Fanon's notion of freedom see Emmanuel

editorials the newspaper tried to socialise its readers into the critical relationship between civil liberties and civilian supremacy, which can be stated as ‘people’s right to choose and change’.

The *PT* construed the prevailing safety laws as the greatest challenge to civil liberties. To arouse public consciousness, it used derogatory adjectives, such as ‘lawless laws’, ‘instruments of repression’, and ‘odious curbs’ on citizen’s liberties. It also tried to de-legitimise them on sound legal grounds by exposing their super-imposed nature, which was ‘outside the normal process of law’.²⁶⁸ It portrayed them as a threat to existence of ‘a clean and vigorous public life’.²⁶⁹ It took a strong stand and demanded their ‘total repeal’ on account of their potential for mischief. An editorial on preventive detentions takes the principled stand that ‘they cannot be mended, they must be ended’.²⁷⁰

Hansen, *Frantz Fanon: social and political thought*, Ohio, Ohio State University Press, 1977, See chap. 3.

²⁶⁸ ‘Editorial: Preventive Detention’, *The PT*, 29 March 1956.

²⁶⁹ See editorials: ‘Not Enough’, *The PT*, 8 March 1957, and; ‘Repressive Laws’, *The PT*, 28 September 1955.

²⁷⁰ ‘Editorial: Preventive Detention’. Also see ‘Editorial, ‘Repressive Laws’.

Figure 2.30 Anwar's Cartoon



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 4 October 1957.

The *PT* frequently used the term ‘unfettered democracy’ and proposed it as a solution to all the problems that Pakistan confronted, particularly the disempowerment of the ordinary people. It considered democracy as a process capable of bringing long-term structural changes in society, thus paving the way for the commoners’ ascendancy in Pakistan. It realised that this could not happen unless public opinion was orientated. Therefore, it consistently supported constitutionalism and the demand for holding elections.²⁷¹ It held the view that election would infuse new life into the constitution. Its unshakable faith in democracy and elections can be gauged from this excerpt:

If full-fledged democracy is established in Pakistan, if elections are held regularly in accordance with a plan which guarantees that they reflect the un-filtered will of the

²⁷¹ The orientation of public opinion towards constitutionalism remained its top-most priority as evident from these pieces: ‘Editorial: Pakistan’s Constituent Assembly’, *The PT*, 12 August 1947; A.D. Malik, Lahore, ‘Letter to the Editor: The Pakistan’s Constitution’, *The PT*, 15 August 1947; M.D. Taseer, ‘Pakistan Mubarak IX’; Lawyer, ‘Implementation of *Shariat*’, *The PT*, 8 February 1948, and; ‘Editorial: Constitutional Outlook’, 6 October 1950. We can identify towards some common dominators. For instance, except the two editorials, we find discussion on different forms of constitution such as Unitary with Strong Centre (Letter; 15 August), Confederation (M.D. Taseer’s article) and Islamic (Lawyer’s article). Moreover, all of them accord supremacy to popular will.

people, there is no reason why the worst features of the present political situation should not be eliminated.²⁷²

In a nutshell the *PT* tried to make ordinary people think about how they can act as an agent of change in a democratic polity. An editorial, 'A Republic in Travail', reminded the people, 'let it be realised that we cannot sit back and hope that some guardian angel will clean our stables; the responsibility is wholly ours, it will either be tackled by us or not at all'.²⁷³

2.9 *Daily Imroze* and Progressive Urdu Journalism

The *Daily Imroze* (hereafter *Imroze*) was launched on 4 March 1948 as the *PT*'s sister publication in an organised and well-planned manner that was quite rare in Urdu journalism. Initially, it was launched from Attar Chand Kapoor Press, Abbot Road but on 20 April 1950 it was shifted to the PPL's main office at Rattan Chand Road.²⁷⁴ Faiz Ahmed Faiz was appointed the Chief Editor and wrote its first editorial. Chirag Hasan Hasrat was its pioneering editor. In fact, *Imroze* owes its glory to Hasrat's efforts and the quality of his input. Faiz graciously acknowledged Hasrat's contributions and took the credit for bringing him to *Imroze*.²⁷⁵

Hasrat was an experienced journalist who had been associated with journalism since the early 1920s and worked at centres in Lucknow, Calcutta, Lahore and

²⁷² 'Editorial: The Democratic Path', *The PT* 25 March 1957.

²⁷³ 'Editorial: A Republic in Travail', *The PT*, 23 March 1958.

²⁷⁴ This press was located on Lahore's Abbot Road (On one side of *Nishat* Cinema) and was considered to be the second largest press in the United India. *Imroze* continued to be published from more this office for more than two years. For details see A.R. Malik, *Faiz Shanasee...*, p.16. See (A brief advertisement informing about the shifting of its office), 'Naya Daftar', *Imroze*, 20 April 1950. Also See A. Bashir, *Dil Bhatkey Ga* [Autobiographical Novel]. (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2012), pp.386–87 and A. Hameed, *Lahore ki Yaadain* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2012), pp. 96 and 124.

²⁷⁵ Faiz considered him Urdu journalism's greatest journalist next only to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of *Zamindar*. Ayub. *Mirza, Hum kay Threay*, pp.75–76.

Singapore.²⁷⁶ He had worked in all the major Urdu newspapers of the sub-continent, such as *Asr-e Jadid*, *Zamindar*, *Ehsan* and *Shahbaz*. He also launched his own magazines and newspapers in collaboration with journalist friends.²⁷⁷ Thus, before coming to *Imroze*, Hasrat had been exposed to varieties of journalism and created his niche as an editor and a humourist; as a humourist, he was unmatched in Urdu literature.

He is considered among the major figures in Urdu journalism who was receptive to new ideas. While working with British journalists in Southeast Asia he learnt innovative techniques about newspaper's make-up and layout and deployed many of those in *Imroze*.²⁷⁸ Hasrat gave this newspaper a 'new style of makeup, display and arrangement of news'. All these innovations led to radical transformations in Urdu journalism and its techniques.²⁷⁹ Hasrat's passion for quality or perfection is evident from the fact that before the formal launch of *Imroze*, he would publish a dummy edition.²⁸⁰ Hasrat's other major contribution was to build a team of brilliant and visionary journalists. He preferred to pick young novices, particularly in the news and reporting

²⁷⁶ For some clue about his stay in Lucknow, see Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Way Sauritain Elahi* (Lahore: Quami Kutub-Khana, 1976), p.114. For a detailed account of his journalistic pursuits in Calcutta and Lahore, see Tayyab Muneer, *Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, Ahwal-o-Aasar* (Karachi: Idarah-ae-Yaadgar-e Ghalib, 2003), pp. 37–120. For details about his sojourn to Singapore, see Chapter 3 'Hasrat ka Singapore Men Qayam', pp.121–59, in the same source.

²⁷⁷ These include: *Monthly Aftab* (Calcutta), a pictorial literary magazine; and the *Weekly Sheeraza* (Lahore); and three daily newspapers such as *Daily Jamhoor* (1927), *Daily Insaf* (1929) and *Daily Imroze* (mid-1930s). Most of the Urdu newspaper that he started proved to be short-lived ventures. T. Muneer, *Hasrat*, pp.44–56 and 88–98. Also see. A.S. Khurshid, *Way Sauritain*, pp.111–12.

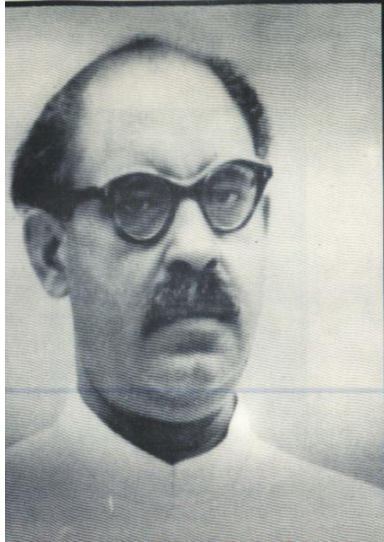
²⁷⁸ T.Munir, *Hasrat*, p.147 and A.S. Khurshid, *Way Sauritain*, p.113.

²⁷⁹ A.S. Khurshid, *Ibid.*, p.114. He adds, '*Imroze* in its initial phase presented such a spectacle of makeup, arrangement and content which, remained a trend-setter for contemporary Urdu journalism for many years', *Ibid.*, p.114. A.Bashir, *Jo Milay thay Rastay Men* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 2006), 2nd edn, pp.85–86.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.85.

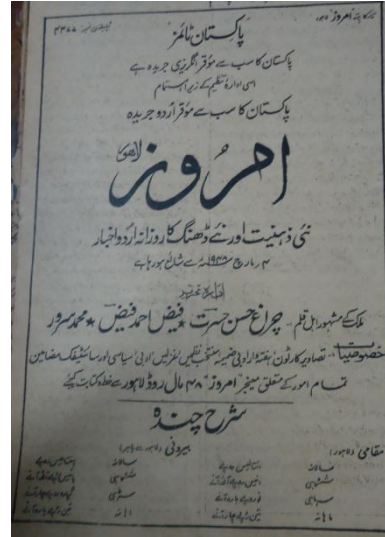
sides.²⁸¹ He encouraged these young journalists to venture into new areas such as ‘literary sketches, feature writing particularly social features and interviews’.²⁸²

Figure 2.31 C.H. Hasrat (1904–1955)



Source: T. Munir, *Chiragh Hasan Hasrat*, 2003.

Figure 2.32 An Advertisement for *Imroze*'s launch.



Source: *Imroze* March 1948.

Imroze grew into a quality newspaper in terms of its content, ideology, social agenda and production quality. However, during its initial five years there were frequent changes in its editorial team, which was changed three times. Hasrat resigned in July 1951, and with him eight other journalists left *Imroze*.²⁸³ Tufail Ahmed Khan succeeded him as editor and worked in this position until April 1953. He was replaced by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi in April

²⁸¹ A. Bashir, ‘The Death of Prince’, I–II *The Frontier Post*, Lahore, 1 and 2 February 1992. He recalls that this team consisted of ‘intelligent, enlightened, optimistic and forward looking’ journalists. A.S. Khursheed informs us that once Hasrat divulged to him about his choice of preferring the younger journalists over the more seasoned ones, *Way Sauritain*, p.115.

²⁸² A. Bashir, *Jo Milay theya*, p.90.

²⁸³ Abdul Majeed Salik, *Yaran-e Kuhan* (Lahore: Matbuat-e Chattan, 1967), p.215; *Hindustan Times* puts the figures of those who resigned to ten. ‘*Imroze* Staff Resigns, Maltreatment Alleged’, *The Hindustan Times*, 12 July 1951. A. Bashir, one of the members of pioneering team, in his autobiographical novel earmarks it to establishment’s conspiracy. (I have discussed this issue in section 3.5 of the next chapter). For detail see A. Bashir, *Dil Bhatkay Gaa*, p.431. Also see T. Munir, *Hasrat*, pp.149–153 and S. Kashmiri, *Nauratan*, (Lahore, Matbuat-e Chattan, 1967), pp.33–36.

1953 who acted as editor until Ayub Khan's takeover in 1959, when he resigned in protest against the takeover.²⁸⁴

Figure 2.33 Picture taken at the PPL office (1955), showing *Imroze's* senior staff. From left to right: S.S.Hasan, Faiz, Hameed Akhtar and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi.



Source: A. Salim, *Biography, Hameed Akhtar*, 2010.

Imroze's team was re-vamped during 1953–1956. In April 1953, along with Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Hameed Akhtar and Khawaja Aslam Kashmiri joined *Imroze* and Masood Ashar and Munir Ahmed Qureshi (Munnu Bhai) joined the following year. Akmal Aleemi was roped in on the reporting side in 1956.²⁸⁵ Aslam Kashmiri rose to the position of *Imroze's* chief news editor. He possessed all the qualities of a brilliant journalist such as good translation skills, a refined taste in poetry, extraordinary command over language and uncanny skills in writing both humorous and serious articles. Masood Ashar was inducted as sub-editor. He was associated with the news desk during

²⁸⁴ Naheed Qasmi (comp.), *Pakistani Adab Kay Memar, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi: Shakhshiyat Aur Fann* (Islamabad: Pakistan Academi Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 2009), p.250.

²⁸⁵ See, special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Shahzad Ahmed, *Quarterly Sahifa* ['Kitab'], no.s 198–200, July 2009--March 2010. This magazine contains articles of four veteran journalists of *Imroze*, H. Akhtar, M. Ashar, A. Aleemi and Munno Bhai on A.N.Qasmi. For more details on A. Aleemi, see 'Biography of Akmal Aleemi', accessed on 4 June 2013, www.AkmalAleemi.net.

1953–1959. However, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, recognising his literary taste, encouraged him to write film reviews and cultural and literary columns under the pseudonym *Khurram*.²⁸⁶

Figure 2.34 Masood Ashar(1931–)



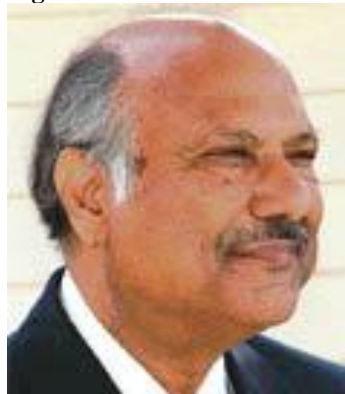
Source: *Dawn Books and Authors*, 30 May 2004.

Figure 2.35 Khawaja Aslam Kashmiri



Source: *Weekly Taqazey*, 31 July 2001.

Figure 2.36 Akmal Aleemi



Source: *Akmal Aleemi's Facebook*, accessed on 13 August 2013.

Imroze's management, besides according equal importance to all the sections that were essential parts of an Urdu newspaper, paid attention to its calligraphic section. Hafiz Yousaf Sadeedi, Pakistan's celebrated calligrapher,

²⁸⁶ K.A. Kashmiri, 'Kya Likhoon', *Weekly Taqazey*, 31 July 2001, p.13; M. Ashar, 'Akhri Mulaqat', p.185. Also see profile and interview of Masood Ashar by Sumera S. Naqvi, 'Author: Writing nothing but the truth', *Dawn* 30 May 2003. [Dawn's Weekly Edition Books and Authors].

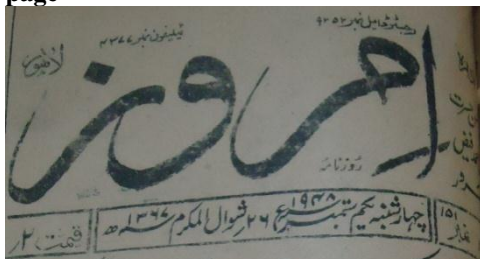
headed this section. He created *Imroze*'s distinctive logo and masthead.²⁸⁷ The newspaper's art section engaged cartoonists like Aziz and Qazi Aslam.²⁸⁸ Anwar Ali's cartoons appeared on certain occasions.

Figure 2.37 Hafiz M. Yousaf Sadeedi (1927–1986)



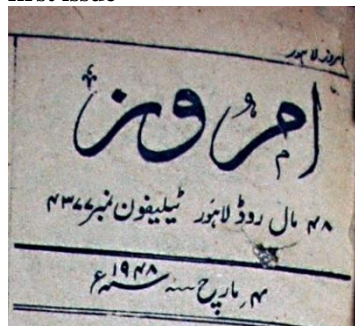
Source: *Wajid Mahmood's portrait from Calligraphy Islamic.com*

Figure 2.38 *Imroze* masthead on the front page



Source: *Imroze*, 1 September 1948.

Figure 2.39 *Imroze*'s logo in its first issue



Source: *Imroze*, 4 March 1948.

The newspaper could boast of a strong editorial team. Under Hasrat's editorship, the editorial team comprised Ayub Ahmed Kirmani, Taufail Ahmed Khan, Taufail Ahmed Jamali and Abdul Shakoor Ahsan. Ayub Ahmed Kirmani wrote editorial and editorial notes; Muhammad Sarwar, a radical intellectual who had command over political issues, contributed editorials.

²⁸⁷ Khalid Hasan ranks him among Pakistan's top three calligraphers the two others virtuosos that he mentions include, Muhammad Siddiq Almas Raqam and Nafees Raqam. K.Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.9.

²⁸⁸ Ajaz Anwar (Anwar Ali's son) in discussion with the author, January 2013.

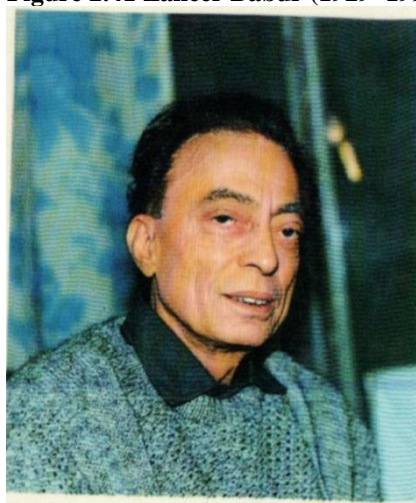
Tufail Ahmed Jamali was equally proficient in writing humorous and serious columns. Tufail Ahmed Khan was among the journalists who pioneered specialised writings on economic issues in the Urdu journalism. Under Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's editorship, Zaheer Babur and Hameed Jhleumi shared the responsibilities on the editorial side.²⁸⁹ Zaheer Babur's extraordinary command over Urdu combined with his grasp over international and domestic affairs made him one of country's finest political commentators.

Figure 2.40 Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1916–2007)



Source: A.Rauf Malik, *Sajjad Zaheer*, p.205, 2009.

Figure 2.41 Zaheer Babur (1929–1998)



Source: Z.Babur, *Dida-e bedar kay Khwab*, 1992.

The list of people at *Imroze* is incomplete without the names of what Munno Bhai, a veteran journalist at *Imroze*, calls 'Hameedain of the PPL'.²⁹⁰ Hameed Jhelumi, who joined in 1948, remained associated with the paper until its closure in November 1991; in this sense he was its senior-most member. Ideologically, he was a revolutionary. As a professional journalist, he was

²⁸⁹ T. Munir, *Hasrat*, p.146 and S. Kashmiri, *Nauratan*, p.71. Also see M. Ashar, 'Akhri Mulaqat', *Quarety Sahifa*, p.184, and Khleeq Ibrahim Khleeq, *Manzilain Gard ki Manand*, Karachi, Fazliee Sons, 1999, pp. 485–88.

²⁹⁰ By *Hameedain* he refers to four Hameeds who worked in PPL. They included Hameed Hashmi, Hameed Akhtar, Hameed Jhleumi and Hameed Sheikh, the trio of former three was part of *Imroze*.

considered an all-rounder on the writing side. His colleague and friend I.A.Rehman remembers him as one of the journalists ‘who serve as the backbone of a newspaper’s editorial team’.²⁹¹ Hameed Akhtar came to *Imroze* via the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) and his long association with this movement became a mark of his identity. Pakistan’s renowned short story writer, Intizar Hussain, describes him as a ‘chronicler’ of this movement.²⁹² He is hailed as a ‘recounting par excellence’.²⁹³ Hameed Hashmi joined as sub-editor under Hasrat’s editorship. He remained an active supporter of Left-leaning causes and trade unionism. He was promoted to news editor in 1952 and served in this capacity until he died in the PIA airline crash in Cairo on 20 May 1965.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Munno Bhai, ‘Gareban: Hameed Jhleumi ki Akhri Duain Qabool Huen’, 6 May 2012. I. A. Rehman, ‘A Journalist to Remember’, *Dawn*, 6 May 2012.

²⁹² ‘Hameed Akhtar Passes away’, *Dawn*, 18 October 2011.

²⁹³ I have used I.A.Rehman’s succinct phrase, see ‘Obituary: A mighty oak has fallen’, accessed on 4 July 2013, <http://iarehman.com/?—456>. For more details on H. Akhtar’s first stint with *Imroze* see A.Salim, *Hameed Akhtar*, pp. 245–56. Also see H. Akhtar’s autobiographical pen-sketch, ‘Be-wuquf’, in his book, *Ashnaiyan Kya Kya*, pp. 180–191.

²⁹⁴ D.I.G., C.I.D., Punjab, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan...*, p.154. K.I.Khleeq, *Manzilain*, p.486. The Cairo tragedy is considered a sad episode in history of Pakistan’s newspaper journalism as this ill-fated flight was carrying 22 journalists, among them two were associated with the PPL. The other was the *PT*’s T. de Sliva. See Omar Kureshi, ‘Ebb and Flow; The Cairo Crash’, *Dawn*, 30 May 2003.

Figure 2.42 Hameed Jhelumi (1926–2012)



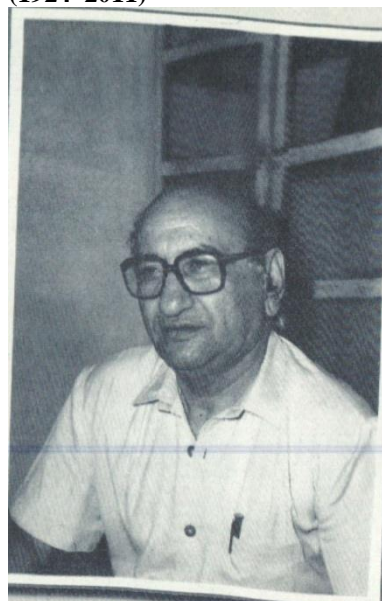
Source: Google Images, accessed on 13 August 2013.

Figure 2.43 Hameed Hashmi



Source: D.I.G., C.I.D., Punjab, *The Communist Party...*, 1952.

Figure 2.44 Hameed Akhtar (1924–2011)



Source: A.Rauf Malik, *Sajjad Zaheer*, p.196, 2009.

In the initial three years, the *PT*'s chief reporter Meem Sheen looked after reporting at *Imroze*. He was succeeded by Abdullah Malik, who joined *Imroze* in 1951. He was among the most vibrant Leftist activists as well as the pioneers of the PWM in Lahore. He not only witnessed but also worked

closely with the diverse political movements, such as Majlis-e Ahrar, the Indian Nationalist movement, the Pakistan Movement that the Muslim League had launched and the Leftist movement to which he remained committed supporter throughout his life.²⁹⁵ This background made him a well-informed journalist and reporter during the 1950s and 1960s. His weekly column '*Yeh Lahore he*' is compelling and provides glimpses into forgotten episodes of history. His selection and treatment of diverse themes, particularly his focus on daily problems are not run-of-the mill but evoke reader's sympathy for the poorer sections of society.²⁹⁶

Figure 2.45 Abdullah Malik (1920–2003)



Source: A.Rauf Malik, Sajjad Zaheer, p.201, 2009.

The team of literati and progressive activists shaped *Imroze*'s distinct identity as a radical newspaper. The four most vibrant personalities of the PWM in the

²⁹⁵ A. Malik's autobiography provides useful insights into these religious and political movements between 1920–47. See *Purani Mahfilain*.

²⁹⁶ He wrote either with his Urdu acronym (*Aain Meem*) or in the later year under pseudonym '*Jahan-Gard*'. M.R.Shahid, a local researcher on Lahore's culture and cinema has compiled a collection of Abdullah Malik's 81 columns that appeared between August–December 1951. See A. Malik, *Yeh Lahore He, Lahore ki Ilmi, Adabi, Saqafati, Siyasi, Samaji Tarikh Aur Waqeat*, (Lahore:Dar-ul-Shuur, 2010).

sub-continent— Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Abdullah Malik, Hameed Akhtar and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi—were part of this institution during the 1950s. Zaheer Babar and Masood Ashar, prominent journalists who rose to the position of *Imroze*'s editor, carved out a niche as progressive short story writers in subsequent decades. The team showed deep commitment to giving *Imroze* the critical voice of the Left in Pakistan, which was reflected in the radical solutions it consistently proposed for Pakistan's domestic and foreign problems. It contributed tremendously to making *Imroze* a balanced newspaper. Zafar Iqbal Mirza (popularly known as ZIM), who was another renowned Pakistani journalist and an important personality at the PPL, recalled:

Before Ayub Khan's Martial Law, it used to be such a serene voice of sanity. No screaming headlines. Seriously concerned with serious issues of the day. No slogans but a lot of substance. A literary magazine every week (*Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi*). Short stories, verse and literary criticism. The Punjabi page and quite the most distinguished editorial page to this date.²⁹⁷

Before moving to new section I would highlight this point that *Imroze* was radical in its tone, which can be attributed to the circumstances in which it was launched. Iftikhar-ud-Din had resigned from the Punjab ministry, and his differences with the Muslim League leadership in Punjab had become wider. After Pakistan's independence, factional wrangling within the ruling Muslim League began to threaten the Muslim League's unity and the euphoria of the Muslim freedom struggle began to subside. The Leftist radicals also began to feel increasingly disillusioned with the Establishment's overall vision and the latter's intolerance of political dissent.

²⁹⁷ Zafar Iqbal Miaza, 'Imroze, the Newspaper That Was', *Dawn*, 6 December 1991, accessed from *Sajjan Archives Forum*.

2.10 *Imroze*: Content

Imroze was radical from its very inception. A random content analysis of this newspaper's issues between March and July 1948 gives a clear idea about its dominant tone. There are numerous instances showing that the newspaper was focusing on larger issues relating to polity, economy, religion and foreign policy with an intensely critical gaze. An editorial of 13 May 1948 titled '*Naye Program ki Zarurat*' (A New Programme Needed) asked critical questions about 'what needs to be done after Pakistan's independence' To draw readers' attention, it puts these probing questions: 'What type of system should be introduced? What would be the destiny of people and on which course would their lives move?'²⁹⁸

This newspaper soon began to educate the general public about what it considered as the callous attitude of the privileged classes that were manipulating/exploiting the political system for their advantage, and were trying to maintain the status quo by not allowing the working and labouring classes to take on a proactive role. An editorial, '*Ain ya Haqiqat*', published in March 1948, used revolutionary rhetoric to draw the attention of the ruling elite to the violence accompanying partition in Punjab that 'had no parallel in history'.²⁹⁹ It questioned a system that had 'nothing to do with people' but the ruling classes regarded it as 'sacrosanct', and alleged that they wanted to

²⁹⁸ 'Editorial: *Naye Program ki Zarurat*', *Imroze*, 13 May 1948.

²⁹⁹ 'Editorial: *Ain Ya Haqiqat*', *Imroze*, 26 March 1948. This issue has drawn the attention of several scholars. For Punjab partition's fallout on Lahore, see Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'Forced Migration and Ethnic Cleansing in Lahore in 1947: Some First Persons' Accounts', in *People on the Move: Punjab's Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration*, eds., Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 96–141. For wider perspectives on the 'partition and its consequences' in the subcontinent, see Tan Tai Young and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), Chapter 8.

‘cling’ to it.³⁰⁰ It advised them to ‘foresee changes in the course of time’ and ‘relinquish certain parts of their exclusive possessions’, otherwise:

...the very system...would be destroyed...[as] each and every system is creation of its own circumstances and has to be adapted invariably with the change of conditions. If certain class or group is not willing to adapt itself, due to its stupidity and flawed thinking then the onward march of time besides, destroying the system obliterates /wipes out this class as well.³⁰¹

Imroze’s social agenda covered diverse themes that are integrally related to Left-wing radicalism, but limited space does not allow us to cover them thoroughly. Therefore, in this section we focus on the newspaper’s position in the future course of the country’s political system. By ‘future course’ we mean the guiding principles that it wanted the ruling elite to adhere to, so that these could be enshrined in the country’s constitution.

Faiz wrote its first editorial ‘*Ham aur Ap*’ on 4 March 1948, which unambiguously expressed an association with the people. It called the people of Pakistan its ‘greatest assets’ as well as the ‘custodians’ of its ‘glory and prosperity’, and acknowledged that they should be the main beneficiaries, that is, the ‘inheritors’ of the fruits of its independence, grandeur and progress’.³⁰² Faiz, while asserting a pro-people outlook, wrote that each ‘political, social and economic issue must be looked at from the perspective of patient and voiceless people’.³⁰³

Imroze believed that the direction of the polity could not be reformed without bestowing on people their right to rule. In its editorials the word ‘*Jumhur*’ is

³⁰⁰ ‘Editorial: *Ain aur Haqiqat*’, *Imroze*, 26 March 1948.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² ‘Editorial: *Hum aur Aap*’, *Imroze*, 4 March 1948.

³⁰³ Ibid.

used repeatedly.³⁰⁴ The notion of people's right to rule conveys its essence. A random analysis of its content during 1948–59 shows four over-arching themes: First, a continued emphasis on democracy; second, vocal support to provincial autonomy; third, greater focus on radical measures embracing a welfare-oriented social vision, not only directed towards resolving the economic crisis but also bringing about lasting change in the lives of the poorer sections of society; and, fourth, repeated demands to formulate an independent foreign policy free from the influences of the Anglo-American bloc. These themes were integrated and hence could help to raise awareness about the notion of people's supremacy.

2.10.1 *Imroze*: Its Radical Vision on Domestic Politics

While commenting on the proposed draft of the Objectives Resolution in early March 1949, *Imroze* published an editorial that asked: 'When people are the fountain-head of power, why is it not declared that Pakistan would be a democratic republic?'³⁰⁵ *Imroze* emphasised the need to hasten the process of constitution-making and to hold elections as soon as possible. The newspaper was critical of both the pace as well as the direction of this process. On its very first day, it highlighted this crucial issue in a four-column front page news story.³⁰⁶ The following day it published an editorial on the Constituent Assembly, which described the constitution as 'the greatest guarantor of

³⁰⁴ *Jamhoor* means 'majority of people or electorates exercising their right to vote freely'. *Imroze*, like the *PT.*, emphasising the need for undiluted democracy, profusely used expressions like '*Jamhoor ki Hakmiat*' '*Jamhoor Ki Baaladasti*' or (peoples' supremacy), and '*Jamhoor ki Raey*' (peoples' opinion or verdict).

³⁰⁵ 'Excerpts from *Imroze*'s editorials on 4–5 March 1949', cited in A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, p. 136. Also see 'Excerpts from editorial: *Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Wazarat ki Bartarfee*', cited in Naeem-ul-Hasan, 'Bain Bazoo kay Nazaryaat kay Farog Men Akhbarat ka Kirdar', (M.A. research report, Vol.2, University of Punjab, 1988), p.222.

³⁰⁶ Its leader was about the postponement of the Constituent Assembly (C.A.), *Imroze*, 4 March 1948.

country's independence' and re-emphasised its importance in Pakistan. Finding its pace quite 'unsatisfactory', it expressed bewilderment that 'our country is undergoing what may be called as initial preliminaries'. It further alleged, 'this task has been unnecessarily delayed'.³⁰⁷ Four years later, while regretting the slowness of constitution-making, Abdullah Malik observed:

Nineteen months after Pakistan's establishment this body could not even decide about country's creed, that who will be the guardian of its 80 million people. The Objectives Resolution was passed only when criticism started from all corners. The cost of framing this resolution, which consists of 13 lines and 366 words that this nation had to bear, is worth considering.³⁰⁸

Figure 2.46 *Dastur-sazi* (Constitution-making)



Source: *Imroze*, 15 August 1952, p.16. This cartoon is an adaptation of Abdur Rehman Chughtai's portrait for which the cartoonist apologises to him. It shows how the government is hoodwinking the people. The hanging sign reads 'Constitution' but points in the opposite direction. The authoritative figure, who is luring the child with flowers and a toy, represents the government and his robe reads '*Hukumat*', His right hand points in the wrong direction, depicting the reality of the constitution making process. The child is playing with the toy that reads 'Promises'. A couplet by Mirza Ghalib is given below to convey the same message in a lighter vein.

³⁰⁷ 'Editorial: *Majlis-e Dastur-Saz*', *Imroze*, 5 March 1948. Also see two more editorials highlighting the same issue, '*Ain Saz Assembly*' and '*Ain Sazi*', *Imroze*, 8 and 20 December respectively.

³⁰⁸ Abdullah Malik, '*Yeh Lahore He, Ek Mushaara... Mochi Darwaza... Ain Ki Qimat*', A. Malik, *Yeh Lahore He*, p.243.

Imroze wanted to see the constitution framed along secular lines.³⁰⁹ However, its ideological stance on secularism was not directed towards wholesale rejection of Islam's injunctions and values; on the contrary, it professed to Islamic precepts and voiced disapproval only against interpretations that were too literal or narrow. The journalists wrote extensively about the Objectives Resolution when it was being debated between 4 and 10 March 1949. Its critique on this Resolution offers clear examples of its position on secularism. *Imroze* did not want to disregard Islam's democratic principles, such as 'equality, economic justice and vision of a balanced society' that the resolution's proposed draft emphatically professed. Rather, it was apprehensive about the ambiguity of 'certain words and phrases', particularly the excerpts relating to 'Islam and Islamic democracy', which made it susceptible to misinterpretation. To ward off such possibilities, it pleaded for 'further explanation of these excerpts' and explicitly asserted the need to incorporate the principle that 'Islam does not accept theocracy, in the constitution'.³¹⁰

During Pakistan's initial years, the *Ulama* were demanding that the constitution should be based on *Shariat*.³¹¹ *Imroze* agreed that this process

³⁰⁹ A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Shahfat*, p.135.

³¹⁰ This paragraph draws upon *Imroze*'s three editorials on 4, 5 and 10 March 1949. For more excerpts from these editorials, see M. Shafique, 'Lahore kay Akhbarat ka Siyasi Kirdar 1947-77', (Ph.D. thesis, University of Punjab Lahore, 1987), p.314; and, A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, pp.135-136. Also see Hasrat's very insightful sarcastic comments on the Objectives Resolution a year later, Sindbad Jihazi, 'Harf-o-Hikiat', *Imroze*, 14 March 1950.

³¹¹ For a useful historical overview on debates pertaining to the greater role of Islam in the constitution and *Shariat*'s enforcement, see M. Rafique Afzal, 'Pakistan Struggle for an Islamic State, 1947-71', in Waheed-uz-Zaman and M. Saleem Akhtar, eds., *Islam in South Asia* (Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), pp.502-35. Also see Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957), Chapter 6. For specific debates on the Islamic Constitution in the press see Inamur Rehman, *Public Opinion Development in Paklistan 1947-1958* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1982), Chapter 1. Ishtiaq Ahmed's article, 'The Pakistani Islamic State Project: A Secular

should be carried out, but with certain caveats. First, it pointed out the difference between the *Din* and *Shariat*; it also differentiated between complete and partial enforcement of *Shariat*.³¹² Second, it advised that *Shariat* should be adopted as the basis of Pakistan's constitution only after having recourse towards free thinking and *Ijtihad* (independent law-making). Third, it stressed the need for peoples' consent. And, fourth, it made it abundantly clear that the realisation of this agenda could be impregnated with revolutionary possibilities that could result in sweeping changes in society.³¹³

Imroze considered elections as the only way to ensure the people's right to rule.³¹⁴ In fact, democracy emerges as a logical corollary as well as the desired objective of its continued emphasis on the constitution and elections.³¹⁵ Like the *PT*, it fervently supported genuine democracy and did not refrain from critically reflecting on sensitive issues. The Constituent Assembly enhanced the powers of the Governor-General through an amendment in Article 63 of the Interim Constitution (1947) in July 1947. It took this measure ostensibly to improve governance and to check corrupt practices in the provinces. An

Critique', in *State and Secularism: Perspectives from Asia*, eds., Michael Siam-Heng and Ten Chin Liew (New Jersey, World Scientific, 2010), pp.185–211, offers more recent critique.

³¹² This debate also finds its resonance in some more recent scholarly discussions on this theme. See Taberez Ahmed Naizi's article on Indian Muslim Women; he argues that *Shariat* ought not to be 'presented' as 'a unified set of fixed and immutable rules and regulations governing the behaviour and lifestyles of Muslims located in different parts of the world', 'State, Citizenship and Religious Community: The Case of Indian Muslim Women', *Asian Journal of Political Science* 15, no. 3 (2007), pp. 303–318.

³¹³ See editorials, '*Pakistan aur Shariat-e Islami*' and '*Shari Nizam*', on 13 and 27 June 1948, respectively.

³¹⁴ See editorials, '*Hangami Halat*', *Imroze*, 27 October 1954, and '*Markazi Qidat*', *Imroze*, 30 October 1958. For more details see excerpts from editorials published on 13 October 1953, 3 March 1955, 22 April 1955 and 15 November 1955, cited in A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, and p139.

³¹⁵ Staff Reporter, '*Har Aaqil aur Baaligh Pakistani ko Vote Daney ka Haq Hasil Hoo*', 16 February 1949. Also see Qasmi, '*Bandaun ko Gina Kartey Hain Taula Nahieen Kartey*', *Imroze*, 6 February 1950

editorial expressing serious reservations labels it ‘an exceptional piece of legislation’, and proceeds to comment that:

It should be borne in mind that these exceptional laws are meant for exceptional circumstances and they must not be made a norm and a government that is governed with such type of laws cannot be described as a democratic government...the people who have acquired their right of self-rule after a protracted struggle, should not be deprived of it for long period of time.³¹⁶

Among Urdu newspapers, *Imroze* was an outspoken supporter of provincial autonomy. It consistently highlighted provincial autonomy and related issues, such as delegating extensive powers to provinces, financial autonomy, protection of the linguistic rights of other nationalities and protection of fundamental freedom and civil liberties of parties and groups that espoused this cause. It remained resolutely opposed to the politics of centralisation that was directed towards strengthening federation through a strong over-powering centre.³¹⁷ *Imroze* was the first Urdu newspaper in post-independence Pakistan that frequently called for fair distribution of financial resources between the centre and the provinces, so as to reduce provincial dependence on federal resources.

An editorial, *Sarkari Amdani ki Taqsim*, published on 7 January 1952 critically analysed how the distribution of national income got concentrated at the centre. While providing the context for delegating greater powers to the central government, it maintained that the new state’s survival made it ‘imperative’ that the centre should be ‘self-sufficient’. It used the analogy of a ‘narrow *chadar*’ (sheet) to depict the state of Pakistan’s national income and

³¹⁶ ‘Excerpts from Editorial: *Ain Men Trameem*’, *Imroze*, 22 July 1948, cited in M.Shafique, ‘*Lahore kay Akhbarat*’, p.311.

³¹⁷ On this theme see Yunas Samad, *A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937–1958* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), Chapters 4 and 5.

its financial constraints. It argued that the '*chadar* was extended towards the centre only due to a temporary pretext, as it was hoped that the situation would get normalized in the coming three to four years'.³¹⁸ *Imroze* raised the issue of the grossly disproportionate percentage of allocation for the defence budget. Its editorials and articles on Pakistan's annual budgets are clear examples of its stance on the distribution of income between the centre and the provinces and the heavy expenditures on defence at the expense of other sectors.³¹⁹

The newspaper consistently voiced strong support for the linguistic rights of the provinces.³²⁰ Initially, its policy was cautious on this issue, particularly during the lifetime of Pakistan's founder, M.A. Jinnah. For instance, it supported M.A. Jinnah's stance that Urdu should be given the status of official language.³²¹ After Jinnah's death, it came out more openly in advocating the linguistic rights of all nationalities that lived in Pakistan, and demanded that mother tongues should be adopted as the medium of instruction in the provinces.³²² *Imroze* pleaded the cause of the BanglaLanguage Movement

³¹⁸ 'Editorial: *Sarkari Aamdanee Ki Taqseem*', *Imroze*, 7 January 1952.

³¹⁹ For details, see Hamdani, 'Pakistan ki Markazi Hukumat ka Pehla Budget', *Imroze*, 5 March 1948 and editorials: 'Doosra Mutawazin Budget' (3 March 1949), 'Saubai Budget' (30 March 1950), 'Suba Sarhad ka Budget' (4 March 1953) and; 'Markazi Budget II', (5 April 1955).

³²⁰ For proper context of the lingual and ethnic issues in Pakistan see Tariq Rehman, 'Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan', *Asian Survey* 37, no. 9 (1997), pp. 833-839; and, Charles H. Kennedy, 'Managing Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Pakistan', in *The Territorial Management of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. John Coakely (London: Frank Cass, 2003), pp.123-143. For a fascinating full-length study on language and nation-building in Pakistan, See Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³²¹ See 'Excerpt from editorial', *Imroze*, 25 March 1948, cited in A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.143, and 'Imroze-o-Farda: Pakistan ki Sarkari Zaban', *Imroze*, 27 March 1948.

³²² See more articles in *Imroze Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi*, Tufail Ahmed Khan, 'Maadri Zaban Men Talim', *Imroze*, 19 September 1949; Akram Sheikh, 'Zaban ka Massla', 2 November 1953; Shaukat Thanvi, 'Zaban ka Massla', 28 December 1953; and Tegh Allahabadi, 'Pakistan Men Zaban kay Masslay ka Ammli Rukh', (two episodes), first articles appeared on 21 February 1955.

(March 1952), by providing extensive coverage to the views of Bengali language activists.³²³ While highlighting this issue, it bitterly commented in an editorial note of 3 March 1952, ‘Alas the students of the East Pakistan are reminded through the use of force that Urdu is our national language’.³²⁴ An editorial on the similar theme contended that ‘there was no compelling justification for action against unwise students’.³²⁵

The ruling elite had devised the One Unit as a solution to resolve the tricky question of federalism by creating parity between East and West Pakistan.³²⁶ *Imroze’s* stance on this issue remained openly critical. An editorial in August 1954 argued, ‘the government should be based on the synthesis of federation and confederation...and the provinces should enjoy maximum autonomy’.³²⁷ It considered this scheme potentially unsuitable in view of United Pakistan’s unusual geography as well as its ethnically diverse population.³²⁸ Its tone become more critical in an editorial in mid-October, which described the One

³²³ See *Imroze’s* file (1 March 1952 – 2 April 1952) particularly its issues on 1–5 March and 12 April 1952 provide more in-depth coverage. Also see Naeem-ul-Hasan, ‘Bain Bazoo kay Nazariyaat...’, pp.226–229. For a specimen of how an East Bengali Leftist activist covers this issue, See Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan (1947–1958)*, Vol.1, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2004, Chapter 21.

³²⁴ ‘Imroze-o-Farda: Beachari Urdu’, *Imroze*, 3 March 1952.

³²⁵ ‘Excerpts from Editorial: Khatar-nak Iraday’, cited in Naeem-ul-Hasan, ‘Bain Bazoo kay Akhbarat’, p.228.

³²⁶ On the overall context of One Unit, see M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan History and Politics 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press), 1st edn, 2001, pp.161–64 and 193–96. For long-running debate in press, see Inamur Rehman, *The Public Opinion*, Chapter 3. For a detailed study on this subject, see Rizwan Malik, *The Politics of One Unit* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab, 1988). Also see documents in the same book, pp.119–140.

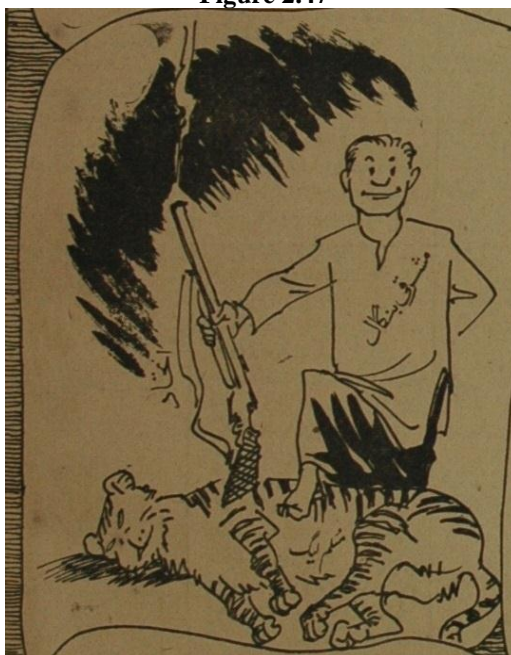
³²⁷ ‘Excerpts from Editorial’, *Imroze*, 8 August 1954, cited in M. Shafique, ‘Lahore kay Akhbarat’, p.329.

³²⁸ ‘Excerpt from Editorial’, *Imroze*, 2 October 1954, cited in *Ibid.*

Unit as an ‘impractical solution of Pakistan’s problems’, and stipulated that it could not help to establish ‘democratic dispensation on firm footings’.³²⁹

The newspaper was quite enthusiastic about the electoral victory of the United Front in 1954 in East Bengal’s provincial elections, because it was the first electoral triumph of the radical parties in United Pakistan. A cartoon depicts it this way.

Figure 2.47



Source: *Imroze*, 5 May 1950, p.3. The illustration shows an East Pakistani who has killed a tiger. His *kurta* (long shirt) reads ‘East Bengal’ and the dead tiger reads ‘Muslim League’. The rifle reads ‘Ethead’ (Alliance), which represents a coalition of five opposition parties against the ruling Muslim League. The smoke from the rifle shows that this happened recently.

After winning the provincial election in East Bengal, the United Front ministry under Chief Minister Fazul-ul-Haq took over. Unfortunately, this democratic set-up did not survive long, because the political violence in East Bengal provided a pretext for the Establishment (which was obviously not comfortable with this change) to dismiss it; the province came under governor’s rule. While deeply sympathising with the Fazul-ul-Haq ministry,

³²⁹ ‘Excerpt from Editorial’, *Imroze*, 17 October 1954, *Ibid.* Also see ‘Editorial: Ek Unit ki Tajwiz’, *Imroze*, 20 November 1954.

Imroze editorialised in June 1954 that ‘it was an elected government which, instead of being allowed to function independently, was dismissed in ‘unwisely haste’. Labelling it ‘an extreme step’, the editorial writer opined, ‘being a political issue it ought to have been tackled politically rather than administratively’. It explicated its long-term implications in these words:

Such a step would further develop the thinking of hatred among the people of East Pakistan and inflame such sentiments that they have been deprived of the government of their own choice. Consequently, the gulf between the East and West Pakistan would further be widened.³³⁰

Imroze’s espousal of the fundamental freedom of the protagonists of provincial autonomy, such as Ghaffar Khan, G.M. Sayed, Abdus Samad Achakzai and Maulana A.H.K.Bhashani, was echoed in its demands that the Establishment should not deny them their basic civil liberties, which it considered as an inalienable right of ordinary Pakistani citizens. An editorial on the eve of the country’s sixth Independence Day in 1953 described civil liberty as the ‘special gift of our independence’.³³¹ It made repeated pleas that the protagonists of provincial autonomy should be engaged in mainstream politics, so that they could play a proactive and constructive role in Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the sub-continent’s veteran nationalist leader, who had been incarcerated for almost five-and-a-half years during 1947–54, provides a window to examine how this newspaper viewed the supporters of autonomy and envisioned their role to provide an alternative model of nation-building. In

³³⁰ ‘Excerpts from Editorial’, *Imroze*, 2 June 1954, cited in A. A.Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.145. Also see ‘Editorial: Asl Masla’, *Imroze*, 30 November 1954 and Numainda-e *Imroze*, ‘Mashriqi Pakistan kay Log Kya Soochtey Hain’, 21 November 1955.

³³¹ ‘Editorial: Jashn-e Salgirah’, *Imroze*, 15 August 1953. Also see ‘Pasmanzar: Nazrbandoon ki Rehai’, *Imroze*, 19 October 1954; Zaheer Babur, ‘Infiradi Aazadi’, *Imroze*, 18 April 1950, and Hameed Nizami, ‘Pakistan Men Hizb-e Mukhalif ka Irtiqa’, *Imroze*, 15 August 1953. ‘Editorial: Peoples Patry’, *Imroze*, 12 May 1948. Also see *Imroze* editorial on Ghaffar Khan, 15 July 1955, cited in A. A.Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.147.

one of the many editorials and editorial notes on Ghaffar Khan, *Imroze* eulogised his role in ‘awakening political conscious in the NWFP’ and stressed that ‘the old quarrels and rivalries should be put to rest’. It asked the NWFP government to ‘capitalize his talents’, because it considered Ghaffar Khan and his party’s role ‘quite beneficial...for Pakistan’s consolidation and prosperity’.³³²

2.11 *Imroze*: Its Social Agenda

A close study of *Imroze*’s content reveals that it continued to advocate leftist ideology as an alternative solution in two distinct ways. First, it tried to create awareness about socialism and its characteristic features and presented it as a panacea for the problems faced by the country. This is the classical and doctrinal approach that is familiar and is widely used by Leftist radicals. Second, it sought to promote radical thinking through a generic or non-exclusive approach, which is more holistic as it was more congruent with the realities of Pakistan’s religion, culture and society.

Imroze’s coverage of the Left movement and radical parties in Pakistan, coupled with its focus on international socialist and communist movements, illustrates its initial approach. Based on a random analysis of its content, we can delineate a two-pronged but complimentary feature of the second approach. First, it used the difficulties of ordinary people along with the speeches and statements by members of the Constituent and provincial legislative assemblies who held radical views as entry points to carry out a

³³² ‘Editorial: Pakistan aur Abdul Ghaffar Khan’, *Imroze*, 7 March 1948. Further see excerpts from two important editorials, ‘Sarhad Men Odrinance Raj’ (July 1948) and; ‘Quaid-i-Azam aur Shahri Azadi’ (April 1952) in Naeem-ul-Hasan, ‘Pakistan Mien Bain Bazoo...’ pp. 219–221.

debate on radical themes.³³³ With these, *Imroze* was able to articulate its radical stance on the economic and social issues faced by the country.³³⁴ Second, it engaged Islam in several ways for its complementary agenda of raising consciousness for socialist solutions.

In providing a progressive interpretation of Islam, it presented Islam as a proletarian faith. A radical perspective on the question of proprietorship of land in Islam remained a focal point of its agenda. *Imroze* vigorously contested the dominant view that private ownership is established with strong precedents in Islam and tried to prove that Islam was strictly opposed to all the exploitative forms of feudalism and capitalism.³³⁵ An article on this theme in March 1950 argued, ‘Instead of trying to legitimize and justify ‘*zamindari*’ by searching for [isolated] instances of share-cropping from the period of the Prophet’s companions, we should focus on what has been Islam’s *Rujhan* [dominant thrust/ emphasis] on this issue’. It elaborated that ‘*Rujhan* denotes

³³³ The legislators like Iftikhar-ud-Din, H. S. Suhrawardy, and some other members of the Azad Pakistan Party as well as the opposition members of the Congress in the East Bengal used to express radical views.

³³⁴ *Imroze* used this approach as a conscious choice to arouse awareness about radical solutions. A specimen of five editorials (that we have selected) offers an illustration. See: ‘Pakistan ka Sanaiti Mustaqbil’, (21 June 1948), ‘Jaiz Mutalbat’, (25 April 1950), ‘Kasht-karoon ki Be-Dakhli’, (27 January 1951), ‘Muft Talim’, (8 March 1955); and ‘Malik aur Mazdoor ka Taawun’, 16 April 1955. They cover a diverse range of issues but the radical solutions discussed in them run through as common themes. *Imroze* further used some other writings on radical activism published in the local press to convey its views. ‘Imroze-o-Farda’, on 4 January 1952, uses Gujarat’s (a city located in central Punjab) Weekly Newspaper *Taimmeer-ae-Nau*’s editorial, as a reference point of discussion. See ‘Imroze-o-Farda: Naarband Kisan Rehnumaoun’, *Imroze*, 4 January 1952. Like the *PT.*, this newspaper used the letters to the editor to a good effect. Jameela Khatoon in her master’s thesis specifically points towards a technique called ‘the Drip Effect’ that is employed to mobilise public opinion on issues that are considered sensitive such as criticism against prevailing values in society and other social and religious taboos. She further explains (with a hint of disapproval) how did *Imroze* try to mobilise public opinion on *purdah*, women’s education, and art, culture and dance in the name of fine art, through ‘letters to the editor’ to generate public debate on these issues. J.Khatoon, ‘Roz nama Imroze’, pp. 94–95.

³³⁵ Through these notions it tried to contest those traditional Islamic views that accorded sanctity to the notion of ‘private -proprietorship- in- land’ and its most rigorous opponents was Maulana Mawdudi and his *Jamaat-e Islami*. Mawdudi also wrote a book on this issue titled as, *Masla-e Milkiyat- e Zamin*. Also see ‘Editorial: Jamaat-i Islami’, *Imroze*, 18 June 1950.

what kind of society Islam wants to bring into being’, and asserted quite strongly that ‘Islam’s dominant thrust is to create equality in human society by abolishing...all kinds of monopolies. That is why it has condemned all sorts of hoarding and prohibited usury that forms the basis of the capitalist system. It promotes the idea of God’s supremacy sovereignty instead of humans’.³³⁶ Like the *PT*, it continued to create consciousness against the blatant exploitation by the feudal lords and capitalists, which we can glimpse in several cartoons.

Figure 2.48



Source: *Imroze*, 5 May 1950, p. The illustration shows *Imroze*'s position on the legislation enacted ostensibly to protect the rights of ejected peasants in May 1950. A feudal lord holds a wine bottle that reads 'Law for Protection and Reinstatement of the Tenants' Rights'. This is an analogy to 'old wine in new bottles'. The poor farmers are carrying a dead body; the cot reads 'Ejected Peasants'. The caption in Urdu below is taken from a couplet by Ghalib; he quips at his beloved's sensitivity about being overwhelmed by feelings of regret. Anwar uses this quotation to show that the feudal lords are pretending to feel sorry for the ejected peasants through such unworkable pieces of legislation.

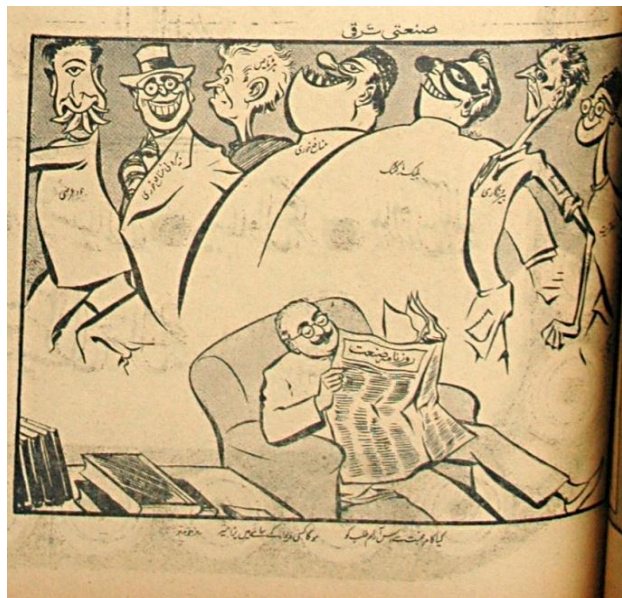
³³⁶ Ahmed Salim, 'Zamin ki Milkiat ka Masla', *Imroze*, 23 March 1950; For more details see Mohammad Ahmed, 'Pakistan Ka Zarai Masla aur Islam', *Imroze*, 19 February 1951; Arshee, 'Mazdoor ki Azmat Islami Nukta-e Nazar Say', *Imroze*, 15 August 1954, M. Farooq Allahabadi, 'Islami Riyasat aur Zarai Nizam', 8 March 1955, and; Usman Ali, 'Kya Zamindari Sirf Tabligh Say Khatam Ho Sakti He?', *Imroze*, 7 September 1958.

Figure 2.49 PIRAN-e TASMA (PARASITES/ STUMBLING BLOCKS)



Source: *Imroze* 15 August 1952, p. The cartoon shows the three old men with long beards riding on the back of a poor man. They hold pieces of paper that read 'Zamindari', 'Jigardari' and 'Barooni Samraj' (Foreign Imperialism). The caption on the poor man's kurta reads 'Peasant'. He is groaning under the crippling burden. The milestone reads '1947 1952', showing that five years after Pakistan's independence, the peasants are still afflicted by such vestiges of colonial rule. The caption below is a couplet from Ghalib, which denotes that the poor peasant has become the unfortunate victim of lightning and other calamities.

Figure 2.50 'SANATI TARAQQI' (INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT)



Source: *Imroze* 15 August 1952, p.16. The cartoon shows the main hurdles in Pakistan's industrial development. The figures symbolise these impediments. They read 'Selfishness', 'External Profiteering', 'Strikes', 'Profiteering', 'Black Marketing', 'Unemployment' and 'Poverty'. The figures represent various people: businessmen, foreign and local profiteers and black marketers. They look cheerful and contented. In contrast, the strikers, the unemployed and the destitute look grim. The figure in the centre represents a minister. He is going through

a newspaper that reads 'Daily Industry', but is oblivious to the situation. The cartoonist quotes a satirical couplet by Mir Taqi Mir to highlight his casual attitude.

Imroze projected Islam as a torchbearer of equality and social justice and tried to demonstrate that Islam is firmly embedded in these strong traditions. It consistently teased out the vision of a welfare-oriented society in Islam. Its special editions on religious days (it used to published a section on Islam that was later was developed into an Islamic edition on Fridays) contained writings on the early phase of the Islamic Caliphate (632 CE–661 CE) to demonstrate that the first four caliphs upheld equality, social justice and a vision of a welfare-oriented society as the founding principles of their state administration.

Daud Ghaznavi, a prominent *Ahl-e Hadith* scholar, wrote an article that is a good specimen to assess how *Imroze* was engaging Islamic themes. It depicted the Prophet of Islam as a supporter of causes for the underprivileged and marginalised sections of society. Its write-up stated quite explicitly that 'Islam strongly discourages massive accumulation of wealth, and it does not want to create such a class that amasses wealth like a treasury, as opposed to it ensuring its egalitarian distribution.' Ghaznavi pointed out the Prophet of Islam's three major contributions to the cause of equality. First, he set a 'rare example of equality...by leading a life like a poor'. Second, he declined to accept 'a system of class divisions in society' where 'elite belonging to high families' defined 'the genealogies of ranks and positions'. Third, he 'revitalized the law of equality, and the political system he had established rested on this principle'.³³⁷

³³⁷ Daud Ghaznavi, 'Paghimbar-e Musawat Sallalalah-o-Alihi-Wasalam, Kamzooron ka Madad Ghar, Garibon ka Hami', *Imroze, Eid-Millad-un-Nabi Number*, 3 January 1952.

Imroze proposed several solutions to promote awareness about collective ownership of land and sources of production in society. Such interventions were part of its continued efforts to find alternative solutions to the problems faced by society, and for that purpose it drew heavily upon notions common to Islam and variants of Leftist ideology. It published writings that reflected on comparative themes like ‘Islam and Communism’ and ‘Islam and Socialism’. These writings generally considered Islam’s radical vision as intrinsically superior to Communism. Their overriding emphasis was to identify certain areas of common ground between these two ideologies, so as to bring into focus that how both Islam and Communism had been opposing the exploitative forms of capitalism and feudalism and highlighted their grand vision of a welfare-oriented society through egalitarian reforms premised on notions of social justice and equality.³³⁸ The editorial ‘*Islam aur Communism*’ on 27 March 1948 contended, ‘Today nobody can deny that the economic system propounded by Communism brims with/exhibits many worthy features, and Islam already possesses these cardinal virtues in their perfect form’. It goes on to stress:

For a Muslim only Islam provides the essential criterion for evaluating anything... [he] would appreciate certain attributes of Communism...Not on account of the fact that they belong to Communism per se, rather for him their worthiness is determined by their conformity to Islam as well as on the ground that how does Islam endorse them.³³⁹

The Leftist parties in Pakistan had drawn up a radical agenda on Pakistan’s foreign policy. *Imroze* pushed this agenda quite consistently; this position

³³⁸ See editorials: ‘Shari Nizam’, *Imroze*, 27 June 1948, ‘Pakistan Aur Shariat-e Islami’, *Imroze*, 13 June 1948. For more details on this perspective see editorial, ‘Islam aur Communism’, ‘Iqtasadi Inqilab ki Zarurat’, published on 27 and 28 March 1948. Also see Ali Abbas Jalalpuri, ‘Islam aur Ishtrakiyat’, *Imroze*, 15 April 1948.

³³⁹ Editorial: ‘Islam aur Communism’.

becomes clearly articulated in its dissenting views on the direction of Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly its tilt towards the Anglo-American bloc. The newspaper remained critical of the Western bloc's intrusive role in newly independent countries as well as its hegemonic designs, particularly in the Middle East and Asia. This anti-Western theme runs through the alternatives that it was proposing, for it kept reminding readers, 'We are still pinning false hopes on Western Imperialism, and have not changed/transmuted the economic structure that is entrapped in backwardness'.³⁴⁰

Imroze repeatedly pointed out that Pakistan was a victim of British exploitation by virtue of its association with the British Commonwealth and by pegging its domestic currency to the Sterling Circle; it took a clear and persistent stand that Pakistan should sever these links. An editorial '*Bartania Maashi Tabahi kay Dahanay Per*' on 4 January 1952 made a well-argued plea. While describing the British mode of exploitation, it showed how Pakistan was losing financially. Stressing the need to sever relations with Britain, it warned that Britain 'will try to come out of this mire by stepping on Pakistan's chest (as it did with the other Commonwealth countries), not too bothered about the fact that Pakistan might get itself drowned'.³⁴¹

Like the *PT*, *Imroze* consistently opposed American foreign aid and highlighted the ulterior motives of the US in luring underdeveloped countries into aid and military pacts. Its editorials and writings on this issue highlighted the potential pitfalls of increasing dependence on US economic and military

³⁴⁰ Editorial: 'Abhi Ishq Kay Imtehan aur Bhi Hain', *Imroze* 14 August 1951.

³⁴¹ Editorial: 'Bartania Maashi Tabahi kay Dahanay Per', *Imroze*, 4 January 1952. Also see 'Editorials: Pakistan Aur Daulat-e Mushtarka', and 'Kaman Wealth kay Bandhan', on 11 November 1948 and 8 June 1950, respectively. Tufail Amed Khan's article, 'Hamarey Sterling Fazilaat Kya Huey?' on 23 May 1949 further provides critical insights into this theme.

aid for Pakistan and other developing countries, and pointed out its devastating implications, such as the financial burden of stringent conditions and the resultant infringements of the recipient countries' sovereignty.³⁴²

Figure 2.51 PAKISTAN KI BAN-UL-AQUAMI HAI SIYAT' (PAKISTAN'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS)



Source: *Imroze* 15 August 1952, p.16. This cartoon depicts Iqbal's couplet in a funny way and appears to be an adapted version. The couplet denotes that both the eagle and vulture fly through the same air, but their worlds differ. The message is about sovereignty, that is, of the two options the choice is ours. The eagle symbolises the US, which is carrying a British hound. The latter is firmly holding onto a hapless Pakistani, Foreign Minister Ch. Zafarullah, whose falling Jinnah cap symbolises that Pakistan's dignity is lost.

³⁴² For proper understanding of *Imroze's* position on this issue see two important articles, *Imroze* kay Siyasi Mubassir Say, 'Pakistan ki Kharja Hikmat-e Ammli', 30 March 1950, and Tufail Ahmed Khan, 'Pakistani Maishat Par Ghair Mulki Tasallut', 15 August 1952. For more details of these themes see 'Excerpts from Editorials', *Imroze*, 14 January 1949, 17 October 1953, 22 May and 24 October 1954, and 18 May 1958, respectively, cited in A.A. Naz, *Pakistanmen*, pp.151-52.

Figure 2.52 HAQIQAT AUR SAYAE (REALITY AND SHADOWS)



Source: *Imroze* 15 August 1952. p.16. It shows a Western power's (Britain's) representative hitting a woman, who dress reads 'Iran's National Rights'. The long shadows show how this development resonates in Iran's domestic politics. The shadows depict Zahedi punishing Mossadeq. Zahedi symbolises an agent of Western imperialism, whereas Mossadeq represents Iran's national rights.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the PPL, the major chain of Leftist newspapers: the *PT* and the *Imroze* newspapers in Pakistan, as a harbinger of Leftist influences. It reinforced the main contention of the study that Left was not a passive actor rather it exercised an agency and the role of these newspapers provided evident prove of that. We demonstrated that how and in what ways these newspapers mirrored the Leftist agenda. Focus on the PPL newspapers enabled us to gauge the production of ideas at the level of literary production.

The chapter discussed a number of themes, the PPL as an organisation, the radical contributions of the *PT* and the *Imroze*. We tried to bring into focus the ways in which these newspapers were able to inculcate consciousness for causes closer to the Leftist agenda.

While examining the role of PPL newspapers the chapter demonstrated that these newspapers used a number of innovative approaches such as making use

of ongoing debates in other newspapers and magazines as well as generating new ones through letters to the editor as reference points for discussion.

The content analysis of the *PT* highlighted that the *radical* solutions proposed by the newspaper were antithetical to the Establishment's vested interests. Therefore, the *PT* devised a coherent strategy to promote awareness about the need for structural changes in society. Its radical journalists initiated a debate to orientate society through the conjunctures of the problems of refugees, peasants, working class, women and minorities. This debate was couched in a patriotic idiom. The *PT* used Letters to the Editor ingeniously to further its socialising agenda.³⁴³ Their express objective was to (orientate public opinion) towards serious issues by means of an open dialogue. We demonstrated it vividly in the section 2.7.1 by bringing into discussion the 'fake letters' strategy that the journalists who worked at the *PT* pursued. The content, line of argumentation, and suffusion of information in these letters further shows a conscious involvement of *PT*'s senior staff in their preparation.

We further showed in the sections on *Imroze* that how and in what ways the Left-wing radicalism was reflected in the newspaper. In the domestic realm *Imroze* promoted consciousness for people's right to rule through the demand for a constitution based on integrated notions of civilian supremacy, democracy and provincial autonomy as well as its opposition to a theocratic form of polity. In external affairs it bluntly warned the ruling elite about the growing influence of the Anglo-American bloc on the country's foreign policy. It strongly advised them to formulate an independent foreign policy.

³⁴³ During the initial years they were placed adjacent to the main editorial, just below the main cartoon. Later during 1950's, a two column space towards the extreme right side of the editorial page was specified for them.

Under the unfavourable circumstances the Leftists had to face in Pakistan it was exceedingly difficult for a radical newspaper, particularly in Urdu, to stick to its radical agenda. *Imroze*, despite these odds, continued to promote its progressive agenda in a sustained manner throughout 1948–1959, more openly during 1948–1951 and through ingenious ways from 1951 onwards. Our previous discussion about *Imroze*'s social agenda on the Left clearly demonstrates that its understanding of Socialism was more nuanced than the agenda followed by the CPP and other Leftist parties. It can be described as more relevant to Pakistan's prevailing political situation.

CHAPTER 3

CENSORSHIP, LEFT-WING PRESS, AND PPL's TAKEOVER, 1947–1959

3.1 Overview

In chapter 2 we looked at the PPL newspapers and considered how and in what ways newspapers like *PT* and *Imroze* played several critical roles: as mirror of public opinion, as watchdog of the policies of the government and, most importantly, in context of this larger focus of this enquiry, as an agency of Left-wing resistance. This Chapter gauges the reaction of the Establishment to these critical roles. Additionally, I argue that the PPL had to pay the price of this radicalism, the Establishment kept these newspapers under close surveillance, its management and journalists had to face constant pressure not only of the press censorship but also of police that on certain occasions did not hesitate to intrude on the premises of the PPL, and eventually the suspicions that the Establishment had harboured against this institution compelling the latter to decide about its takeover.

It is divided according to two major themes: censorship against the press and the episode involving the PPL takeover. These sections on censorship try to look at the Establishment's aggressive, but not unexpected, reaction to the PPL's radicalism. The discussion uses the word 'censorship' in its broadest sense, inferred from Robert Justin Goldstein's work: *The War for the Public Mind*.³⁴⁴ It views censorship as an elaborate and complicated process

³⁴⁴ R.J. Goldstein is a Western scholar on the Censorship, whose main area is Censorship in Europe in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth century. See *The War For The Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Europe*, London, Praeger, 2000.

streamlined by the Establishment that involved systematic attempts to influence and control the content and tone of the press.³⁴⁵

An attempt is made to place the PPL in a wider context, drawing a picture of the precarious conditions which radical journalists and trade union activists had to face, in the wake of serious limitations on press freedoms during 1947–1959.³⁴⁶ The discussion points out noticeable changes in the Establishment’s perceptions of the PPL publications and various pressures management and journalists had to cope with. Besides looking at the courageous oppositional stance of its radical journalists, we will try to connect the PPL story to the larger narrative of the suppression of the Left movement in Pakistan. This section and the next chapter demonstrate how the PPL forms a vital part of this story.

³⁴⁵ For this purpose the Establishment resorted to a series of press laws to impose financial penalties, bans on newspapers and periodicals, and arrests of more vocal journalists and trade unionists. It used newsprint quotas and advertisements as levers to pressurise defiant newspapers and as incentives to reduce the more pliant press into submission. The pressure tactics further involved arbitrary and selective deployment of policy declarations. It was used both as an incentive for pro-Establishment proprietors and at times to discourage other proprietors, as evident from the demand of securities in advance at the times of issuance of such declarations, ostensibly to check the mushroom growth of newspapers and periodicals. For a comprehensive understanding of the challenges the press had to confront in post-independence Pakistan, see Zamir Naizi, *The Press in Chains, The Press Under Siege, and; The Web of Censorship*. For fairly recent perceptive insights into the conditions of press freedom in Pakistan, see Marco Mezeera and Safdar Sial, *Media and Governance in Pakistan* (Eu., The Initiative for Peace-building, (IfP), 2010), and; *Asian Media Barometer, The First Home grown Analysis of Media Landscape in Asia: Pakistan 2009* (Kuala Lumpur, Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD), 2009), Section 1, pp.10-24. Our reference to the use of censorship in the broadest sense can compel us to ask an obvious question about the narrow or limited meaning of this word. We can argue that the term censorship in this sense denotes specific acts of banning and controlling content of the press or preventing the press from publishing certain material through some institutionalised practices. In Pakistan’s case, censorship in the form of banning certain newspapers, which were directly involved in instigating sectarian religious sentiments, was imposed during the anti-*Ahmediya* movement in the Punjab (1952–53). Later, we find that the martial law regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan also imposed censorship and pre-censorship in more rigid and crude forms, during the mid- and late-1960s, particularly when Pakistan–India relations began to deteriorate seriously over several issues.

³⁴⁶ Stephen. P. Cohen, a US scholar on South Asia in one of his works on Pakistan wrote that ‘Press freedom has moved from nonexistent to very impressive’, Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, p.68. Cohen’s illusion to the word ‘not existent’ is quite succinct here, as it can be equally used to describe the state of press liberties in Pakistan during the period under discussion.

It shows that the Establishment was extremely intolerant of dissent, whether it was expressed by the Right-wing, independent or Left-wing newspapers. I further argue that as the PPL newspapers represented the most potent voice of dissent in newspaper journalism, the Establishment marked them as a target for censorship throughout this period as a consequence the PPL's takeover was the price that Iftikhar-ud-Din and the PPL journalists had to pay to carry forward their radicalism.

3.2 Press Censorship in Pakistan

The period 1947–58 was a difficult time for press freedom in Pakistan, as Zamir Niazi pointed out; in the first seven year(1947—1953) only the Punjab government:

Imposed ban on thirty-one newspapers between 1947–1953. Fifteen were penalised for one year, nine for six months. Nine newspapers and magazines that also included the literary magazines like *Nuqush*, *Sawera* and *Adab-e Latif* were banned for six months and nine other newspapers and magazines for lesser periods.³⁴⁷

The administration took action against fifteen other newspapers and magazines by demanding securities ranging between Rs. 500 and Rs.1,000.³⁴⁸ Other statistics on the state of the press in Pakistan present an equally grim scenario. In 1952–53 fifty newspapers were warned for publishing objectionable material. Three journalists were subjected to trial and

³⁴⁷ Zamir Niazi, (comp. Rahat Saeed), *Unglian Figar Apni* (Karachi: Aaj, 2009), p.23. Some other works of Zamir Niazi provide more details. Zameer Niazi's other works provide more details. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.62, and his article, Z. Niazi, 'Towards a Free Press', in *Old Roads New High Ways: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, ed. Victoria Schofield (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.185. Further, see A.S. Khurshid, 'Press Curbs, before 1958 and after', *View Point* (weekly), 8 April 1977, p.17. The newspapers and magazines that were targeted also included some of Lahore's distinguished literary magazines. I have discussed their further details in Chapter 5.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

one was exonerated.³⁴⁹ Three printers and publishers were penalised for violating press laws. Thirty-nine newspapers were banned and a similar number of newspapers and magazines were asked to deposit securities under Section 7, sub-section C (1) of the pre-emergency Act. Three printers and publishers were also convicted during

1956–57.³⁵⁰

This situation arose due to the deep-rooted and unbroken authoritarian traditions of governance that post-colonial Pakistan inherited. Unfortunately, the legacies endured mainly because the Muslim League governments failed to create a tolerant political culture.³⁵¹ The press in Pakistan continued to be regulated through restrictive press laws inherited from British rule that had been introduced to contain ‘public discourse’.³⁵² Pakistan’s ruling elite, instead of mitigating their harshness in accordance with the new realities, tried to preserve them. In fact, they ended up making them more cohesive. These tendencies were reinforced after M.A.Jinnah’s death.

³⁴⁹ A.S. Khurshid, *Sahafat Barr-e Sagir Pak-o-Hind Men* (Lahore: *Majlis-e Tarraqi-e Adab*, 1963), p.539.

³⁵⁰ Excerpts from ‘Parliamentary Questions and Ministerial Answers’ on ‘Violations of Press Laws’ and ‘Securities and Bans (News Papers)’, cited in Appendix 8 in Majeed Nizami, (ed. Gerard M. Friters), *The Press in Pakistan*, (Lahore, Department of Political Science, University of Punjab, 1958), pp.74–79.

³⁵¹ During the period 1947–58, seven governments came to power in Pakistan, of which six were formed by the Muslim League and its coalition partners. For the overall context, see Meghnad Desai and Aitzaz Ahsan (ed. David Page), *Divided by Democracy*, New Delhi, Lotus Collection Roli Books, 2005, pp.75–144. For a comprehensive study of the events of this period, see Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Pakistan’s Democracy*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1996.

³⁵² The concept has an extremely broad meaning. It consists of various sets of components such as newspapers and journals, vernacular non-periodical literature and poetry and popular theatre. G. Kudaisya, a historian of modern India, informs us that this discourse can assume both formal as well as extremely flexible forms. He describes newspapers and journals as its most important components and shows that how the Indian National Congress used this discourse during the civil disobedience movement in the 1930s. G. Kudaisya, *Region, Nation, ‘Heartland’: Uttar Pradesh in India’s Body Politic* (New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2006), pp.159–163, and 233–239.

With the exception of Jinnah, almost all the Pakistani rulers during this period followed authoritarian methods. M.A. Jinnah, Pakistan's founder, was a staunch advocate of press freedom and civil liberties. During his brief stint as Pakistan's first Governor-General, he thwarted the Establishment's attempt to get the Public Safety Ordinance promulgated.³⁵³ After Jinnah, the situation changed and the ruling elite found it politically advantageous to curtail press freedom. They succeeded by deftly manipulating laws like the Public Safety Ordinance (1948) and the Security of Pakistan Act (1952).³⁵⁴ In 1955 the Establishment tightened its noose around the press by extending the scope of the Official Secrets Act of 1923 to the press.³⁵⁵ In addition to these laws, the

³⁵³ For insights about Jinnah's clear stance on press freedoms, see Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.27–40. It seems particularly ironic that just four days before Pakistan's Establishment, certain elements in the bureaucracy tried to censor some key sentences of Jinnah's historic keynote speech on 11 August, clearly reflecting on the future directions of the country's polity. Altaf Hussain, the *Dawn's* editor, took a bold stance on this issue and his timely intervention prevented an embarrassing situation. Nevertheless, this incident marks the beginning of deliberate efforts by the Establishment to distort Jinnah's liberal vision. These efforts reached their logical culmination under Zia-ul-Haq's martial law regime. Z. Niazi's work provides a unique historical perspective on this issue. See Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.35–39 and *The Web of Censorship*, Chapter 6. Also see Hamid Jalal, 'When they tried to censor Qaid', *Viewpoint* (weekly), 22 January 1981, and; Asrar Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, (Lahore, Classic, 2011), pp.47–49. Two years later, another controversy arose about censoring some critical sentences from the speech by Fatima Jinnah (Jinnah's sister) on Jinnah's third death anniversary (11 September 1951). Z.A. Bokhari, the Controller of Broadcasting, particularly stands accused of committing this act. Z.A. Suleri, editor of *The Times of Karachi*, attributes it to the 'sycophantic attitude...of officials'. See Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.88–89. Also see Z.A.Suleri, *Pakistan's lost years: Being a survey of a decade of politics, 1948–1958* (Lahore, Feroze Sons: 1962), pp.27–28 and; *Imroze*, 20 April 1951. If we analyse the criticism of Z.A.Bokhari on this issue, it looks simplistic, particularly if we keep in mind the prevailing political scenario, particularly the efforts by Liaquat Ali Khan's government's to manipulate public opinion on the issue of the Objectives Resolution and the vested interests of the coterie surrounding him, largely dominated by the bureaucratic elite and feudal lords.

³⁵⁴ For a general description of these laws, see Appendix 2. For details, see: Javed Jabbar and Qazi Faez Isa comp. *Mass Media Laws and Regulation in Pakistan and a commentary from a historical perspective*. (Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC), 1997), pp.63–76. M. Yusuf Hussain, ed. *Media Laws and Ethics in Selected Muslim Countries* (Malaysia, IIUM Press, 2009), pp.75–115, Ahsan Akhtar Naz, *Sahafati Qawanin* (Lahore, A.H. Publishers, 1995), and; *The Security of Pakistan Act 1952*, (Karachi, The Ideal Publishers, 1990), pp.9–10. For a historical account of the misuse of these laws against the press, see Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, Chapters 2 and 3, and; M.Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, Chapter 4. For more analytical insights on this issue, Imran Munir, 'The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media', chapter titled 'History of legislation to tame Press', pp.22–36.

³⁵⁵ It had two major implications for press freedom; first, the press was brought within the ambit of the Official Secrets Act (1923), and second, the government acquired the right to

Establishment was armed with another body of laws called the Pakistan Penal Code. It contained certain clauses that were exceedingly intrusive and could be effectively invoked against the press if required.³⁵⁶

Equally important was the role of newspaper owners. Barring some honourable exceptions, the majority were authoritarian, self-willed and power-hungry individuals, as can be seen from their personal conduct.³⁵⁷ These traits, coupled with their conservative stance on a wide range of issues, brought them closer to the ruling elite. These owners openly betrayed the cause of working journalists, often leaving them and their trade union organisations in the lurch in the middle of the latter's protracted, unequal but brave struggle against the Establishment for free speech and civil liberties.³⁵⁸

force any newspaper to disclose its source. For details, see A.S.Khursheed, 'The Press Curbs before 1958', p.17, and A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.134.

³⁵⁶ For details, see Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.94–95.

³⁵⁷ We have developed this analysis based on the opinions of Pakistan's three veteran journalists. Given the opportunistic and overtly negative role of these proprietors and powerful editors, we find a tinge of bitterness in the critical assessments of the three veteran journalists about them. See Zohair Siddiqui, 'Thirty Tortured Years', *The Herald*, 8 August 1977, p.10; Asrar Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, p.58, and Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.45–46 and 49.

³⁵⁸ They extended their full support to the Establishment in many ways. Their whimsical control over their newspapers sharply defined the policy as well as social agenda of their newspapers, which in turn framed the minds of their readership. They created serious obstacles for the trade union movement spearheaded by the Left-wing radicals and openly opposed the principled stands that the journalists and their trade union bodies were taking on different issues concerning the freedom of expression. They changed their positions opportunistically, by often putting their weight behind the Establishment. For specific instances of their unscrupulous behaviour, see the following: for Altaf Hussain's role, see Asrar Ahmad, *The Walls Have Ears*, pp.30–36. For critical comments on Hameed Nizami, see A.S.Khursheed, *Way Sauretain Elahi*, p.138 and Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.54–55. For critical insights about Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman (the *Daily Jang*'s proprietor) and his pliant and pro-Establishment attitude, see Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.63–64. Also see Z. Niazi's comments on Z.A. Suleri; *The Web of Censorship*, p.119. The proprietors' negative and hypocritical attitude got them drawn into bitter quarrels over petty issues. The ensuing tussle culminated in the creation of two rival organisations: the Pakistan Newspapers Editors Conference (PNEC) and the Council of Pakistan Editors (CPE). For details about their tussle, see 'Editorial: *Editoraoon ki Conference*', *Imroze*, 19 April 1950; 'Editorial: Dawn of Dictatorship', *The PT*, 17 June 1951; 'Editorial: Karachi Editor's Statement', *The PT*, 29 September 1951; 'Editorial: PNEC Affairs', *The PT*, 9 October 1951, and; 'Editorial: C.P.E. and Newspapers', *The PT*, 9 March 1956. One can argue that these incidents would have further emboldened the Establishment, which was allowing the press no space for voicing dissent, however genuine it might have been.

It is relevant to highlight two incidents to support this ongoing discussion. Altaf Hussain, *Dawn*'s reputed editor and an influential intellectual journalist, while representing Pakistan at the Empire Press Union Conference at Ottawa in June 1950 took a conservative stance that was supportive of the Establishment. Providing the convenient and official excuse of a 'threat from India and danger from the North', he argued that the country 'had no use for freedom in her present stage of development'.³⁵⁹ He added, 'We are skating on thin ice'.³⁶⁰ Even before that, the *Civil and Military Gazette* affair had demonstrated the dilemma faced by a newspaper. It would be useful to recall that the government had closed down this newspaper for few months, on the pretext that its correspondent at New Delhi had filed an unconfirmed news report on Kashmir. And the fellow newspapers, acting in unison, had supported the 'penal action' against it. Thus, they relented before the tremendous pressure that was spearheaded by some powerful pro-Establishment editors.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Zuhair Siddiqui, 'Thirty Tortured Years', *The Herald*, 8 August 1977, p.10, cited in Z.Niazi, *Unglian Figar Apnee*, p.22 and; *The Press in Chains*, p.46.

³⁶⁰ See 'Altaf Hussain's Statement', cited in, Zuhair Siddiqui, 'Thirty Tortured Years', p.10. Z. Niazi informs us that 'the *Pakistan Times* was the only newspaper to protest against this statement', *The Press in Chains*, p.46. We can further add that *Imroze* published a hard-hitting editorial that challenged Altaf Hussain's strange logic. It emphatically asserted, 'Barring few newspapers...all the newspapers in Pakistan consider the freedom of Press absolutely imperative'. It further quipped, 'we would have no objection on this statement had he further explained that only his newspaper '*Dawn*' does not believe in freedom, as it has acquired the status of a semi-official newspaper. Nobody can accept from it that it would take sides of the other newspapers on the issue of Press freedoms', 'Editorial: Press ki Azadi', *Imroze*, 21 June 1950.

³⁶¹ This newspaper was banned for six months because it had published an unconfirmed news report about the sensitive Kashmir issue. *Gazette*'s correspondent in Delhi had filed a news report spreading rumours that the Pakistani and Indian governments were working out a political formula for resolving the Kashmir dispute suggesting the partition of the state. Though the *Gazette*'s management later realised the sensitivity of this issue, apologised and sacked its correspondent, these corrective measures could not abate the fierce anger of powerful and conservative editors like Altaf Hussain and Hameed Nizami, who orchestrated a bitter campaign against the newspaper, demanding a ban on it. They published a joint editorial in West Pakistan's sixteen newspapers on 6 May 1949, which was titled 'Treason'. For details, see Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp. 66-71. Also see Z.Niazi, 'Towards a Free

In 1957, while taking stock of the pressures on the press, the *PT* commented in its editorial, ‘The Press in this country has been reduced to such a state of unquestioning submission that the more blatant forms of coercion are hardly necessary’.³⁶² Some cartoons from that period also provide a clear idea of how the PPL’s cartoonists viewed the curbs on press freedom.

Figure 3.1



Source: *Imroze*, 15 August 1952, p.16. The illustration highlights the threats to press freedom and judicial independence posed by the Safety Laws. It shows the monster of Safety Laws. With its right hand it holds down a judge’s pen. With its left hand, the monster is strangling a hapless journalist. Iqbal’s sarcastic and succinct couplet below this illustration bemoans [figuratively] the customary practices of his beloved’s company where the lover wants to speak out against these practices but he is not allowed to do so.

Figure 3.2



Source: *The PT* 12 November 1957. The illustration depicts the various external pressures on the editors. In the centre, an editor is writing on his notepad. Over his head is an axe that is fixed to his table but is attached to a spring; the handle reads ‘Security Act’. Two birds hover around the editor. The large crow has a body made of newsprint that reads ‘Newsprint Quota’. The owl at his right elbow represents government advertising. The birds represent the quotas and revenue that the Establishment was using to coerce newspaper editors to follow government policies.

The above illustrations portray the major fetters on press liberties. The first cartoon appeared in 1954 and the second in 1957. From the dates we can infer

Press’, p.178. Interestingly, the major bodies of working journalists like the PFUJ, the Sind Union of Journalists (SUJ) and the Punjab Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), by accepting the apology by the *Gazette*’s management took a diametrically opposite stance in their respective resolutions on this affair, For details, see A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, pp.439–440, and Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.70–71.

³⁶² ‘Editorial: Press Freedom’, *The PT*, 7 February, 1956.

that nothing changed significantly in the country in this domain, and the curbs on free speech were much the same.³⁶³

Although the Establishment was armed with sweeping authority to act and was politically and socially oriented towards an authoritarian view of governance, it found it difficult to tolerate the constructive and sometimes sharp criticism that came even from the pro-Muslim League Press.³⁶⁴ This raises an intriguing question: if these newspapers run by high-profile public intellectuals faced the Establishment's anger while exercising their basic freedom, how could the Establishment be expected to allow the Left-wing press, which was far more radical in terms of its tone, the maximum liberty?

3.3 Censorship and Left-wing Press

Like the other domains of politics, the Left-wing press became the target of censorship. To understand the unrelenting pressures against Left-leaning

³⁶³ Finding themselves in this tense situation, journalist organisations such as the PFUJ, the PUJ and the Karachi Union of journalists (KUJ) responded in both ways, that is, through social activism, which found expression in their local struggle on a case-by-case basis, and they further brought out some useful pamphlets and reports. These organisations communicated their reservations to the international press fraternity, particularly its representative body, the International Press Institute (Zurich). The PFUJ drew the attention of the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) towards the poor conditions of working journalists in Asia, more specifically in Pakistan. The I.L.O. sent a mission headed by a jurist, Arthur Tyndall, which met with representatives of the trade unions. The KUJ presented the mission with its 75-page report about the working conditions of journalists. The PFUJ representatives put forward their point of view before Pakistan's first two Press Commissions that were formed in 1954 and 1958. The following sources provide details about the working conditions of journalists, their struggle and the resilience of their trade unions under this unfortunate situation: *PFUJ Constitution*, 1954; *Government Pressures on the Press* (Zurich: International Press Institute, 1954), Government of Pakistan, *The Report of the Press Commission*, (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1954), p.10, and ; Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.49–77, and; A.Ahmad, *The Walls Have Ears*, Chapters 35, 36 and 40.

³⁶⁴ For details, see Table (1) in Appendix 3. For more details, see Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, and Majeed Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*.

newspapers, it is useful to classify the Left-wing press into three distinct types: the CPP's organs, the non-CPP press and the PPL publications.³⁶⁵

The CPP publications became the first casualty of censorship. The weekly *Naya Zamana* was the CPP's main organ; its independent outlook and doctrinaire policy were fundamentally opposed to the Establishment's worldview and vested interests. Therefore, the ruling elite did not allow this magazine and its next incarnations (under new declarations) any space to function independently. It ceased publication in February 1948. Its editorial team tried to revive it under other names like *Sahar* and *Apna Watan*, but these ventures met the same fate.³⁶⁶

The non-CPP press consists of ideological variants of Left-wing journalism.³⁶⁷

With the exception of magazines belonging to the regional Left, which were launched as party organs, and the daily *Pakistan Observer* (Dacca), most

³⁶⁵ In the introduction we pointed out that Left is a blanket term that embraces various strands or typologies of Left-wing activism. Therefore, in the Introduction we developed a typology of the Left-wing parties. In a similar vein, the classification of the Left-wing press in Pakistan into three broad typologies can give us a richer understanding of this phenomenon. One can distinguish these three typologies by highlighting the role of agency, that is, by looking at their proprietors' personal vision and social agenda. One can clearly differentiate between the ideological orientation of the CPP and that of Iftikhar-ud-Din's newspapers. Broadly speaking the second and the third categories (the non-CPP and the PPL press), come under the rubric of the non-CPP press. However, keeping in view the PPL's distinctive status in Pakistan's Left-wing journalism, coupled with our focus on this institution as one of the basic themes of this study, makes it more appropriate to discuss it as a separate category.

³⁶⁶ The Establishment had denied the CPP publications any freedom since its Establishment in 1948. It had to carry out its political activities underground. The implication of the CPP in the RCC (March 1951) made the task of continuing the party's publications even more daunting. In July 1954 the party was officially banned. For details see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix 3. These tables offer a broad historical overview of the Establishment's drastic action against the CPP's publications, both periodical and non-periodical. For details see: Hameed Akhtar, *Aaashnayan Kiya Kiya*, chapters on S.Sajjad Zaheer, S.Sibte Hasan and Hameed Akhtar; Hameed Akhtar, 'Laot Pachey ki Tarf Aay Gardish-e Ayyam Tu', *Daily Express*, Lahore, 3 June 2005 and; A.Salim, Hameed Akhtar, pp.129–131. We will explore this theme with more detail in the first section of Chapter 5, which deals with literary radicalism.

³⁶⁷ We can identify them on the basis of their ideological typologies such as socialist, working class, regional Leftist and independent opposition magazines and newspapers with Left-wing leanings. This list includes progressive literary journals. Given their diversity in terms of thematic content, we see considerable variations in their focus, social agenda and targeted readership. In the case of the non-CPP press, the crucial distinction of the agency's role can serve as a marker for comprehending its variations within the category.

periodicals and magazines in this category can be classified as solo ventures.³⁶⁸ They were mainly undertaken by proprietor-editors or small groups of radical journalists who were ideologically motivated. Like the CPP press, the Establishment dealt with the non-CPP press quite harshly and did not allow it to flourish independently.³⁶⁹

The ruling elite, besides censoring both variants of the Left-wing press under the harsh Press and Security laws, did not refrain from employing even more brutal measures, such as frequent arrests of radical journalists and proprietors. Through this tactic, it struck hard at the CPP publications. It turned out to be an equally devastating blow to the second category of Left-wing publications, and effectively stifled the voice of newspapers and magazines that I have described as solo ventures. These arrests were particularly difficult for proprietor-editors and journalists who lacked financial backing. For them even brief periods of internment were disastrous and convinced them of the futility of their ventures. It is not surprising to find that most newspapers and magazines representing the Left movement had to close down.

The Establishment also used the police apparatus insidiously to curtail the Left-wing press. It tried to pressurise the owners of printing presses to withdraw printing facilities to Left-wing newspapers and magazines. Proprietors and editors were also pressurised either to entirely change or tone

³⁶⁸ This sub-category is quite broad. For a passing reference we can identify the names of Giyur-ul-Islam's magazine *New Orient* (Karachi), Mirza Allah Ditta Chugthai's *Azadi* (Peshawar). Mirza Allah Ditta was the younger brother of Mirza Ibrahim, a renowned trade union leader). Most of the progressive literary magazines can be described as solo efforts by certain individuals.

³⁶⁹ For a general view of the Establishment's hostility towards the non-CPP press, see Appendix 3, Table 4.

down their progressive or radical rhetoric. This tactic was frequently deployed with progressive literary magazines.³⁷⁰

The traditions of Left-wing radicalism emerged in two distinct forms: the first, in print journalism (which we have elaborated at great length in the previous chapter) and the second, the Left-wing trade union activism in professional journalism.³⁷¹ Radical journalists like M.A.Shakoor, Asrar Ahmed, Hameed Hashmi and Giyur-ul-Islam exerted enormous influence on the trade union movement of journalists throughout the 1950s. The progressives and the leftist radicals dominated all the major trade unions such as the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), the Karachi Union of Journalists (KUJ) that was later renamed as Sindh Union of Journalists (SUJ) and the Punjab Union of Journalists (PUJ) for more than four decades.³⁷²

As with the case of the press, the Establishment was concerned about the growing radical influences in the sphere of activism. It followed a dual strategy to contain the trade union movement among journalists. The Establishment tried to encourage the formation of parallel unions with the tacit as well as overt support of the proprietors.³⁷³ To demobilise trade union activism, it did not hesitate to target the more active members of these trade unions under the Safety and the Security laws. In one incident, four journalists

³⁷⁰ I have discussed this theme with more details in details of this theme in the section 5.1 of Chapter 5.

³⁷¹ Interview with Masood Ashar on 31 January 2013 (Lahore).

³⁷² We can draw up an exhaustive list, highlighting the proactive role of the Leftist radicals in this domain. Nevertheless, the names of Minhaj Barna and Abdul Hameed Chappra stand out prominently among leaders of the trade union movement from the mid-1960s. The PPL had a big impact on Barna's orientation as a trade unionist and as a journalist. We will discuss his role in the next chapter. Barna's influence on the PFUJ was so enduring that the PFUJ and its other affiliated bodies that the PFUJ's progressive faction came to be called the PFUJ (Barna) group.

³⁷³ The early history of trade unionism in West Pakistan's journalism reveals four glaring instances of this phenomenon. For details, see Appendix 3, Table 6.

and three non-journalist trade union activists were arrested under the Security of Pakistan Act in May 1954. The journalists—M.A.Shakoor, Ahmed Hasan, Muhammad Akhtar and Eric Rahim—were apprehended in May 1954 and placed under arrest for one year.³⁷⁴ The *Dawn*'s management dismissed M.A.Shakoor and Ahmed Hasan and publicised it through a 'front page announcement' on 23 June 1954.³⁷⁵ Asrar Ahmad, adding more details to this incident, reveals:

...interested sections in the newspapers who had waited for long to destroy the solidarity of the Union, let loose a campaign against the journalists and through intimidation and coercion succeeded in getting a parallel union formed in Karachi by the name of N.A.J (National Association of Journalists). In *Dawn* and *Evening Star*, most of the journalists had to disassociate themselves from the KUJ and the new entrants had to fill the form that they would not join the KUJ. *Dawn* management seized all the KUJ literature.³⁷⁶

One sees certain regrettable trends in this case such as the extreme vulnerability of working journalists to the Establishment's deliberate misuse of the Security laws, the ruling elite's deliberate strategy to create obstacles in the path of working class activism and the unremittingly hostile attitude of the *Dawn*'s Establishment towards radical trade union activists.

In our discourse on Left-wing trade unions in Pakistan, we mentioned a radical journalist, Abdul Shakoor, who is regarded as a key figure in the Establishment and re-organisation of Pakistan's main trade union bodies such as the PFUJ, the KUJ, the SUJ and the PUJ. Along with other members, he organised a vibrant trade union movement in Pakistan's newspaper journalism,

³⁷⁴ Of these, M.A.Shakoor, Ahmed Hasan and Muhammad Akhtar belonged to *Dawn* and Eric Rahim to the *PT*, Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, p.64.

³⁷⁵ Ibid. p.65.

³⁷⁶ A. Ahmad, *The Walls have Ears*, p.44.

which highlights his role as a trade unionist of grand vision.³⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Pakistan's Establishment deliberately targeted him to suppress the radical trade union movement. He was sent to jail, where he was tortured. This ordeal affected him psychologically. When he was released, he moved to Britain and became a school teacher.³⁷⁸

**Figure 3.3 The PFUJ's founder,
M.A. Shakoor (1911–2001)**



Source: A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, 2011

After taking a synoptic view of Establishment's systematic efforts to eliminate increasing radical influences in newspaper journalism and the trade union movement, let us narrow the focus of our discussion to the PPL. Given the Establishment's strong aversion to Leftist ideology, the question is: If the

³⁷⁷ The trade union movement became so vibrant under his leadership that prominent organisations representing the press fraternity in Asia, such as the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and Afro-Asian Journalists Association (AAJA), specially invited a PFUJ representative to their conferences. In fact, the PFUJ's activists remained proactively involved in the Establishment of the AAJA in 1963. Sakhoor's fellow trade union activists acknowledge his substantial contributions towards getting the PFUJ's Constitution drafted. We should add here that this constitution is an important non-official document that offers clear and useful guidelines for co-ordinating and regulating trade union activism in the domain of newspaper journalism. See A. Ahmad, *The Walls Have Ears*, chapter on Shakoor; also see chapters 9 and 40.

³⁷⁸ Two excerpts from Asrar's book provide a clear idea of the ordeal Shakoor went through. He wrote: 'I remember he was already receiving undue attention of the ruling Establishment and CID, leading to his arrest and constant harassment, finally forcing him to take refuge in a foreign land'. Ahmed Ali Khan informs us that 'He was humiliated tortured and was made to leave the country which he never desired... The trauma of torture had a lasting scar on his soul and nerves', Ahmed Ali Khan quoted by Asrar Ahmad, *The Walls Have Ears*, pp.415–416.

Establishment was denying freedom of expression to other Left-leaning publications, how could it find the PPL's radicalism tolerable? Given the PPL's growing influence both in terms of circulation and the reach of its newspaper as well as its role as an effective disseminator of the left's social agenda, it would have become a thorn in the Establishment's flesh. As expected, the PPL also became a target of the Establishment's actions.

Here, it is necessary to specify the point when the Establishment's perceptions about the PPL turned more critical. The ruling elite became deeply suspicious about the PPL newspapers pro-Left leanings and started to express strong reservations about their political tone between 1948 and 1950. The Confidential Report of Lahore's District Magistrate about *Daily Imroze*, provides a glimpse into the Establishment's perceptions of this newspaper. It observes that (*Imroze*) 'professes to support Pakistan and work for the welfare of the masses. Has Socialist tendencies of reformation and is a strong critic of the rich'.³⁷⁹ On the surface, this report does not point out anything that is alarming; however, it does note *Imroze*'s pro-Left leanings.

These perceptions became predominantly negative within a few months, as illustrated in the letter from Francis Mudie, the Punjab Governor, to Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister, in 1949. In this letter Mudie used very harsh words about the *PT*, warning the Prime Minister about the 'inevitable consequences' of its 'pro-Communist campaign'. He raised this puzzling

³⁷⁹ Lahore District Magistrate's Confidential Report entitled "'*Imroze*" Lahore', no. A/S./3675.21. September 1948. Press Laws Branch (PLB), Civil Secretariat, Lahore/ File on *Imroze* / 13359, p.20. This file shows that the PLB received a copy of this excerpt on 12 March 1949. The PLB's bulky file on *Imroze* contains a brief document that conveys the essence of Lahore's D.M. Report; however, its subject clearly points towards its much more comprehensive coverage, as its nomenclature was 'Detailed Report in respect of Urdu Daily Paper entitled '*Imroze*', Lahore'. But this detailed version seems to be missing.

question: How long is this newspaper allowed to carry on this Communist propaganda? While proposing a policy that we can describe as virtually one of zero tolerance, he contended that the government should shut down the newspaper by invoking the Safety Acts, as it had done with the *Civil and Military Gazette*. On comparing the two newspapers, he found the *PT* much more ‘provocative’.³⁸⁰

Anwer Ali, the DIG/CID Punjab, sent a cautionary note about *Imroze*’s special edition on Independence day, the ‘Pakistan Number’ (15 August 1950) to the Director Public Relations (DPR), Syed Noor Ahmed, and the Chief Secretary (CS) on 21 August 1950. It pointed out the critical and gloomy tone of certain pieces of poetry and some articles. He reminded them that the previous year this newspaper had carried a Faiz poem on its front page that had a ‘similar lampoon tinged with sarcasm’.³⁸¹ Five days later, in another letter addressed to these officials, he expressed his curiosity about the follow-up action on his note. In the letter he urged that the contents of this edition called for caution, and in his opinion ‘were designed to spread despondency and alarm’. Drawing attention to the immediate importance of this specific issue, he alluded to his recent ‘talk’ with (Punjab’s) *highest* authority and tried to reinforce this immediate impression purely based on his *inference*(my emphasis) that ‘It was his desire that persons who deride or mock the Independence should be dealt with firmly’. He further suggested that this issue should be brought to the

³⁸⁰ *Mudie-Liaquat Ali Khan Letters*, India Office Library, London, MSS Eur. F. 164/49, Mudie to Liaquat 16 June 1949, cited in Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Pakistan’s Democracy*, p.63.

³⁸¹ Note from Anwer Ali, (the DIG/ CID), to Syed Noor Ahmed (DPR) and the CS, 21 August 1950, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359, pp.24–25.

‘notice of H.E.’.³⁸² The Establishment’s growing frustration with the PPL is evident from a series of punitive measures between April 1948 and October 1958, even before its drastic decision of formally taking over this chain of newspapers.³⁸³

Mohammad Saeed, one of former editors of the *PT*, wrote in his autobiography that the policy of *PT* had been causing trouble for the government, and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had been very offended; it was believed that his government might take control of the *PT*. During that period Mahmood Hussain, one of new editors of *PT* wrote a hard-hitting editorial on the ‘Kashmir War’ in which he compared Jawaharlal Nehru and Hitler in terms of their aggressive designs.³⁸⁴ He started with the sentence that ‘two childs were born on the same day, one in Anand Bhawan in Allahabad and the other in a hut in Bavaria... And right after their birth they started clamouring for war’.³⁸⁵ Iftikhar-ud-Din became upset with this editorial. The next morning he started roaming from one room to another, in a state of restlessness. Then, he went to the newsroom and asked Hussain Sahib with a

³⁸² Anwer Ali’s (the DIG/ CID) Letter to Syed Noor Ahmed (the DPR) and the CS, 26 August 1950, U.O. No.368-BDSB,28 August 1950, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/File on *Imroze*/13359. He attributes this authority to His Excellency (H.E.), though he does not identify his name. We can presume that he is either the Governor or the Chief Minister. In this correspondence, Anwer Ali, the DIG/ CID, openly advocated immediate action against *Imroze*; on the other hand, Syed Noor Ahmed and the Director Public Relations did not seem to attach much importance to this issue. While commenting on Anwer Ali’s note of 21 August, he observed that ‘None of these items seems actionable’. Comments from the DPR, 22 August 1950, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359, p.25. This matter was subsequently filed because the DPR did not deem it necessary to take further action, with an observation that ‘The tone of the poems is not one would like to be but they do not seem to call for any penal action’, Comments from the DPR, 1 September 1950, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

³⁸³ For details about the Establishment’s high-handed tactics against the PPL between April 1948 and October 1958, see Table 5, Appendix 3. The table provides a graphic description of the pressure and intrusive tactics that the ruling elite deployed against the PPL and demonstrates its growing frustration with this institution.

³⁸⁴ Mohammad Saeed, *Aahang-e Baz Gasht*, 3rd ed. (Islamabad: Qaumi Idarah Brai Tahqiq-e Tarikh -o-Saqafat, 1989), p.292.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

burst of laughter, ‘you have portrayed such a person as a hawk who had been struggling valiantly against the British Imperialism since the quarter of century and who has fought a very fascinating battle for democracy’. Mahmood Hussain replied, ‘Mian Sahib in which world you are living? I have saved the newspaper’.³⁸⁶ As noted earlier the radical policy the PPL newspapers followed made the Establishment much antagonized therefore it marked them as target. The Table 5 of the Appendix 3 provides its details.

If we look at the track record of the PPL newspapers on press freedom, we find that barring the *Civil and Military Gazette* affair it looks quite impressive.³⁸⁷ The PPL’s management and journalists showed tenacity in the wake of the Establishment’s mounting pressures. They consistently supported the cause of working journalists, and in this process faced prolonged and furious opposition from the vast majority of newspaper proprietors. They even provided timely and wholehearted support to newspapers like *Nawa-i-Waqt*,

³⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.292–293. This incident demonstrates two things: First, the pressure against the PPL newspapers, and second, the freedom of opinion the journalists who worked at PPL enjoyed under the proprietorship of Iftikhar-ud-Din.

³⁸⁷ In this case the *PT*’s Chief Editor, Faiz, and *Imroze*’s editor, Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, had to succumb to the enormous pressure built up by newspaper editors’ and proprietors’ fierce campaign against the *Gazette*. The joint editorial, ‘The Treason’, was published in the *PT* on 6 May 1949 and in *Imroze* the next day. Initially, C.H.Hasrat refused to publish the editorial but subsequently gave in.; Maulvi Mohammad Saeed, the *PT*’s news editor at that time, informs us about Faiz’s immediate reaction in the middle of the Press Advisory Council’s crucial emergency meeting that was called to discuss the *Gazette* affair. This meeting was held at the PPL in a room adjacent to the newsroom. Distinguished editors like Altaf Hussain, Hamid Nizami and Faiz attended this meeting. W.F.Bustin, the *Gazette*’s editor, also participated. While recording Faiz’s frustration, as shown by his to-and-fro movements between the meeting room and the newsroom, Saeed observes that ‘Faiz looked very upset and came to newsroom again and again and say, ‘What is happening?’ While assessing Faiz’s mental state during those tense moments, he adds ‘He could neither extricate himself from this confrontation nor could he hide his disgust. Physically he was in the grip of Altaf and Nizami, spiritually he was somewhere else.’ M.Saeed, *Aahang-e Bazghast* (Lahore: Commando Printers, 1977), p.296, cited in Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, p.69–70. Iftikhar-ud-Din was out of the country by the time of the publication of this joint editorial in his newspapers. Z.Niazi’s work further informs us of his angry reaction to this incident when he returned. While citing Ibrar Siddiqui, a veteran PPL journalist, Niazi records, ‘at one of the periodical meetings of the PPL staff, Mian Saheb put Faiz on the mat for being a party to the joint editorial’. He warned Faiz, ‘a day would come when the same tactics would be used against the PPL newspapers’. Ibrar Siddiqui cited in Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, and p.71. The PPL’s takeover almost after a decade conclusively showed how accurate his prediction was.

Dawn and *Evening Times* during their troubled times, when their relationship with the Establishment had turned sour, despite the fact that they were considered vociferous opponents of the Left and, by the same token, traditional rivals of the PPL.³⁸⁸

The opinion pages of the *PT* and *Imroze* provide a fair indication of their staunch advocacy of press freedom. As early as August 1947, M.D.Taseer, in an article on Pakistan's vision for the future, demanded that:

We have been manacled for such a long time that we have forgotten how to walk freely. We have to be taught the gait of freedom. We should be urged to practice liberty at the risk of running into license...We have suffered so long in this field that; even the misuse of liberty should be tolerated.³⁸⁹

While reacting aggressively to his arrest along with *Imroze*'s publisher over a trivial issue, Faiz wrote a hard-hitting editorial in which he emphasised the difference between two distinct concepts: freedom and servitude. He told the people outright that they had to 'choose and decide' on one of the two options, that is, to fight for liberty or to become resigned to their fate by tolerating similar kinds of incursions on 'their hard-won...liberty'.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ For details of how these newspapers came under the Establishment's cloud, see Appendix 3, Table 1. For the PPL's newspapers unwavering support to their rival newspapers, see Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, p.56. Also see 'Editorial: Karachi's Cold War', *The PT*, 17 November 1953.

³⁸⁹ M.D. Taseer, '*Pakistan Mubarak...IX*', *The PT*, 27 August 1947.

³⁹⁰ 'Editorial: What Price Freedom', *The PT*, 13 April 1948. The Urdu translation of the editorial appeared in *Imroze* on 15 April 1948 under the caption '*Azadi ki Yeh Qaimat*'. Its by-line bore Faiz's signature. It was the first and last occasion in the PPL's history that any editor personally signed an editorial.*Imroze*, while commenting on government–press relations in the midst of government actions against some proprietors on 31 July 1948, passionately defended the exclusive prerogative of the press to openly criticise the corrupt practices of the ruling classes. It strongly emphasised that the fundamental role of the press was to act as 'a mirror of nation's thoughts and opinion'. While making a strong case for the merits of freedom of expression, it argued persuasively that: 'The incidents of corruption of government officials are regularly reported in newspapers. Irrespective of the fact that how do they effect the government, they at least help to release the lingering bitterness and seething resentment of heart, which further lightens one's heart. If the press freedoms are crushed then annoyance and

Ayub Khan's regime formally took over the PPL on 18 April 1959. It was a crippling blow to Iftikhar-ud-Din, who passed away three years later in 1962.³⁹¹ Z. Niazi succinctly captures the agonising dilemma that the PPL takeover posed for Iftikhar-ud-Din, stating that he 'fell victim of his lofty moral ideals/standards himself'.³⁹² These words neatly sum up the story of the previous chapter on the PPL.

3.4 Contextualising the Suppression of Left-wing Press

Let us open up this narrative of the suppression of the Left-wing press in Pakistan by setting it in larger contexts, both global and national. We must not forget that this phase was synchronised with the era of an overall witch-hunt against the Left during the first decade of the Cold War. This campaign was orchestrated by the Western powers, particularly the Anglo-American bloc. This is amply illustrated by examples of the curtailment of the Left movement within the US during the same period, which came to be known as 'McCarthyism'. I have already referred to this dimension in the section 1.1 as well as explained that governments of Iran and Malaysia during the 1950's and the Indonesian government under Suharto regime fell under these ideological influences.³⁹³

vexation would begin to accumulate and become deadly poisonous and definitely find a way out for itself'.

³⁹¹ Z. Niazi, *Unglian Figar Apni*, p.27.

³⁹² While commenting on his death, Zuhair Siddiqui, a veteran PPL journalist who was associated with the *Civil and the Military Gazette*, wrote that 'this news about his death came quite late, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had died three years earlier on 18 April 1959, the very day, when the Ayub Khan regime had seized control of his newspapers', *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 6 June 1963, cited in Z.Niazi, *Unglian Figar Apni*, pp.27-28.

³⁹³ For details see Fn.no. 11 in the 'Introduction'.

Pakistani authorities, sensing US sensitivities on this issue, tried to magnify the intensity of the Leftist threat in Pakistan.³⁹⁴ They systematically tried to

³⁹⁴ We have discussed this theme in the Introduction. Here we can reiterate briefly that the Establishment, despite being aware that Leftist movement was quite weak in post-Partition Pakistan, presented it as an imminent threat. Several eyewitness accounts by Leftist activists and sympathisers provide ample testimony to the actual situation. These radicals have openly acknowledged that the Leftist movement suffered from inherent weaknesses from the outset. For details, see Hasan Abadi, *Junun Men Jatni Bhi Guzri, Ek Sahafi aur Shair kay Tajrubaat-o-Mushaidat*, (Karachi: Pakistan Studies Center Jamia Karachi, 2005), pp. 65–66, Eric Rahim, ‘Eric Rahim’s interview by Kashif Bokhari, 27 March 2010 (London), *Awami Jamhoori Forum*, issue no.50 (June 2010), pp.53–54 and 57, and Soam Anand, *Baatain Lahore ki*, (Nai Delhi, Maktab-e Jaamia,1981), cited in, A. R. Malik, ‘Yadaun kay Dreecheay, *Qissa Ek Dukandar ka*’, Qist number 2, *Awami Jamhoori Forum*, issue no. 35 (January 2007), pp.48–49. The US Department of State’s de-classified documents on Pakistan between the years 1950 and 1952 give examples of how Pakistan’s Establishment was trying to create as well as heighten the perceptions of US officials about the growing popularity of the Leftist movement in Pakistan. Here, I confine it to convey a general, but concrete, idea by citing specific instances from three documents. One relates to Anwer Ali’s conversation with a US official and the other two deal with the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case [R.C.C.] (1951); In January 1951, Anwer Ali apprised the Consul General about the Leftist movements’ potential threat in these words: ‘The revolutionary aspect of Communism in the Punjab is still in its incipient stages but may be expected to be more and more in evidence during the coming year’. He also highlighted the increasing popularity of the Democratic Students Federation’s (DSF) a radical student’s organisation, among students. While describing it as Communism’s ‘instrument’, Anwer Ali warned that it was ‘gaining support among the student community at an alarming rate’, From A.R. Preston (American Consul General) to the Department of State’, Lahore, 16 January 1951, Action Copy to DC/R, no.96, de-classified 790d., 001/6–250; The Establishment projected the CPP’s alleged involvement in this case as an abortive coup orchestrated by the communists to seize power in Pakistan. The CPP’s implication in this case offers a clear example of the Establishment’s concerted efforts to draw the US administration’s attention to this situation in a dramatic way. On 10 March 1951, the day after the arrest of the main accused, Akbar Khan, the Secretary of Defence Ministry, Iskander Mirza, contacted the US embassy’s Army Attaché and asked him to convey to the US ambassador that Major General Akbar Khan “is hundred percent communist” and he has been in contact with communists since he recently took up his job as the Chief of Army Staff at Rawalpindi’, ‘From Avra M. Warren (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary) to the Secretary of the State’, Karachi, 10 March 1951, Action Copy to DC/R, no. 825, 3 April 1951, De-classified 790d., 001/3–1051; One document relating to the R.C.C. tells us about a report that was sent telegraphically under the P.M.’s instructions to the principal embassies on 20 March 1951. It was further conveyed to the ambassadors of the US, Burma, Iran and Turkey and the High Commissioners of Australia, Canada and the UK. US ambassador Warren gives its real ‘substance’, which vividly depicts it as a conspiracy ‘actively assisted by commie elements’. It further highlighted that the conspirators included ‘twelve military officers and a few civilians, most of them with commie connections’. For details, see ‘Telegram From Avra M. Warren to the Secretary of State’, Karachi, 20 March 1951, Action Copy to DC/R, no.862, De-classified, 790d,001/3– 2051; Another document focusing on this conspiracy shows that the Pakistani Establishment tried to sensationalise this incident to the US from 10 March, that is, from the day after this conspiracy was uncovered. Wing Commander Salah-ud-Din, the Commander of the Lahore air base, told one US diplomat that ‘he was ‘shocked to learn that high ranking Pakistani officers had been guilty of passing military secrets to the Soviet Union’. ‘From Joyce R. Herrmann, (American Vice Consul) to the Department of State’, 12 March 1951, Action Copy to DC/R, no. 127, 790d.00/3–1251. Anushay Malik, contemporary scholar on Pakistan’s Left, in a recent article compellingly argues that the Establishment created the Left’s representational imagery by closely associating characteristic traits like ‘sedition and defiance’ with communism. Anushay Malik, ‘Alternative politics and dominant narratives: communists and the Pakistani state in early 1950s’, *South Asian History and Culture*, p.5. To support her contention, she draws on documentary evidence from the

discredit the Left before the public and did not hesitate from criminalising it. The implication of the CPP in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case (1951) is the most explicit example.³⁹⁵ The Pakistani Establishment, more than magnifying the imminence of the communist threat in Pakistan, allowed the US authorities an intrusive presence in Pakistan. Tahira Mazhar Ali, Pakistan's veteran woman activist, reveals that such was the level of US officials' penetration in Pakistan that they were provided access to very sensitive documents about Pakistan security.³⁹⁶

The Establishment made all these efforts to draw closer to the Anglo-American bloc. The point should not be belaboured that it had definitely set its gaze on the benefits of establishing a close political alignment with the Anglo-US bloc.³⁹⁷ The US governments, particularly the Eisenhower administration,

Ministry of Interior's Reports on the *Internal Situation* in the early 1950s, and shows how the Establishment was trying to incriminate the Leftists in the deteriorating political situation. These reports pinpoint 'provincialism and communism' as two evils, and bring out the CPP as an ever-present threat. She finds these growing perceptions an 'overreaction by state'. In her opinion provincialism and communism did not happen to be a singular phenomenon in terms of their demands and the specific role of the agencies, but the Establishment, disregarding this fact, presented them as a 'part of the same sort of threat to its authority'. Ibid. pp.5–6.

³⁹⁵ For details, see Talat Ahmed, 'Writers and Generals', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 2008, vol.45, especially pp.135–144, A. Malik, 'Alternative politics and dominant narratives', pp.9–13. For a perceptive analysis of its overall context and impact, see Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, pp.118–135.

³⁹⁶ Tahira Mazhar Ali, 'Tahira Mazhar Ali's interview', in Samina Akbar, 'The Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case 1951: An Interpretative Study' (M.Phil thesis, G.C. University, Lahore 2008), Annexure 4, pp.138–139. Further confirmation of this evidence comes from Farhat Mahmud who writes that a 'senior official of the Government of Pakistan' disclosed to him that 'all important government files were sent to the US ambassador for information and consultation', F. Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*, p.328.

³⁹⁷ For a critical analysis, see Farhat Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*, Lahore, Vanguard 1991, 'The Background' and 'Epilogue'; Some other readings can also be quite useful for understanding the overall context, see Roby Carol Barrett, '“Come Quickly Sweet”: American Foreign Policy in the Middle East' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2005), Chapters 5 and 10 and; Russell Ray Williams, 'What Do We Get From Pakistan' Major Shifts in U.S. Pakistan Relations, 1947–1982' (M.A. thesis, Clemson University, 2007), Chapter 2; For wider debates see A.Jalal, 'Towards the Baghdad Pact: South Asia and Middle East Defence in the Cold War', *International History Review* 11, (1989) : and, *The State of Martial Rule*, pp. 49–56. Further, see Robert J. McMahon, 'United States Cold War Strategy in South Asia: Military Commitment to Pakistan, 1947–1954', *The Journal of American History* 75, (1988):812–840 and; Sultana Afroz, 'The cold war and United States military aid to Pakistan 1947–60: A reassessment', *South Asia* 17, (1994) :57–72.

for their own interests deemed it necessary to enter into bilateral agreements and regional military alliances with Pakistan, which were part of the US global strategy to contain communism. In Pakistan's case, both the Pakistani and the US establishments found common ground on the issue of suppressing the Left movement. A focus on the desperate but co-ordinated efforts by the US government and Pakistan's Establishment to stamp out this movement reveals that the Pakistani and US governments acted in unison.³⁹⁸

From March 1958, Pakistani officials started presenting the US authorities with a nightmare scenario of the elections that were scheduled in 1959. They painted a scenario in which the radical parties (anti-Establishment parties) were likely to gain ascendancy over the pro-Establishment forces. They communicated their apprehensions to the US authorities on the outcome of the elections, because they could fundamentally alter the nature and direction of the country's domestic and foreign policies.³⁹⁹ The developments between

³⁹⁸ This key theme runs through Hamza Alavi's writing. These concepts, along with H Alavi's basic and over-riding notion of 'mutuality of interests among the privileged classes', not only reinforce each other, but also nicely complement his theory of the over-developed state structure. These three conceptual lenses enabled H.Alavi to make a very critical and perceptive analysis of Pakistan's society and politics based on Marxist perspectives. Alavi's writings provide a rich theoretical as well as historical understanding of the inherent limitations of Left-centred working class politics in Pakistan in many ways. His concept of nexus succinctly explains the collaboration between Pakistan's ruling elite and the Anglo-American bloc during the 1950s and 1960s. For relevant details see H.Alavi, 'The State in Post Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh' [1973], pp.145–173; 'Class and State in Pakistan', in H. Gardezi and J. Rashid, eds, *The Roots of Dictatorship*, pp.40–85; 'The Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan', *International Socialist Journal*, 1966, vol.3, pp.149–181.

³⁹⁹ Pakistan's Prime Minister, Feroze Khan Noon, sent an official letter to Henry Cabot Lodge, the US representative to the United Nations, in April 1958. Aly Khan, Pakistan's permanent representative to the UN, who 'read' this letter before Lodge. Lodge's telegram to the US of State Department presents a concise summary of F.K. Noon's letter. The Pakistani Prime Minister urged that the US should provide firm guarantees to secure Pakistan's borders and speed up the 'delivery of the US bombers' to Pakistan as it had pledged in the military aid agreement. Noon warned the US government that frustrating delays in US immediate action on these issues would lead the opposition parties to politicise these issues in the up-coming elections. He further specified that they could 'play up' the issue of 'insufficient returns' from the government's foreign policy of forging alliances with the West. While alluding to the configuration of political forces at that time, he apprised the US officials that Pakistan's three leaders—Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan and F.K.Noon—were 'clearly aligned with West and it was necessary their policies bore fruits', otherwise 'Pakistan's politicians might move in the

February and the first week of October vividly demonstrate that they had made up their mind to counter the prospect of an electoral victory by the radical parties or anti-Establishment forces by wrapping up the fragile parliamentary system.⁴⁰⁰ These efforts culminated in the imposition of martial law by the President Iskander Mirza on 7 October 1958.⁴⁰¹

direction of neutralism', 'Telegram from Henry Cabot Lodge (US representative to the United Nations) to the Department of State, New York, 25 April 1958', FRUS, 1958–1960 Vol. XV, South and South East Asia Document 306, <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v15/d306>, accessed on 17 November 2013. We can reasonably infer from this letter what kind of political message Pakistan's Prime Minister wanted to put across to the US government. It can be summarised as follows: He strongly urged that the US authorities should throw their full support behind Pakistan's Establishment by sorting out Pakistan's urgent security problems. He warned them that US failure to do so would put Pakistan's pro-West leadership in a vulnerable position vis-à-vis their political opponents in the forthcoming elections and such an eventuality might result in a complete reversal of Pakistan's policy of alignment with the West. Just three days later, the Pakistani government sent a high-ranking Pakistani delegation to the US to reinforce this desperate political message in a more persuasive and straightforward way. This delegation comprised Syed Amjad Ali, the Finance Minister; Mohammad Ayub Khan, the Pakistan's Army's C-in-C, and Mohammad Asghar Khan, the Pakistan Air Force C-in-C. The State Department's editorial note on 28 April gives the main purpose of this visit as to hold a 'series of discussions with the U.S. officials' and to 'undo the great damage' caused by the F.K. Noon speech on 8 March 1958, 'Editorial Note' FRUS, 1958–1960, vol. xv, South and South East Asia, Document 307; <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60 v15/d307>, p.1, accessed on 17 November 2013. Strangely, the FRUS documents do not give even a hint of what kind of discussion took place during this meeting. Other sources, such as the later sheaf of the de-classified American papers relating to South Asia during the 1960s, Ayub Khan's autobiography, and Farhat Mahmud's work, give us clear hints about the other side of this story. F. Mahmud tells us that the Pakistani delegation held discussions with 'General Nathan Twining, General Omar Bradley and the Chiefs of Staff of all services' and Ayub Khan also had an important meeting with Allen Dulles, the CIA Director. He provides further information about this meeting by citing Ayub Khan, who 'put his brother, who was the US Foreign Secretary (sic.) in picture regarding our problems', M. Ayub Khan, *The Friends Not Masters*, p.59, cited in F. Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations* (Lahore: Vanguard 1991), p.21. To cut this long story short, the Pakistani delegation, particularly Ayub Khan, during this visit presented a grim picture about the immediate and frightening prospects of the anti-Establishment's parties' electoral victory in the general elections as well as the adverse potential implications of such a change.

⁴⁰⁰ President Iskander Mirza repeatedly expressed his as well as the military Establishment's firm intentions to the US officials, particularly the US ambassador, James M. Langley in February and more consistently in May 1958. For details, see 'Telegram from J.F. Dulles (the US Secretary of State) to the Embassy in Pakistan, Washington, 4 February 1958', *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1958–1960, Vol. XV, South and Southeast Asia, Document 296, accessed on 17 November 2013, <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v15/d296>, p.1. By the end of the third week of May, the situation had become so clear to the US officials that they were expecting an 'imminent...change in Government' that 'could actually involve this time much more than change of personalities'. See 'From J.F. Dulles to James M. Langley (the US ambassador in Pakistan), Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Pakistan, Washington, 21 May 1958', *FRUS 1958–1960*, Vol. XV, South and Southeast Asia, Document 312, accessed on 17 November 2013, <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60 v15/d312>, p.1.. Some of these

Where does the PPL fit in this larger narrative? The PPL had developed close affinities with the Leftist political, cultural and trade union movements by providing them with moral and intellectual support. The PPL's sustained support to progressive causes was obvious, and by the time of its takeover the institution had developed considerable clout in the public sphere. In the previous chapter, we demonstrated how its radical journalists devised various methods that were ingenious, innovative and what PPL's prominent journalist, I.A.Rehman, described as 'generic' (that is alternative and inoffensive) to articulate the message that Pakistan's Left parties wanted to convey to the masses, but without being labelled as the CPP's propaganda tool. Thus, the PPL publications had acquired a distinct individual identity within the Left-wing press. Against this backdrop, it is not difficult to understand why the Establishment decided to take the extraordinary step of a takeover.

A detailed account of the bitter exchanges between the PPL publications and the US authorities between January 1948 and March 1958 provides vital evidence to closely connect the PPL's story with the complex narrative of the

documents reveal that Iskander Mirza, during face-to-face conversations with the US ambassador, reflected on the precise direction of the military's political thinking and provided clear clues that the military held identical views on this issue. US Department of State, Office of the Historian, 'Telegram from J.M. Langley (the US ambassador in Pakistan) to the Department of State, Karachi, 5 October 1958, *FRUS*, 1958–1960, Vol. XV, South and Southeast Asia, Document 321, http://history.state.gov/historical_documents/frus1958-60v15/d321, p.1, accessed on 19 November 2013. We also find that Iskander Mirza had categorically 'informed' the US ambassador about his 'plans of takeover ... within few days' on 4 October 1958. See 'From Fredric P. Bartlett (the Director of the Office of South Asian Affairs) to William M. Rountree, Memorandum, Washington, 7 October 1958', *FRUS*, 1958–1960, Vol. XV, South and Southeast Asia, Document 324, http://history.state.gov/historical_documents/frus1958-60v15/d324, p.1, accessed on 17 November 2013.

⁴⁰¹ The underlying motive of this series of manoeuvres by the Establishment was to get US support for their crucial decision to postpone elections. It brings up a set of related questions: Which were the radical parties or groups whose immediate access to the corridors of power through elections the Establishment wanted to prevent/ restrict? Whether and how did it succeed in getting US support for this process? To what extent did the imposition of Iskander Mirza's martial law (7 October) followed by Ayub Khan's martial law (27 October) affect the balance of power between the civilian and non-political forces? And, what kind of wider academic debates has this issue provoked?

suppression of the Left in Pakistan.⁴⁰² It is revealing that the *PT*'s veteran journalists, like I.A.Rehman, accord great importance to the complicity between the Pakistani Establishment and the US authorities behind the PPL's takeover in April 1959. He contends that the PPL newspapers' direct opposition to Pakistan's participation in the US-sponsored Cold War alliance in Asia made the US authorities a bitter opponent of this newspaper organisation. Hence, they began to consider its growing influence a threat to their vested interests in West Pakistan, and decided to contain its influence as early as March 1958.⁴⁰³

These developments compel us to look into a set of questions: What agenda was the Establishment pursuing in collaboration with the US that the PPL newspapers were opposing so vehemently? Why did the Establishment and the US authorities accord this institution so much importance? Could the growing influence of the PPL publications have posed serious obstacles to their immediate as well as long-term political interests? These questions lead to a curious debate about the extent of the US complicity in this episode, which we explore in the following section.

3.5 Factors Leading to PPL's Takeover: A Critical Evaluation

Sections 3.1 to 3.3 examined shifts in the Establishment's perception of the PPL, and showed that it had become increasingly negative. In the previous section I re-established the connection. Picking up this thread, we will move in

⁴⁰² The nature of the 'bitter exchanges' can be explained in terms of the PPL publications' uncompromising ideological stance against the policies of the Anglo-American bloc. (The sections on the *PT* and *Imroze* provide vivid insights on these issues). The US officials, on the other hand, reacted quite sharply to the PPL, as illustrated by the blunt and sharp reaction against the PPL and its proprietor. By the mid-1950s, the US Ambassador in Pakistan began to openly criticise Iftikhar-ud-Din.

⁴⁰³ I.A.Rehman, *PT*'s former chief editor and a veteran Pakistani journalist, disclosed this information to this writer. Interviewed on 10 February 2013 in Lahore.

chronological order to reopen the debate. The views of two journalists of *Imroze*—Ahmed Bashir and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi—provide some idea about the Establishment’s moves against this institution, and how it was keeping a vigilant eye on *Imroze* through various informers. Ahmed Bashir saw it as an attempt to wreck the institution from the inside.

The Establishment had started to make clever manoeuvres to undermine *Imroze* from the period of Hasrat’s editorship (1948–1951). Ahmed Bashir makes the startling revelation that the veteran journalist, Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik, had turned informer for the Punjab government. He used to convey misleading information from Punjab’s governor (presumably Abdur-Rab-Nashtar). As Hasrat’s close friend, Maulana Salik was a regular visitor to the *Imroze* office, and while chatting with Hasrat, he would pass sarcastic comments in a light vein. Ahmed Bashir alludes to one of those comments. Maulana Salik used to joke about C.H.Hasrat’s editorship, saying that he was ‘doing something wrong in *Imroze*.’ Ahmed Bashir adds that initially nobody thought much of it, but he gradually began to suspect that Salik was in fact ‘on a mission, which was to wreck this newspaper from inside’.⁴⁰⁴

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, who served as *Imroze* editor between 1953 and 1959, used to talk about an incident that occurred during his editorship (probably in

⁴⁰⁴ Ahmed Bashir, *Dil Bhatkay Ga*, p.431. He further explains that some of Maulana Salik reservations about *Imroze* pertained to its ‘constant criticism against the Muslim League’s government’ and its clear agenda of bringing about radical change in the country, whereas other comments were more personal. He believes that Maulana Salik became envious of the high standards that *Imroze* had achieved; on the other hand, his own newspaper *Inqilab* had been closed down. Similarly, he felt jealous that his disciple, C.H. Hasrat who, despite being younger than him, had surpassed him in professional journalism in terms of his knowledge and had acquired higher status. In short, A.Bashir alleges that Maulana Salik allowed himself to play such a role because his professional jealousy about *Imroze* and its pioneering editor overwhelmed him.

1958 before he was arrested for four months). Ata-ul- Haq Qasmi, a veteran journalist and editor of one of literary journals, informs us that:

He used to tell that he appointed a journalist as sub-editor in *Imroze* in 1958. After some time during his incarceration, he came to know that the said person was member of an intelligence agency. Upon his release, he dismissed that journalist summarily from his job. The next day Qasmi was utterly astonished to see the same person present in the newsroom and editing the news.⁴⁰⁵

These clear testimonies from two prominent journalists at *Imroze* support our main contention in the previous chapter that the Establishment was attempting to undermine the PPL. At the same time, they show that it had placed the PPL newspapers under covert surveillance by planting informers.

A comparison of the Establishment's general perception of the PPL management, at the time when *Imroze* filed its Lahore declaration in 1947–1948, with its views about this newspaper, when it filed the declaration of its Peshawar edition in 1957–1958, makes it clear how the Establishment's attitude towards this institution changed over a decade.

According to the press laws, the government had the prerogative of issuing the newspaper licence; in Pakistan, this is known as the declaration of a newspaper. Similarly, it had complete discretion over the issue of security deposit under the provisions of the Press and Registration of Books Act XXV of 1867 and the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act XXIII of 1931. In other words, it was up to the government whether or not to demand a security deposit from a newspaper. In the case of *Imroze* Lahore, despite the increasingly critical tone of the *PT*, the declaration (licence) could not be refused because of the PPL management's close affiliation with the ruling

⁴⁰⁵ Ata-ul-Haq Qasmi, 'Obituary: *Suraj Doob Gya*', *Daily Pakistan*, 14 July 2006.

Muslim League. However, on the issue of the initial security deposit, the Punjab government's Information Department, the Office of Lahore's District Magistrate, and the Punjab Police, C.I.D Department exchanged lengthy official correspondence for more than two months after Syed Amir Hussain Shah (henceforth Amir Hussain), the *PT*'s printer and publisher, applied for the *Imroze* declaration in November 1947.

The Lahore's District Magistrate's (D.M.) report showed that 'there (was) nothing against' *Imroze*'s printer and publisher Amir Hussain, 'politically or otherwise' on police record. However, he sought the government's further advice on this issue. The Information Department, on the other hand, before taking a final decision turned to the S.P (Administration) for confidential advice.⁴⁰⁶ Anwer Ali, the DIG, C.I.D, confirming the police clearance, acknowledged in his comments the close association of the *Imroze* management with the Muslim League. However, in his characteristic sceptical vein, he pointed out that *Imroze* was going to be 'an Urdu counterpart of the *Pakistan Times* and will propagate the views of the President of the provincial Muslim League'. He specified some dimensions of its tone, such as 'criticism of Muslim League leadership in the province, land reforms, and socialisation of industry'. Therefore, keeping in view the possibility of 'anti-government propaganda', he considered it 'advisable' that security should be demanded.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Lahore District Magistrate's Letter (no.351-PB-dated 5-1-48), cited in file note by Abdur-Rashid, 10 January 1948, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

⁴⁰⁷ Official note from Anwer Ali (DIG/ CID) to Press Branch, 28 January 1948, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

However, Noor Ahmed, the D.P.R. Punjab, set aside Anwer Ali's advice and decided to waive the initial security requirement.⁴⁰⁸

Amir Hussain applied for a licence for the Peshawar edition of *Imroze* on 16 November 1957. This application went through similar bureaucratic procedures for a few months.⁴⁰⁹ By that time the perceptions of the police about the PPL had completely changed, as evident from the reply by the Senior Superintendent Police (Peshawar) to the letter, which was part of the formalities for clearance before the declaration. He strongly recommended in his report that 'it is not desirable to grant a declaration for the proposed publication'. He described Amir Hussain as a close associate of Iftikhar-ud-Din's National Awami Party, whom he dubbed a 'communist'. He snidely remarked about Amir Hussain:

He has nothing else at heart except propagation of the communist ideas, particularly in the backward part of the country, where the people are prone to be injected with such political venom, and, thus chances of bringing radical changes in the government are not remote.⁴¹⁰

This letter is filled with his apprehensions, as he speculated that publication of *Imroze* from Peshawar would encourage 'disruption tendencies of his political

⁴⁰⁸ Noor Ahmed, taking a principled stance on this issue, wrote, '[T]o my mind the demand of an initial security would not be either justifiable or politic'. He argued that it would not add to government's reputation, rather it might prove counter-productive, as it would 'provide a handle for propaganda', leaving the overriding impression that the 'Government ...?' suspects organs of public opinion even before they start functioning'. Note from Noor Ahmed (D.P.R.), 2 February 1948, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

⁴⁰⁹ Letter from Deputy Commissioner (Peshawar) to Director Public Relations (West Pakistan Lahore), no.18271-72, 20 November 1957, PLB, Civil Secretariat, Lahore/ File on *Imroze*, Peshawar/ 2170.

⁴¹⁰ The S.S.P. Peshawar conducted a police enquiry about the antecedents of Ameer Hussain, and informed the Deputy Commissioner Peshawar about his final report through an official letter, no.245-SB, on 16 January 1958. The file on *Imroze* (Peshawar) in the Press Laws Branch Lahore does not contain this letter; however, the core comments of the S.S.P.'s critical remarks are reproduced in the following source. S.P.'s (C.I.D Northern Region Peshawar), Letter to D.P.R (West Pakistan), no. 2949/SB/24 February 1958, PLB, Civil Secretariat, Lahore/ File on *Imroze*, Peshawar/ 2170.

party'. While drawing attention to the potentially negative role of *Imroze*, he argued, 'it will definitely be used against the One Unit and serve as powerful weapon who carry on *Pakhtoonistan* propaganda'.⁴¹¹ This explicit change in the police attitude indicates that police's perceptions, which had shown lingering suspicions in 1947–1948, were transformed into vehement opposition against the PPL ten years later.

The Establishment went on with its plans to abolish the façade of democratic politics to prevent radical parties from coming to power. Iskander Mirza imposed martial law around midnight of 7 and 8 October. (Now that the two-man administration had begun to rule the country, this form of political dispensation lasted for 20 days.) Anwer Ali, the *PT* cartoonist, was quick to express his apprehensions about the potentially adverse consequences of martial law for the country. He drew the following cartoon that appeared in the *PT* on 9 October 1958.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

Figure 3.4 Anwer Ali's Reaction to Iskander Mirza's Martial Law



The cartoon shows Nanna holding a kite upside-down in his right hand. The kite's simple design shows two stars on each side of the bridle point, and is symbolic of the stars inscribed on military insignia or badges that are usually pinned or sewn onto military officers' uniforms. To the extreme right, there are two similar kites and a falcon flying in the sky. Nanna is talking to a child of his own age, and sharing his experience about flying kites. The comments below are tinged with obvious sarcasm, and tell us about the nature of this conversation. Behind Nanna, two elders, presumably his parents, are listening to the conversation and looking worried.

Source: *Pakistan Times*, 9 October 1958.

Quite understandably, the martial administration took immediate notice of this cartoon. The military authorities in Lahore hastily summoned Anwer Ali and asked for an explanation. Anwer Ali managed to protect himself by saying that he had not intended to mock or ridicule military rule. Fortunately, the martial authorities found his clarification fairly convincing, and decided not to take legal action against him.⁴¹²

⁴¹² Interview with Ajaz Anwar, 5 February 2013, Lahore.

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, who was the editor of *Imroze* at that time, in an interview in 1991, revealed the pressure under which the PPL journalists had to work after martial law was imposed in October 1958:

I received an article from information department, it was entitled 'Is it a martial-law?' [It eulogized the military] and tried to prove that the military rule was in fact a blessing of God for the people...I stated humbly that I could not publish this article. Then I received a message from the higher-ups 'should we send our men'. I replied 'please send'. They sent a person to take back/ retrieve the article. He was followed by another man, who came with arrest warrant and thus I was incarcerated.⁴¹³

Both martial regimes, first of Iskander Mirza and later of Ayub Khan, after assuming power initiated immediate reforms to stamp out corruption, and launched anti-corruption and anti-smuggling drives against corrupt segments of society, such as hoarders, smugglers, and black marketers. Later, the Ayub Khan regime embarked on its own reform agenda, which was more comprehensive in its scale and scope.⁴¹⁴ This public agenda that the Ayub Khan government was pursuing provided the PPL's publications with several opportunities to press for reforms and nudge the government to carry them out in a more radical way. These two front-page illustrations give a vivid idea of how the *PT* provided coverage to such initiatives under martial regimes before its takeover. I argue that this kind of coverage gave the PPL newspapers space to express their progressive views while following up these news items on the editorial and opinion pages.

⁴¹³ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, interview by Nadeem Uppal, in *Mitti ka Samundar*, comp. Zia Sajid (Lahore: Maktaba-al-Quresh, 1991), n.d., pp.531-532.

⁴¹⁴ For details, see Herbert Feldman, *Revolution in Pakistan: A Study of the Martial Law Administration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), Lawrence Ziring, *Ayub Khan Era: Politics in Pakistan 1958-1969* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), pp.10-15, and ; Saeed Shafqat, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto* (Boulder:West View Press, 1997). For more details, see Feldman, *Revolution in Pakistan: A Study of the Martial Law Administration*, pp.44-150.

Figure 3.5 Front Page of the *Pakistan Times*



Source: *The PT*, 16 October 1958.

Figure 3.6 Front Page of *The Pakistan Times*



Source: *The PT*, 8 April 1959.

One can argue that it was not only the PPL newspapers that were giving exclusive coverage to the martial law administration's reform agenda, but that other newspapers were doing the same. However, what distinguished the PPL's newspapers from other contemporary newspapers was their choice of headlines, their focus on coverage of progressive reforms and their follow-up stories in the form of editorials, articles and letters to the editor. The PPL newspapers apparently appreciated the administration's initiatives, but while doing so, they created a space where they could express implicit critique.

Thus, they devised various innovative ways to put across their radical message to readers.⁴¹⁵

While analysing the factors leading to the PPL's takeover, one should not ignore the factors that led to the imposition of martial law in October 1958. We have repeatedly emphasised that the Establishment had decided to impose the 1958 martial law to contain the ascendancy of radical parties in Pakistan's polity through elections. One can describe the PPL's takeover as part of a series of measures that the Establishment took to contain the Left. More specifically, one should not forget the Establishment's deep-seated resentment towards these newspapers, which we discussed in detail in sections 3.1 to 3.3 and the Table 5 of the Appendix 3.

Not surprisingly, the administration kept a vigilant eye on the PPL newspapers even after the takeover. It is relevant to quote Mazhar Ali Khan who revealed that:

Since 8 October 1958, our journals had been published under Censorship, and even when the Censorship order was formally withdrawn and the euphemism Press-advice substituted for it, we chose to be 'advised' daily, unlike some other newspapers more confident of being able to interpret the Government mind in respect of the draconian laws to which the Press was subject.⁴¹⁶

Mazhar Ali Khan's revelation highlights the discriminatory treatment meted out to the PPL newspapers. This, coupled with the PPL newspapers' continued

⁴¹⁵ The opinion pages of the *PT* and *Imroze*, between October 1959 and April 1959, bear clear testimony to this policy. This brief specimen, showing the titles of editorials, articles and letters to the editor, provide a fair indication that how the *PT* was using these reformist initiatives to carry forward their radical agenda. See 'Editorial: The Food Problem', 'Editorial: Lower-Paid Staff', 'Editorial: Agrarian Reforms', Afzal Naseem, M.B. College Okara Lahore, 'Letters to the Editor: Land Reforms,' *The PT*, December 8, 1958. Habib Ullah Khan, President West Pakistan Chamber of Agriculture Lahore, 'Letter to the Editor: Agrarian Reforms.' Hussain, 'Land Reforms—A View Point.' 'Editorial Note: Trade Unions.'

⁴¹⁶ Mazhar Ali Khan, 'Behind the Headlines: Ayub's Attack on Progressive Papers', *Pakistan Forum* 2, no. 4 (January 1, 1972), p.9.

emphasis on a democratic agenda in both direct and indirect ways, became the immediate prelude to the Ayub Khan government's drastic action against the PPL. We will revert to this theme later; first, let us see what happened after the cartoon incident.

Quite naturally, the PPL editors became more cautious after this incident. They refrained from commenting on martial law for a few days. The *PT*, editorialising on 12 October 1958, described the misrule of 'various groups of politicians largely responsible for this overall situation'. It argued that their sheer indifference to the socio-economic problems facing the country made 'people's lives steadily more burdensome and their outlook more pessimistic'. Without taking any ideological position on martial law, it generally appreciated the initial administrative measure by the martial law administration from the perspective of ordinary people.⁴¹⁷

However, the PPL newspapers soon returned to their critical tone. The *PT* published an editorial titled 'The Central Government' on 26 October 1958, one day before the imposition of martial law by Ayub Khan. It appeared to welcome the government's decision to form a new cabinet that would replace what Iskander Mirza described as the 'two-man regime'. After alluding to the new government's initial achievements, the *PT* editorial pointed out its limitations, using the words 'diarchy' and '*ad hoc* arrangement'. While pointing towards the urgent need for a cabinet, it emphasised that '[t]his function could not have been delegated to any other body'. It enumerated 'long lists of major tasks' that the cabinet had to address, and went on to advise the cabinet members that 'in sharing power they also share

⁴¹⁷ 'Editorial: Administrative Clean-up', *The PT*, 12 October 1958.

responsibility for restitution of democratic institution in Pakistan, in accordance with the promise made on more than one occasion by the President and the Prime Minister'.⁴¹⁸

Ayub Khan's coup against President Iskander Mirza on 27 October 1958 dramatically changed the political situation. The change of government at the centre allowed the PPL newspapers to make critical comments on the ousted President's rule, and to reflect on the sorry state of democracy. It saw this development as an inevitable corollary of 'the process of change', which Iskander Mirza had set in motion by declaring martial law and abrogating the constitution. Besides critically commenting on the antics of politicians, it considered Iskander Mirza responsible for the collapse of the constitution before its proper enforcement.⁴¹⁹ While criticising Iskander Mirza, it tried to impress upon the Ayub Khan regime the hope that 'the machinery devised for re-structuring representative institutions will be governed by the fundamental principles of democracy and there will be no possibility of manoeuvres to create a certain office for a particular person'.⁴²⁰ *Imroze* published an editorial the following day on the change of the government, and titled it '*Markazi Qiyadat*' (Central Leadership). It followed the broad line of argument that the *PT* editorial had pursued.⁴²¹ A few days later, Mazhar Ali Khan wrote a critical editorial titled 'The Soil Erosion' about Ayub Khan's martial law.⁴²²

⁴¹⁸ 'Editorial: The Central Government', *The PT*, 26 October 1958.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ 'Editorial: Change at the Center', *The PT*, 29 October 1959.

⁴²¹ For details, see excerpts from 'Editorial: *Markazi Qiyadat*', *Imroze*, 30 October 1958, cited in Naeem-ul-Hasan, '*Bain Bazu kay Nazariyat*', Vol. II, p.225.

⁴²² 'Tariq Ali, preface to [collection of his Mazhar Ali Khan's editorials] *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years*, by Mazhar Ali Khan (*Karachi*: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.6.

Obviously, this policy of the PPL newspapers, despite all the necessary precautions by its management, went against the political vision of Ayub Khan's regime, which embraced a top-down view of governance.⁴²³ Thus, over a period the relationship between the government and the PPL began to deteriorate. This was the period when the Ayub Khan regime seriously considered taking decisive action against the institution.

Mazhar Ali Khan further says that the government was counting on unflinching support from the *PT*, but it soon realised that the support was not forthcoming. Rumours soon began to circulate that Ayub Khan's government was becoming increasingly 'unhappy' with the newspaper. He further writes that in the midst of these rumours some 'sympathetic individuals connected with the government...directly whispered the warning that 'something terrible would happen to our papers'.⁴²⁴

The pressure of the martial law regime did not deter the PPL newspapers from their key demand of restoring democracy in its real form. This eventually became a major irritant for the Ayub Khan government. Two editorials in the *PT* on 27 and 29 March 1959 clearly show how it was stepping up this demand.

The first editorial, 'Political Purge', made a critical appraisal of the new Public Offices (Disqualification) Order (PODO). This law was introduced to enhance

⁴²³ Qudrat Ullah Shahab, *Shahabnama* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2006), p.555.

⁴²⁴ M.A.Khan, 'Behind the Headlines', p.9. Mazhar Ali Khan has provided an oblique reference to this source; however, his son, Tariq Ali, mentions it in clearer terms. He reveals that Mazhar Ali Khan was invited by the Ayub regime's commerce minister, Z.A.Bhutto, to a small party at Faletti's Hotel in Lahore in December 1958; 'during the party Bhutto took Mazhar Ali Khan 'aside' and warned him that the military regime was planning to do 'something awful' to these newspapers, Tariq Ali, preface to *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years*, p.5.

public accountability for politicians and other holders of public office. However, the editorial's major thrust was the indispensability of elections. It stressed the need to differentiate 'the corrupt tribe of politicians with honest political workers'. It considered the participation of political workers in political activities imperative for mobilising people to serve the nation. Editorialising in favour of elections, it asserted, 'The best political purge is that which is carried out by the people themselves'. It described elections as the most effective way of promoting awareness among people of their 'political responsibilities'. It highlighted the importance of holding free and fair elections at regular intervals, of creating such favourable conditions and of ensuring the successful functioning of democracy in Pakistan. While analysing why such conditions could not be created in Pakistan, it opined that only false promises of holding elections had been made to the people for 12 years, which could not be fulfilled, and the 'people' were not 'allowed to taste the fruit'.⁴²⁵

Two days later the *PT* editorialised on President Ayub Khan's speech on Pakistan Day (23 March 1959), in which he had spoken about the road map for constitutional reforms. President Ayub Khan expressed his profound distrust of the western democratic system, describing it as extremely unsuitable for Pakistan's political conditions.⁴²⁶ He further argued that the western democratic system did not 'suit the genius' of Pakistani people, because it was tailored to the needs of the people of the West, which made it

⁴²⁵ 'Editorial: The Political Purge', *The PT*, 27 March 1959. We can capture the nuances that this editorial highlighted, particularly in a situation when, by and large, politicians as a clan were demonised for their political follies. The military regime was using this criticism as a justification for the failure of democracy and just four days before President Ayub Khan had expressed his unconcealed and intense dislike for the electoral system based on popular franchise.

⁴²⁶ He was of the view that every nation possessed peculiar 'characteristic traits' that were shaped by numerous historical, geographical, climatic and economic factors.

inapplicable for Pakistan, and required modifications. Voicing serious doubts about the capability of elected bodies created by direct elections, he hinted that a constitution commission comprising ‘the best brains’ would draft the constitution and that ratification would require a referendum to be held.

The *PT*, taking serious note of this speech, published a hard-hitting editorial that virtually brushed aside all the ideas that Ayub Khan had expressed in his 23 March speech, and vigorously supported the notions of democracy, direct elections and constitution-making by a popularly elected parliament. It warned the president that ‘those who informed him that democracy is not desired by people do not truly reflect the general will, and are being unfair to the nation’. Editorialising about Pakistan’s founder’s concept of democracy, it asserted that ‘constitutional practice’ under M.A. Jinnah as Governor-General ‘was not governed by [the] concept of a benevolent autocracy’; rather, he had strongly believed in empowering people ‘through representative and responsible government’.⁴²⁷ This editorial made an incisive critique of Ayub Khan’s regime plan of delegating the task of constitution-making to a constitutional commission, and argued that only an elected body that had the people’s ‘mandate’ could draft a constitution. It reminded the government that ‘a constitution, framed by persons not commissioned by the people, will never bear the genuine stamp of popular approval’.⁴²⁸

This editorial categorically rejected President Ayub Khan’s governing philosophy that ‘democracy is a means to an end and not an end by itself and that there is no set pattern of democracy’; instead, the editorial made it clear

⁴²⁷ ‘Editorial: Ends and Means’, *The PT*, 29 March 1959.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

that without using practicable means the desirable/ ultimate ends could not be achieved.⁴²⁹ The publication of this editorial proved to be the last straw, and prompted Ayub Khan's government to decide on the PPL takeover.

Ahmed Ali Khan specifically brings out this factor to pinpoint the immediate cause of the takeover. He reveals that the *PT* was making repeated demands for an elected assembly to be set up and emphasising the need to draft the constitution only through this assembly. He is of the view that 'upon publication of this editorial the Ayub Khan regime came to realise that the PPL's newspapers might prove a hindrance to its political agenda'.⁴³⁰

Let us revert to Mazhar Ali Khan's account, which informs us that the underlying motive of the PPL takeover was the government's desire to use its newspapers for propaganda. He reveals that the Ayub Khan regime wanted to keep newspapers in a state of subservience to government authority. Initially, the government talked about launching 'one or two newspapers' of its own. However, this was not pursued, as it was not considered feasible. Then, an alternative proposal came up for nationalisation of the 'whole press', but the government turned it down, as it feared that it would receive 'adverse publicity' in the foreign press. Finally, the government set its gaze on the PPL publications as:

it was decided that some well-established newspapers should somehow be acquired. Progressive papers were a good target because, in addition to the *Pakistan Times* the

⁴²⁹ Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.189.

⁴³⁰ I.A. Rehman who edited Ahmed Ali Khan's memoirs presented the latter's version. Interview with I.A.Rehman, 9 February 2013. Ahmed Ali Khan's book was published, See, Ahmed Ali Khan, *In Search of Sense*, (Karachi: Sama, 2014), pp. 218–226. On account of historic significance of his point of view I have included it in Appendices. See, Appendix 4.

country's largest English Daily, there was also an Urdu Daily and a Weekly.⁴³¹

I.A. Rehman informs us that radical journalists in the PPL believe that this crucial decision about the PPL takeover was taken at the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) Conference (March 11–13) that was held in Manila.⁴³² This conference, while deliberating on issues relating to regional security, also discussed Pakistan's political situation, particularly the growing US concerns about the increasing Leftist influence in East Pakistan, which was likely to increase in the elections scheduled for November 1959. Hence, while deciding about containing the Left-wing radicals in East Pakistan, the participants decided to take measures to curb the other main agencies of the Left. Hence, the PPL newspapers became victims of this policy mainly because they had established a strong identity as Left-wing newspapers, and the Establishment and US officials had started considering them as one of the Left's main agencies in West Pakistan.⁴³³

This view gives a fair indication of collaboration between the Pakistani and US authorities in this episode. It is necessary to highlight a caveat of this version, which concerns this question: Did the Pakistani Establishment actually act at the behest of the US? The answer to this question remains unclear. Though some of Pakistan's top journalists like I.A. Rehman appear convinced about US complicity in this episode, this correlation cannot be conclusively proved merely by relying on the view of the PPL radicals unless

⁴³¹ M.A.Khan, 'Behind the Headlines: Ayub's Attack on Progressive Papers', p.10.

⁴³² I.A.Rehman is one of PPL's most prominent journalists, who has been closely associated with other well-informed journalists like Ahmed Ali Khan, Mazhar Ali Khan and Abdullah Malik.

⁴³³I.A.Rehman, Interview with I.A.Rehman, 9 February 2013.

it is corroborated by other pieces of documentary evidence. This version smacks of a conspiracy theory based on alleged US complicity. The chequered course of relationship between the US diplomatic officials and the PPL's management provides considerable circumstantial evidence to support the basic premise of this argument.⁴³⁴

Let us move from the discussion on concerns expressed at SEATO's Manila conference about the growing communist influence in South East Asia to US concerns in the Middle East, where the US had established the Baghdad Pact, which was a security alliance to counteract the communist influences in 1955. Three years later, a nationalist revolution broke out in Iraq on 14 July 1958, which toppled the pro-West Noori-es-Said government.⁴³⁵ The Eisenhower administration did not want to see Pakistan drifting towards a similar change that might adversely affect Pakistan's pro-West foreign policy and bring it closer to communist countries.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ It gives rise to a number of questions. Whether any discussion relating to Pakistan's political situation took place at this conference? Whether the Pakistani and US governments were genuinely concerned about the increasing communist influences in East Pakistan? And when did the US government began to consider the PPL newspapers' growing influence a potential threat for its interests in Pakistan, particularly in its Western part, to which the Pakistani Establishment belonged and in which the US had found a close and strategic ally?

⁴³⁵ The (future) Baghdad Pact heads of state, who had assembled in Ankara to attend a preparatory conference, became extremely alarmed at this development, earmarking it to what Ayub Khan describes as 'weak-kneed American policy'. They formally demanded, through a *demarche*, to invoke the Eisenhower Doctrine. The reaction of Baghdad Pact members perplexed the Eisenhower administration, and it had to issue a statement on 28 July to reaffirm commitment to the Congressional Resolution of January 1957, which was known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. The US, applying this doctrine immediately, moved its troops to Lebanon. For details, see Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, pp.65–66. Also see excerpts from Ayub Khan's diary, cited in A.Gauhar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.58, and Dennis Kux, *The United States and Pakistan, 1947–2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001), p.98.

⁴³⁶ It is relevant to mention that the US ambassador Hieldrich, had sent the US State Department a dispatch in July 1954 in which he expressed his personal satisfaction that the 'ruling group' was ideologically 'anti-communist and pro-America (n)', 'Report on United States Policy towards Pakistan', From Hieldrich (the US Ambassador in Pakistan) to the Department of State, Karachi, 10 July 1954', *FRUS*, 1952–1954, Vol. XI, Part 2, *Africa and*

The point does not need to be belaboured that the Pakistani Establishment was constantly drawing a scary scenario of the post-election political situation in Pakistan, and US officials became understandably concerned about Pakistan's political situation. One of its most obvious manifestations was the frantic diplomatic activity of the US ambassador, James M. Langley, in Pakistan. His visits to the President's house became so frequent that the issue became highly politicised. A high-ranking US official, Bill Rountree, wrote to Langley on 21 June 1959, and advised him to proceed with caution, as Langley 'may be becoming as closely involved as an intermediary in some of the internal political manoeuvring in Pakistan'. He expressed his apprehension that by doing so he would expose himself to the 'danger of attack'.⁴³⁷

Farhat Mahmud, a historian of Pakistan's foreign policy, sees an obvious connection between the situation in the Middle East and the imposition of martial law in Pakistan, for he contends that:

Considering the situation in the Middle East, and the internal situation in Pakistan itself, it could be safely inferred that the *coup* by Ayub Khan in Pakistan was a link in chain involving the so-called 'stabilization process' in the area of Middle East under the Eisenhower Doctrine.⁴³⁸

Southeast Asia, Document 1154, <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v11p2/d1154>, accessed on 9 February 2014.

⁴³⁷ J.M. Langley, while clarifying his position, maintained that he had been restraining himself from 'acting as intermediary between Pakistani leaders'. He further said that he had requested the President that his name should not be mentioned in the daily list of visitors. 'Letter', from J.M. Langley (US Ambassador in Pakistan) to Bill Rountree (Assistant Secretary of State of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs), Karachi, 1 July 1958, *FRUS*, 1958-1969, Vol. XV, pp.650-651.

⁴³⁸ F. Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*, p.20. It is interesting to mention Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's reaction on the National Election conference decision to extend the date of election from November 1958 to February 1959. Qayyum Khan was president of one Muslim League section and was considered to be Iskander Mirza's staunch opponent. He warned that if elections were not held 'the Baghdad tragedy may be enacted in Pakistan also', *Dawn*, 20 July 1958, cited in F. Mahmud, p.18.

Hamza Alavi holds a different view about the revolution in Iraq, for he construes it as the end of the US policy of military alliance with Pakistan.⁴³⁹ Contrary to this interpretation, we can argue that this development shows that US officials became seriously concerned about Pakistan's political situation. Thus, they began to subscribe to the Pakistani Establishment's view of the postponement of elections. The evidence lies in their support for martial regimes, first to Iskander Mirza's martial law and later to Ayub Khan.⁴⁴⁰ This US support to the Establishment compels us to ask this pointed question: Why did US officials support the imposition of martial law in Pakistan, particularly the one imposed by Ayub Khan, despite being aware that the Pakistani Establishment wanted to prevent political change through elections by imposing martial law.⁴⁴¹

One does not need to further stress the point that the military regime, which assumed power in Pakistan, was enthusiastically pro-West and rabidly anti-communist. Three days after martial law was imposed under Iskander Mirza, both Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan held their first joint press conference in Lahore. In an interview with AP's correspondent, while commenting on the visit of Maulana Bhashani (the NAP's leader) to Egypt and his meeting with the Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasir, Iskander Mirza opined, 'I consider

⁴³⁹ H. Alavi, 'Pakistan-US Military Alliance.', p.1555.

⁴⁴⁰ H. Mirza, *From Plassey to Pakistan: The Family History of Iskander Mirza, the First President of Pakistan* (New York: University Press of America, 1999), p.224, and 'Appendix VI: Eisenhower's letter to Iskander Mirza', pp. 371-372.

⁴⁴¹ F. Mahmud, *A History of US-Pakistan Relations*, pp.18 and 20; Feroz Ahmed, 'The structural Matrix of Struggle in Bangladesh', in *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, eds., Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp.435. Humayun Mirza's biography on his father Iskander Mirza, further confirms this fact, see, H. Mirza, *From Plassey to Pakistan*, 220.

that high treason'.⁴⁴² Tariq Ali, a Leftist intellectual and activist, pointing towards Ayub Khan's strong inclination towards the US, reveals that he made the future directions of his government's foreign policy absolutely clear by simply telling his cabinet ministers, 'For us there is only one embassy in Pakistan. The US embassy'.⁴⁴³

The imposition of martial laws presaged that now the country came under the direct rule of the Establishment, which was no longer prepared to tolerate any critical opinion about Pakistan's foreign policy. The PPL's newspapers continued to take a critical stance on these issues. Therefore, one should not ignore this specific aspect while getting at the reasons behind the takeover.

3.6 PPL's Takeover: Its Execution

The PPL takeover was the product of the collaborative efforts of one senior military official (Brig. F.R.Khan), one legal expert (Manzoor Qadir, who held the portfolio of Foreign Minister), and two bureaucrats. In fact, Brigadier F.R. Khan, who was Ayub Khan's trusted lieutenant, was the Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Information, but he handled the press and information affairs of the new regime. He was the lynchpin of this operation who called the shots, pursued this idea, silenced dissenting voices and got it executed enthusiastically.⁴⁴⁴ Manzoor Qadir lent his legal assistance in preparing the

⁴⁴² 'News Report: President Iskander Mirza's and General Ayub Khan's Interview to AP's Correspondent W.Simons,' *The PT*, October 11, 1958.

⁴⁴³ Tariq Ali, preface to *Pakistan: The First Twelve Years*, p.6.

⁴⁴⁴ F.R. Khan suppressed the opposition coming from the Principal Information Officer Col. Majeed Malik who expressed his dissent both verbally as well as by writing a 'comprehensive dissenting note, containing all the arguments against the takeover'. F.R. Khan got so infuriated that he severely reprimanded Majeed Malik for writing this note, which he 'tore into pieces' and simply told him 'our decision is irrevocable. By continuing to object you are transgressing the limits'. Majeed Malik, taking a principled stance, replied courageously, 'my duty is to save the newspapers from any mishandling by the Executive and not to assist in controlling the Press'. A.S.Khurshid interviewed Majeed Malik in 1973, and after his death wrote this

case against the PPL. Anwer Ali performed the task of collecting evidence against Iftikhar-ud-Din, and Qudrat Ullah Shahab, the Information Secretary, wrote the editorial ‘The New Leaf’, which appeared in the *PT* the next day; its translation, ‘*Naya Waraq*’, was published in *Imroze* the same day.⁴⁴⁵

The Establishment planned this operation meticulously. The government had promulgated the Security of Pakistan (Amendment) Ordinance on 16 April 1959, which secretly amended Section II of the Security Act of Pakistan (1952) to grab control and ownership of PPL from Iftikhar-ud-Din. The original clauses of the Security Act only authorised the government to close down a newspaper or magazine, and did not provide for takeover of ownership.⁴⁴⁶ The government instructed important officials from the Information Ministry, such as Q.U. Shahab and Col. Majeed Maik, the Principal Information Officer, to assemble in Lahore on the evening of 17 April.⁴⁴⁷ Two other ministers of the Ayub Khan regime, Gen. K.M. Sheikh, the Interior Minister, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Commerce Minister, were also part of this operation. Gen. K.M. Sheikh supervised this operation and Z.A. Bhutto acted as messenger.⁴⁴⁸ He called on Mazhar Ali Khan at his

article, Abdul Salam Khurshid, ‘Majeed Malik and the PPL Takeover,’ *View Point* (weekly), 5 November 1976, p.9. For details on the takeover plan and how it was implemented, see Mazhar Ali Khan, ‘Behind the Headlines’, pp.9–10 and; Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.79–84.

⁴⁴⁵ For details, see M.A. Khan, ‘Behind the Headlines: Ayub’s Attack on Progressive Papers’, p.10; Tariq Ali, *Pakistan Military Rule or People’s Power?* London: Jonathan Cape, 1970, p.101, and; Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.571.

⁴⁴⁶ K.Callard, *Political Force in Pakistan 1947–1959*.35. Manzoor Qadir, one year after the takeover justifying this amendment in the Security Act asserted that ‘the action was necessary in the larger interest of the country’, *Dawn*, 11 April 1960, cited in Edgar and Kathryn, *Public Opinion and Constitution Making in Pakistan, 1958–1962*, p.12.

⁴⁴⁷ Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.569; Aftab Ahmed, *BaYaad-e Suhbat-e Nazuk Khalayan*, *Shaksi Khakoon Ka Majmua* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 1997), p.156.

⁴⁴⁸ M.A. Khan, ‘Behind the Headlines’, p.9; Tariq Ali, *Pakistan Military Rule or People’s Power?* pp. 101–102. Z.A. Bhutto also held the portfolio of Information Minister between February and August.

residence in the early hours of Saturday, 19 April 1959 to break the news of the takeover.⁴⁴⁹

The Establishment handled this affair like a military operation. This operation was supervised from two places in Lahore that were named ‘Headquarters’. Headquarter A was established in the residence of Martial Law Administrator Zone B, and Headquarter B was set up in the Lahore Gymkhana Club. The police laid siege to the PPL building, and the residences of Iftikhar-ud-Din and S.A.H. Shah. By midnight, the PPL takeover had been accomplished.⁴⁵⁰

3.7 Allegations against Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din: Myth and Reality

There are four pieces of documentary evidence about the Establishment’s allegations against Iftikhar-ud-Din. These were the statutory note or original order, which was affixed to the PPL’s main gate at the time of the takeover; an official handout or press note that was issued the next day; an editorial titled ‘New Leaf’ that the PPL newspapers ran on 20 April; and legal notices served to the board of directors within a few days of the takeover. We will examine them in turn to get across the Establishment’s point of view.

The statutory note stated that the PPL had been brought under government control and provided some details of the post-takeover set-up. Presenting the PPL as an insidious threat, it alleged that the ‘material’ that it published was potentially ‘subversive’, as it could poison the public mind by turning it ‘on

⁴⁴⁹ Tariq Ali who was then a schoolboy, recounting Z.A.Bhutto’s visit to his house on that eventful morning, writes: ‘I was the only member of family who was dressed in preparation for school, I rushed out just in time to see a solitary cabinet minister alight from the car and greet me with a smile. It was Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, then one of Ayub’s civilian favourites. He demanded to see my father immediately. I showed him to the study and left. Much to my annoyance I was not permitted to await the outcome’, Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: an Autobiography of Sixties* (London, Verso, 2005), p.82.

⁴⁵⁰Q. U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*.

lines antagonistic to the national interest'. It termed the ideology espoused by these newspapers as detrimental to Pakistan's paramount interests. It accused the PPL management of getting subsidies as well as directions 'from foreign sources'.⁴⁵¹ The press note issued the next day repeated the allegation with more details and was couched in strong language.⁴⁵²

The *PT* published an editorial on 19 April 1959 written by Q.U. Shahab, who seemed to be consumed by guilt over his past mistakes. Providing the intellectual justification for this takeover, it pointed out key features of the new PPL policy. It alleged that the *PT* had fallen prey to ideological deviation due to the 'queer interplay of commerce and intellect'. Consequently, it entered into 'distant orbits' and stretched towards 'alien horizons far from the territorial and intellectual boundaries of Pakistan'. It further alleged that these ideological influences began to affect its 'tone and policies', making this newspaper 'look like a stranger in the house'.⁴⁵³ To the writer, the question of security assumed primacy over press freedom, for he contended that 'Freedom

⁴⁵¹ Herbert Feldman, *Revolution in Pakistan: A Study of Martial Law Administration*, p.227; Linesman, 'Between the Lines:The PPL Takeover setting the record Straight', *Viewpoint* (weekly), p. 6.

⁴⁵² It revealed, without mentioning the PPL, that: 'The investigation into the activities of some of these institutions had been launched in 1954, which brought ample testimony to prove that... [these] institutions not only seek instructions from outside the country, but also have developed secret relations with some foreign powers. They receive secret help from these countries in both forms—cash and kind. The former governments, instead of tackling this situation head-on and realistically, came under pressure and black-mailing, from certain powerful elements, who backed these institutions, and who had attained such a position that they could have influenced the changing parties and politics'. It further claimed that: 'After the revolution, the new government has closely probed into the reports, about the activities of, some of these institutions once again, and feels assured that that, there still exist certain publishing institutions, which are given instructions from the foreign countries, and they are promoting such an ideology, which is detrimental to [acts against] Pakistan's best interests'. 'News Report: *Pakistan Security Ordinance Men Tarmim kar Di Gayee...*', *Imroze* (Karachi) 18 April 1959, cited in Abdullah Malik, *Sawanih Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, pp.43–45.

⁴⁵³ 'Editorial: New Leaf', *The PT*, 19 April 1959. *Imroze* ran the translation of this editorial titled '*Naya Waraq*' on the same day.

of thought and expression is dear to us, but the integrity, security, and honour to Pakistan are doubtless dearer'.⁴⁵⁴

The PPL board of directors was sent notices informing them about the government's intention to 'confiscate their shares under the Security Act'. They were accused of purchasing shares 'with the help of foreign funds'. One letter obliquely alleged 'there was an objectionable innuendo in their writing which, even if it was not discernible in any single article, was, in its cumulative influence on the mind of its readers, meant to engender subversion'.⁴⁵⁵

The majority of the anti-Leftists among the right-wing intellectuals in West Pakistan seemed to subscribe uncritically to these allegations. Soorish Kashmiri in his biography of Iftikhar-ud-Din alleges that:

The PPL opens its L.C [letter of credit] regularly. The money is also transferred, but the same money is diverted to Mian Sahib's (account) in London, in form of the sterling pound, to spend on the Communist party. Mian Sahib was very much aware of this accusation against him, but he continued to evade it laughingly, as he used to fabricate somewhat similar stories against his opponent.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. Interestingly Q.U.Shahab in his autobiography pretends that he was unaware of the government's plan to seize control of the PPL until the evening of 17 April 1959. As regards authorship of this editorial, he tries to shift the blame to Gen. K.M.Sheikh and Brig. F.R.Khan. See Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.571. He appears to absolve himself of the responsibility, which makes his version quite distorted.A.S. Khurshid, who presents Majeed Malik's personal perspectives on this incident, shows that Q.U.Shahab was in fact privy to all discussions when this takeover was being planned. Shahab assured Majeed Malik he would 'protect him', when he feared F.R. Khan's wrath. He further promised to 'save' him 'from being compelled to act as Chief Editor'. Majeed Malik's version exposes the obvious contradictions in Q.U. Shahab's account. For details, see A.S. Khurshid, 'Majeed Malik and the PPL Takeover', p.9. A.Bashir, *Jo Milay Thay Rastey Men*, pp. 215–216.

⁴⁵⁵ M.A.Khan, 'Behind the Headlines', p.10.

⁴⁵⁶ S.Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, pp.19–20; S.Kashmiri allegations are based on a retired bureaucrat's views about the PPL, though he does not mention his name. However, he identifies him as one of the PPL's managing directors after its takeover. From this hint we can assume that he is Ghani Arabi. S.Kashmiri further writes, 'He used to tell strange stories' about the PPL during his stint as its managing director; L.C. is a Letter of Credit. It is a specialised term in commerce that denotes necessary procedural modalities in international trade. An L.C. written by an importer backs the import of an item and the importer acts as guarantor in the transaction. When the consignment is delivered, the importer transfers money into the exporter's account.

These critical voices against the PPL and its founder give us a clue to the general atmosphere in the country against the Left. The reaction of the contemporary press to the takeover provides a more vivid picture. The press did not take this drastic measure of Ayub Khan's military regime as an assault on press freedom, but welcomed it and hailed it as a great achievement by the government.⁴⁵⁷ The overall support that it provided to the government illustrates the opportunism of several newspaper proprietors and editors. Majeed Malik, the Principal Information Officer, who had repeatedly advised the government against the takeover, had used as one of his arguments that there would be a severe backlash from the press. Ironically, this did not happen; instead, some editors personally 'congratulated F.R. Khan and ensured their full cooperation'. F.R. Khan used to repeatedly remind Majeed Malik, 'Malik Sahib, as you would have experienced, that you used to say it would happen otherwise, but it is happening like that'.⁴⁵⁸ Thus, one can assume that this response by the press would have encouraged the Establishment to continue its stringent policies against the press; tragically, this happened and the Ayub Khan regime unabashedly continued to stifle press freedom.

The Establishment's accusations against the PPL and their resonance in the views of the Right-wing journalists give the impression that the entire issue was about alleged shady transactions between communist countries, like the Soviet Union and China, and Iftikhar-ud-Din's company, with the newsprint imports to Pakistan being used to channel aid to the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP). This view carries far-reaching significance in the PPL

⁴⁵⁷ For details, see Appendix 5, The Press reaction on the PPL's Seizure.

⁴⁵⁸ Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-yad-e Suhbat-e Nazuk Khalayan, Shaksi Khakoon ka Majmua*, p. 157..

narrative, since the Establishment used it as an official/ formal excuse to launch a decisive assault on the PPL.

However, given the actual situation about the domestic demand for newsprint and its production in Pakistan, it can be argued that the Establishment's version and the Right-wing intellectuals' views tend to ignore the wider perspective and reduce it to wild allegations bordering on vilification against Iftikhar-ud-Din and his institution. Unfortunately, both versions tend to ignore the actual situation that I will explain in the next paragraphs.

We need to put this issue in broader perspective. There is concrete evidence that the country suffered an acute shortage of newsprint from the start, as domestic production of newsprint was virtually nil until 1959.⁴⁵⁹ This important but little-known fact raises a different dimension of the role of newsprint importers in Pakistan.

When the government took action against the PPL in 1959, it brought the charge that Iftikhar-ud-Din was using his business as a cover for obtaining foreign aid from China. Anti-radical journalists like S. Kashmiri and Abdul Kareem Abid seem to buy into a similar argument. S. Kashmiri points out that Iftikhar-ud-din made huge profits worth 'hundreds of thousands of pounds' in his business deals with China and the Soviet Union. He further alleges that 'the Chinese government used this venture to gain leverage, as while drawing up contract, it had attached strict condition that the importation of coal could only be conducted through Mian Sahib'.⁴⁶⁰ A.K. Abid accuses 'Iftikhar-ud-Din of receiving private commission over this deal, when Liaquat Ali Khan's

⁴⁵⁹ National Book Centre of Pakistan, *The Situation of Paper in Pakistan*, 1964, n.p., pp.68 and 78. For details, see Appendix 6.

⁴⁶⁰ S. Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p. 19.

government sent him to China for securing contract for coal imports'. He adds, 'He later spent this money lavishly on his newspapers'.⁴⁶¹

Mazhar Ali Khan, on the other hand, while contesting such allegations finds nothing wrong in the business transactions between Iftikhar-ud-Din's company and the Chinese government. He argues that his business was thriving, and he was generating high earnings; it also enabled the country to save foreign exchange. Moreover, the Pakistan government had itself awarded Iftikhar-ud-Din all such contracts, and all the business transaction was carried on under the terms and conditions of these contracts.⁴⁶²

While analysing the allegations, it is relevant to examine the legal action taken by the Establishment against Iftikhar-ud-Din. The way the Establishment handled the case not only reveals serious discrepancies, but also throws doubt on the legality of this case. The legal action against Iftikhar-ud-Din shows the Establishment's political bias against him. The Establishment from the outset conveyed the message to Mazhar Ali Khan that 'the Government's only purpose was to oust Mian Iftikhar-ud-din and change the management'.⁴⁶³ The very next day Amir Hussain and Iftikhar-ud-Din's lawyer held meetings with the main actors of the operations and demanded that the charges 'should either be substantiated in a court of law or withdrawn'. Gen. Sheikh was infuriated and shouted that 'Mahmood Ali Kasuri' could have been 'arrested for obstructing police officers in the discharge of their duty'.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ A.A. Naz, ed. *Tarraqi Pasand Tehrik- o -Sahafat, Makalmat*, p.225.

⁴⁶² Linesman, 'Between the Lines' *The PPL Take over: Setting the Record Straight.* p.6.

⁴⁶³ M.A. Khan, 'Behind the Headlines', p.9.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.10.

To pre-empt any legal problems, the Establishment swiftly moved to introduce Martial Law Regulation no.72, which effectively barred those charged under the Security of Pakistan Act from filing civil suits against the government's actions. The Ayub Khan government had issued this Martial Regulation before putting the PPL up for auction.⁴⁶⁵ Iftikhar-ud-Din's counsels made repeated pleas to take this issue to higher courts, but they fell on deaf ears. Even the Establishment refused to provide Iftikhar-ud-Din's lawyers access to the documents and material that the police had impounded while conducting raids on the residences of Iftikhar-ud-Din and Ameer Hussain, which their lawyers desperately needed to contest the serious charges against Iftikhar-ud-Din.⁴⁶⁶ However, the government had established a tribunal to provide these legal proceedings with a facade of legitimacy, but even before its Establishment it had published an advertisement to auction the PPL shares.⁴⁶⁷

The Establishment took several steps to increase financial difficulties for Iftikhar-ud-Din. It confiscated the shares of all the PPL Directors, and when the Directors contested this issue, the authorities restored their shares except for the shares of Iftikhar-ud-Din and his son Arif Iftikhar.⁴⁶⁸ Under Martial Law Regulation No.48, it confiscated a sum of £362,183 14s.4d, from his account in Lloyds Bank Ltd., London.⁴⁶⁹ The government seized Iftikhar-ud-Din's large family property around Shalimar at a compensation that was much

⁴⁶⁵ *Dawn*, 11 April 1960, cited in Edgar and Kathryn, *Public Opinion and Constitution Making in Pakistan*, 1958–1962, p.8.

⁴⁶⁶ M.A. Khan, 'Behind the Headlines', p.9.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ H. Feldman, *Revolution in Pakistan*, p.228.

lower than its market value.⁴⁷⁰ S. Kashmiri, Iftikhar-ud-Din's bitter critic, concedes, 'He was subjected to persecution because of his political ideals'.⁴⁷¹

This entire episode, from the initiation of action against the PPL to the post-takeover victimisation of Iftikhar-ud-Din, smacks of bad intent on the part of the government, casting serious doubts on the legality of the official charges against him.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the Establishment's reaction to the PPL publications within a broader perspective. It demonstrated that the association of the PPL's journalists with the radical cause culminated into the takeover. To provide a critical understanding of the devastating implications of censorship on Left-leaning newspapers, (more specifically the PPL publications), it outlined the grim scenario, highlighting the unfavourable conditions for press freedom during the 1950s. It clearly showed that under these circumstances, the Establishment was not going to let off the Left-wing press, which was taking a far more critical position. It was pointed out that the views of *Imroze* journalists like Ahmed Bashir and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi point towards the Establishment's long-standing grudge against this institution and how it conspired against the PPL. Ahmed Ali Khan revelations in his memoirs pinpointed the immediate cause of takeover. Mazhar Ali Khan's narrative identified that though the Establishment had decided to penalise these newspapers for their critical policy, it took some time to decide on the modalities, as evident from the discussions on various proposals. It shows that

⁴⁷⁰ S.Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p.40.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. p.40-41.

eventually the instrumentalist view prevailed. The government, because of the growing importance of these newspapers as an effective medium of communication, was tempted to use them for its purpose.

Section 3.1 and 3.2 of the Chapter provided a broader view of the challenges faced by the Left-wing press. It showed how the views of the Pakistani and the US Establishments converged on the suppression of the Leftist movement in Pakistan, because they perceived the initial rise of this movement as an impending threat to their vital interests. It highlighted the Establishment's critical role in magnifying its grave implications to US officials. Thus, these shared threat perceptions (along with other factors) led to the formation and further strengthening of a close military alliance between the two countries.⁴⁷² These common threat perceptions were clearly reflected in their mutual efforts to suppress the Leftist movement. We tried to demonstrate that the muzzling of the Left-wing press was an essential part of the broad and coherent strategy of both the Pakistani and the US Establishments. The alleged US complicity in the PPL takeover brings a wider dimension to US interventionary policies in post-colonial Pakistan during the 1950s. Thus, the PPL can be described as a classic case that shows the direct connection between the censoring of the Left-wing press and the suppression of the Leftist movement in Pakistan.

⁴⁷² This narrative was shaped by two sets of influences. The first was Pakistan's domestic political needs and the other was US global interests among which the containment of communism and the suppression of the Leftist movement had assumed top priority. The Pakistani authorities, partly because of their sensitivities against the Leftist movement but mainly due to their realisation of US sensitivities and the benefits of drawing closer to the Anglo-American bloc during the eventful years of the Cold War, started making conscious and consistent efforts to magnify the Leftist threat in Pakistan. Another motivation for the Pakistani governments to seek an alliance with the US was national security concerns, particularly their threat perceptions from Pakistan's eastern neighbour—India. For details, see F.Mahmud, *A History of Pakistan-US Relations*. For a brief but critical overview, see pp.8–11 and 321–326, and; Hamza Alavi, 'Pakistan–US Military Alliance', *Economic and Political Weekly* 33, (June 1998): 1551–1553.

I.A. Rehman's version provides clues to this dimension. It shows how the PPL's radical journalists perceived the PPL's seizure by the government; they believed that at this crucial juncture of the Cold War the views of the Pakistani and the US Establishment had converged on the issue of containing the Leftist movement in East Pakistan and its other effective agencies in West Pakistan. The PPL takeover constituted an important part of this strategy

CHAPTER 4

PPL AFTER ITS TAKEOVER, 1959–1971

4.1 Overview

Between 1947 and 1958, there was a marked change in the attitude of the Establishment towards the Progressive Papers Limited (PPL). By piecing together relevant official documents, Chapter 3 showed how the Establishment became increasingly suspicious of the PPL, resulting in a takeover of the publication. This chapter examines that how and in what ways the journalists who worked at the PPL continued their resistance after the takeover in 1971. It continues the theme of resistance set up in Chapters 2 and 3, but considers under a different set of circumstances in the post-takeover scenario. It explores the new dimensions of the internal resistance that the PPL journalists put up under state control, their role as a diffuse community, their involvement in trade union activism and their political resistance to the regime of Yahya Khan. Radical resistance was the common denominator of their struggle.

The chapter has two broad sections. Sections 4.1 to 4.4 describe the takeover of the PPL, the internal changes and managerial changes that ensued, and the charges against the PPL founder, Iftikhar-ud-Din. It completes the story of Iftikhar-ud-Din by filling in details until his death in 1962. Sections 4.5 to 4.9 turn attention to the PPL journalists' struggle against the martial law regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan under two platforms: within the PPL as well as from other newspaper platforms. This is interwoven with the theme of diffusion, where we discuss the role of journalists who either left the PPL on their own after the takeover or were dismissed. The discussion shows that the

resistance continued within the PPL. Nevertheless, it is argued that dismissal of a large group of journalists from the PPL temporarily weakened the nucleus of radical journalists but they were re-instated by the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1972 and once again began to wield their clout. The final section on circulation details the new challenges for the PPL, that is, the impact of the takeover on the circulation of the PPL newspapers, particularly *Imroze*. This section describes how the PPL journalists tried to handle the drop in circulation and keep their newspapers afloat.

4.2 PPL under Private Proprietors: August 1959 to April 1964

PPL's takeover, newspapers under its ownership were placed in the hands of private proprietors. This phase began in August 1959 when Ahmed Daud, an industrial magnate, purchased the PPL newspapers and it ended with the establishment of the National Press Trust (NPT) in 1964. It would be useful to add that at the government had appointed Mohammad Sarfraz as PPL's administrator on 18 April, and he worked in this capacity until 1962.⁴⁷³ There are certain apparently contradictory but consistent trends. The first was that the Establishment had brought this institution under the rules and regulations of Ayub Khan's martial law regime aimed at censoring the press. Second, its ownership passed into the hands of private proprietors from 30 August 1959. The government took this second step to maintain the façade that the PPL newspapers were functioning as an independent body, but, in reality, things were quite different. The new owners had to work within the policy

⁴⁷³ Letter from Mohammad Sarfraz (PPL's Administrator) to the Director Public Relations West Pakistan Lahore, 20 April 1959, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/13359. In this letter, he informed the DPR, West Pakistan about his appointment, the dissolution of PPL's Board of Directors and the change in the PPL's printer-publisher as well as that he had been delegated all the powers that the Board of Directors used to exercise.

framework that the Ayub Khan government had set. More significantly, the PPL's new owners between the years 1959 and 1964 like Seth Mohammad Daud, Chaudhry Mohammad Husain and Chaudhry Zuhur Elahi, were staunch supporters of Ayub Khan's government and had acquired PPL's ownership with the express intention of getting access to the corridors of power.⁴⁷⁴ Let us see how these proprietors passed through this experience, and what the Establishment learnt from it

During this brief phase, the government put up the PPL for auction three times. Seth M.Daud became its first owner with a bid of Rs.6,440,000 in the first auction held on 30 August 1959. Ch. Mohammad Husain, the Vice-Chairman of Lahore's Municipal Corporation, was the second auction-purchaser when he bid Rs. 47,000,00 for the PPL newspapers on 22 November 1961. The PPL's third auction took place in 1962; this time Ch. Zuhur Elahi, a political novice from Punjab's Gujrat District, purchased it for Rs. 5,000,000.⁴⁷⁵

Thus the post-takeover developments unfolded in the PPL's auction to three different proprietors. However, as subsequent events showed, running the newspaper business for these new owners, unlike their other industrial and business ventures, proved to be a difficult proposition, as it required a set of skills that they lacked. Contrary to their high expectations, the PPL's ownership proved to be a testing experience for the new owners to the extent

⁴⁷⁴Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, pp. 573–776.

⁴⁷⁵*Dawn*, 11 April 1960, cited in Edgar and Kathryn, *Public Opinion and Constitution Making in Pakistan, 1958–1962*, p. 12; Shirin Ali, 'The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study', p. 93.

that they had to dispose it off in quick succession.⁴⁷⁶ The Ayub Khan regime's failed experiment in running these newspapers under malleable private-proprietors compelled it to consider other possible options. This led to the creation of the NPT, which presaged the institutionalisation of press control in Pakistan.⁴⁷⁷

4.3 PPL under the NPT: 1964 to 1971

The establishment of the National Press Trust (NPT) was an extraordinary step by the Ayub Khan government to bring the press under the state's institutional control. However, the question of who espoused its idea is contentious. Several accounts describe Q.U. Shahab and Altaf Gauhar, the two influential bureaucrats of the Ayub Khan era, as the progenitors of this idea. Q.U. Shahab claims credit for presenting two alternative proposals to Ayub Khan. The first was about 'transforming the PPL into a cooperative society, and selling its shares to its journalists and other workers' and the second pertained to its 'conversion into a limited corporation, under a board of directors, among which, the government could nominate those industrialists, who owned full allegiance to it'. Q.U. Shahab informs us that Ayub Khan instantly rejected the first proposal, but he found the second one 'fairly acceptable'.⁴⁷⁸ Abdul Wahid Khan, an Information Minister under Ayub Khan's regime, revealed in 1969

⁴⁷⁶ Illustration 1 in the Appendix 8 provides further details. It also discusses how the Establishment was showing favouritism towards them and how they suffered financially in this process.

⁴⁷⁷ H. Alavi, 'Class and State', in H. N. Gardezi and J. Rashid, *Pakistan, the Roots of Dictatorship*, pp.46–50. Also see H. Alavi, 'The State in Post-Colonial Societies.'

⁴⁷⁸ Shahab, *Shahabnama*, pp.575–576. Shahab further writes that he suggested to the President that he could consult with Ghulam Faruq, the famous bureaucrat, who had successfully established institutions such as the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) and the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), and the President looked so agreeable to the advice that 'he wrote it down in his note book'. Ibid. p.576.

that the NPT was the ‘brainchild of Altaf Gauhar’.⁴⁷⁹ Quite strangely, Altaf Gauhar avoids mentioning this issue in his biography on Ayub Khan.

Let us move from the progenitors to the architects of the NPT. Ghulam Faruq and Seth M. Daud were the key figures who played the main role in seeing this project through fruition. Ghulam Faruq raised the finances for the NPT with the co-operation of the country’s leading industrialists. While highlighting Seth Daud’s role in the creation of the NPT, Inam Aziz, a well-informed Pakistani journalist, wrote in 1990, ‘He got the National Press Trust established with the help of various capitalists. Later these trustees parted with it, and handed it over to the Government’.⁴⁸⁰

The NPT was established on 18 April 1964 (exactly five years after the PPL takeover), with an investment outlay of US\$5.25 million.⁴⁸¹ The NPT’s deed listed the names of 39 industrial concerns owned by 25 of the top industrialists, whom it described as settlers (founders).⁴⁸² It was created amid grand claims. A news item published in the *Morning News* (Karachi) in August 1964 pointed to its stated objectives, which claimed that the NPT would adopt a ‘truly objective outlook’ for the newspapers under its control. It

⁴⁷⁹ Zamir Siddiqui, ‘*Ek Sahafi ki Diary*’, *Weekly Zindagi*, Lahore, 6 October 1969, cited in Naizi, *The Press in Chains*. p. 87. Also, see Salim, *Pakistan of Jinnah: The Hidden Face*. p. 201; It is relevant to note that, Zamir Siddiqui, a veteran journalist, wrote an article in the *Weekly Zindagi* on 6 October, revealing that Khawaja Shahab-ud-Din, a veteran politician from East Pakistan, who also served as Pakistan’s ambassador in Egypt, had harboured this idea, which was based on President G.A. Nasir’s model of press control. Ayub Khan fully embraced this idea and he became so much pleased that he appointed Khawaja Shahab-ud-Din as Information Minister. Z. Siddiqui, ‘*Ek Sahafi ki Diary*’, *Weekly Zindagi*, 6 October 1969, cited in Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p. 87.

⁴⁸⁰ He finds their role genuinely helpful for the government in many respects, For instance, they helped the government by arranging finances worth millions of rupees, which enabled it to get rid of the capitalists who successively purchased the PPL newspapers, and after incurring losses for a few months, handed them over to some other party to save their own skins. Inam Aziz, *Stop Press* (Lahore, 1990), pp.148–149.

⁴⁸¹ Sharif-ul-Mujahid, ‘Press Systems in Pakistan,’ *Media Asia* 18, no. 3 (1991), p.125.

⁴⁸² Z. Naizi, describing their brief background, adds that ‘[They] represented almost all the ’22 families’ of that era’. Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.87.

went on to say that the NPT's newspapers would contribute 'to acquire, promote and develop all other forms of mass information' and would be 'devoted to the cause of national progress and solidarity'.⁴⁸³ During the same period in September 1964 Ghulam Faruq, while addressing a press conference in Rawalpindi, vowed, 'I have taken upon myself to convert each of the Trust newspaper into *London Times*, *New York Times* and *Washington Post*'.⁴⁸⁴ Altaf Gauhar, one of the progenitors of the NPT idea, while explaining the rationale for its establishment wrote in 1967, 'Government gave support to the idea because it promised more than the individual ownerships to raise the standard of journalism and editorial policy'.⁴⁸⁵

Within three years the NPT developed into a large conglomerate of newspapers. By August 1967, it took over six newspapers including their eleven editions. These newspapers appeared from six major cities of United Pakistan and were published in Urdu, Bengali and English. In addition, it came to acquire ownership of two weeklies of Lahore and Karachi.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, it created a near-monopoly in the newspaper market to the extent that only three national newspapers—*Dawn* (Karachi), *Daily Jang* (Karachi and Rawalpindi), and *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi)—lay outside its ambit⁴⁸⁷.

⁴⁸³ *Morning News*, 6 October 1964, cited in Feldman, *Revolution in Pakistan: A Study of the Martial Law Administration*, p. 230.

⁴⁸⁴ A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, p. 400.

⁴⁸⁵ Altaf Gauhar, introduction to *Twenty Years of Pakistan (1947–1968)* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1967), pp.542–543.

⁴⁸⁶ For details, see Appendix 7 (Tables 1 and 2). For details about NPT's organisational structure, see Appendix 7 (Table 3).

⁴⁸⁷ Z. Iqbal and Fazal Rahim Khan, 'Mass Media Laws in Pakistan: An Analysis Retrospect,' in *Media Laws and Ethics in Selected Muslim Countries*, ed. Mohd. Yusof Hussain, <http://rms.research.iiu.edu.my/bookstore/Products/108-media-laws-and-ethics-in-selected-muslim-countries.aspx>, p.87. Also see Abdul Salam Khurshid, *Sahafat Bar-Re-Saghir Pak-o-Hind Men*, p.530.

Therefore, the establishment of the NPT enormously enhanced the government's sphere of influence in the public domain such as the national press, since the NPT newspapers came directly under government supervision and control.⁴⁸⁸ This paradigmatic shift in government control over the press raised its political stake in it. Not surprisingly, its policy tilted towards the NPT newspapers, which had adverse implications for government–press relations. For instance, it invariably placed the other privately owned newspapers and magazines in a vulnerable competitive position vis-à-vis the NPT newspapers. Minhaj Barna, one of the doyens of the radical trade union movement in Pakistan, wrote an article in *View Point Weekly* in November 1983, in which he revealed, 'At least half, if not more, of the Government advertising budget' was being spent on NPT newspapers.⁴⁸⁹ Thus, non-NPT newspapers briefly entered into an unequal struggle with their NPT rivals. Moreover, the proprietors of these privately owned newspapers had to become more circumspect in policy matters towards the government lest they endangered the independent existence of their newspapers.

Apart from adversely affecting the government–press relationship, the control over the NPT fundamentally changed the policy directions as well as the distinctive identity of its newspapers. They became unabashed propaganda

⁴⁸⁸ Shuja Nawaz, 'The Mass Media and Development in Pakistan,' *Asian Survey* 23, no. 8 (August 1983): p.949.

⁴⁸⁹ Minhaj Barna's article in *View Point* (weekly), 24 November 1983, cited in Z.Naizi, *The Press in Chains* p.87. Nisar A. Zuberi's (brief Conference paper in 1991) on Pakistan's press, reveals that until the early 1990s the government controlled 60 per cent of the advertising budget, Nisar Ahmed Zuberi, 'Pakistan's Press System', (presentation, Conference on Press System in SAARC: Kathmandu, Nepal, 2–5 April 1991), [accessed from Singapore: AMIC, <http://hdl.handle.net/10220/2550>]. One should not ignore these pro-government newspapers that had many built-in advantages over the other newspapers, as they enjoyed the Establishment's full support. For instance, successive governments continued to exert their influence through strings of regulations about declarations (licensing). They were further equipped with a raft of restrictive legislation against the opposition press. In addition, they were financially more resourceful and had sole discretion over quotas for newsprint.

tools for successive governments. At the same time, the NPT newspapers broke away from the established norms of journalism and had to compromise on the two important functions of the newspaper journalism, particularly in their roles as a ‘watchdog of government policies’ and as a ‘mirror of society’. Further, the NPT itself became a bureaucratic nightmare. Its centralised control over newspapers gave rise to several dubious practices such as nepotism, corruption and recruitment on a political basis, which eventually sowed the seeds of destruction of its own newspapers.⁴⁹⁰

The PPL newspapers had already undergone this transformation process five years ago, and had adjusted to their new role. However, we will argue in the next sub-section that, overall, these changes imposed severe constraints on them. Nevertheless, the PPL’s journalists PPL continued to pursue their radical agenda by reinventing themselves.

4.4 Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din after PPL’s Takeover

After examining the contributory factors behind the takeover as well as the post-takeover organisational changes that the PPL went through, let us weave Iftikhar-ud-Din’s part of the story into the PPL narrative. This phase formed an unhappy chapter in Iftikhar-ud-Din’s life to say the least. The Establishment, besides acquiring possession of PPL, which was Iftikhar-ud-Din’s prized asset, took a series of stern measures against its founder in order to reduce him to complete submission.

⁴⁹⁰ Z. Niazi, ‘Towards a free Press’, p.182; Also see the same author, *Press in Chains*, pp.124–125. A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, p.400. Anwar Sadeed, interview by A. A. Naz, in *Makalmat*, ed. A.A. Naz, p.241.

Iftikhar-ud-Din took the loss of the PPL with equanimity by the time he died in 1962. However, initially, he found it difficult to accept the situation and could not hide his understandable frustration. He clung to the mistaken belief that the government officials could be convinced to review and reverse the decision about the takeover through gentle persuasion. Aftab Ahmed reveals that he approached the Law Minister, Manzoor Qadir, through a mutual friend, Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Faiz held informal meetings with Manzoor Qadir on this issue more than once, but these endeavours were of no avail.⁴⁹¹ On one occasion, Iftikhar-ud-Din went to Karachi to visit Majeed Malik to voice his frustration; Faiz and Aftab Ahmed were also present at that meeting, which took place at Majeed Malik's residence. Aftab Ahmed recalled, 'Faiz tried to console him by saying that given the gravity of the situation 'it could be worse'...But in what way Iftikhar-ud-Din could accept Faiz's sound advice, as his world had been turned upside down'.⁴⁹²

Apart from using his network of personal contacts to regain control of the PPL, Iftikhar-ud-Din sought legal recourse against the government's drastic action against the PPL. I have highlighted this point in the previous chapter. As we noted earlier, the Ayub Khan government had invoked the Security Act to take legal action against the PPL. It had already provided this Act with additional legal protection under MLR No.72, to restrict the higher courts' jurisdiction in cases that contested the Safety Act. Nevertheless, Iftikhar-ud-Din still hoped for a favourable verdict from the higher courts. He was so

⁴⁹¹ Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-yad-e Subhat-e Nazuk Khaliyan*, p.227.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

confident that he dissuaded the PPL's senior journalists from handing in their resignations, since it would have created a vacuum in the PPL.⁴⁹³

The legal battle turned out to be a frustrating experience for Iftikhar-ud-Din, since the courts were following the path of least resistance to avoid direct confrontation with the Establishment immediately after Ayub Khan imposed martial law on 27 October 1958. The Supreme Court's verdict in the *State vs. Dosso Case* is one example.⁴⁹⁴ The following year, *The Province of East Pakistan v. Medhi Ali Khan Panni Case* provided the Supreme Court with an opportunity to reconsider its stance on these issues, but the Supreme Court maintained the same position. Rather, its final decision showed that the majority of the judges did not want to question the legality of Ayub Khan's rule, nor did they 'contest the absence of justiciable rights' in Pakistan; instead, as P. Newberg opined, they believed that 'the country's entire legal system rested on absolute powers of the President'.⁴⁹⁵ These legal precedents

⁴⁹³ Masood Jamal, who was one of staff members of the PPL, informs that the PPL's journalists held a staff meeting which the its new administrator Sarfraz Ahmed also attended. The senior journalists Hameed Hashmi, Abdullah Malik and Giyur-ul-Islam made impassioned speeches on that occasion and showed unwavering loyalty for Iftikhar-ud-Din, by acknowledging that 'We have been Iftikhar-ud-Din's political supporters as well as his personal friends, therefore we should be allowed to tender our resignations'. Masood Ashar, Hameed Hashmi and Abdullah Malik gave in their resignation letters, and a number of the PT's journalists also tried to quit...' Masood Jamal, '*Tuhmain Yad Ho keh Na Yad Ho, Progressive Papers Limited ki Kahani, Ek Dausra Pehlu*', *Weekly Lail-o-Nahar*, 22 March 1970, p.35. Ahmed Salim quotes Z. Babur that 'these resignations were withdrawn because Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had desired them to stay on as he hoped legal battle', A.Salim, *The Pakistan of Jinnah*, p.197.

⁴⁹⁴ The Supreme Court's decision in the *State vs DossoCase* signified broad acceptance of the violation of fundamental rights by the military regime, more than providing a façade of legitimacy to Ayub Khan's military rule as well as strengthening the foundation of a praetorian state. In fact this case set a very bad precedent in the cases centering on the issue of justiciability of fundamental rights in the country. [In legal parlance, 'justiciability' means protection and enforcement through court].

⁴⁹⁵ P.R.Newberg is a scholar of the constitutional history of Post-colonial Pakistan. Her work presents a fascinating study of the Pakistani state from an altogether new perspective.P. R. Newberg, *Judging the State: Courts and Constitutional Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.88. P. Newberg is a scholar of the legal history of the post-colonial Pakistan. Her work presents a fascinating study of the Pakistani state from an altogether new perspective.

sealed the fate of the petitions that Iftikhar-ud-Din's counsel Mian Mahmood Ali Qasuri had filed in 1961 in the higher courts.⁴⁹⁶ Though the Lahore High Court awarded Iftikhar-ud-Din financial compensation, he lost the legal battle of claiming ownership of the institution that he had founded and which was a priceless asset to him.

Iftikhar-ud-Din went through a depressing phase between 1959 and 1962 after the takeover. The government took over his newspapers, cancelled his business licences and confiscated parts of the family estate he had inherited. The Establishment and his ideological opponents labelled him a foreign agent, and accused him of getting aid from communist countries and channelling it to finance the Leftist movement in West Pakistan.⁴⁹⁷ Last, but not least, the imposition of martial law sealed the fate of his politics. A year before the takeover he had been at the forefront of establishing the NAP, which held the promise of organising and galvanising the feeble Left-wing movement in United Pakistan, a cause for which he had worked throughout the 1950s. This high-pressure situation took its toll on his health, his heart disease became seriously aggravated and he became dangerously weak. S. Kashmiri records the impressions of his last meeting with Iftikhar-ud-Din, which took place sometime in the last months of the year 1961. He compares the PPL founder to 'a tree with fallen leaves'. To him, Iftikhar-ud-Din's face appeared colourless;

⁴⁹⁶ P.R. Newberg comments help us understand why the Lahore High Court, and later the Supreme Court, rejected these petitions. While examining the far-reaching 'consequences' of the superior courts' verdict on Iftikhar-ud-Din's petitions, she opines that 'Both courts sustained the regime's supra-constitutional authority and accepted the merged legislative, executive and military functions which defined Ayub Khan's office...Both demurred on the question of fundamental rights, retaining the popular belief that rights no longer existed', Ibid., p.91.

⁴⁹⁷ I have provided details in the Section 3.7 of Chapter 3.

‘physically, Mian Sahib had already been quite slim...but now he had been reduced to a skeleton’.⁴⁹⁸

Against these overwhelming odds, Iftikhar-ud-Din did not lose heart, but mustered up courage and took the initiative to forge a political alliance comprising both the Left-wing and the Right-wing opposition parties against the Ayub Khan government. For that purpose, he approached his vociferous opponent and rival Hameed Nizami, the proprietor of the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*. S. Kashmiri informs us that Iftikhar-ud-Din visited the office of *Nawa-i-Waqt* and took Hameed Nizami to a Heco restaurant below its office; he also called S. Kashmiri, the editor of the weekly *Chattan*, to join the discussion.⁴⁹⁹ During this meeting, they discussed the country’s political situation, particularly the long-term consequences of the martial law.⁵⁰⁰

After this meeting, Iftikhar-ud-Din took S.Kashmiri to his residence, where they continued their discussion about the new constitution, which was being drafted, over tea. S.Kashmiri, has narrated the dialogue he had with Iftikhar-ud-Din, which indicates that the PPL’s founder was hopeful that the new constitution would give people more room to manoeuvre and believed in their ability to work their way through their political struggle.⁵⁰¹ On this point, they had a small argument when S. Kashmiri tried to counter argue. Iftikhar-ud-Din retorted, ‘*phir aap ka khayal he keh hamlog haat paun toor ker beth jain*’ (Do

⁴⁹⁸ S.Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din*, p.41.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid, pp.41–42.

⁵⁰¹ S. Kashmiri had a different view on this issue and he made it clear that Iftikhar-ud-Din should not cling to any illusion that the stalwart supporters of the Ayub Khan regime, who had been framing the proposed constitution, would allow the people of Pakistan considerable freedom. Because they had themselves denied the people their fundamental freedom, which they had been enjoying under the 1956 Constitution and the Establishment had manipulated the constitution, to deprive them of these rights, Ibid. p.43.

you think that we should surrender and abandon our struggle?).⁵⁰² This dialogue shows that Iftikhar-ud-Din remained optimistic about initiating political change by mobilising the masses until the end of his life.

The recently published work of Ahmed Ali Khan makes another revelation about Iftikhar-ud-Din that the editorial ‘Ends and Means’ that Ahmed Ali Khan had written, was based on ‘Iftikhar-ud-Din’s brief’.⁵⁰³ He wrote that:

The brief was given almost immediately after his return from the UK...when I read out my draft to him (at a small group meeting), I recommended that the sting in the tail should be removed— A reference to a paragraph which I had advisedly written in such a way that it could be easily detached. He was adamant that the full editorial should go. To me it seemed that he was determined that the newspaper should resume its opposition role, regardless of the grave risk this carried. It was almost as if he chose martyrdom deliberately.⁵⁰⁴

4.5 PPL Journalists under Ayub Khan’s Martial Law

In the preceding three sections, we have separately dealt with the PPL’s new proprietors and the NPT as well as Iftikhar-ud-Din’s logical response to this crisis. Here we need to narrate the other side of the PPL story, which concerns the PPL’s journalists and shows how they responded to this extraordinary situation. We will specifically highlight PPL journalists’ own observations about conditions in the PPL under Ayub Khan’s martial law regime.

Between 1961 and 1968 a new team of journalists assembled in the PPL’s newspapers. Ironically, most of them were strongly orientated towards the

⁵⁰² Ibid.p.45.

⁵⁰³ Ahmed Ali Khan, *In Search of Sense: My Years as a Journalist*, p.221. I have discussed this editorial in the section 3.5 of chapter 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 222.

radical Left.⁵⁰⁵ This created an intriguing situation. The Establishment had deprived Iftikhar-ud-Din of PPL's possession mainly 'because it was Left of the establishment of the day', as Khalid Hasan aptly sums up in his article in the *PT*.⁵⁰⁶ But even after the PPL takeover, Ayub Khan's government could not prevent the entry of radical journalists into this institution.⁵⁰⁷

We conducted face-to-face and telephone interviews with four well-known journalists who had worked at the PPL: I.A. Rehman, Masood Ashar, Munno Bhai and Azeem Qureshi. All of them talked about the determined resistance that the PPL offered against the military regimes through the entire decade of the 1960s. I.A. Rehman even put it in so many words: 'They fought a constant battle, first against the PPL's new proprietors and later against the NPT'.⁵⁰⁸ However, all the interviewees insisted that this resistance had to be 'read between the lines'.⁵⁰⁹ That means that this resistance was implied not stated.

⁵⁰⁵ Appendix tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix 7 contain necessary information about the PPL's journalists and cast of characters. Tables 2 and 3 provide sketchy details about the job specifications of *PT*'s and *Imroze*'s journalists, respectively.

⁵⁰⁶ K.Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.2.

⁵⁰⁷ A.A.Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqqi Pasand Sahafat*,

⁵⁰⁸ I.A.Rehman, interview on 9 February 2013, Lahore.

⁵⁰⁹ I.A.Rehman, the *PT*'s former Chief Editor, concurred: 'We had to make veiled allusions to push our radical agenda', *ibid*; Azeem Qureshi, a veteran news editor at *Imroze*, stressed that 'even the PPL journalists had to make room for themselves to advance their radical agenda, between the lines, in the process of making and presenting the news. He said, 'In those days we used to receive news from the foreign agencies through tele-printers. While translating them into Urdu, we used to make news, generate headlines and display them on various pages. Similarly, the sentences that we chose for writing headlines, highlighting certain facts and issues, were not merely simple expressions. Rather, they conveyed/carried implicit progressive messages.' Azeem Qureshi, Telephone Interview, 8 August 2014; Munno Bhai opined, 'I joined *Imroze*, because its favourable environment reinforced my Left-leaning and liberal thinking. Despite all the limitations even after its takeover, we used to make room to talk about the labouring and the working classes and the poorer segments of society. But we had to express ourselves between the lines'. Munno Bhai, Telephone Interview, 30 June 2014.

Figure 4.1 Nanna's Reaction to the denial of Political Freedom under Ayub Khan's Martial Law



Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 9 October 1962.

The reference to ‘reading between the lines’ is crucial to get to the core of the PPL journalists’ internal struggle. Nanna’s illustration depicts how the PPL journalists managed to convey their political messages in a relatively inoffensive way. It became the preferred mode of expression not just for the PPL journalists, but also for all journalists and literati who were firmly opposed to Ayub Khan’s military rule. They had to reinvent themselves in their fight for survival against the Establishment.⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ M.Naqvi, a veteran Pakistani journalist, wrote a piece for one of Z.Niazi’s books, which was published in 1994. It shows that in Ayub Khan’s period radical journalists had to invent a new writing style. ‘The blight of time did not entirely pass by me. I successfully cramped my style. Instead of trying to be simple, direct, brief, and to the point, I actually tried to evolve much more timid approach to the subject at hand and tried to dilute the language and expression that came naturally. Excelling in saying things between the line became the highest value’, M.B.Naqvi’s piece in Naizi, *The Web of Censorship*, p.154.

Besides highlighting their determined resistance under the martial law regimes, all the interviewees, particularly Azeem and Qureshi Masood Ashar reflected on the obvious limits that the government's control had imposed on them.⁵¹¹ M. Ashar, a top editor at *Imroze*, was of the view that 'we did follow the government's policy. However, ideologically, we created opportunities to articulate our progressive views'.⁵¹²

Thus, we find that the PPL's takeover was a setback for the PPL's radical journalists and it created a stressful situation for them. However, one should remember that many of them had worked under the Establishment's pressures since the early 1950s when the intelligence agencies launched a full-scale witch-hunt against the Leftists in Pakistan. Therefore, they did not find it difficult to work out a new strategy once they knew the internal workings of Ayub Khan's political and communications systems. I.A. Rehman, in his interview, provided an explanation for the coherent strategy the PPL followed under Ayub Khan's martial law. [His insights are paraphrased in the following paragraph.]

As there was no idiom of the Left in society, they purposely avoided references to specialised [Socialist] terminology. Instead, they presented alternative solutions that were couched in generic terms. For instance, they demanded social justice, wrote about redressing socio-economic inequalities in society through land reforms and co-operative farming, and sought the primacy of national interest over individuals' self-interests in the decision-

⁵¹¹ Azeem Qureshi, while alluding to this aspect, conceded, 'We expressed our radicalism within the constraints of the government policy. In addition, we did not violate it openly as such recourse could have rocked the boat and proved disastrous for our newspaper. Besides this point, we tried to maintain objectivity in the news coverage. Though it was possible that under certain constraints a news editor could exaggerate one incident or play down the other. However, any news editor having basic professional competence used to publish the opposition's point of view in some way or the other'. Azeem Qureshi, Telephone Interview, 8 August, 2014.

⁵¹² Masood Ashar, Personal Interview, 30 January 2013, Lahore.

making process. They tried to impress upon the landowning classes that without ameliorating the appalling conditions of peasants and landless tenants, they should not expect any substantial increase in the level of agricultural productivity. Similarly, they advised industrialists that it would be in their best interests to create ideal conditions for their industrial workers. In the nutshell, they tried to arouse the awareness of society towards achieving desirable ends, which the Leftist movement was pursuing and which formed the ideological base of the Left.⁵¹³

The information that we have given or incorporated about the PPL reflects the personal views of the progressive journalists. To open up this debate and to gain a richer understanding of the PPL's internal situation, let us focus on journalists who held a different view. M.Saeed, a former *PT* editor, in his autobiographical work offers critical but insightful comments on this aspect.

The *PT*, which I rejoined, had become a lifeless body/inanimate object. There was an abundance of financial resources; its circulation had increased considerably, though it had made significant technical improvements. Now it covered a variety of subjects. In spite of all these achievements, it had lost its fiery spirit. It looked like merely a pile of papers...Under the new set of circumstances there was no scope of voicing difference of opinion against the government. If one wanted to say something critical about the government however in a diffuse and inoffensive style, [it could have caused annoyance in the official circle]. If we turn our gaze towards them then it looked as if a sea of faces wore a disapproving frown. It no longer followed the national politics anymore; as it appeared that, the latter had altogether vanished from its pages. Moreover, those who edited this newspaper seem to have reconciled to this situation.⁵¹⁴

Though M. Saeed has eloquently summed up the consequences of the PPL takeover for its newspapers, he does not provide any information about the sustained resistance by the PPL journalists under martial law. Zaheer Babur, the former Chief Editor of *Imroze*, made a clear analogy of the *Imroze* style of

⁵¹³ Interview with I.A. Rehman, 9 February 2013, Lahore.

⁵¹⁴ Saeed Mohammad provides details about these specific dimensions of the PPL newspapers' role between 1959 and 1971, *Ahang-e Baz Gasht*, pp.412–413.

journalism during the 1960s with guerrilla resistance. He argued, ‘As the guerrillas make advance in performing forward and backward movements, the *Imroze* journalists offered similar sort of resistance’.⁵¹⁵

One cannot deny that the PPL takeover and subsequent developments brought irrevocable changes in the policies of the PPL newspapers. At the same time, there is considerable evidence of their proactive role throughout this period, as evident from their courageous stands on a number of issues. However, M. Saeed’s serious indictment of the PPL’s newspapers compels us to ask this pointed question: If we accept the radical journalists’ assertion about strong internal struggle against Ayub Khan’s rule, was such resistance possible under the restrictive regime of press laws that Ayub Khan’s military government erected? In other words, did the political and press systems during the 1960s allow them any room for effective resistance against the Establishment?

We can answer this question by pointing to a gap between the restrictive regime of the Ayub Khan government’s Press Laws and their actual implementation on the ground; the PPL journalists not only perceived these gaps but also exploited them. Scholars of Pakistani journalism, such as Sharif - ul-Mujahid, Zafar Iqbal and Fazal Rahim Khan, have pointed out that the underlying thrust of Ayub Khan’s policy towards the press was to forestall criticism against his government. Therefore, it did not use these laws too

⁵¹⁵ ‘Excerpts from Z. Babur’s interview’, cited in N. Raza, ‘Progressive Papers Limited, Tarikh Aur Arooj-o-Zawal’, p.... Azeem Qureshi’s assessment reinforces such conclusions, as he contended, ‘The PPL journalists embraced a specific ideology and their radical impulse led not to bow before the Government. Therefore, they continued to present their alternative point of view in their own way, which at times went against the grain of the Government’s policies’, First Telephone interview, 1 July 2014.

frequently with the express purpose of closing down any publication.⁵¹⁶ Rather, from 1965 it tried to control the press through more subtle means. For instance, after negotiating with the organisations of proprietors, it laid down a Code of Ethics on 29 July 1965.⁵¹⁷ The government announced a moratorium on Press Laws for one year in 1967.⁵¹⁸ The next year, it introduced the dubious practice of Press advice, which gradually evolved into an established norm and continued to haunt government–press relations for two decades.⁵¹⁹ In brief, we can argue that the purpose behind introducing these measures was to forestall criticism of the government by shifting the onus for press control onto the editors and proprietors. M.B. Naqvi captures its essence, as according to him, after the introduction of the Press Advice, over time ‘much of the censorship that Ayub Khan had imposed had abated and every editor had in effect become the chief censor for his newspaper’.⁵²⁰ Azeem Qureshi’s comments,

⁵¹⁶ Sharif-al-Mujahid a scholar of Pakistani journalism, while analysing the basic functions of the Pakistani Press under Ayub Khan, employs Karl Deutsch’s conceptual paradigm, which explains the relationship between the nature of political dispensation and the functions of the press; Sharif-ul-Mujahid, describes ‘Information, guidance and entertainment’, as the major functions the Pakistani Press has performed. While applying K. Deutsch’s model to the functions of the Press under Ayub Khan, he argues that under the semi-authoritarian system that prevailed in Pakistan during the 1960s, the guidance function acquired greater centrality. He adds that ‘since 1958, there has been a tendency to emphasize guidance function ... at the expense of information function’, and this trend became so dominant that ‘even innocuous news stories followed guidance’, Sharif-ul-Mujahid, ‘Pakistan’, in *Newspapers in Asia Contemporary Trends and Problems*, ed. J. A. Lent (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1982) p.488. F. R. Khan and Z. Iqbal, while analysing the Press and Publications Ordinance (PPO) 1963, one of the harshest of the Press Laws in Pakistan, argued that it ‘was less stringent in regulating the activities of the Press in the country but more strict in protecting the government from the criticism’, F. R. Khan and Z. Iqbal, ‘Mass Media Laws in Pakistan’, p. 83.

⁵¹⁷ A.S. Khurshid, ‘Pakistan’, in *The Asian Newspapers’ reluctant revolution*, ed. John A. Lent (Ames.: Iowa State University Press, 1971), p.313. One can also read it as an attempt to restrain the Press through proprietors. Z. Naizi makes an interesting comment on it in one of his works, ‘The Press was granted freedom to agree’, Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.69.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.11. Also see, Z. Naizi, *The Web of Censorship*, pp.30–31.

⁵²⁰ ‘M. B. Naqvi’s piece’, in Z. Naizi, *The Web of Censorship*, p.154.

which provide clear clues about the internal working of this system in the PPL, further confirm our argument. He says:

In those days, the officials of the Information Department used to give us instructions. At times the Information Ministers directly called the news editor or senior shift in charge to issue Press Advice. However, the Government considered the editors and the news editors quite responsible fellows and they had to take decisions about publishing or not publishing any news. Their role was analogous to that of shock absorbers. Therefore, incidents involving open violation of the editor's authority occurred very rarely.⁵²¹

4.6 PPL Journalists and their Trajectories

The PPL takeover was certainly a shock for its journalists; moreover, radical politics, the PWM and the liberal cause as a whole received a major setback. We have discussed how a new team of journalists was assembled under Ayub's martial law; let us look at the other side of the coin. Some journalists could not accept the situation and decided to quit the PPL of their own accord, particularly those who Yahya Khan dismissed in 1970. It is useful to highlight the role these journalists took on as a diffuse community.⁵²² Table 4.1 illustrates this process.

Table 4.1 The Diffusion Process in the PPL

Period/Year	Journalists who were dismissed	Journalists who handed in their	Journalists who were punished in some way

⁵²¹ A.Qureshi, Telephone interview with Azeem Qureshi, July 1, 2014; M. Ashar and I. A. Rehman pointed out this fact in their own ways; I. A. Rehman finds censorship under Ayub Khan's military regime less stringent, as compared to that of Zia-ul-Haq's. 'Ayub Khan had imposed restrictions on freedom of expression in certain domains but still provided us room to maneuver in others. He allowed us space to write on education and the peasants. However, we had to exercise restraint in criticizing the US governments. But we remained highly skeptical of Pakistan's participation in the US sponsored military pacts,' I.A. Rehman, interviewed on 10 February 2013, Lahore.

⁵²² The PPL's checkered history reveals a dramatic spectacle of back and forth movements of the PPL's journalists, as evident from the diffusion and returning reinstatement of those PPL's journalists, whom the Yahya Khan and later Zia-ul-Haq's government had dismissed, to their parent organization during the next four decades. But we will be focusing on its first phase.

		resignations	
1959–	The PPL’s new administrator immediately dismissed Sibte-Hasan, Editor of <i>Lail-o-Nahar</i> .	M.A.Khan FaizAhmed Faiz A.N.Qasmi	The new management dismissed Minhaj Barna, a staunch trade unionist, who was a reporter in <i>Imroze</i> Karachi, but re-instated him after two months.
c.1960			The Ayub Khan government decided to sack Abdullah Malik and Amjad Hussain, chief reporters of <i>Imroze</i> and <i>PT</i> , respectively, but on the advice of the Information Secretary, they were sent on foreign assignments to London and Colombo, respectively.
1962		A.A.Khan	
1962		Zuhair Siddiqui	
1962		Ghiyur-ul- Islam	
1963		Hasan Abadi	
1964		Safar Samdani	
1970	Yayha Khan’s regime dismissed more than 200 NPT employees and more than 40 PPL journalists and press workers. Among those who were dismissed from the <i>PT</i> were I.A.Rehman and A.T.Chaudhry, and from <i>Imroze</i> Hameed Akhtar, S.T.Mirza, Abbas Athar and Waheed Usmani.	Zaheer Babur Munno Bhai	

M. A. Khan, ‘Behind the Headlines’, *Pakistan Forum*, January 1, 1972, p. 9. M. Saeed, *Aahang-e Baz Gasht*, (Islamabad:1989), p.414.H.Akhtar, *Aashnayyan Kya Kya*, Lahore, p.82. A.N. Qasmi, interview by Ashfaq Hussain, for ‘, You Tube Vedio, from Urdu Rang’ Asian Television Network (ATN) Toronto, Canada 1992, I. A. Rehman, ‘Adieu Amjad Sahib’, *Dawn*, 24 July 2008, _____, ‘The Press: Zuhair’, *Viewpoint*,14 January 1979, p.9. I.A.Rehman, interview by A. A. Naz, in *Makalmat* (Lahore: 2003), pp.124 and 243, Zafar Samdani – a Versatile Writer | *Pakistan Press Foundation* (PPF),’ <http://www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/print-media>, Munno Bhai, First Telephone Interview, June 30, 2014, and; H. Abadi, *Junun Men Jatni Bhi Guzri*, (Karachi :2005), pp.95–96.

Up to this point, we have focused on the PPL journalists’ role as a diffuse community in terms of their individual responses. However, far more important was their role as pioneers or leading journalists as well as freelance writers for several progressive magazines and newspapers that were published between 1963 and 1970. Table 4.2 provides a brief overview

Table 4.2 PPL Journalists' Vibrant Role as a Diffuse Community

Name	Year/Place of Publication	Pioneering Editor/Cast of Characters
<i>Funom Quarterly</i>	1963, Lahore	Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi
<i>Lail-o-Nahar Weekly</i>	February 1970, Karachi	S. Sibte Hasan launched this views magazine and acted as its Editor. Faiz Ahmed 'Faiz' was made In-charge/Patron. A.Bashir covered the Punjab province. H. Abadi, a prominent member of the defunct <i>Lail-o-Nahar</i> team, took on important responsibilities in the second phase of this prestigious magazine.
<i>Musawaat Daily</i>	July 1970, Lahore and Faisalabad	Ahmed Bashir (Deputy Editor), S.T.Mirza (Chief News Editor), Munno Bhai (Chief Reporter) and Waheed Usamani, who later joined its news desk.
<i>Azad Daily</i>	November 1970, Lahore	Three PPL journalists I.A.Rehman, Abdullah Malik and Hameed Akhtar founded this newspaper.

M.A.Tauravi, *Ahmed Shah Say Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Tak* (Lahore: 2010), pp.217–219.H. Abadi, *Junoon Men Jatni Bhi Guzri*, 2005, pp.102–108. Altaf Qureshi, First Telephone Interview, 8 August 2014.A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat* (Lahore :2002), pp.215–217.Ahmed Salim, *Hameed Akhtar* (Lahore: 2010), pp.256–259.

This table highlights that the PPL journalists occupied key positions in these newspapers and magazines, which attests to their proactive role as a diffuse community. Considering their key role in newspapers such as the dailies *Musawaat* and *Azad* and the weekly *Lail-o-Nahar*, we can clearly describe them as offshoots of the PPL.

Before returning to our discussion, let us step back to the anti-Ayub movement, in which a new party in West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had played a leading role. The PPP was established in Lahore on 27 November 1967 and between 1967 and 2008, it won five general elections, which underscores its importance as a major political force in Pakistan. Thus, it is relevant to examine this phenomenon more closely in a study on Lahore's Left-wing print culture and literary radicalism.

4.7 PPL's Journalists' Support to the PPP 1968 –1971

We will argue in this section that the PPL journalists not only lent all-out support to the PPP, but more significantly this support substantially

contributed towards defining, presenting and reinforcing the PPP's radical identity in the Punjab. Its most obvious manifestation was the PPP's phenomenal success in the 1970 general elections in West Pakistan, in which the mobilisation of Left-wing forces proved to be critical. We should mention that this party eventually immersed itself in the politics of populism from the early 1970s, when it formed a government in West Pakistan (present-day Pakistan). In subsequent decades this party settled for a mild Left-of-centre role in Pakistan's politics.

However, between 1967 and 1971, the PPP succeeded in communicating the core message of the Left to the masses particularly in the Punjab (in even more innovative ways than the Old Left), which was summed up in the slogans 'Roti, kapra aur makan', 'Islamic Socialism' and 'Power to the people'. It drew up a programme that synthesised the principles of Islam, democracy and Socialism which led to its phenomenal electoral success in West Pakistan in the first general elections held in 1970.⁵²³ This success represented an obvious, but isolated, example of successful mobilisation of the electoral masses in post-Independence West Pakistan by a Left-wing party that was espousing a radical ideology.

Zaheer Babar in an interview to *Naila Raza* openly acknowledged, 'We supported the PPP as its manifesto was quite close to our vision'.⁵²⁴ Azeem Qureshi, while giving a specific instance of how the PPL newspapers used to

⁵²³ *PPP Election Manifesto 1970*, [www.http://ppp.org.pk/manifestos1970.html](http://ppp.org.pk/manifestos1970.html). A.H. Sayed's work on Z.A. Bhutto provides helpful insights into the PPP's foundation documents and the 1970 Election Manifesto. A. H. Syed, *The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp.61–67 ;Iqbal Leghari in his important work on Pakistan's Socialist Movement clearly highlights this aspect that PPP had succeeded in securing overwhelming support from the West Pakistan's 'New Left', pp.156 –159 and 184 –185.

⁵²⁴ N. Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited', p.40.

convey the radical message between the lines, said that when Z.A. Bhutto, the PPP leader, launched the anti-Ayub movement: ‘We used to display his statement prominently under a signal column headline just below masthead which made it obviously quite prominent. Obviously this did not go well with the establishment and when the authorities objected we use to satisfy them it’s negligible as we have made banner headline Ayub Khan’s statement’.⁵²⁵ It is interesting to add that when S.T. Mirza, the last editor of *Imroze*, wrote in *Dawn* in August 2011 about the hardships of the PPL’s pensioners, the PPP government was in power in Pakistan. He clearly highlighted the crucial role the PPL’s newspapers had played in PPP’s electoral victory in West Pakistan in the 1970 general elections. While drawing the attention of the PPP’s government towards this fact, he reminded them that it was the PPL newspapers:

which in 1970 extended all out support to the PPP...Punjab where the PPP emerged in overwhelming majority in NA and the Punjab Assembly while in Sindh Assembly it could not win 50 percent of its seats. The area from where the PPP won more than 55 seats was under the influence of the NPT [Typo error, PT, not the NPT]...Lahore, Rawalpindi, *Imroze* Lahore, and Multan.⁵²⁶

Thus, the PPL journalists’ support for the PPP points towards the long-term impact of the PPL’s newspapers and their journalists on state and society.

4.8 The PPL and Trade Unionism

The PPL journalists, as in the previous decade, remained proactively involved in the trade union movement throughout this period 1959–1971. In 1960, 1967 and 1971 the PPL journalists made serious attempts to oppose the PPL

⁵²⁵ Azeem Qureshi, First Telephone Interview, 1 July 2014.

⁵²⁶ S. T. Mirza, ‘Story of *Imroze* and Pensioners’, *Dawn*, 7 August 2011.

takeover and made demands to transfer the PPL to its original owner, the Iftikhar-ud-Din family. Hameed Hashmi presented a resolution in the PFUJ Executive Committee in Dacca, condemning the PPL takeover and the representatives of the PFUJ, the EPUJ and the PUJ supported it unanimously. It caused a furore in official circles, as the Home Secretary asked Hameed Hashmi for an explanation, but the timely intervention of the PPL administrator, Sarfraz Ahmed, saved him because he took the plea that if the government intended to initiate legal action, then it should be brought against the PFUJ and not against a specific individual.⁵²⁷ The Democratic Action Committee, a five-party opposition alliance, made a demand for the PPL's 'restoration to its original owners' in its Eight-Point programme in 1967.⁵²⁸

Minhaj Barna is an important figure in the struggle for Press freedom, which the Pakistani journalists launched throughout the 1960s. He led a movement aimed at ameliorating the working conditions of both the journalists and the other press workers. He also worked to forge a larger unity between the labour and the journalists' trade union movements. In addition, along with other trade unionists like Nisar Usmani, Abdul Hamid Chappra and I.H. Rashid, he brought journalists to the front line of the democratic movements in Pakistan.

M.Barna joined *Imroze* Karachi in the mid-1950s and after its closure in 1961 he moved to *Imroze* Lahore. Later, he launched his career in English journalism and became a reporter for the *PT* in Karachi. He soon made his mark as a key figure in trade unionism. He organised a country-wide protest movement against the Press and Publications Ordinance (PPO) 1963 in

⁵²⁷ *Weekly Lail-o-Nahar*, Karachi, 22 March 1970, p. 81, and N. Akhtar, *Pahley Wage Board Say Satwaen Tak, Akhbari Karkonon Kay Leyey Ek Mukamal Kitab*, p.15.

⁵²⁸ R. Afzal, *Pakistan*, pp.344–345.

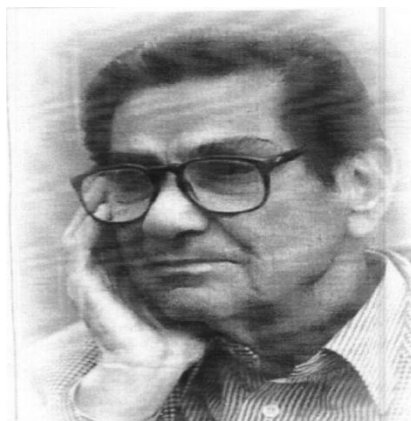
September 1963 and acted as its Convener.⁵²⁹ M. Barna filed a news report about Nawab Kala Bagh's illness that led to a tussle between the Nawab and the PPL proprietor, Chaudhary Zahoor Elahi, and unnerved Zahoor Elahi so much that he exerted enormous pressure on Barna to force him to reveal the source.⁵³⁰ However, Barna did not compromise his journalist's integrity. In 1966 he locked horns with the NPT Chairman, A.K.Sumar, on the expulsion of 28 journalists from the *Anjam* Karachi and wrote a critical piece on this episode in the *PT*. This development infuriated the West Pakistan Governor, Nawab Kalabagh, so much that he got M. Barna transferred to Dhaka. Nevertheless, Barna's sojourn in Dhaka provided him with plenty of opportunities to forge ties between the journalists of East and West Pakistan. In 1966, he was elected Secretary General of the PFUJ on quota allocated for East Pakistani journalists.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ A. A. Naz's Interview with M. Barna, A. A. Naz, *Makalmat*, pp.123–127; This movement was so effective that the government had to soften its uncompromising stance, a 4-member delegation of the all Pakistan action committee called on President Ayub Khan on 4 October 1963. For details, see A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, pp, 203–206.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Eleven trade unions across the United Pakistan's belonging to United Pakistan's regional centres had been affiliated to the PFUJ by the late 1960's, which shows that it had established a nationwide network through regional and local journalist trade unions across the United Pakistan, N.U. Hasan, 'Martial 1977 Kay Dauran Pakistan Men Sahifiyun ki Trade Union Sargarmiyani', pp.22–23; S.T. Mirza, in an obituary on M.Barna, highlighted the wider dimensions of the PPL journalists' role, as he argued that in the domain of politics the link between East and West Pakistan became more and more tenuous. But the journalists' organisations had forged strong bonds of friendship, as they were fighting for the common cause of Press Freedom. Particularly, the PPL and its journalists had performed a key role in creating and strengthening such bonds, S.T. Mirza, 'Azadi-e Sahafat ka Sarkhail' pp.14–15; Afzal Khan a veteran journalist while addressing a commemorative ceremony, which South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA), had organized in Islamabad in January 2011, specifically highlighted this point. He pointed out that M.Barna used his sojourn to Dhaka 'to make' the PFUJ, 'a link between the two wings of Pakistan', News Report, 'Media persons Owe Their Good Days to Barna's Struggle', *The Express Tribune*, 29 January 2011.

Figure 4.2 Minhaj Barna (1925–2011): A Dissenting Voice of Trade Unionists in Pakistan



Source: ‘Minhaj Barna | PFUJ – Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists’, accessed 27 May 2014, <http://pfuj.pk/history/unforgettable-lashes/minhaj-barna/>.

On his return to West Pakistan in 1969, M. Barna got involved in a prolonged struggle to implement the recommendations of the Wage Board awards. However, the newspapers’ proprietors maintained an uncompromising stance on this issue, which led M.Barna to call a nation-wide newspaper strike that lasted for 10 days. The strike was so effective that no newspaper could be published in United Pakistan for 10 days (except for the daily *Business Recorder* Karachi).⁵³² The strike was broken off on 24 April. The Establishment reacted quite strongly and dismissed 250 journalists and press workers who had actively participated in the strike.⁵³³

At the same time, the Establishment, the proprietors and the Right-wing journalists acted in unison against the trade union activism spearheaded by Left-wing journalists like M. Barna. The 14 newspaper proprietors tried to dissuade the journalist community from the PFUJ strike. They issued the

⁵³² PFUJ, ‘General Sher Ali’s Witch-hunt’, in ‘History, PFUJ – Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists’, <http://pfuj.pk/history>, p. 9.

Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.139; Akhtar, *Pahley Wage Board Say Satwaen Tak*.

⁵³³ ‘General Sher Ali’s witch-hunt’, p.9. A.A. Naz’s Interview with Minhaj Barna, in A.A. Naz, (ed.), *Maklamat*, p.126.

statement that ‘this strike had been organized at the behest of Communists’ and was part of Maulana Bhashani’s *Gherao jalao* (encircle and burn movement) that he had launched in February 1970.⁵³⁴ The Establishment not only counted on the support of the Political Islamists to break this strike but also deployed some underhand tactics.⁵³⁵ M.A.Mawadudi, Chief of the *Jamaat Islami* (JI), urged stalwart supporters among the journalists to revolt against the PFUJ, and induced them ‘to make conscious decisions and set up their independent unions’.⁵³⁶

This hostile attitude of the Political Islamists was not an isolated incident; rather, it marked a continuation of what appears to be a carefully concerted campaign against the PFUJ that Yahya Khan’s Information Minister had initiated. An example is the series of articles that were published in the weekly, *Zindagi* (Lahore) against the PFUJ leadership between 20 October 1969 and the last week of November 1969.⁵³⁷ Asrar Ahmad, who was the

⁵³⁴ Ibid. The PFUJ categorically denied this connection in an informational pamphlet in 1971 titled ‘*Sahafiyoon ki Tatheer aur Press ki Azadi par Hamlay ki Dastan*’; This pamphlet puts this whole affair in larger context. It accused the proprietors of deliberately delaying the implementation of the recommendations, which the Second Wage board had given since 1969. N. Akhtar’s work provides more detailed background of this issue, N. Akhtar, *Pahley Wage Board Say Satwaen Tak*, pp.23–37.

⁵³⁵ For instances the *Lail-o-Nahar*’s editorial on 26 April 1970, accused the Government of sending postal employees to the Pakistan Press International (PPI), a privately owned news agency, to end the strike in this organization. It further alleged that when this ploy did not work, the Government moved on to hire the services of workers from the neighboring country, Iran. ‘Editorial: Shandar Khiraj-e Tahseen’, *Lail-o-Nahar*, 26 April 1970, p.4.

⁵³⁶ A.A. Naz’s interview with the veteran Right-wing journalist Mahmood Ahmed Madni, in *Makalmaat*, comp. A.A. Naz, p. 136; In fact, M. A.Madni led a group of journalists, which was the first to disassociate itself from the strike. Not surprisingly, the abrupt end of this strike became a cause for great rejoicing for the Political Islamists and they gave so much importance to this development that they offered *Namaz-e Shukrana* (the Thanks’ Giving Prayer) over the end of strike, on the Friday 24 April 1970. For M.A.Madni, his initiative constituted a monumental achievement, Ibid. *Weekly Lail-o-Nahar*, 26 April 1970.

⁵³⁷ For more details see, A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, pp.209–210; Moreover, PFUJ’s website informs that the Right-wing journalists ‘clamoring what they called as a ‘sweeping purge of all communists and anti-Islam elements’ from the ‘newspaper industry Radio, Television and other institutions.’ It wrote about *Zindagi* that ‘it appealed to the martial law authorities to dismiss’ the ‘PFUJ’s leadership’ from ‘jobs’, PFUJ, ‘General Sher Ali’s witch-hunt’, in,

PFUJ President until October 1969, has provided an illustration from *Zindagi*'s cover story in which he has been depicted as an elephant.

Figure 4.3 Cover Story in the Weekly *Zindagi*



This cartoon depicts A.Ahmad, the PFUJ President, as the elephant of King Porus elephant. It shows him as an uncontrollable and intoxicated elephant that 'tramples down pen and that entire fallen route' [we have retained the words of A.Ahmad].
Source: A. Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, (Lahore: 2011).

Another benchmark of the PPL journalists' trade unionism was the Establishment of the PPL Worker's Union (PPLWU) in 1970. Abbas Athar, one of its pioneers and its first General Secretary, recalled in 2011, 'What made it quite unique was the fact that worker belonging to the all sections of the PPL's newspapers had joined it. Thus it became one of the most effective workers' organizations in the country'. A.T. Choudhry, a veteran *PT* journalist, served as its first President.⁵³⁸ The PPL's other famous trade

<http://pfuj.pk/history>, p. 9. This blog post also accused some of these detractors as 'paid workers', who later became champions of democracy.

⁵³⁸ Abbas Athar, 'Kankaryan: Kuch Yaa Dain Kuch Baten (1)' *Daily Express*, 1 November 2011.

unionists, such as I.H.Rashid, Badr-ul-Islam Butt and Akhtar Ali Mirza, remained its mainstay during their stints at the PPL newspapers.⁵³⁹

The PPLWU launched an important movement under Safdar Mir, the union's first president, in January 1971. It demanded the restoration of the PPL to its original owner and the reinstatement of its 42 employees that the Yahya Khan regime had dismissed.⁵⁴⁰ The PPP's massive electoral victory in the 1970 election had filled the PPL workers with boundless enthusiasm and they began to believe that the opportune moment to redress the injustice against the PPL had finally arrived.⁵⁴¹ The PPL workers and journalists came out on hunger strike and staged a *dharna* (sit-in), in front of the PPL office on 6 January 1971. Some of the prominent leaders of the PPP Punjab, such as M.A. Kasuri, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, Hanif Ramay and Abdul Hafeez Kardar, joined the procession and addressed the rally. The news report that appeared in the *PT* the next day informs us:

The hunger strike started after a procession, which started from Data Darbar where dastarbandi of Mr. Safdar Mir, the President of the PPL Workers Union took place and the hunger-strikers were garlanded...The procession after parading the main thoroughfares...turned into a meeting in front of the *Pakistan Times* Office.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁹ As most of its activities concern the post-1971 period, they are beyond the scope of our study.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Guftagoo aur Justagoo', A. Niazi's Interview with S. Mir, in *Tasawwurat*, by M.S. Mir ed. Sheema Majeed (Lahore, Classic 1997, p.63.

⁵⁴¹ K. Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.14.

⁵⁴² 'News Item: Six Persons on Hunger strike', The *PT*, 7 January 1971.

Figure 4. 4 PPL’s protest procession moving through the Mall Road Lahore before the hunger strike began



A view of the protest procession passing through Shahrah-i-Quaid-i-Azam.

This photograph captures the PPL’s protest procession moving through the Mall Road Lahore before the hunger strike began.

Source: *The Pakistan Times*, 7 January 1971.

Figure 4.5 Scene from the PPL workers’ hunger strike. One journalist holds a placard in his right hand on which the Urdu phrase *bhook hartal* is written in bold



This picture records a scene from the PPL workers’ hunger strike. One journalist holds a placard in his right hand on which the Urdu phrase *bhook hartal* is written in bold.

Source: *I.A.Rehman Documentary, Part I*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34Ty3w46YC4>

The publication of news stories that the PPP had put its weight behind the hunger strikers further heightened their expectations, as did the participation of some of party’s newly elected assembly members such as A. H. Kardar, Mukhtar Rana and Ahmed Raza Kasuri. The latter two even started giving

blunt statements inducing the PPL workers to seize control of the NPT.⁵⁴³ Z.A. Bhutto, the PPP leader, became seriously alarmed at this prospect. Since the late 1970s there had been an upsurge in the militancy of the trade unions and he feared that the PPL example could reinforce violent tendencies among workers.⁵⁴⁴

This act of activism was an exercise in futility because of the discouraging response of the PPP leader Z.A.Bhutto. He termed the strikers 'Sir Gala heads' and asked the workers to end this '*tamasha*'.⁵⁴⁵ The protest lasted more than 10 days. A day later, Lahore's Deputy Commissioner conducted a police action and forcibly shifted the strikers to a deserted place in Iqbal Park.⁵⁴⁶

4.9 PPL Journalists and Yahya Khan's Regime

Ayub Khan's rule ended mainly due to the anti-Ayub movement (October 1968–March 1969), and Yahya Khan, another military ruler, succeeded him. During the first two years of Gen. Yahya Khan's martial law, the Press enjoyed a higher degree of freedom, which was unprecedented by the

⁵⁴³ S. Mir's Interview in M.S. Mir, *Tasawwurat*, and p.63. To him the slogans of workers' take over were absolutely absurd and out of place. In fact we had never made this demand', Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Lal Khan's work provides a broad over view the rise of Leftist movement in the West Particularly in Punjab between 1967 and 1971, Pakistan, Lal Khan, *Pakistan Ki Asl Kahani, 1968–69 Ka Inqilab*, (trans.) Asad Pattafi, (Lahore:Tabqati Jad-do-Jahd Publications, 2009), Chapters 5 and 6. S.Mir reveals that Z.A.Bhutto had sent J.A.Raheem, the PPP's General Secretary, to Lahore, who met Hanif Ramay and Mubashir Hasan, and conveyed them the message to disassociate the PPP from the PPL's strike movement, S.Mir's Interview in M.S. Mir, *Tassawarat*, p.63.

⁵⁴⁵ We have borrowed these words from the following two sources, K. Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times' p.15, and Abbas Athar Interview ', in A.A. Naz, *Makalmaat*, p.212.

⁵⁴⁵ K. Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times.' p.15.

⁵⁴⁶ Even the eventual collapse of this strike could not erase its fond memories from K. Hasan's mind. He recalled 26 years later: 'However to this day, I savor the taste of that moment, when the PPL workers sat like brothers on the road, under a tent, across the workplace and felt that they were at last within their reach of undoing the injustice that had been done to them and their great institution a decade earlier by a military dictator', K. Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times.' p..

deplorable standards in Pakistan.⁵⁴⁷ However, Yahya Khan, too, in his broadcast speech on 28 July 1969, despite assuring people that ‘there would be no censorship’, highlighted certain taboo subjects on which his government was not ready to tolerate any criticism. These included writings ‘harmful to Pakistan and its ideology’, as well as the propagation of the causes of parochial elements and warned, ‘the almost unprecedented freedom enjoyed by the Press must not be allowed to make pressmen forget that the country is under Martial law’.⁵⁴⁸

This excerpt shows that the governing philosophy of Yahya Khan’s regime was heavily loaded against the regional Leftists who were seeking complete provincial autonomy.⁵⁴⁹ It outlined the Establishment’s aggressive approach, which advocated political integration of these social forces under highly centralised political dispensation without yielding to their demands.⁵⁵⁰ Yahya Khan’s regime found the full support of political Islamists, particularly the JI whose founder M.A. Mawdudi was offering a narrow interpretation of Pakistan’s ideology that centred on a religious concept of nation building.⁵⁵¹

The PPL journalists contested these interpretations at this crucial juncture and tried to expose the insidious attempts of the exponents of political Islam to

⁵⁴⁷ Sharif-ul-Mujahid, ‘Press System in Pakistan.’ *Media Asia*, Vol.18, no.3, 1991.

⁵⁴⁸ Excerpt from Yahya Khan’s broadcast speech cited in A.S. Khursheed, ‘Pakistan’, in *The Asian Newspapers’ Reluctant Revolution*, ed. John A. Lent, p.315.

⁵⁴⁹ Awami League’s leader Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman had clearly articulated the public feelings in his six-point programme, in January 1966, which later served the basis for Awami League’s party Programme.

⁵⁵⁰ The Yahya Khan regime was placing strong emphasis on ideology, which reflected its political belief that the feelings of religious allegiance could be used as a counter veiling force against the increasing demands of greater autonomy which the regional Leftists had been making. In simple words, he believed that ideology could act as a unifying force for nation building.

⁵⁵¹ For the perspective of Political Islamists on this issue see, V.R. Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution -The Jamaat-i-Islami* (Berkeley, 1994).

give a new meaning to ideology. Chaudhry Khadim Hussain, while remembering the *PT*'s senior reporter I.H. Rashid, highlighted an incident when I.H.Rashid was filing a report on Maulana Mawdudi's speech in 1969.

Once at a Jamaat-e Islami rally, Maulana Mawdudi said the Jamaat-e Islami gave ideology of Pakistan. I.H.Rashid reported as such. Jamaat-e Islami sent its rebuttal and the then Khawaja Asif published that as well. Rashid protested that Mawdudi did say that the rebuttal was wrong and wrote a letter to the editor that he had himself heard that. The letter was published he made his point.⁵⁵²

Safdar Mir, a *PT* columnist and assistant editor, wrote a series of articles in Urdu that were published in the weekly *Nusrat* in 1969. These critiqued Jamaat-e Islam's policies, particularly Maulana Mawdudi's religious and political discourses. Later these articles were published in the book form in the 1970's. Apart from other things this book, three chapters compared the JI's views on the Muslim League struggle for a separate Muslim homeland in South Asia with the JI's new interpretation of ideology. He pointed out fundamental differences between JI's views between early 1940 and 1969⁵⁵³ and concluded that by 1969 the JI had drawn new meanings of Pakistan ideology.⁵⁵⁴

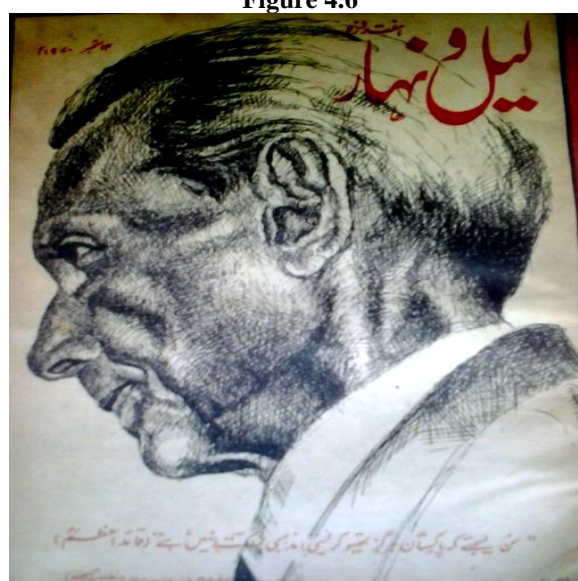
⁵⁵² Ch. Khadim Hussain, cited in, Hussain Naqvi, 'Remembering a Great: A Journalist like No Other', *The Express Tribune*, 13 September 2013.

⁵⁵³ M.S. Mir, *Mawdudiat*, (Lahore: Nusrat Press, 1970). However, we have retrieved it from, www.sajjanlahore.org/corner/safdar/safdarcorner.htm, pp.70 –73 and 87. To prove his point he cited several extracts from M.A. Mawdudi's work *Musalman Aur Maujuda Siyasi Kashmakash*, vol.III, (Lahore: 1955), 7th edn. S. Mir highlighted the point that M.A. Mawdudi made serious criticism on the Muslim League's political objectives, concept of nationality, notion of territorial state and form of democratic polity, which the Muslim League had envisaged at that time. Similarly, he focused on the main differences between the Muslim League's scheme for Pakistan and the proposed constitutional drafts, which M.A. Mawdudi had been proposing during the 1940s.

⁵⁵⁴ For more details, see Chapters 3, 8, 9 of Safdar Mir's book *Mawdudiat* (Lahore: Nusrat Press, 1970). In these chapters, he tried to rebut JI's claim that its founder had never opposed the Pakistan Movement and its depiction of Mawdudi as the leading exponents of the Pakistan movement.

Faiz Ahmed 'Faiz' editorialising on this issue on 22 March 1970 highlighted the ambivalence arising from the interpretations on ideology. He lamented that the insistence on enforcing a single ideology was reducing the possibility of nurturing ideological plurality in the country.⁵⁵⁵ *Lail-o-Nahar*'s issue of 4 September 1970 carries forward this debate. The caption below the illustration of M.A. Jinnah is an excerpt from one of his speeches in which he had categorically stated that Pakistan was not going to be a theocracy.

Figure 4.6



The cover page of *Lail-o-Nahar* provides an illustration of M.A.Jinnah. Almost below this illustration, it quotes from one of his famous speeches, in which he proclaimed in absolute terms that 'Pakistan is not going to be a theocracy at all'.

⁵⁵⁵ 'Editorial: Nazria-i-Pakistan Kasrat-e Taabeer', Weekly *Lail-o-Nahar*, 22 March 1970; This specific issue of *Lail-o-Nahar*, (Karachi) included four articles that dealt with this ideological debate and highlighted that Jinnah's vision of ideology was different from what JI and Yahya Khan's government was projecting/ propagating; PPL journalists up until quite recently have been challenging the Ideology, which the Yahya Khan's had tried to spread widely and that the Establishment subsequently weaved it into the dominant narrative. Punjab's former Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wayne had established the *Nazaria-e Pakistan* Trust, which pro-Establishment, politicians and Right-wing intellectuals had been using for political purposes ever since. Its management over the years allegedly encroached upon two kanals of land; allotted to other institutions, like *Idara Saqafat-e Islamia* and *Majlis-e Tarraqi-e Adab*, as their buildings, immediately stand adjacent to the Trust is building. S.T. Mirza wrote an article in *Dawn* in February 2011, and expressed his displeasure over alleged encroachment by the Trust authorities. He further alluded to the new interpretation of Ideology which Sher Ali had tried to impose, and sarcastically commentated 'this Nazaria kicked out Bengalis from Mumlakat-i-Khudad-e Pakistan and now at lower level it wants to knock out literature, culture and even Iqbal', S.T. Mirza, 'Nazaria [Ideology of Pakistan] used against Literature and Culture', *Dawn*, 20 February 2011.

Source: 'Cover Page Weekly *Lail-o-Nahar*,' *Lail-o-Nahar*, 21 September 1970.

Yahya Khan's regime also decided to do away with One Unit, a constitutional scheme/ arrangement that had served as the basis of Pakistan's federal-parliamentary system between October 1955 and March 1970.⁵⁵⁶ The other important decision was to hold Pakistan's first general elections on a party basis, which obviously generated discourse-enabling debates.⁵⁵⁷ It is useful to recall that Maulana Bhashani, the NAP leader, had advised the government against holding elections without resolving the issue of provincial autonomy. However, the establishment disregarded this sensible advice.

Considering that the country had a chequered political scenario and the society was polarised, the Establishment expected that no political party would be able to gain a clear majority, which would enable it to play a pro-active role in the post-election scenario. The pre-election assessment that the intelligence agencies had made about these elections further fostered these hopes as Table 4.3 shows.

Table 4.3. Election Results Predicted by Intelligence Agencies

Political party	Expected Seats/ Assessment about seats
Awami League	80
Qayyum League	70
Muslim League (Daultana)	40
Awami National Party (Wali)	35
PPP	25

⁵⁵⁶ However, quite ironically instead of resolving this crises on long-term basis as it only deferred this crisis. Moreover, the way in which the Establishment proceeded to enforce it made it quite controversial right from the very outset. That was why when Yahya Khan's government eventually abolished one unit, this crisis aggravated in a more serious form.

⁵⁵⁷ The Yahya Khan regime initially scheduled these elections on 5 October 1970, but the tidal bore in the East Pakistan, caused their postponement for two months; M. Waseem's seminal work the *Politics and the State in Pakistan* provides insightful discussion on 1970 elections, election campaign and the impact of the election results on Pakistan's state and political system. It also provides categorization of the political parties based on their approach towards elections, M. Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, pp.243–254.

Source: I. Talbot, *Pakistan a Modern History*, 1998, p. 19⁵⁵⁸

A week before the elections, daily *Azad's* three proprietors, I.A.Rehman, Abdullah Malik and Hameed Akhtar, visited East Pakistan to participate in a PFUJ meeting. After closely watching the political situation, I.A. Rehman filed a report on 7 December in daily *Azad*, on election day. Its second main lead was that PPP would get around 80 seats in West Pakistan, whereas the Awami League would sweep the polls in East Pakistan by getting 140 seats.⁵⁵⁹

Figure 4.7 The daily *Azad's* front page on election day



The daily *Azad's* front page on the eve of elections (7 December 1970) carries a banner headline about the victory of Left-wing parties in Pakistan. The second main headline in the lower half, towards the left, proclaims that the Awami League would take 140 seats in East Pakistan. Source: I.A.Rehman Documentary, Part 1.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34Ty3w46YC4>

⁵⁵⁸ G.W.Chaudhry, a scholar on Pakistan political and constitutional history, does not subscribe to this view. He insists that Yahya's government was aware that the Awami League would sweep the polls but expected that S.Mujeeb-ur-Rehman would modify his stance on the Six points. G.W. Chaudhry, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, p.128.

⁵⁵⁹ Hammed Akhatr's comments the realistic assessment the daily *Azad* had made about the 1970 election results, in *I.A.Rehman Documentary, I.A.Rehman Part 1 of 2.flv*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34Ty3w46YC4>.

Figure 4.8 A group photograph of East and West Pakistani journalists in Dhaka



A group photograph of East and West Pakistani journalists in Dhaka, taken in November 1970. I.A.Rehman is third from the left.

Source: I.A.Rehman Documentary, Part I, Ibid

Rehman's report showed that the Establishment had been keeping the people in the dark about the country's political situation. The election results almost validated the predictions of the daily *Azad*. The people gave a clear verdict in favour of two parties: the Awami League won 162 seats in East Pakistan and the PPP secured 82 seats in West Pakistan.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁶⁰ Rafiq Afzal, *Pakistan*, p.371; C. Baxter's article, 'Pakistan Votes', provides the historical background to the elections and the contestants, as well as a brief analysis of their results. 'Pakistan Votes -1970', *Asian Survey* 11, 3 (March 1971), pp.197-218. For further discussion, see Sharif-al-Mujahid, 'Pakistan: First General Elections', *Asian Survey* 11, no. 2 (Feb. 1971), pp. 159-171; It is useful to add two main conclusions that M.Waseem, Pakistan's prominent political scientist and scholar on post-colonial Pakistan, has drawn from the elections. For instance he argues that: 'The 1970 elections laid bare the fact that the state of Pakistan as it was known till the polling day had lost the constitutional legitimacy in favour of the majority party from East Pakistan. Indeed Yahya Khan's Martial Law Government faced a de jure, if not de facto, constitutional *coup d'etat* on 7 December 1970', M.Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, p.282; The above excerpt highlights a hard reality which the Establishment had to face from that point onwards, but M.Waseem, more than that, draws our attention to the inescapable fact that: 'The election exploded the myth that any exercise in arbitrary institution-building could be a surrogate for genuine expression of public will', Ibid. p.243. Not surprisingly, M.Waseem's inferences validate the PPL journalists' long-standing/shared belief that they had been espousing since the PPL's inception, and we have vividly demonstrated this aspect in almost all the sections of Chapter 2 and Section 3.1 of the previous chapter.

This placed the Establishment in the unpalatable position of transferring power to the representatives of East Pakistan, which it had been avoiding for over two decades.⁵⁶¹ To ward off this eventuality, it first tried to delay the transfer of power, and later tried to suppress the Awami League and the Bangla Liberation Movement through military operations that further diminished the prospects of negotiated settlement of the East Pakistan crisis.⁵⁶²

At this crucial juncture, the PPL journalists, particularly the *Azad's* proprietors as well as others such as S.T.Mirza and Ahmed Bashir, maintained an upright stand by raising their voice in favour of Bengalis. On 3 March 1971 when the military destroyed the office of the pro-Awami League newspaper, *The People's Daily*, Minhaj Barna, the General Secretary of the PFUJ, not only condemned this action but also advised the government not to launch military operations. The Establishment pressurised the newspapers not to publish this statement, and hence very few newspapers dared to publish it.⁵⁶³

The daily *Azad* followed a balanced policy towards both Left-wing parties like the PPP and the Awami League. I.A. Rehman, in an interview to A.A. Naz,

⁵⁶¹ We have clearly alluded to the Establishment's apprehensions regarding the dominance of the East Bengalis in Pakistan's political system in section Chapter 3, which became the prelude to the imposition of 1958 Martial Law.

⁵⁶² Among Pakistani scholars, Ayesha Jalal and M. Waeesem make structural analysis of this episode. In one of her articles on Pakistan's state Ayesha Jalal wrote about Yahya Khan in 1994: 'But he had no intention of transferring power to any political configuration, whether from the Eastern and Western wing, that aimed at restructuring the state with a view to undermining the dominance of the military and bureaucracy; Ayesha Jalal, 'The State and Political Privilege in Pakistan', in *The Politics of Social Transformation in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*, eds., Myron Weiner and Ali Banuazizi (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p.160; A.Jalal takes similar position in her another work titled as, *The State of Martial Rule, The State of Martial Rule*, p.310. M. Waseem also draws similar conclusion as he argues, 'It is therefore. ...clear that after the elections, Mujib, Yahya and Bhutto set about dealing with a situation, which was not only not of their own making but which apparently defied a solution within the existing framework of the state', M. Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, p.282; We would argue that this structural interpretation can provide a better understanding of the East Pakistan Crisis, an area of scholarship that is replete with polemics and sentimentalism.

⁵⁶³ T. A. Khan, 'Barna Sahib, Role Model', *Daily Express* 19 January 2011.

explained how the *Azad*'s journalists opposed the Establishment's strategy to resolve the East Pakistan crisis. He explained:

It vehemently opposed the military operation in the East Pakistan and tried to warn the nation about the disastrous repercussions of resolving the East Pakistan crisis through such recourse. Instead, it tried to impress upon the government for working out a political solution of this crisis.⁵⁶⁴

I.A.Rehman further revealed:

We framed a resolution, which called for finding a peaceful political solution of the East Pakistan problem and got 48 signatures for it. But the situation had come to such a pass that, except for the daily *Azad* no other daily newspaper of Lahore could dare to publish this statement. Ironically, [the Establishment] accused us of being pro Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman.⁵⁶⁵

Abdullah Malik, another daily *Azad* journalist, went further; he made a speech at the Engineering University and declared as Khalid Hassan notes, 'Hum *Bangladesh kay Mazloom Awam kay sath hain* [We are with the oppressed people of Bangladesh]'.⁵⁶⁶ The military court summarily sentenced him to one year's imprisonment but withdrew the punishment of lashes because of A.Malik's advanced age, as he was 51 by then.⁵⁶⁷

Masood Ashar, Resident Editor of the Multan *Imroze*, wrote three short stories between 1969 and 1971 on the political situation in East Pakistan: *Apni Apni Sachiyan* (Their own versions of truth) *Dab aur Bear ki Thandi Bottlen* (Dab and Bear's cold bottles) and *Belai Nai Ray Joldi Joldi*.⁵⁶⁸ He was arguably among the earliest fiction writers to write moving stories about the larger

⁵⁶⁴ I.A.Rehman, interview by A.A. Naz, in *Makalmat*, ed. A.A. Naz, p.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ K. Hasan, 'Abdulla Malik Looks Back', *Dawn*, [Op.Ed.] 18 February 2002.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁸ M. Ashar, *Saray Afsanay* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publishers, 1987), Chapters 31, 32 and 34.

national issue such as the East Pakistan crisis. In these short stories, he demonstrated deep empathy with the perspective and perceptions of the Bengalis.⁵⁶⁹

4.10 Analysis of Newspaper Circulation

Above, we have described how the PPL journalists responded to the takeover through internal resistance as well as more explicit political intervention during a diffusion process. The takeover created new challenges for these newspapers to maintain their circulation. As the former News Editor of *Imroze*, Azeem Qureshi, pointed out, ‘the readers wanted to read opposition news, but obviously, the takeover had placed weighty limitations for these newspapers to give adequate coverage to the opposition’s point of view’.⁵⁷⁰

Table 4.4 shows the *PT*’s circulation between 1947 and 1969.

Table 4.4 Circulation Figures for the *Pakistan Times*

Year	Circulation Figures
1947	8,000
1951	11,000
1958	37,500
1960	42,000
1965	50,000
1969	60,000

Source: Figures provided by the PPL’s circulation department, cited in S.Ali, ‘The *Pakistan Times*—A Critical Study’, p.108.

The table shows a consistent increase in the *PT*’s circulation, which can be attributed to several factors. The first factor was the decline of the *Civil and Military Gazette* (CMG), one of the oldest and most prestigious newspapers in

⁵⁶⁹ K. Hasan and F. Hassan, *Versions of Truth: Urdu Short Stories from Pakistan* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1983).

⁵⁷⁰ A. Qureshi, First Telephone Interview, August 8, 2014.

the sub-continent.⁵⁷¹ Equally important was the fact that the *PT* enjoyed a virtual monopoly over circulation in the vast region of north-western Pakistan stretching from Punjab to the NWFP. It had even developed a readership in some urban parts of interior Sindh and Baluchistan by the 1980s.⁵⁷² Despite this advantageous position, the *PT* journalists made continuous efforts to maintain and enhance their newspaper's standards to offset the adverse impact of the *PT*'s takeover and subsequent change in its policy.

Unlike the *PT*, we do not have any consolidated figures for *Imroze* circulation. Nevertheless, we have credible bits of information to construct a narrative about *Imroze* circulation between 1949 and 1969.

Table 4.5 Circulation Figures for West Pakistan's Major Daily Newspapers during the 1960s

Newspaper	Year	Circulation Figures
<i>Daily Jang</i> (Karachi)	1959	35,377
	1967	163,212
<i>Imroze</i>	1959	Not given
	1965–1968	Three-fold increase
<i>Daily Nawa-i-waqt</i>	1959	18,870
	1965	58,800
<i>The PT</i>	1959	34,850 ⁵⁷³
	1965	42,300
<i>Daily Dawn</i> (Karachi)	1959	41,468
	1972–1973	Same ⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹ We have alluded to this phenomenon in the section 2.1 on Ifthikar-ud-Din while explaining the prevailing circumstances in which the *PT* was launched. S. Khurshid, *Sahafat Pakistan-o-Hind Men*, p.520.

⁵⁷² Z.I. Mirza, 'Imroze, the Newspaper That Was', *Dawn* 6 December 1991. Between 1971 and 1994, a number of English newspapers began to be published in the areas of North-Western Pakistan. These included *The Muslim* (Islamabad, 1979), *The Frontier Post* (Peshawar, 1985), *The Nation* (Lahore, 1986) and *The Frontier Post* (Lahore, 1989). In 1990, the Jang group launched *The News* from Lahore and in 1994 *Dawn* began to publish its Lahore edition. The launch of these newspapers eventually eroded the *PT*'s monopoly.

⁵⁷³ M. Nizami, the PPL's rival in his work, put *PT*'s circulation at 37,000 in his work on the Pakistan Press. M. Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, p..

Source: Extracted from Sharif-al-Mujahid, 'Pakistan', (Hong Kong: 1982), p. 487.

Imroze circulation had reached 8,000 by the mid-1949.⁵⁷⁵ In August 1953 the *Imroze* management claimed that it had become a newspaper with the largest circulation. The *Nawa-i-Waqt* management disputed this claim on 13 August 1953. The *Imroze*'s General Manager, while responding to these comments the next day, reaffirmed that '*Imroze* management had made this declaration with full responsibility' and categorically asserted, 'Now *Imroze* has achieved the *highest* [emphasis mine] circulation among all the newspapers'.⁵⁷⁶

Azeem Qureshi, while reflecting on *Imroze*'s circulation before the PPL takeover, revealed that '*Imroze* had become so much popular that we do not need to send its copies to the newspaper market rather the newspapers, hawkers and agents directly came to *Imroze*'s office to collect them'.⁵⁷⁷ Table 4.5 gives no information on circulation figures for *Imroze* for the year 1959. However, we can assume that its circulation would have reached between 25,000 and 30,000 by the late 1950s⁵⁷⁸, hence, by the late 1950s in terms of circulation *Imroze* must have surpassed the *Nawa-i-Waqt*, which had a circulation of only 19,000.

We can draw a logical inference about a sharp decline in *Imroze*'s circulation in the period immediately after the PPL takeover, i.e., between 1960 and 1964.

⁵⁷⁴ It is strange that there was no change in *Dawn* circulation. Mujahid mentions an article published in *Akhbar-e Jahan* (Karachi) as his source.

⁵⁷⁵ A. Rasheed, 'File Note, 'Circulation Figures of the 'Daily *Imroze*', Lahore', 10 June 1949, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

⁵⁷⁶ M. Ahmed, 'General Manager PPL ka Maktoob, Banam, Managing Director 'Nawa-i-Waqt', *Imroze*, 13 August 1953.

⁵⁷⁷ A. Qureshi, Telephone Interview, 9 September 2014.

⁵⁷⁸ Our estimate based on inference confirms A. Qureshi's assertion that *Imroze* had achieved mass circulation by 1959. These figures look quite substantial if place them in the overall context of circulation, as Sharif-ul-Mujahid informs that 'by 1959...nine dailies commanded a combined circulation of 227,155', Sharif-ul-Mujahid, '*Pakistan*', in John A. Lent (ed.) *Newspapers in Asia: Contemporary Trends and Problems*, p.487.

Table 4.5 shows a three-fold increase in *Imroze*'s circulation between 1965 and 1968, which suggests that there would have been decline in *Imroze* circulation between 1960 and 1964. This is understandable, since the takeover had adversely affected the circulation of *Imroze*.⁵⁷⁹

Interestingly, Table 4.6 shows that by 1969 *Imroze* circulation had reached more than 50,000.⁵⁸⁰ The previous year, the *PT* on 21 March 1968 published a report that the *Imroze* circulation had increased almost three-fold between 1965 and 1968. In other words, after losing circulation in the early 1960s, *Imroze* once again began to enjoy a large circulation. We can further infer from Table 4.5 that *Imroze* circulation would have declined to 15,000 to 18,000. Only then does the *PT* news item, which claimed a substantial increase in *Imroze* circulation, make sense.

Table 4.6 Circulation Figures of Lahore's major Urdu newspapers during the 1960s

Newspaper Name	Year	Circulation Figures
<i>Kohistan</i>	1962	80,000 ⁵⁸¹
<i>Imroze</i>	1969	50,000
<i>Daily Azad</i>	1970	1,00,000 ⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Our interviewees like A.Qureshi and M. Ashar conceded that there was a significant fall in *Imroze*'s circulation in the few years immediately after the PPL takeover. If we stretch this point, we can argue that the weekly *Lail-o-Nahar* became the first causality of this takeover. For instance, under S. Sibte Hasan's editorship its circulation reached high figures of 30,000. The takeover led to a marked fall under Ashfaq Ahmed, who succeeded S.Sibte Hasan and further fell to 4,000, during Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum's stint with this magazine as its Editor. Thus the government keeping in view this continuing fall in *Lail-o-Nahar*'s circulation eventually closed it down in 1964, 'Editorial: Arz-e Hal', *Lail-o-Nahar*, Weekly (Karachi), 22 February 1970. It is interesting to note that even Ayub Khan's expectations regarding the PPL's takeover could not be fulfilled. In one of his cabinet meetings, presumably in 1962, he remarked, 'They are not running satisfactorily rather they have been slowed down to crawl', Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnamah*, p.560.

⁵⁸⁰ Z. Babur's Interview with N. Raza in 1992 confirmed that *Imroze*'s circulation had exceeded 50,000 by 1969, cited in N. Raza, 'Progressive Papers Limited', p. 89.

⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸² H. Akhatr's comments about daily *Azad*, in *I.A.Rehman Documentary, I.A.Rehman Part 1 of 2.flv*.<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34Ty3w46YC4>, Abbas Athar, in a television interview, in 2011, claimed that the 'daily *Azad* had such a wide circulation that it had become second largest newspaper of Lahore in terms of circulation'. Interview on City 42 TV

<i>Daily Musawat</i>	1970	70,000–1,00,000 ⁵⁸³
<i>Daily Mashriq</i>	1970	50,000–55,000 ⁵⁸⁴

Source: Altaf Qureshi, Telephone Interviews on August 8, 2014 and 11 September 2014. J. Kahtoon, 'Roz Nama Imroze Ka Tanqidi Jiaza', p..Second Telephone Interview, with M. Ashar, 12 September 2014. Second Telephone Interview with Azeem Qureshi on 9 September 2011. H. Akhtar's comments about daily *Azad*, in *I.A.Rehman Documentary, I.A.Rehman Part 1 of 2.flv*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34Ty3w46YC4>, and; A.K.Abid, *Badban Weekly*, 17 September 1979, cited in Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.131.⁵⁸⁵

The same period 1960–1964 in which the *Imroze*'s circulation underwent a sharp decline marked a substantial increase in the circulation of rival newspapers such as *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Kohistan*. For instance, between 1959 and 1965 *Nawa-i-Waqt*'s circulation went above 50,000 and *Kohistan*'s circulation reached 80,000 by 1962.⁵⁸⁶ In September 1963, a team of journalists left *Kohistan* and launched the *Daily Mashriq* from Lahore. By 1968, daily *Mashriq* had achieved circulation between 52,000 and 55,000 and caused a serious decline in *Kohistan*'s circulation.

During these troubled times, *Imroze* launched its Multan edition in 1959. By 1962, its circulation had reached 25,000 to 30,000, and after the Pakistan–India War (1965) it came to enjoy mass circulation in the southern Punjab. It

Programme, 'Baat Say Baat' Part 01 citynewz Lahore, uploaded on 11 August 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1471MEDsqlo2>

⁵⁸³ Munno Bhai who was daily *Musawat*'s first Chief Reporter, gave *Musawat*'s circulation figure as 70,000. On the other hand A.A.Qureshi, another important member of daily *Musawat*'s pioneering team of journalists, emphatically asserted that they had exceeded 1,00,000.

⁵⁸⁴ We have given an estimate of the daily *Mashriq*'s circulation figures based on information provided by Altaf Ahmed Qureshi, Masood. Ashar and Azeem Qureshi. Among these journalists the latter, in fact, had worked in *Mashriq* between 1963 and 1970.

⁵⁸⁵ This information comes from Abdul Karim Abid who was then working as the news editor of its Multan Edition, and the circulation figures he disclosed were from the pre-1963 period.

⁵⁸⁶ Considering the relatively low circulation of Pakistani newspapers in the early 1960s, his claim appears somewhat exaggerated. However, avoiding any controversy over the factual accuracy of these circulation figures, one cannot deny that *Kohistan* at that time was enjoying large circulation, H. Abadi, *Junoomen Jatni Bhi Guzri*, p. 95.

became so popular that its rival *Nawa-i-Waqt* had to close down its Multan edition and publication remained suspended for several years.⁵⁸⁷

Thus, by 1967 *Imroze* had achieved its claim of being the newspaper with the largest circulation. Moreover, by 1969–1970 the combined Lahore and Multan editions of *Imroze* had reached 85,000 to 90,000.⁵⁸⁸ The recovery is remarkable given the cutthroat competition in Lahore as well as the constraints that the PPL takeover had placed on its journalists.

The takeover was definitely a great setback for the PPL, which affected the circulation of the PPL newspapers, particularly the *Imroze*. The PPL journalists through their determined efforts managed not only to increase this circulation but also to make it Punjab's Urdu newspaper with the highest circulation. From 1967 it had been making claims about being Pakistan's largest newspaper, but the wide difference between the circulation figures of *Imroze* and *Daily Jang* do not support its claim.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter discussed two dominant themes. First, it described the management shake-up and its wide repercussions on its journalists. Second, it highlighted the paradigmatic shift this incident wrought in the policies of the PPL newspapers; the PPL found it exceedingly difficult to voice the dissenting opinion of the anti-Establishment political forces. The previous chapter showed that before the takeover, the PPL newspapers performed two roles: as a mirror that reflected the struggle of the Left-wing forces and as the harbinger

⁵⁸⁷ Masood Ashar, Telephone Interview with M. Ashar, 12 September 2014.

⁵⁸⁸ K.Hasan informs us that in its heyday *Imroze*'s circulation had risen to 1,000,00. K.Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.9.

of a radical vision in society. The PPL takeover virtually reversed these roles. The Establishment tried to transform it into an official mouthpiece, but the PPL journalists struggled valiantly and within the limitations tried to express radical voices.

The regime of Ayub Khan placed the control of the PPL newspapers to different private proprietors between 1959 and 1964. It demonstrated that the new proprietors both lacked the vision and determination to handle newspapers business. Later the government established the National Press Trust which soon grew into a major conglomerate of government controlled newspapers in Pakistan. The PPL newspapers were also placed under the control of the NPT. I also examined how and what ways the NPT effected government press relations and what kind of stakes the Establishment developed in controlling Press through NPT.

I also highlighted Iftikhar-ud-Din's reaction over PPL takeover. It proved to be a blow for Iftikhar-ud-Din and had a telling effect on his health. But he mustered up courage to fight a legal battle hoping that he would be able to get relief through the courts. During the last days of his life he also took some initial initiatives to form an alliance of opposition parties against the regime of Ayub Khan.

To show their internal struggle, we incorporated the views of PPL journalists, which provide a radical version of the PPL story. Their views confirmed that they put up sustained resistance under the martial law regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. They explained their strategies of resistance, which enabled them to navigate through the challenging circumstances. These views contradict the widely held belief that PPL journalists had compromised their

independence and abandoned their radical policy.⁵⁸⁹ Several sections in this chapter, particularly those on journalists, their role as a diffuse community, their supportive role for the PPP and the struggle for trade unionism, are thematically linked with this phenomenon of resistance.⁵⁹⁰

The role that the PPL journalists performed as a diffuse community, particularly during Yahya Khan's martial law, was discussed. This role became salient through other platforms, which we referred to as off-shoots of the PPL. The timing of these active, political and social interventions by the PPL journalists was quite significant, as Pakistan was passing through a crucial phase in its political history, especially the Establishment's strategy to bring about political and national integration.

This was also the period when political Islamists came up with a new interpretation of Pakistan's ideology. The Yahya regime, in order to contain the Left-wing forces as well to find a solution to the crisis of provincial autonomy, not only subscribed to such interpretations but also tried to weave them into a dominant narrative. Unfortunately, these policies reflected and echoed the Establishment's myopic view of the political situation, since it was not ready to accommodate the greater demands for provincial autonomy by the regional Leftist parties, particularly the Awami League. Not surprisingly, these policies, instead of remedying the country's knotty political problems, tended to aggravate them. The PPL journalists, while contesting what they considered

⁵⁸⁹ Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power*, p., and ; A.A. Naz's Interview with Irshad Ahmed Haqqani, *Daily Jang* 21–23 August 1999. [It is included in *Makalmat*, ed. A.A. Naz.

⁵⁹⁰ The sections on journalists, their role as diffuse community, trade unionism and circulation mainly highlighted specific dimensions of PPL journalists struggle. Even one can stretch it back to their subtle resistance, before the PPL's takeover, which they offered between, 7-8 October 1958, and 18 April 1959.

as a narrow interpretation of ideology, tried to expose its contradictions as well as its constructed nature. They highlighted that the version of ideology was at odds with the vision, perception and governing philosophy of Pakistan's founder. More significantly, they took an upright stand on the critical issue of transfer of power to the elected representatives of East Pakistan. They gave sensible advice to the Establishment about working out a peaceful solution to the country's political crisis. Moreover, when the government eventually launched the military operation in East Pakistan, they were among the very few intellectuals in West Pakistan who publically opposed it.

CHAPTER 5

PROGRESSIVE WRITERS MOVEMENT AND LITERARY RADICALISM 1947—1971

The previous three chapters presented print as a catalyst for gauging various forms of critical interventions by the radical activists in post-colonial Pakistan. In this chapter we move from print to literature and focus on literary radicalism, which spread through the agency of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA). Although this chapter presents a macro-view of the literary scene across Pakistan, yet it engages the perspectives of literary writers that were mainly based in Lahore. The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section assesses the role of the PWA as an institutionalised forum to promote literary radicalism. This fits into the larger narrative of the progressive literary movement in post-colonial Pakistan between 1947 and 1971, of which the PWA acted as a harbinger in 1948–1954. While describing the activities of the PWA, this section sheds light on the relationship between the PWA and the Establishment. The second section covers the progressive writers' movement after the imposition of a ban on the PWA until 1971.⁵⁹¹ It is argued that as the PWA embraced a political and social cause that had influenced a large number of literary writers, the Establishment could not suppress this movement. This discussion tried to capture an array of themes pertaining to literary radicalism and its constituent

⁵⁹¹ The Establishment banned this organisation on 24 July 1954 and shattered its organisational structure. Though the progressive writers made serious efforts in 1956, 1971–1972, 1978 and 1999 to revive it, these could not succeed for several reasons. It was only the initiatives that the progressive writers took between early 2004 and 2007 that paid off, Mushtaq Ahmed Beg's doctoral thesis provides details of these efforts of reviving the PWA., M.A.Beg, 'Anjuman-Taraqqi-Pasand Musannifeen Punjab Men', (Ph.D. thesis, G.C.University Lahore, c.2009/2010)

parts. For instance, the progressive writers made unsuccessful attempts to establish successor organisations to the PWA. They made sustained efforts to advance their agenda and put up resistance through other means such as literary journals, individual literary works and other forms of cultural expression, such as films. Since many of the progressive writers found creative outlets in theatre and film.⁵⁹² I have included a brief overview of the progressive ventures in films.

5.1 Literary Radicalism and the Progressive Writers Association, 1947–1954

As pointed out in Chapter 1, Lahore had emerged as one of the most active centres of the PWM since the late 1930s and it achieved special prominence after the creation of Pakistan. As a vibrant city, it was the centre of print culture and educational establishments. Similarly, it was the hub of cultural activities. Moreover, it was located at the grid connecting Multan and Rawalpindi, the cultural centres of southern and northern Punjab respectively. Thus, Lahore provided a congenial atmosphere for the PWM to advance its radical agenda.

The all-Pakistan Progressive Writers Association (henceforth PWA) was established in December 1947 with a comprehensive strategy to profess and disseminate social realism in literature.⁵⁹³ It had laureates like Sajjad Zaheer

⁵⁹² According to R. Jalil, the progressive writers deployed literature in realms of ‘art and popular culture’ to develop ‘political consciousness’ and bring about ‘social change’, Rakhshanda Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change*, p.xiv ; Talat Ahmed described literature, theatre and film as a ‘continuous movement’ through which the PWA sought to establish an ‘alternative cultural tradition’. She accorded great importance to the role of the All India Peoples Theatre Association that enabled the PWA ‘to reach wider audience’, Talat Ahmed, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism*, p.105–106.

⁵⁹³A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri*, Hameed Akhtar, p. 115. Hameed Akhtar’s article, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore’, in *Taraqqi Pasand Adab, Pachas- sala Safar*, eds., Qamar Rais

and Sibte Hasan, who held official positions in the Communist Party of Pakistan. The former was the CPP's Secretary General, and the latter headed the CPP's publication committee.⁵⁹⁴ Concomitantly, intellectuals like Abdullah Malik, Hameed Akhtar, Ahmed Rahi, and Zaheer Kashmiri were closely involved with both the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) and the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM). Therefore, a greater liaison developed between these two organisations. This conveyed the impression that the PWA was playing an ancillary role to the CPP and the Establishment's propaganda reinforced this impression

Figure 5.1 Office-bearers and the members of Executive Council of PWA Lahore



From R. to L.: Zuhair Siddiqui (Financial Secretary), Hameed Akhtar (General Secretary), Hajra Masroor and Ahmed Rahi (Organizing Secretary)

Behind from R. to L.: Hameed Qureshi, Hasan Aarafi, Riaz Javed (Office Secretary) and Javed Manzar

Source: Sawera, Issue no, 7-8 [see.1949]

and Ashoor Kazmi (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 1994) provides details. Though the PWA was formally established in November 1949 when it issued its first manifesto, since the progressive writers had already held their national conference in Lahore this is considered as the beginning point of the organisation.

⁵⁹⁴ M. Anwer Ali has mentioned a cell in his report on CPP activities, M.A. Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, vol. 1 ; Excerpts from Iqbal Leghari's interviews with prominent Left-wing activists and intellectuals such as Ishaque Mohammad, Raza Kazim and Eric Cyprin provide more details as well as a critical analysis of this strategy, I. Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan: An Historical Survey', (Ph.D. thesis).

The PWA tried to engage the literati through weekly meetings. They were held at four venues in Lahore, between 1948 and 1954, such as the YMCA Hall, the Dyal Singh College building, a lawyer's apartment at McLeod Road and the residence of Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan. Due to the Establishment's constant pressure and intimidation, the members of the PWM had to change the venues four times.⁵⁹⁵ The meetings were suspended during 1951 and 1952 in the middle of the Establishment's witch-hunt against the Leftists, which had rendered the PWA virtually dysfunctional.⁵⁹⁶

The weekly meetings followed a specific pattern of literary discussion. Usually, poets first recited a *ghazal* (a genre of Urdu poetry) or *nazm* (poem), which was followed by the reading of an *afsana* (short story) and the presentation of a critical essay. One of the prominent figures among the participants would preside over these meetings. The C.I.D. report described the number of PWA members as 217, belonging to 17 branches.⁵⁹⁷ M.Ashfaq Beg in his doctoral work on the PWA mentions the names of 60 members who had registered with its Lahore branch.⁵⁹⁸ Initially, both progressive and non-

⁵⁹⁵ Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan, 'Excerpt from Talat Ahmed's interview with Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan', in Talat Ahmed 'Writers and Generals':130, Hameed Akhtar, 'Excerpt from M.A.Beg's interview with Hameed Akhtar', in M.A.Beg, 'Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen', May 5, 2008, p.60, and; Hameed Akhtar, 'Tarraqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore.', in *Tarraqi Pasand Adab, Pachas-sala Safar*, pp.335-336.

⁵⁹⁶ The implication of the CPP in the RCC had created such an environment against the Left-wing literati that it began to suspect them and intern them on minor excuses.

⁵⁹⁷ M.Anwer Ali, 'The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action, Vol.2 (comp.)', Official (published) (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, Punjab, 1952), Vol. II, pp.412-420, cited in Talat Ahmed, 'Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup':132.

⁵⁹⁸ Mushtaq Ahmed Beg, 'Anjuman-Tarraqi-Pasand Musannifeen Punjab Men', p.60. He also wrote that the average number of participants in the branch meetings of the PWA in Lyallpur had reached 50, whereas in Okara it was 35 in the first year of its establishment, *Ibid.*, p.65.

progressive literary figures participated in these meetings.⁵⁹⁹ And at times non-progressives also presided over these meetings.⁶⁰⁰

In addition to these meetings, the members of the PWA attended the meetings of the Halqa Arbab-e Zauq (Circle of Those with Discerning Taste).⁶⁰¹ Similarly, members of the Halqa participated in the PWA meetings, particularly when they were held at Dayal Singh College Library.⁶⁰² The PWA's hard line over its political and literary opponents and its unequivocal support to the creed of realism in literature in its second All-Pakistan conference (November 1948) widened the ideological gulf between the progressives and their political opponents. But once the PWA revisited its decisions in its third All-Pakistan conference (July 1952), the dissidents as well as the majority of the opponents re-joined the meetings.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, who served as APPWA's general secretary between 1949 and 1954, in an interview to G.H. Azhar clarified that the PWA's membership was not restricted to those 'who believed in the Communism, rather...communists, socialists and the liberal muslims like me all had joined *Anjuman* as members'. However, the PWA expected that those who participated in the weekly meetings should be 'free from the religious biases', G.H. Azhar's interview with A.N. Qasmi, in *Ru-ba-ru*, ed. G.H. Azhar (MirPur:Veri Nag Publishers, 1991) n.d., p.49. By using the term 'non-progressive' literary figures I mean litterateurs who were either ideologically opponents of the Left and the PWA, or those who did not subscribe to the literary agenda of the PWA; rather, they advocated the creed of '*Adab-barae-Adab*' (literature for the sake of literature), or they maintained a neutral position on the polemical debates between the progressive writers and their opponents. The writings of Intizar Hussain, Hamid Akhtar, M.A. Beg's thesis on the PWA in Punjab, and works on *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq* provide nuggets of information about the non-progressive literati who used to attend these meetings.

⁶⁰⁰ Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghton ka Dhuan*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2013), p.58.

⁶⁰¹ *Halqa* was one of the most active literary societies of Lahore from its inception in the late 1930s. It remained central to the vibrancy of Lahore's parlour. It also provided a platform for progressive writers to present their literary writings through its meetings. At times it also acted as a rival organisation to the PWA, though the literary writers hold different views on this aspect. For instance, Intizar Hussain has categorically denied this impression in his autobiography, Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghton ka Dhuan*, p.45.

⁶⁰² Hameed Akhtar, M.A.Beg's interview with H.Akhtar, in, M.A. Beg, 'Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musanifeen', p. 60.

⁶⁰³ Intizar Hussain, interview by Altaf Ahmed Qureshi, in, *Adabi Mukalmay*, ed. A.A.Qureshi (Lahore, Maktaba-e Aliya, 1986). p.121.

The PWA made effective use of the progressive magazines to enhance public consciousness about social and socialist realism that constituted the core concepts of its cultural ideology.⁶⁰⁴ Between 1947 and 1950 the progressive magazines enjoyed huge popularity in the literary circles in Pakistan. It was the way to gauge the growing popularity that the progressives had come to acquire in the literary world, which was obviously quite disproportionate to the Left's political strength and support base in the society at large.⁶⁰⁵

Table 5.1 Major Progressive Literary Magazines in West Pakistan: Late 1940s to the early 1950s

Magazine Name	Year of launch/ place of Publication	Editor
<i>Adab-e Latif</i> (Monthly)	1936/Lahore	Fikar Taunasavi, Mumtaz Mufti and Arif Abdul Mateen (Aug.1947–Feb. 1948), Fikar Taunasavi, Arif Abdul Mateen (Feb.1948–July 1948). Mirza Adeeb joined as editor in March 1949 and held that position for 13 years. ⁶⁰⁶
<i>Sawera</i> ⁶⁰⁷ (Quarterly)	1946/Lahore	A.N.Qami, A. A. Mateen, Z.Kashmiri and A.Rahi (August ...1947 and ...1952)
<i>Naqush</i> (Quarterly)	1948/Lahore	A.N.Qasmi and Hajra Masroor (1948–1950).
<i>Sahar</i> (Monthly)	Sep.1947/Lahore	Altaf Parvaz and his wife Naeem Sahr founded the magazine. In the initial two years, it followed an independent policy. Later, it came under the overwhelming influence of the progressives, particularly between 1949 and 1952.
<i>Javed</i> (Monthly)	c.1948/Lahore	Naseer Anwar (proprietor), A.A.Mateen

⁶⁰⁴ Table 5.1 provides a list of major literary magazines that were published in West Pakistan. In addition, I have also mentioned magazines that were neutral in their orientation and readily accepted the work of progressive writers.

⁶⁰⁵ Intizar Hussain, the acclaimed Urdu short story writer and novelist and a prominent habitué of Lahore's parlour, has acknowledged that the progressives had an overwhelming influence over the literary scene in the initial years after the establishment of Pakistan, Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhan*, pp.23 and 44.

⁶⁰⁶ Sughafta Hussain, 'Mahnama Adab-e Latif ki Khidmat ka Tahqiqi aur Tanqidi Jaiza', (Ph.D. thesis).

⁶⁰⁷ Its two issues that appeared in 1947 before Partition adopted a liberal editorial policy. The third issue, which came out after Partition, marked a pronounced shift in its policy towards the radical Left. It became such a powerful voice of the PWA that critics of the progressives sarcastically began to call them the 'Sawera group', Aziz Ahmad, 'Cultural and Intellectual Trends in Pakistan': 38–39. Hafeez Malik has used the same term, Hafeez Malik, 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan,': . Issues 3 to 11, which appeared between August 1947 and ... 1952, represent the most radical phase of this magazine's editorial policy. It had to tone down its radical voice from early 1952, but it retained its identity as a liberal that was fairly sympathetic to the progressive cause.

<i>Afkar</i> (Monthly)	June 1951/Karachi	Sehba Akhtar
<i>Sang-e Mee</i> ⁶⁰⁸ (Bi-monthly)	August 1948/ Peshawar	Farigh Bokhari, Raza Hamdani, Khatir Ghaznavi and Qateel Shafai

Sources: Sughafta Hussain, ‘‘Mahnama *Adab-e Latif* ki Khidmat ka Tahqiqi Aur Tanqeedi Jaiza’,’ (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University, 1996).A. Sadeed, *Pakistan Men Adabi Rasail Ki Tarikh* (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adbiyat-e Pakistan, 1995), pp.107–125.Mohammad Ashraf Kamal, ‘Urdu Adab Kay Asri Rujahanat Kay Furog Men Mujalla Afkar ka Hissa’,’ (Ph.D. thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University, 2005), Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains* (Karachi: 1987), p.54, A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat* (Lahore: 2002), p.251, and; Zia-ur-Rehman, ‘Farigh Bokhari,Ahwal-o-Aasar’, (Ph.D. thesis, Jamia Peshawar, 2005).

This table shows that Lahore held a prominent place in Pakistan’s literary culture immediately after partition. It further bears powerful testimony to the PWA’s soaring influence in society. In addition to these literary magazines, there were a number of magazines that were non-partisan or neutral in their orientation, such as *Adabi Dunya*, *Humayun* and *Nairang-e Khayal* and thus provided progressive writers with yet another platform to articulate their radical vision.

The PWA tried to inculcate cultural awareness by organising diverse social gatherings. It encouraged its members to hold and participate in a wide range of cultural activities. The PWA’s Karachi branch arranged a special ceremony to celebrate *Yom-e Ghalib* (Ghalib Day) on 30 March 1948 and the Lahore branch sent Safdar Mir to attend the ceremony.⁶⁰⁹ The PWA’s Lahore chapter held ‘a *mushaira* under the auspices of North-Western Railway Union in Bagbanpura’, Lahore in July 1948.⁶¹⁰ This *mushaira* (a meeting at which poets recite their poetry) was not an isolated event. Such social gatherings like

⁶⁰⁸ There are discrepancies in the date when the magazine was launched. Zia-ur-Rehman in his doctoral thesis on F.Bokhari, (one of its editors) says that it was launched after Partition in 1947, but A.A. Naz, in his work on progressive journalism in Pakistan mentions the year of publication more precisely as August 1948. Interestingly, Zia-ur-Rehman describes it as a monthly magazine, whereas according to A.A. Naz it was a bi-monthly magazine.

⁶⁰⁹ Safdar Mir, ‘Report on PWA, Karachi, non-official (Lahore, 1952), cited in *The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action*, Vol.1, pp.160–161 and 165 comp. M. Anwer Ali.

⁶¹⁰ CPP Central Committee, ‘Letter, [providing Instructions] from the Central Committee to the DOC Karachi’, July 1948, Ibid, p.33.

mushairas had become an integral part of the literary culture of Lahore.⁶¹¹ They provided progressive writers with added opportunities to interact with the literati and the general public. The progressive writers were conscious of all that. A report by the PWA showed that the Anjuman had been putting optimal emphasis on ‘holding public debates and *mushaira*’.⁶¹²

The PWA organised three conference in Lahore (1947 and 1949), and Karachi. Of these, two were all-Pakistan literary conferences.⁶¹³ Between these conferences, it convened a peace conference at Okara in 1950 in collaboration with the All-Pakistan Peace Committee.⁶¹⁴ We can read it as an attempt to build a nexus between the non-communist elements of civil society and the Leftists.

The first conference in this series was the national conference, which was held in Lahore on 5–6 December 1947. The purpose of the conference was to organise the progressive litterateurs and to draw the attention of non-progressive writers towards the need for creating a new kind of literature. One

⁶¹¹ Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuan*, pp.23 and 25.

⁶¹² PWA, ‘Report of the Progressive Writers Association,’ September 24, 1948.

⁶¹³ There is confusion about the exact title of the all-Pakistan conferences. The confusion arises from the different names used by the main organisers, participants and authorities in the PWM. To avoid this confusion we will describe the first conference that the progressive writers organised as the National conference of the progressive writers and to describe the names of the other two conferences we will follow the nomenclature used by H. Akhtar and compilers of the documents on progressive literature.

⁶¹⁴ The last-mentioned was a Left-wing organisation that was established to support peace initiatives in the world and mobilise people against what the Leftist called ‘imperialistic policies of the belligerent countries like the US, Britain and their allies’. I have borrowed these words from a resolution that was passed in the peace conference in Okara. ‘Pakistan Amn Conference,’ *Sewara*, n.d.; M.Anwer Ali’s report provides a brief background details about the All Pakistan Peace Committee; in particular, it sheds light on its formation and functions. M.A. Ali, *Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.2, pp.424–427.

can describe this conference as the informal beginning of the PWA in Pakistan.⁶¹⁵

Besides organising these national conferences, the PWA also held an important conference in Lahore between 12 and 18 February 1949. It scrutinised PWA Punjab's organisational matters, elected its office bearers and endorsed its manifesto.⁶¹⁶ Through these conferences and other initiatives, CPP leaders like Sajjad Zaheer and Sibte Hasan tried to forge links between the PWA and the poorer segments of society such as labourers.⁶¹⁷ These conferences, which may provide a better understanding of the broad political ideals that the PWA was following. The first national conference held in Lahore was a mega event with a huge number of literary people participants. As reported in the progressive magazine *Sawera*, there were more than 500 participants.⁶¹⁸ Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik presided at the conference and

⁶¹⁵ Ahmed Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar* (Lahore: Book Home, 2010), p.115. S.Toor, a scholar of post-colonial Pakistan. The PWA's first all Pakistan conference was the occasion that marked this formal beginning of this organisation, S. Toor, *The State of Islam*, p.59.

⁶¹⁶ Safdar Mir, 'The Punjab PWA in 1949,' non-official (Lahore, March 1, 1949).Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.1, pp.291–297.

⁶¹⁷ M.A. Ali's report contains many items of correspondence between the CPP and various branches of the PWA as well as letters that the PWA organisers had been writing to its regional and sub-branches. The correspondence reflects the intense desire of the Leftists to forge a greater alliance between the literati and the labourers CPP's Central Committee, 'Instructions from the Central Committee from the District Organizing Committee (DOC) Karachi,' July 1948. The delegates of labour organisations fully participated in the first and second conferences of the PWA held in Lahore in December 1947 and November 1948. A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, Hameed Akhtar, 'Tarraqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore', in *Tarraqi Pasand Adab, Pachas-sala Safar*, pp.336–337. Abdullah Malik's report on the proceedings of the second conference provides more details about this theme. He wrote that along with the other portraits with which the pavilion was decorated, there was a large wooden portrait of a labourer holding a hammer in one hand and raising a book with the other; the book was inscribed with the slogan '*Qalm aur Hathorey ka Ittehad Zinda-bad*' (Long Live the Alliance of Pen and Hammer). A banner bore another catchy slogan, 'Art is a weapon and we will deploy this weapon in service of the proletariats', Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, p.31. Labourers and proletariats enthusiastically participated in the Pakistan Amn (peace) Conference in Okara, 'Pakistan Amn Conference', 'Manshoor' (Manifesto) *Sewara*, and Issue 7-8, (1950):24–31 and 288–291.

⁶¹⁸ A. Salim, *Hameed Akhtar*, p.116.

delivered the inaugural address.⁶¹⁹ The progressive writers presented several resolutions that covered a diverse array of topics and problems. One of the resolutions called for the protection of fundamental liberties and for establishing and strengthening the democratic process in the country. It also demanded maximum political and religious freedom for minorities. Another resolution urged the government to eliminate feudalism and to address the issue of refugee repatriation expeditiously. The conference approved another resolution that called for promoting cultural co-operation between Pakistan and India.⁶²⁰ These resolutions show no bias against the anti-progressive writers. One should bear in mind that this conference was held before the establishment of the CPP.⁶²¹

Before the second conference, there was a major change in the PWA's policy towards non-progressive writers. Progressive writers like Sibte Hasan and Mumtaz Hussain Siddiqui later regarded it as an off-shoot of the major decisions taken in the All India Progressive Writers Association's (AIPWA)

⁶¹⁹ Mumtaz Hussain, 'Muttahida Mahaz', Naya Shuur Nai Takhliq, in *Fikri-o-Nazri Mubahis, Tarraqi Pasand Tanqid... Paun Sadi Ka Qissa*, ed. and comp. Humeira Ashfaq (Lahore: Sanjh Publications, 2012), pp.387–424.

⁶²⁰ A.N. Qasmi and S. Ludhianvi, 'Pakistan kay Funkaron ka Ijtimā', *Sawera*, (Issue 3–4) 1948, p.239.

⁶²¹ At that time the progressive writers were following the 'United Front Line', which meant that it did not differentiate between progressives and non-progressive writers; rather. It was trying to muster their support for its cause. There are clear similarities in the policies of the progressive literary organisations of India and Pakistan at that time. The All India Progressive Writers Association (AIPWA), the precursor of the PWA in Pakistan, had adopted a more open policy. One can trace the influence of the 'United Front Line' of the Communist Party of India on this policy. The strategy called for greater unity between the bourgeoisie (middle classes) and the peasant and the working classes. As the non-progressive literati mainly belonged to the bourgeoisie class, the progressive writers of Pakistan and India saw no harm in joining hands with them. The CPI abruptly reversed its 'United Front Line' in the middle of the deteriorating relationship between the communists and the government of Jawaharlal Nehru. Mumtaz Hussain, a well-known progressive critic, wrote an article for Lahore's progressive literary magazine *Sawera* in March 1951 that provided both a detailed background as well as a critique of the implications of this policy for the PWA, Mumtaz Hussain, 'Muttahida Mahaz', Naya Shuur Nai Takhliq, in *Fikri-o-Nazri Mubahis, Tarraqi Pasand Tanqid... Paun Sadi Ka Qissa*, 387–424.

5th conference, held in Behmeri, a town near Bombay, on 27–29 May 1948.⁶²² Its declaration showed that the AIPWA presented a Left-wing extremist view because it tried to define the concept of progressive literature as well as the role of progressive writers very narrowly and rigidly.⁶²³ The organisers of the PWA also embraced this extremist view.⁶²⁴ It allowed opponents of the Leftists, particularly the Establishment, to brand the PWA as a ‘front of the Communist Party’. M. Anwer Ali, the D.I.G., C.I.D. has consistently underscored this point in his work.⁶²⁵ He has also tried to prove that the PWA was not functioning independently, but was working as an ancillary organisation of the AIPWA.⁶²⁶ One needs to look at his work with caution

⁶²² The Pakistani progressive writers referred to this place as Behmeri, whereas scholars of the PWM like R. Jalil mentioned the venue of the conference as Bhiwandi, R. Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change*, p.355. If we further place the line which the Behmeri conference adopted in the larger context, then we may earmark it to the decisions of the Second Conference of the CPI that was held in Calcutta between 28 February and 6 March. In this conference the CPI’s new Secretary-General, B.T. Ranadive (1904–1990), led a revolt against the previous party line, which the CPI had been following under its former Secretary General, P.C. Joshi. This line was called the United Front Line and it supported a broad alliance of the Leftists and the capitalists. But during the Calcutta conference, B.T. Ranadive succeeded in getting a new resolution approved through the party delegates. This line came to be known as the B.T.R. Line and it declared the governments of both Pakistan and India as reactionaries, and accused them of falling under the influence of the imperialists. It further branded the capitalists as avowed enemies of the people and considered the alliance between the communists and the labourers as a prerequisite for bringing the socialist revolution to India and Pakistan, *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, Vol VII, ed. M.Roa (New Delhi, 1976), and Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam*, p.56.

⁶²³ Its declaration provides further details, ‘Aalan Nama, Jo... Kul Hind Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen ki Conference munaquida Behmeri (Bambai) Men Manzoor hua’, *Tarraqi Pasand Adab Dastawayzat, Tarraqi Pasand Adab ...1936–1986.* n.d., pp.109–116. It is relevant to add that the AIPWA could not pursue this policy for long and drastically revised its stance in the 6th conference of the progressive writers, which was held in Delhi on 8 March 1953. ‘Elan Nama (Jissay 8 March ko Kul Hind Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen kay Chate Ijlas Nay Pas Kiya’, and ‘Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen ka Naya Manshur’, *Ibid*, p.115.

⁶²⁴ Sibte Hasan, ‘M.Shameem et al., Interview with Sibte Hasan’ in *Guftagoo*, ed. Mazhar Jameel (Karachi, Maktaba-e Danyal, 1986), n.d., p. 74, and; M.A. Siddiqui, M. Shameem and M. Jameel’s interview with M.A. Siddiqui, in *Guftagoo*, ed. M.Jameel, n.d.,p.183.

⁶²⁵ M. Anwer Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action*, Vol.II. comp. M.Anwer Ali, p.411.

⁶²⁶ The articles by Talat Ahmed and Anushay Malik provide a thorough critique of this kind of depiction of the Left in Pakistan in the 1950s. Talat Ahmed, ‘Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup’: 115–49, and; Anushay Malik, ‘Alternative Politics

because in his bid to criminalise the CPP and the PWA its complier has ignored several facts and levelled allegations that are not substantiated by facts.⁶²⁷

The opponents of the PWA in Pakistan have hammered the point that Left-Wing extremism had crept into the policy of the PWA and have given the impression that this policy spelled doom for the PWM.⁶²⁸ I agree with Qamar Rais, (1932–2009), a prominent progressive writer from India, who in 1986 argued, ‘This hard line stance that AIPWA adopted at Behmeri conference had a little impact on the literature that was created afterwards. Rather it affected more changes in the organisational structure of the AIPWA’.⁶²⁹ Though Qamar Rais was referring to the Indian context, his argument can also be applied to Pakistan. Even in Pakistan’s case, the decisions of the second PWA conference had a marginal effect on the organisational structure of the PWA.⁶³⁰

and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s’: 520–37. The way in which he has compiled the two of his work reinforces this impression. Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*. 2 Vols.

⁶²⁷ This debate will eventually boil down to the depiction of Left in the discourse of the Establishment and the Islamic Right. As most of these issues pertain to the political history of the Left in Pakistan, this enquiry does not directly deal with it. However, I have tried to give some glimpses into the alternative view that contradicts the positions that the Establishment adopted.

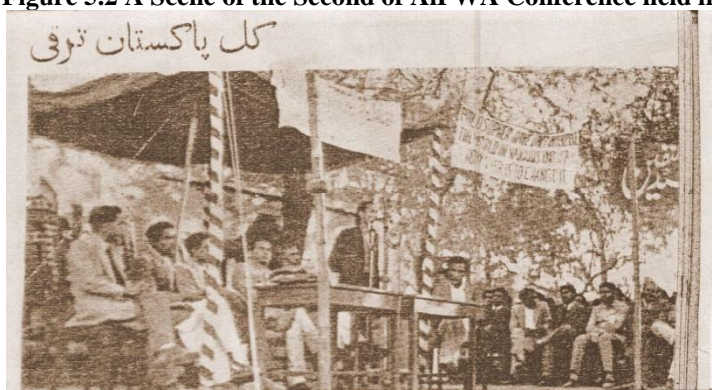
⁶²⁸ The manner in which Intizar Hussain portrayed the PWA is characteristic of this point of view. Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuhan*, p.64.

⁶²⁹ Qamar Rais, M.A. Siddiqui et al., interview with Q. Rais, in *Guftagoo*, ed. M. Jameel, n.d., pp.142–143.

⁶³⁰ The report by Anwer Ali about the CPP indicates that the party leadership in its bid to use the literati as the agency of revolution tried to bring the PWA under the organisational control of the District Organising Committees (D.O.C.s) in February 1950. But this policy was counterproductive because the progressive writers showed considerable resentment to this move, and the CPP had to restore the previous organisational arrangement. This reaction attests the fact that the CPP leaders had to reverse their decision and bring the local branches back under direct control of its central executive, M.Anwer. Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.II, pp.423–424.

The second all-Pakistan progressive writers' conference was organised in Lahore between 11 and 13 November 1949. Chiragh Hasan Hasrat presided over the inaugural session and delivered the inaugural address.⁶³¹ More than 100 delegates from all the provinces attended this conference.⁶³² The PWA, through this conference, presented a wholesome image of a revolutionary alliance on the literary front, comprising peasants, labourers and middle-class intelligentsia.⁶³³

Figure 5.2 A Scene of the Second of AIPWA Conference held in Lahore (November 1949)



Source: Sawera, Issue no, 7-8 [c.1949]

Sajjad Zaheer in a message at the conference voiced a strong desire to empower the people. He described their role as custodian 'of political and

⁶³¹ Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He, Kul Pakistan Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen ki Conference munaqida 11,12,13 November ki Mukammal Ruidad*, non-official (published) (Lahore, Al Jadeed, n.d.).

⁶³² Ibid., p.52.

⁶³³ The banners emblazoned with revolutionary slogans were hung in the *pindal* (the conference's venue). It also featured full-length portraits of K.Marx (1818–1883), F.Engles (1820–1895), and Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976). The pavilion further displayed the portraits of the literary giants of Urdu literature such as Nazir Akbarabadi (d.1830), Mirza Ghalib (1797–1869), Mohammad Iqbal (1877–1938) and Prem Chand (1880–1936), as well as the classical poets of the regional languages like Khushal Khan Khattak (1613–1689), Rehman Baba (1653–1711), Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (1689–1752), and Waris Shah (1722–1798). The slogans and the portraits were intended to represent the PWM's close affinity with Marxist socialism, classical traditions in Urdu literature and the regional languages and literatures, Ibid., pp.30–39.

economic power as well as intellectual and spiritual traditions'.⁶³⁴ He lamented that the dominant classes had been 'wielding absolute authority and [thus denying the people their rightful place in society]. He asserted, 'people could not realize their creative potential...unless they put an end to the rule of the capitalists and the feudal lords...through people's democracy and the socialist resolution'. And this could only come to pass if 'intelligentsia, proletariats and peasants stand united in this struggle' and form 'a democratic front'.⁶³⁵ He exhorted intellectuals to use their 'poetry and literature, art and knowledge as means and agency of successfully accomplishing this task'.⁶³⁶

The conference adopted a very hard stance towards the anti-progressives and moderately progressive and those who claimed to take neutral positions. The PWA moved a resolution on 11 November that called for a boycott of 'opportunist' writers like Muhammad Hasan Askari, Mumtaz Shirin, Ahmed Ali, Akhtar Hussain Raipur, Saadat Hasan Manto and Shafique-ur-Rehman. This list also includes the names of N.M.Rashid, Mumtaz Mufti and M.D.Taseer.⁶³⁷ The resolution urged progressive writers and journalists not to write for magazines such as *Mah-e Nau*, *Urdu Adab*, *Naya Daur*, and *Saqi*, since editors of these magazines did not subscribe to the views which the PWM stood for.⁶³⁸ The progressive magazine *Sawera* described this as an

⁶³⁴ Sajjad Zaheer's message for the conference that F.D.Mansur read, cited in, [Abdullah Malik's report] *Ibid.*, p.57.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.58.

⁶³⁷ Safdar Mir, while presenting the convening committee's report, labelled them 'opportunist', *Ibid.*, p.53. Abdullah Malik, in his account of the proceedings, lists the names of 12 distinguished writers, *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.* On the final day the conference approved 14 resolutions on 13 November, which covered both domestic and foreign issues. A.Malik's proceedings provides details, A.Malik, *Ibid.* pp.88-90. Ahmed Salim's biography of Hameed Akhtar also discusses the details, 'Anjuman Taraqqi Pasand Musannifeen', *Sawera*, No.7-8 cited in Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, p. 155.

‘ideological purge’.⁶³⁹ The conference adopted a manifesto of the PWA that epitomised the same hard line and fully endorsed the decisions of the boycott and the accountability of the literati.⁶⁴⁰ It further said, ‘No Literature, Art, or branch of knowledge can remain independent of, and, indifferent to the effects of class struggle. It described them as product of class realities’.⁶⁴¹ Further, the PWA pledged in this manifesto:

We, the progressive literati, not just consider literature as a mirror that reflects the realities of life. Rather, we take it as medium and agency through which one can transform and enrich the lives of the people. We consider literature for life, literature for struggle and literature for revolution as the bedrock principles of our movement. Realism gives us intellectual and conceptual framework and we want to eliminate/resolve the contradiction that exists between our social system and the fundamental human needs. Our primary objective is to establish such a humane system which provides everyone with the opportunity not only to satisfy but to develop and nurture his/her aesthetic taste, and which may enable us to foster our creative and intellectual abilities as well as our glorious cultural traditions.⁶⁴²

Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a prominent progressive poet, has explicitly summed up the change in the political creed of the PWA as the ‘*Anjuman* [the PWA] had moved from its goal of social realism to the socialist realism in literature’.⁶⁴³

Understandably, a large number of anti-progressives, moderate progressives and neutral writers evinced great resentment over this policy of segregation

⁶³⁹ While endorsing this move, *Sawera*’s editor commented in an editorial, ‘This resolution proved quite beneficial for the ideological purge of both the progressive literature and its readers’, ‘*Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen*’, *Sawera*, No.7-8 cited in, *Ibid.*, p.155.

⁶⁴⁰ Abdullah Malik’s report provides details of this manifesto, Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, *Ibid.*, pp.70–86.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.76.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, pp.79–80.

⁶⁴³ A. Mirza, *Hum Keh Tharay Ajnabi*. p. Zaheer Kashmiri, while writing editorial comments on this conference, welcomed this move and said that now that the PWA had come up with the slogan ‘*Adb barae Inqilab*’ (literature for the sake of revolution), it had rendered all conceptions of literature, ‘out of date’, Z. Kashmiri, ‘Editorial: Baat Cheet’, *Sawera*, Issues 7–8, pp. 67. Sibte Hasan, had in fact shaped this policy and had written the PWA’s first manifesto, describing it as ‘*Literature for Socialism*’, Sibte Hasan, Muslim Shamim et al., interview with Sibte-e Hasan, in *Guftagoo*, ed. Mazhar Jameel, p.74.

between literary writers.⁶⁴⁴ Not to speak of the critics, progressives like Mirza Adeeb, the *Adab-e Latif*'s editor, who was to put forward the resolution calling for a boycott, did not hesitate to register his protest over it. He even did not turn up for the opening session, which resulted in his immediate expulsion from *Anjuman*.⁶⁴⁵

On the other hand, the state establishment made an aggressive move against the PWA in January 1950 by sending an official circular to government employees that designated the literary organisation as a political party, and prohibited them from participating in the literary activities organised under its umbrella.⁶⁴⁶ The conference in Okara was organised by the PWA in collaboration with the Peace Committee and the Pakistan Trade Unions Federation (PTUF) in February 1950. The conference criticised the government for its 'aggressive action against the PWA', and asked for the

⁶⁴⁴ Anwar Sadeed, a prominent literary critic, labelled it 'a literary martial law', Anwar Sadeed, interview by A.A.Naz, in, *Makalmat*, ed. A.A. Naz. [August 14, 1999].

⁶⁴⁵ Mirza Adeeb, *Mitti Ka Diya (Autobiography)* (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 2012), pp.363–364 and 476. He expressed serious reservations about another resolution, which the conference passed, that supported the regional languages, Ibid. Intizar Hussain highlights two important factors—the hard line of the PWA and the CPP's implication in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case—that led to the abrupt decline of this organisation. Later, the progressives, particularly Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Sibte Hasan who were at the helm of the PWA, openly acknowledged that the PWM had been forced to bear the adverse consequences of this policy. For Sibte Hasan's views see, Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuan*, p.61–62. In July 1952, A.N. Qasmi, the organisation's Secretary-General, while providing a review of the progress of the PWA admitted, 'We started the tradition of literary segregation (*Adabi Chut Chaat*) within the literati through our own conduct', Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Jaiza Secretary General', in, Rafiq Chaudhari, *Meri Dunya Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Say Mutaalliq Yaddashtain*, pp.113–114. Intizar Hussain wrote that Sibte Hasan in a discussion with him on this issue accepted 'sole responsibility of drafting the resolution', Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuan*, pp.61–62. The latter's autobiography includes a letter that Sibte Hasan wrote to him in September 1981, in which acknowledged that he had 'written the manifesto that was published in *Sawera*'. He also revealed that a day before the conference the delegates held a private meeting at the apartment of Mazhar Ali Khan. The participants unanimously endorsed this resolution. While commenting on the negative tone of the resolution, he conceded that the progressives had fallen under the influence of Left-wing extremism, Sibte Hasan, 'Letter by Sibte Hasan to Intizar Hussain,' non-official, (September 7, 1982) in I. Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuan*, pp.62–63.

⁶⁴⁶ According to Iqbal Leghari the ban was placed on 22 January 1950, Iqbal Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan', p.56.

annulment of the decree declaring the ‘*Anjuman*’ [PWA] a political party. It further stated that ‘such cruel treatment can neither lower the morale of the literati nor could stop them from producing’ what it called the ‘*Awami Adab*’ (pro-people literature).⁶⁴⁷

In March 1951 the CPP was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case, and the PWA also had to bear the brunt. The progressive writers went through a terrible ordeal for one year in which the PWA remained virtually dysfunctional. Its most active members, such as A.N.Qasmi, Zaheer Kashmiri and Hameed Akhtar, were incarcerated for six to ten months.⁶⁴⁸

The following year the PWA tried to revive itself by reversing its policy. This shift in policy is manifested in the resolution that it passed in its third all-Pakistan Conference held in Karachi in July 1952.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ One of the resolutions demanded that Pakistan should sever diplomatic relations with ‘belligerent countries’ like the US and the Britain, that had adopted a hawkish stance and further accused these countries ‘and their stooges’ of making war preparations that posed an imminent threat to world peace and could spark the Third World War. It asked the Pakistani government ‘to make proposals about putting ban on the atomic bomb, other destructive/ deadly and nuclear weapons’. Another resolution declared, ‘the people do not want war rather they demand bread’. It made an appeal to all ‘peace and freedom loving people... to raise their voice of protest against the pro-imperialist and belligerent policies of the Pakistani rulers’. Another resolution called for a reduction in the defence and military budget, ‘Pakistan Amn Conference’, *Sawera*, Issues 7–8, (1950), pp.288–291.

⁶⁴⁸ Hameed Akhtar, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore’, p.348.

⁶⁴⁹ 40 delegates participated in the conference. Hameed Akhtar has provided list of the participants who represented Lahore; they included Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Hameed Akhtar, Ahmed Rahi, Hasan Manzar, Tanveer Naqvi, Zaheer Kashmiri, Qamar Ambalvi and Aziz Asri, Hameed Akhtar, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Aur Lahore’, p.348.

Figure 5.3 Arrival of the delegates from Punjab for Third PWA Conference at Karachi Railway Station



Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi [in the middle] with other literary writers, Abdullah Malik, Jameel Malik, Ibrahim Jalees, Zahoor Nazar, Hassan Tahir, Aziz Asri and Rafique Chaudhry
Source: R. Chaudhry, *Meri Dunya*, (Karachi:1987).

Figure 5.4 The Delegates of Karachi that participated in Third PWA Conference



From R. to L. Ibrahim Jalees, Habib Jalib, Shafi Aqeel, Mumtaz Hussain, Rafiq Chaudhry, Tayyab Bokhari, Mujtaba Hussain, Riaz Roofi and Sabha Lucknowvi
Source: R. Chaudhry, *Meri Dunya*, (Karachi:1987).

The association issued a new manifesto confirming the changes in its policy.⁶⁵⁰ This can be inferred from its resolution that said:

We have not brought this in our manifesto out of fear of repression. We have drawn up this manifesto with a view to dispel the major misconceptions and answer the allegations about which we could not put across our point of view properly, and get it published in time. Some of the literati among us did support the Socialist ideology, but the majority of the litterateurs did not subscribe to it. Pakistan has not yet reached the eventual destination of Industrial revolution. Rather, the agrarian problem is the basic /real issue here. Therefore, for Pakistan, the path of democracy remains still open. However, after presenting this political perspective, [we maintain] that *Anjuman* is a literary organization and whose primary task is to create literature

⁶⁵⁰ Anwar Sadeed, a rabid anti-communist critic, described it as '*moufi-nama*', Anwar Sadeed, interview by A.A. Naz, in *Makalmat*, ed. and comp. A.A.Naz, p.240. Rafique Chaudhry. *Meri Dunya*, p.99.

and to evaluate it properly. And, for that purpose we can apply the key principle of critical consciousness.⁶⁵¹

During the period 1948–1951 the progressive writers made sustained efforts to promote regional languages and literature. This stance was in consonance with the position of the Left-wing parties and groups to espouse linguistic rights and provincial autonomy.⁶⁵² In the first PWA conference in 1947, they tried to present a resolution that called for adopting the regional languages as the medium of instruction, but this caused a furore among a group of writers. So, this resolution had to be amended.⁶⁵³ Sajjad Zaheer wrote a letter to District Organization Committee (D.O.C.) in which he stressed the need to promote Sindhi literature.⁶⁵⁴ The PWA conference in Lahore in February 1948, which mainly discussed organisational issues, suggested the need to organise ‘Punjabi branches’ and emphasised the ‘development of the Punjabi poem’.⁶⁵⁵ The second PWA conference passed a resolution on 13 November 1949 that contained a point that ‘apart from Urdu the other regional languages should also be promoted’.⁶⁵⁶ Thus the support of regional languages remained an

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., This resolution acknowledged the mistakes that the PWA had made, ‘We got ourselves entangled with the factional division, unnecessarily, which was not our primary task. We explicitly acknowledge the fact that we could not make a serious study of our country, its land, and its culture. Therefore, we made certain mistakes. After making those mistakes, we realized that we are getting alienated from our people. Hence, instead of covering up these inadequacies in our approach we decided to acknowledge them openly. As a proof of which, we are issuing this manifesto’, Ibid, p.99–100.

⁶⁵² Chapter 2 on print indicates that the progressive journalists had been supporting the same view.

⁶⁵³ Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-Yaad-e Subhat-e Nazuk Khayalan*, p.82.

⁶⁵⁴ S. Zaheer, ‘Letter to Karachi District Organization Committee (D.O.C.),’ unofficial (published), April 2, 1949, in, Anwer Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.I, p.159.

⁶⁵⁵ Safdar Mir, ‘The Punjab PWA in 1949,’ non-official (Lahore, March 1, 1949), in, Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.I, p.297.

⁶⁵⁶ Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He...*, p.90.

important part of the agenda of progressive writers, right after the creation of the new state.⁶⁵⁷

The Establishment's drastic action against the PWA had significant consequences. By 1952 it had forced the literary journals to tone down their radicalism. Ultimately, it succeeded in getting the complete submission of the proprietors of Lahore's important literary magazines, particularly between the years 1949 and 1952. For instance, *Adab-e Latif's* proprietor, Chaudhry Barkat Ali (1902–1952) had to adopt a moderate policy in December 1949.⁶⁵⁸ Mohammad Tufail, the *Naqush's* proprietor, abandoned its progressive policy and replaced Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Hajra Masroor with an anti-Progressive intellectual, Waqar Azeem, in 1950.⁶⁵⁹ The *Sang-e Meel* (Peshawar) was closed down in 1951.⁶⁶⁰ And the very next year, the *Sawera's* proprietor also yielded to the Establishment's enormous pressure and adopted a moderate editorial policy.⁶⁶¹

In July 1954, the Establishment banned the PWA along with its affiliated organisations, despite the fact that it had avowedly disassociated itself from Left-wing politics. The writings and interviews of Lahore's two most

⁶⁵⁷ This view in a way problematizes the position that Kamran Asdar Ali took in his article, Ali, 'Communists in a Muslim Land'. It showed that the attitude of the CPP's leadership was biased towards the non-Urdu speaking communities, Ibid.530–532. I have arrived at a different conclusion because I have approached this issue from the perspective of a historian. Historians take a broad view of the situation, whereas anthropologists give primacy to personal factors. However, I agree with Asdar Ali on this point that while conducting the affairs of the CPP its leadership due to its different socio-cultural background was less sensitive to the sensibilities of the local situation. And the political strategy that Sajjad Zaheer adopted provided a clear reflection of this limitation.

⁶⁵⁸ Shuguftha Hussain, 'Mahnama Adab-e Latif ki Khidmat ka Tahqiqi aur Tanqidi Jaiza', p.43.

⁶⁵⁹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's interview cited in, Sabina Awais, 'Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi ki Nasr-nagari ka Tanqidi Jaiza', (Ph.D. thesis, Oriental College Punjab University, 2011), p.23.

⁶⁶⁰ Zia-ur-Rehman, 'Farig Bokhari, Ahwal-o-Asar', (Ph.D. thesis, Jamia Peshawar, 2005), p.296.

⁶⁶¹ Editorial Note, 'Anjuman Adabi Rasail Pakistan ki Ek Qrardad', *Sawera*, October 1953, p.6.

influential progressive laureates, Hameed Akhtar and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi provide a fair idea of the ordeal that progressive writers had to undergo between 1948 and 1954.⁶⁶² In this context Ayesha Jalal's revelation is quite succinct; in one of her important works on post-colonial Pakistan, she cites a dispatch that was sent by John C. Craig, the American Vice Consul, on 16 May 1951 and that revealed how the 'Police' [Establishment] had been viewing progressive intellectuals. The US diplomatic official reported that "police considered---the intellectual group [namely, the Progressive Writers Association] greater threat to security than the labourer group".⁶⁶³

5.2 Progressive Writers Movement in the Post-1954 Context

As we have noted in the previous section, from July 1954 the progressive writers found it exceedingly difficult to advance their radical agenda in literature through formal literary organisations. This section covers a brief period of four years between the placement of ban and the imposition of martial law in the country, as part of a larger section that maps the activities of progressive writers until 1971, and examines the various forms of responses to the ban by progressive writers. I argue in this section that the imposition of the ban on the PWA could not contain the PWM. Here we need to distinguish between the PWA and PWM. The PWA was a literary organisation that the Establishment banned by branding it as the front organisation of the CPP. The PWM as a literary movement, as a movement of ideas, and as an agency of

⁶⁶² Hameed Akhtar, Hameed Akhtar interview with Farrukh Sohail Goindi for Pakistan Television, parts 1–5, [Up loaded on] August 27, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nf99jNFYx8I>, ___ Hameed Akhtar, *Kal Kothri* (Lahore: Book Home, 2009), and; Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, interview by Arif Abdul Mateen and Fateh Mohammad Malik [c.1980s] for Radio Pakistan. Parts 1–3.wmv, uploaded on June 27, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/redirect?q=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.radio.gov.pk%2F&redir>.

⁶⁶³ John C. Craig, 'John C. Craig's [American Vice Consul Lahore] Dispatch no.150', 16 May 1951, NND, cited in Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, p.123.

literary resistance represented a cause and a goal that those progressive writers had set for themselves.

Several prominent literary writers like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Arif Abdul Mateen unanimously hold that the ban on the PWA did not mean that the PWM had fizzled out.⁶⁶⁴ Saleem Akhtar, a progressive literary critic and author of a bestselling book on Urdu literature in Pakistan, has argued, ‘When an ideology or concept grows into a symbol it becomes eternal therefore the symbols do not die’.⁶⁶⁵ While referring to the influence of the PWM, he described the concept of resistance literature, which became ‘increasingly popular in Pakistan particularly in 1970s and 1980s’ as an offshoot and continuity of the PWM.⁶⁶⁶ This context reinforces my contention pertaining to the different forms of resistance that the progressive writers employed to push their radical agenda.

The progressive writers made an unsuccessful attempt to reorganise themselves and established the *Anjuman Roshan-Khayal-Musannifeen* (Liberal Writers Association).⁶⁶⁷ We do not have many factual details about this organisation except for some clues about its formation extracted from interviews and the writings of a founding member, Arif Abdul Mateen.⁶⁶⁸ We

⁶⁶⁴ In a number of interviews and writings they all pointed to the all-encompassing impact of this movement, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Tahir Masood’s interview with Faiz Ahmed Faiz, in *Yeh Surat-gar kuch Khwaboan kay*, ed. Tahir Masood, 1984, p33. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ‘Dibac[h]a’ [introduction] to *Hum keh Tharay Ajnabi* by Ayub Mirza, p.8, and; Arif Mateen, Ghulam Hussain Azhar’s interview with Arif Abdul Mateen, in, *Ru-ba-ru*, ed. G.H.Azhar, n.d., p.192.

⁶⁶⁵ Salim Akhtar, *Urdu Adab ki Mukhtasar Tarikh, Aghaz Say 2000 Tak*, 25th ed. (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2003), p.466.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Arif Abdul Mateen, *Imkanat* (Lahore: Technical Publishers, 1988), pp.398–399.

⁶⁶⁸ M.A. Beg’s work on the Progressives Writers Association in Punjab does not shed much light on it beyond giving an excerpt from A.A. Mateen’s book, *Imkanat*, M.A. Beg, ‘Anjuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen Punjab Men’, p.91.

can assume that it could not make any headway because the Establishment remained openly hostile to this organisation. Hence, it met the same fate as its predecessor.⁶⁶⁹ Moreover, the progressive writers failed to preserve their organisational culture, which impinged negatively on it and prevented it from becoming an effective organisation.⁶⁷⁰

When the progressive literati did not find enough room to manoeuvre, they focused on cultural activities. Talat Ahmed and Rakhshanda Jalil have convincingly argued in their works that films and theatre were an extension of literary activism.⁶⁷¹ Faiz Ahmed Faiz in an interview to I.A.Rehman acknowledged that:

When [we] found it difficult to express ourselves through the traditional means of practical politics, then I started talking in terms of literature and culture. Thus, only, the fronts had changed.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁹ Arif Abdul Mateen, Ghulam Hussain Azhar's interview with Arif Abdul Mateen, in *Ru-ba-ru*, p.196. One can cite the drastic action against A.R.Malik, the PPH's proprietor, in the mid-1950, as another example of the aggressive policy it continued to pursue against the progressive literati between 1954 and 1958.

⁶⁷⁰ One can also mark several other factors for its lack of progress. For instance, it lacked a coherent organisational structure, which its precursor organisation the PWM had succeeded in creating. In addition, the hard line that the PWM adopted in 1949–1952 widened the gulf between the progressives and the non-progressive literati, as well as writers who had maintained a neutral stand.

⁶⁷¹ R. Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change*, p.xiv, and; Ahmed, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism*, pp.105–106.

⁶⁷² Faiz, Faiz's interview with I.A.Rehman, in *Makalimat-e Faiz*, comp. Khalil Ahmed (Lahore, Sang-e Meel Publications 2011), p.99. [I.A.Rehman's interview with Faiz in 1984 was published in *Herald* its March issue that year]. The progressive writers, instead of merely sticking to overtly political issues, tried to focus on cultural issues. S.Toor in her work has highlighted the fact. To reinforce her contention, she has engaged the opinion of Naseem Hijazi, who was a rabid anti-progressive intellectual. In the preface to his drama anthology, *Saqafat ki Talash*, published in 1978, he specifically pointed out the progressives' activities in the mid-1950s. While drawing attention to the activities of the progressive writers, he identified the performing arts as an important domain for radical interventions during that period. He alleged that they had been inspired by sinister motives. Notwithstanding the sarcasm his preface contained about the Leftists, it provides evidence of how the cultural sphere emerged as an important priority of the agenda of the PWM. Naseem Hijazi, *Saqafat Ki Talaash*, (Lahore: Qaumi Kutb Khana, 1978), pp.i–ii, cited in Sadia Toor, *The State of Islam*, pp.111–112. If we further open up this debate we can specify further areas of the Leftist intervention in the cultural sphere like films, theatre, and the promotion of regional languages.

This excerpt highlights the shift in the focus of Faiz’s struggle, yet one can argue that the situation it depicts can also be extrapolated to the larger context of the PWM. In fact, we can extend this trend that Faiz identified to two years earlier. It was around 1953–1954 when the progressive writers started paying attention to movies as a medium for their cause, as shown in the following table.

Table 5.2 The use of Film as a Medium by Progressive Writers/Directors: 1953–1958

Name of the Film	Date of release	Director	Writer/ screenplay/ scriptwriter
Agosh	25 December 1953	Mumtaz Jilani	Saadat Hasan Manto/ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi
Roohi	11 August 1954	W.Z. Ahmed	
Aas Paas	22 February 1957	Akhtar Hussain	
Yakey Wali (Punjabi)	22 February 1957	M.J. Rana	
Wada	2 May 1957	W.Z. Ahmed	

Source: Mushtaq Gazdar, *Pakistani Cinema 1947–1997* (Karachi:1998), pp.244–246, Yaseen Gorijah, *Pakistan Millennium Film Directory* (Lahore: 2003), pp.132–124, and; Saleem-ur- Rehman, ‘Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Ka Filmi Safar’, Montaj, special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Mansoor Ahmed, August 2007, p.203.

This was the period when Faiz Ahmed Faiz started writing the script of his movie *Jagu Hua Sawera* that was released in January 1959. W.Z. Ahmed (Waheed ud din Zafar Ahmed) was the younger brother of the Indian communist leader, Z.A. Ahmed (Zain-ul-Abidain Ahmed). He was a progressive film director and established Shalimar Pictures in the early 1940s in Pune, where he produced films like *Ek Raat* (1942), *Prem Sangit* (1942), *Man ki Jit* [(1944), *Prithaviraj-Samyukta* (1946) and *Mera Bai* (1947).⁶⁷³ His brother Z.A.Ahmed wrote in his autobiography that after Partition the Shiv

⁶⁷³ Shoiab Ahmed, ‘News Report: W.Z.Ahmed Passes away’, *Dawn*, 17 April 2007.

Sena, an extremist militant organisation, forced W.Z. Ahmed to leave the country. He moved to Pakistan in the late 1940s and established the W.Z. film studio in Lahore.⁶⁷⁴ His film *Roohi* (1954) highlighted the class division between the rich and the poor. The Censor Board objected to a scene in which the heroine, who came from a wealthy background, raised money for the poor by putting up her kiss for auction. It also voiced objections to the plot because the heroine has a love affair with a poor man, despite the fact that she is married. The major objection of the Censor Board was that the film could incite class hatred.⁶⁷⁵ The film was subjected to heavy censorship and it was the first film to be banned in Pakistan. Later, the authorities confiscated the film's reels on the pretext that its producer had not paid an outstanding loan from a co-operative bank.⁶⁷⁶ Thus the film was dumped.⁶⁷⁷

The Censor Board also banned the film *Aas Paas* (1957) because it depicted class division in society.⁶⁷⁸ W.Z. Ahmed produced another film, *Wada*, which was a social film and its plot revolved around realistic theme. Moreover, the use of screenplay and the film direction enabled it to win the inaugural Nigar Award.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁴ Z.A. Ahmed, *Merey Jewan ki Kuch Yaddain* [translated from Hindi by] Yaqoob Khawar, (Karachi: Idarah-e Yadgar-e Ghalib, 2004), pp.21–22.

⁶⁷⁵ Mushtaq Gazdar, *Pakistani Cinema 1947–1997 (The Jubilee Series)*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.72. Mushtaq Gazdar wrote that in this film, W.Z.Ahmed tried 'to depict life as it existed with all its ugly realities', *Ibid*.

⁶⁷⁶ Tufail Akhtar, *Dafinay Show-Biz Kay Ahd-saz Logon ki Yadain* (Lahore: Prime Time Publications, 2002), p.70.

⁶⁷⁷ Nama-nigar, 'Kya Filmi Fannkar ko Azadi-e Izhar ka Haqq Nahin, Censor Board Siyasi Maqasid', *Weekly Lail-o-Nahar*, 15 March 1970, p.45.

⁶⁷⁸ An article on film censorship that appeared in *Lail-o-Nahar* in March 1970 argued that 'the film was banned as it had made an attack on the country's nouveau riche that had been ruling the roost', *Ibid*.

⁶⁷⁹ Yaseen Gorijah, *Pakistan ki Sau Shahkar Filmain* (Islamabad: Alhamra, 2000), pp.38–40.

In the middle of these unfavourable circumstances, the PPL newspapers, particularly *Imroze*, provided a platform where progressive writers could get their writing published and get reasonable remuneration. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, who had joined *Imroze* as its editor, added substantially to the radical character of its literary edition *Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi*. The PPL launched *Lail-o-Nahar* on 20 January 1957. From this date to the PPL's takeover on 18 April 1959, this magazine under the editorship of Sibte Hasan evolved into the most prestigious progressive magazine and it attained a high circulation of 23,000 during that period. Both the PPL publications provided progressive writers with alternative platforms where they could get their writings published on a consistent basis. The literary magazine *Afkar* (Karachi) also lent support to the progressive writers.⁶⁸⁰

5.3 Progressive Literati under Martial Law Regimes

The previous section tried to bring out different dimensions of the radical activism of the progressive writers after a ban was imposed on the PWA. This section, along with the following section, explores this theme during the entire decade of the 1960s when the country was ruled by two martial law regimes.

The progressive writers suffered another setback when Ayub Khan seized control of the PPL newspapers in April 1959. Writers like Soorish Kashmiri and Hafeez Malik, while writing in 1967, opined that this incident dealt a devastating blow to the PWM.⁶⁸¹ However, I do not subscribe to these views. I

⁶⁸⁰ Mohammad Ashraf Kamal's unpublished doctoral thesis entitled 'Urdu Adb Kay Asri Rujahanat Kay Furog *Men* Mujalla Afkar ka Hissa', provides in-depth understanding about the role this magazine played during that period.

⁶⁸¹ The way critics of the Leftist movement like S.Kashmiri and H.Malik have described its consequences for the PWA is tantamount to a distortion of historical facts, Soorish Kashmiri. *Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Ek Mutal'ai, Ek Tajzia*, p.57. Hafeez Malik, 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan': 649–64.

will try to demonstrate through these sections as well as in Chapter 6 that the progressive writers made continuous efforts to carry forward literary radicalism, which, both in terms of means as well as content, represents effective literary resistance as the proactive role of the literati in society.

The progressive writers tried to advance their radicalism or radical agenda through conventional literary mediums such as publication of books and produced large corpuses of progressive literature. As in the previous decade, literary journals remained an important method of disseminating progressive influences in the public sphere. However, between 1959 and 1964 the progressives suffered setbacks in the sense that after the takeover the *Lail-o-Nahar* management toned down its radical voice. In 1962 Intizar Hussain was appointed as the editor of *Adab-e Latif*, a premier literary journal, because he was a staunch adversary of the progressives and, therefore, during his editorship (1962–1965) the progressives were deprived of an important progressive magazine.⁶⁸² In 1964 Salah-ud-Din Ahmed, the editor of *Adabi Dunya*, died, which led to the closure of the magazine. Though Salah-ud-Din was not Leftist, his paper followed a fairly liberal policy and progressive writers sent their work to this magazine on a regular basis.

Despite these setbacks, several new magazines were launched between 1963 and 1971, which are listed in the following table.

Table 5.3 New Literary/ Political Magazines: 1963–1971

Year	Name of Magazine	Editor /proprietors
1963	<i>Funun</i>	Hakeem Ashar Delhivi and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1963-1965) Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1965-2006)
1968	<i>Awami Jamhooriat</i>	C.R.Aslam and Syed Mutalabi Faridabadi

⁶⁸² Shugufta Hussain, 'Mahnama Adab-e Latif ki Khidmat ka Tahqiqi aur Tanqidi Jaiza'.

1969	<i>Takhleeq</i>	Azhar Javed
1970	<i>Lail-o-Nahar</i> (Karachi)	Sibt-e Hassan and Faiz Ahmed Faiz
1970	<i>Al Fatah</i> (Karachi)	Irshad Rao

Sources: Anwer Sadeed, *Pakistan Men Adabi Rasail ki Tarikh* (Islamabad: 1995), pp.176–179, and 202–209, *Takhleeq* October 2012, p.6, *Awami Jamhooriyat* (website: www.aj.pak.org), Hasan Abadi, *Junun Men Jatni Bhi Guzri*, (Karachi: 2005), pp.102–104, and; A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Taraqqi Pasand Sahafat* (Lahore: 2002), pp.244–245.

In 1962 Abdul Rauf Malik, the proprietor of People Publishing House (PPH), revived his business after eight years.⁶⁸³ While narrating the challenges he had to face after the imposition of a ban on the PPH, he wrote in 2009 [narrated in the third person]:

He had to struggle a lot for his survival he worked on freelance basis as well as supervised work of some publishing companies. In the mean while he continued to file petitions in which he took the plea that P.P.H. was a commercial organization it had nothing to do with politics. After a great deal of efforts he was able to get his publishing house revived. But the government did not return him back the books that had been confiscated in July 1954, and that had devastating impact on his business. In fact the Establishment did not provide the P.P.H., opportunity expand its business, or to take off.⁶⁸⁴

His friend, K.K. Aziz, wrote in his work on Lahore’s parlour that Rauf Malik set up his shop ‘outside Lahori Gate’, and later shifted his publishing business to ‘the Plomer building on Cathedral Road’.⁶⁸⁵

After a ban was imposed on the PWA, the progressive writers moved towards *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq* and started to actively participate in meetings in which

⁶⁸³ Abdul Rauf Malik, telephone interview, 30 June 2015.

⁶⁸⁴ Abdul Rauf Malik, ‘People’s Publishing House, Sada-e Amm,’ *Awami Jamhoori Forum*, 5 February 2009, p.60.

⁶⁸⁵ K. K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore: A Memoir 1942-57*, p.170. K.K. Aziz has written that Abdul Rauf Mailk revived his business in the late 1950s around 1957, but when I asked Rauf Malik he mentioned the year as 1962.

they tried to project their views about the social functions of literature. Intizar Hussain, in his autobiography, confirms this indirectly:

After the end of PWA various progressive writers started attending meetings of *Halqa*. Then the higher authorities exerted pressure on the organizers of the *Halqa*, and began to inquire about the developments taking place in the literary organization. Even the organizers had to explain to the inquirers that the latter being an independent literary institution cannot impose ban on any literary writer.⁶⁸⁶

As I have indicated in the introduction, the progressive writers gained so much clout in the *Halqa* that it became divided into two groups *Adabi* (literary) and *Siasi* (political).⁶⁸⁷

The literary writers that mainly belonged to the province of Sindh took the initiative in reviving the PWA in the early 1960s.⁶⁸⁸ Leftist intellectuals like M. Rukn-ud-Din Hassan (1910–1985) and Muslim Shamim initiated this move, but it came to fruition in 1967 when a formal organisation called ‘*Awami Adabi Anjuman*’ (People’s Literary Organisation) was established.

⁶⁸⁶ Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon Ka Dhuan*, p.169.

⁶⁸⁷ Arif Abdul Matin, a progressive poet of Urdu and Punjabi, in an interview in the early 1970s about the period when the character of *Halqa* underwent a profound change. He argued, ‘The *Halqa* has taken on a different complexion if one compares to its nature it had earlier’. He insisted, ‘Since the few recent years the *Halqa* had harmonized itself with the literary trends that accorded primacy to the demands of life. And I consider the present *Halqa* as a form of PWA’, Arif Mateen, Ghulam Hussain Azhar’s interview with Arif Abdul Mateen, in, Ru-ba-ru, ed. G.H.Azhar, pp.195–196. One can disagree with the conclusions A.A.Mateen drew from this development, but the observation attests to the growing influence of the PWM. For more details about differences in *Halqa* see, Yunas Javed. *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq – Tanzim, Tehrik, Nazaria*. Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2003, Chapter 9.

⁶⁸⁸ Muslim Shamim, a progressive writer, wrote an article in 2011 on a Pakistani Marxist intellectual, M.Rukn-ud-Din Hassan [M.R.Hassan]. It shed light on the initiative for establishing a new progressive literary organisation, for which the latter was a moving spirit. He wrote that ‘the progressive writers had expressed their consent in principle to establish the successor organisation of the PWA in the early 1960s and for that purpose they held a secret meeting at a farm house near Bakrani road in Larkana [a city in interior Sindh]. Faiz Ahmed Faiz presided over that meeting’. M.Shamim mentioned the names of nine other participants that attended the meeting. He revealed that he had acted as a ‘host to this meeting’. He added that he had organised a multi-lingual *mushaara* in a local college at Larkana that provided progressive writers with the opportunity to assemble in the city, Muslim Shamim, ‘Marxi Nazaria-dan Dr.Hassan’, *Awami Jamhooriyat*, July 2011, pp.9–11. We can find details about the efforts for the revival of the PWA between the 1970 and 2007 in the works of Rafique Chaudhry and M.A.Beg. Rafique Chaudhry, *Meri Dunya*, pp.70–78 and 128–137, and; M.A.Beg, ‘Anjuman Tarraqi-Pasand Musannifeen Punjab Men’, pp.92–99.

M.R.Hassan got the manifesto published in six languages, and fourteen prominent literary writers of the country signed it.⁶⁸⁹ The establishment of this organisation represented another effort by the progressive writers to create a formal institutional structure of the radical literary movement in the country. Though this organisation was established on an all-Pakistan basis, its influence was limited to the province of Sindh, which can be attributed to the political differences that had been cropping up within the Leftist movement since the mid-1960s.⁶⁹⁰

During Ayub Khan's regime, the literary writers, including some progressives who belonged to the new Left, devised new ways to put across their message.⁶⁹¹ These efforts led to a movement called *Aalamti Afsana* in short stories. In addition to it there emerged new trends in poetry called *Nai Shaari* under the influence of the *Lisani Tashkilaat* movement. The latter was launched by a progressive poet and Iftikhar Jalib, who became inspired by the structuralists and post-structuralist theories.⁶⁹² Intizar Hussain, a virtuoso of the new genre of short stories, identified two factors that led to the rise of this trend. First, it was a reaction to the progressive's over-emphasis on external realities for the creation of literature and, second, it was an alternative means

⁶⁸⁹ Muslim Shamim listed the names of the signatories that ranged from Josh Mallehabadi and Faiz Ahmed Faiz to Sheikh Ayaz and Gul Khan Naseer.

⁶⁹⁰ Iqbal Leghari's work provides details about factors that shattered the unity of the National Awami Party (NAP) as well as widened the gulf between the traditional Left and the New Left in Pakistan, Iqbal Leghari, 'The Socialist Movement in Pakistan: An Historical Survey. 1940–1974.', pp.89–93 and 119–124.

⁶⁹¹ I have used the term New Left in the broader sense used by Iqbal Leghari in his work to denote a new strand in Leftist thought in Pakistan among the younger generation that was characterised by disillusionment with the Soviet brand of communism. The majority of the new generation of Leftists was inspired by the Chinese model. One should not confuse it with the movement of the New Left that started in the US and the Western Europe in the late 1950s.

⁶⁹² His work on new poetry entitled, *Lisani Tashkilaat aur Qadeem Banjar* (Karachi: Farhang, 2001, provides a larger context for understanding this movement.

of expressing freedom of opinion that had been curtailed after martial law was imposed in 1958.⁶⁹³ The second factor indicates that Pakistani litterateurs, in a bid to find self-expression under the martial law regimes, had consciously adopted this mode of expression.

The majority of the writers belonging to the traditional Left remained reluctant to lend support to these movements; rather, they were involved in heated debates with exponents of both movements. The majority of the progressive writers balked at adopting symbolism at the cost of accessible communication. However, several writers belonging to new Left, such as Iftikhar Jalib, Akhtar Ahsan, Tabassum Kashmiri and Abbas Athar, remained at the forefront of the movement of new poetry. Among the progressive writers who employed symbolism in their short stories were Masood Ashar and Anwar Sajjad.⁶⁹⁴ In the previous chapter I referred to Masood Ashar's short stories that depicted the growing alienation of the people of East Pakistan. Salim Akhtar, a progressive Urdu critic, notes that the progressives moved to symbolism in greater numbers under Zia ul Haq. It also provided another source of resistance in literature. To put it differently it provided literary writers with another avenue for putting up literary resistance to the progressives.⁶⁹⁵

5.4 Progressives Ventures in Film Industry, 1959—1971

A portion of Section 5.2 briefly discussed the role of progressive writers in filmmaking. With reference to Faiz Ahmed Faiz, I explained that these writers chose the agency of films quite consciously when they found that the

⁶⁹³ Intizar Hussain, interview by Ayub Nadeem, in *Huey Hamkalam, Namwar Adabi Shakhsiyaat kay Interview (maa Mukhtasar Halat-e Zindagi)*, comp. Ayub Nadeem (Lahore: Dar-ul-Shaoor, 2013), p.138.

⁶⁹⁴ Third Telephone interview with Masood Ashar, 2 July 2015.

⁶⁹⁵ Salim Akhtar, *Urdu Adab ki Mukhtasar Tareen Tarikh, Aghaz Say 2000 Tak* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2003), p.466 and 508.

Establishment had contained the radical literary movement through institutional channels of expression such as the PWA. This section will argue that the trend of expression of radical sentiments was reinforced during the period under discussion 1947–1971, because the progressives used the medium of films more consistently than in the previous decade. I have focused on the intention of the work and the biographies of the film writers/filmmakers. Though my work is a historical overview of Left-wing films, my approach is influenced by auteur theory that emphasises the ‘personal factor in artistic creation’.⁶⁹⁶ I use this theory to point out two aspects: the impact of individuals on films and that these film represent a distinct strand of thought in the history of the film industry in Pakistan because they could not become part of mainstream Pakistani cinema. The following table shows important films made by the progressive literati.

Table 5.4 Radical Interventions in the Film Industry: 1959–1971

Name of film	Year of Release	Director	Story Writer/Dialogue Writer
Jagu Hua Sawera	25 May 1959	A.J.Kardar	Faiz Ahmed Faiz
Nind	12 October 1959	Hasan Tariq	Riaz Shahid
Do Rastey	1 October 1961	Qadeer Ghori	Aziz Meeruti/ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi
Teen Phul	8 December 1961	Zaheer Kashmiri	A.Hameed
Shaheed	5 January 1962	Khalil Qaisar	Riaz Shahid
Sukh ka Supna	5 January 1962	Hameed Akhtar	Hameed Akhtar
Rahguzar	22 January 1962	Zia Sarhadi	Zia Sarhadi

⁶⁹⁶ Bazin, cited in James Monaco, *How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, and Beyond*, 4th edition (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.463. If we trace the historical evolution of this theory, we find that it had been evolving since 1948, when Alexandre Astruc, a film critic and director, introduced the idea of ‘camera-stylo’ (camera-pen). This stressed the role of the film-director’s creative vision and showed a wariness of the ‘tyranny of forms’ that were prevalent in the film industry at that time. He expressed the desire to incorporate the vision of the author in the film so as to enable him to translate his ‘ideas... directly on film’, A. Astruc, cited in J. Monaco, *Ibid.* Later, another French film-director and critic, André Bazin, became inspired by A. Astruc’s writings and came up with the idea that ‘‘Cinema existence precedes its essence’’, A. Bazin, cited in J. Monaco, *Ibid.*, p.463. This theory opened up space for visionary and radical film-directors to experiment in films. One can trace its impact on two major trends in Western cinema in the form of Italian Neo-realism and French New Wave since the late 1950s.

Clerk	22 January 1962	Khalil Qaisar ⁶⁹⁷	Yunas Rahi
Susral	19 October 1962	Riaz Shahid	Riaz Shahid
Doshiza	19 October 1962	Khalil Qaisar	Riaz Shahid (screenplay)
Farangi	8 December 1964	Khalil Qaisar	Riaz Shahid
Hamrahi Badnam	6 May 1966	Raja Hafeez	Mistri Ghulam Mohammad/ [Dialogues: Ahmed Rahi/ Zia Sarhadi]
Lakhon Men Ek	28 April 1967	Raza Mir	Zia Sarhadi
Dhup aur Saye	22 March 1968	Ashfaq Ahmed	Ashfaq Ahmed
Nila Parbat	3 January 1969	Ahmed Bashir	Mumtaz Mufti
Zarqa	17 October 1969	Riaz Shahid	Riaz Shahid
Parai Ag	17 May 1971	Raza Mir	Hameeda Jabin/ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi This film was produced by Hameed Akhtar, but he used the name Saadia Hameed.
Yeh Amn	20 November 1971	Riaz Shahid	Riaz Shahid

Sources: Yaseen Gorijah, *Pakistan Millennium Film Directory* (Lahore: 2003), pp. 135–158, Interview with Nasir Saleem Sheikh, 30 January 2013, and; Interview with Ali Sufyan Afaqi, 9 February 2013, and ; A.Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar* (Lahore: 2010), pp.272–274.

This table shows two major trends. The first trend indicates that progressive writers like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Hameed Akhtar, Zaheer Kashmiri and Ahmed Bashir either wrote scripts for films or directed them. Among them, only Ahmed Bashir had formal training in filmmaking. The second trend indicates that a few committed professionals, such as Zia Sarhadi, Khalil Qaisar and Riaz Shahid, who were involved in the progressive project of filmmaking made serious efforts to be innovative in the film business, as can be seen in the wide range of their themes.

Jagu Hua Sawera (1959) was based on Manik Bandopadhyaya's novel *Padma Nadir Majhi* (The boatman on the river Padma). It was one of the earliest Dacca-based Urdu films.⁶⁹⁸ The film depicts the everyday struggles of a fisherman's family that lives in a small settlement on the banks of River Meghna near

⁶⁹⁷ He also appeared as the main actor.

⁶⁹⁸ Faiz, Faiz Ahmed, interview by Ahmed Salim, in, *Mukalimat-e Faiz*, comp. Khalil Ahmed (Lahore, Sang-e Meel Publications, 2011), 1983, pp.212–215

Dacca. A.J.Kardar, the director, used a narrative style and lengthy close-ups, which were new experiments in Pakistani films. Mushtaq Gazdar, a scholar of Pakistani cinema, described it as ‘Pakistan’s first realist and experimental film’.⁶⁹⁹ It was a commercial failure because its plot and direction did not conform to popular cinematic conventions; nevertheless, it was critically acclaimed by international film critics and received a gold medal at the Moscow film festival in the late 1950s.⁷⁰⁰

The film *Teen Phul* (1961) was directed by Zaheer Kashmiri and written by A.Hameed. Little is known about its basic theme. Zaheer Kashmiri never mentioned this movie, nor did he have pleasant memories of his experience in the film industry. Presumably, it was a conventional film. Ironically, neither did it meet the expectations of filmgoers nor could it earn critical acclaim. Some impression can, at best, be gleaned from a flippant remark by A.Hameed, the writer: The people jeered at this movie as ‘teen fool’ (three stupids).⁷⁰¹

Hameed Akhtar’s association with the All-India Peoples Theatre (IPTA) and the PWA dated back to the early 1940s. He had worked as a scriptwriter in the Bombay film industry, and served as secretary-general of the AIPWA’s Bombay branch in 1945–46.⁷⁰² Therefore, he was deeply convinced of the utility of film as ‘a powerful medium of communication with people’.⁷⁰³ For

⁶⁹⁹ Mushtaq Gazdar, *Pakistani Cinema 1947–1997*, p.78.

⁷⁰⁰ Salah-ud-Din Haider, *Jinhain Jurm-e Ishq Peh Naz Tha, Faiz Ahmed Faiz Shakhsiyat-o-Fann* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2011), p.73.

⁷⁰¹ A.Hameed (comp.Rashid Mateen), *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhsiyat-o-Fann*, Pakistani Adab kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-eAdabiyat-e Pakistan, 1998), p.45–46.

⁷⁰² Ahmed Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, p. 55.He also performed a small role in the film *Azadi ki Rah Par*, which was released in 1948, Ibid, 42

⁷⁰³ Ibid., p.274.

the film *Sukh ka Supna*, he adapted the 1950 novel *Power without Glory* written by an Australian radical writer, Frank Hardy (1917–1994). Hardy had based his protagonist on a real person, John Wren (1871–1953), who was a wealthy businessman and an influential politician who allegedly amassed fabulous wealth through devious means. The novel depicted the personal and moral dilemma the main character of the novel.⁷⁰⁴ The novel dealt with endemic corruption in the Australian society of the 1940s that had permeated deep into the upper echelons of society and also affected ordinary people and it censured the ruling Australian Labour Party (ALP).⁷⁰⁵ The theme of the novel inspired Hameed Akhtar immensely, because he found its core idea that the ‘accumulation of wealth was a useless pursuit and it could not bring us happiness’ very progressive.⁷⁰⁶ He tried to convey the message that the value system that capitalism promotes in a society drives it towards insatiable lust for wealth and a person who amasses wealth through fraudulent practices and illegitimate means cannot escape a terrible fate.⁷⁰⁷ Through this film, Hameed Akhtar tried to promote awareness about the negative consequences of a materialistic culture, since he felt that ‘wealth had been cherished as a social value’.⁷⁰⁸ But this film too, for various technical reasons, was a commercial failure.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁴ Frank Hardy, *Power without Glory* (Panther, 1975).

⁷⁰⁵ The historian, William D. Rubinstein, notes that Hardy reflected critical views about the newly elected Menzies government which, according to the latter, had gone on to ‘chronic sell-out to capitalism and the ‘Establishment’’. William D. Rubinstein, ‘The Culture Wars Down Under: John Wren, Frank Hardy, and Power without Glory’, review of *Power without Glory*, by Frank Hardy, *The Social Affairs Unit, Digital Publications*, 28 June 2006. <http://www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk/blog/archives/001001.php>.

⁷⁰⁶ A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, p.272.

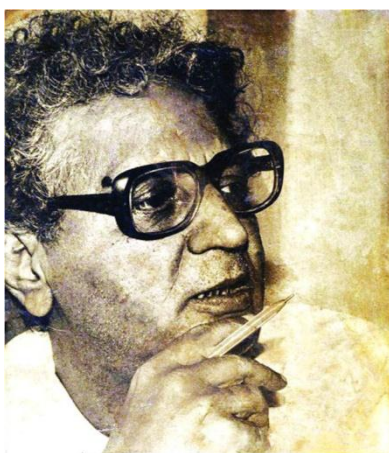
⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.272–273.

Ahmed Bashir launched his journalistic career from *Imroze* in 1948. He was a member of the pioneering team that launched *Imroze*. He did two stints at *Imroze*—in 1948 and in 1951. He drew inspiration from the All India Peoples Theatre Association (IPTA), particularly the latter's ventures into the filmmaking.⁷¹⁰ That passion subsequently drove him to get a professional education in filmmaking. In 1959 he went to the US and did his M.A. in filmmaking from the University of Southern California.⁷¹¹

Figure 5.5 Ahmed Bashir (1923—2004)



Source: A. Bashir, *Dil Bhatkay Ga* (Lahore: 2012).

The film *Nila Parbat* shows that an old man has adopted and brought up a young girl, but at the sub-conscious level he fell in love with her. The film revolved around a core idea in Freudian psychology, which was an unusual theme for Pakistani cinema, and can be described as a daring move. A significant aspect of this film was its classical and semi-classical music and the dance performances. It began with a song by Roshan Ara Begum (1917–1982), who was known as *Malka-e Musiqi* (Queen of Music). The film also

⁷¹⁰ Ahmed Bashir, 'Documentary Films', *Imroze*, June 12, 1949.

⁷¹¹ Ahmed Bashir, *Dil Bhatkay Ga*, p.552. Ahmed Bashir, *Jo Milay Thay Rastey Men* (Lahore: Al-faisal, 2006).

had classical dances like Bharatanatyam, Manipuri, Shiva Thandav and Kathak performed by the dancer and actor Panna (Zareen).⁷¹² Through the movements of classical dance, the director tried to depict sentiments of love. These experiments alarmed members of the film censor board and it was categorised as an adult movie.⁷¹³ At the same time, these experiments were largely incomprehensible to movie-goers, and so it failed at the box office.⁷¹⁴

Dhup aur Saye [1968] was a realist art film that was written and directed by the dramatist, Ashfaq Ahmed. This film was not shot on film sets, because the director preferred outdoor venues to bring in realism. But the innovative technique could not ensure its success and like the other realist films it failed at the box office.⁷¹⁵

Let us move to professional directors and writers of the film industry who embraced the progressive vision and tried to create a new kind of cinematic art. Zia Sarhadi (Fazl-e Qadir) was one of the most gifted and talented film writers and directors, who had done a successful stint in the Indian film industry between 1938 and 1952. He had directed films like *Ham Log* (1952) and *Foot Path* (1953) and written dialogues for the famous Indian film *Baiju Bawra* (1952).⁷¹⁶ He remained actively involved with the Bombay chapter of the IPTA during the 1940s and worked with Prithvi Raj, Balraj Sahni and

⁷¹² Ibid, p.719.

⁷¹³ It was the only second movie after *Zinda Laash* that the censor board placed in the category 'for adults only'.

⁷¹⁴ Ahmed Bashir provides a detailed description of his experiences in the film industry in pages 27–29 and 32 of his autobiography.

⁷¹⁵ Mohammad Safdar Mir, Interview by Muzaffar Mohammad Ali, in *Pakistani Sahafat Kay Razdan Sahafi, Safdar Mir Say Hamid Mir Tak*, ed. Muzaffar Mohammad Ali (Lahore;2011), pp.84–85 .

⁷¹⁶ 'Zia Sarhadi', IMDb [Showbiz website], accessed 14 May 2015, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0765167//bio?ref__.

Durga Khote. In 1952 he moved to Pakistan, where the Establishment took him for a Leftist. His son Khayyam Sarhadi (1949–2011), a famous TV artist in his own right, revealed in 2002 that his father was ‘hounded’ in the midst of the ‘crack down’ unleashed by the military regime of Ayub Khan against the communists. He was subjected to atrocious treatment under the Zia-ul-Haq regime and left the country in the 1980s to settle in Spain.⁷¹⁷ During the 1960s, Zia Sarhadi directed two films—*Rah-guzar* (1960) and *Insan* (1966) —and wrote the stories for three films—*Lahkon men Ek*, *Kafir* and *Elan*, which were released in 1967.⁷¹⁸ In *Rah-guzar* he portrayed the social realities that the poor had faced.⁷¹⁹ *Lahkon men Ek* (1967), directed by Raza Mir, is among the three important Pakistani films on the history of Partition.⁷²⁰

It narrates the story of Hindu and Muslims families that were affected by the events of Partition. The heads of these families, Ahmed and Parhar Dayal, are close friends. Just before Partition, Ahmed is forced to send his family to a village called Prem Nagar, a place in India. But communal riots erupt in the village; Ahmed’s wife is killed and his son, Ijaz, survives but loses his memory (that he regains later). Meanwhile, Parhar Dayal has to take refuge in Ahmed’s house due to the worsening communal atmosphere. Ahmed manages to send Parhar Dayal to India so that after finding a place to stay he can fetch

⁷¹⁷ Rumana Hussain, ‘The Inherited Talent: A Long Innings : Khayyam Sarhadi,’ *Dawn*, n.d., [Images edition], 1 December 2002.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Y. Gorijah, *Pakistan Millennium Film Directory* (Lahore: Yaseen Gorijah Publications, 2003), p.147.

⁷²⁰ The other two films are *Kartar Singh* (1959) and *Khak aur Khun* (1979); the first is in Punjabi and is still considered a classic of this genre, whereas the latter was based on a historical novel by Nasim Hijazi, who was famous for his pulp fiction, Gita Viswanath and Salma Malik in their article on Partition cinema in the sub-continent while analysing the nature of these stories categorised them as ‘melodramatic’, Gita Viswanath and Salma Malik, ‘Revisiting 1947 through Popular Cinema: A Comparative Study of India and Pakistan,’ *Economic and Political Weekly* 44, no. 36 (Sep.5–11), p.661.

his daughter whom he leaves with Ahmed. But in India Parhar Dayal ends up living in a mental asylum for several years. A Pathan, Dilber Khan, brings Ijaz back to Pakistan. As the story unfolds, Ijaz has an affair with Shakuntala, Parhar Dayal's daughter, who was brought up by Ijaz's father, Ahmed. Meanwhile, Shakuntala's father returns to Pakistan to fetch his daughter and Ahmed sends Shakuntala with him. The film ends with the death of Shakuntala. The film affords glimpses of the conduct of families belonging to Hindu and Muslim communities, who instead of being carried away by the emotional frenzy of Partition still believed in human values. Since Ahmed brought up the daughter of his friend, he got her married to a Hindu, and sent her to India. Across the border, his friend had to suffer the wrath of a group of extremist Hindus, while pleading with them to stop killing the Muslims.⁷²¹

Khalil Qaisar, a very creative film director who died quite young in 1967, directed seven films between 1961 and 1967. He also wrote the story of Shabab Keranvi's film *Fashion*. Among these films *Clerk*, *Doshiza*, *Shaheed* and *Farangi* are notable. The film *Clerk* (1962) depicts the harsh realities faced by low-level employees like clerks. This movie offers a sad commentary on the plight of the poor section of society that has to eke out a living on low salaries.⁷²² Khalil Qaisar acted as the clerk, and the following illustration captures one scene.

⁷²¹ Gorijah, *Pakistan ki Sau Shahkar Filmain*, pp.122–127.

⁷²² Interview with Ali Sufyan Afaqi, February 9, 2013.

Figure 5.6 Khalil Qaisar in film *Clerk* (1962)



Source: Dawn 5 November 2014.

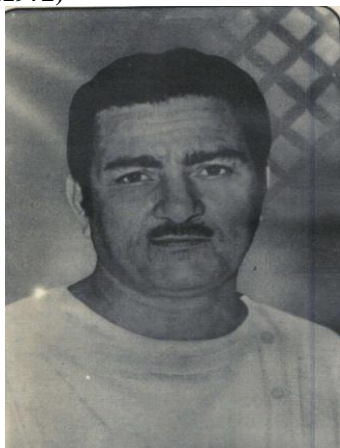
Farangi has an interesting theme. The script was written by Riaz Shahid and the setting is Arabia in the 1920s. Its subject was British imperialism and the central theme revolve around Lawrence of Arabia, a British spy who lived in Arabia during and after the First World War and provoked the Arabs into revolting against the Ottoman Turks. This resulted in Hussain Bin Ali's reward that is known as Sharif of Makkah, which subsequently redrew the modern map of the Middle East.⁷²³ But film does not focus on this dimension of Lawrence. Rather, it presents Lawrence as a symbol of British imperialism and shows that the purpose of his mission was to acquire newly discovered oil resources from Arabia. Lawrence Bin David stays in an independent Arab principality that is under a tribal chieftain named Sardar. Lawrence eyes the oil wealth of the region. He asks Sardar to lease the land for the purpose of drilling oil, but Sardar takes no interest. Lawrence devises a plan to remove Sardar and to replace him with a more pliant man. He creates a rift within the tribe that leads to the removal of Sardar. The new chief, Feroze, is a pliable individual who readily agrees to lease out the land for 100 years. The British build an oil refinery and the chief remains content with his modest share of the proceeds. But these developments provoke patriotism among the locals. Aalia,

⁷²³ Gorijah, *Pakistan ki Sau Shahkar Filmain*, pp.122–124.

the daughter of the former chief, undertakes a suicide mission; she sets herself on fire and jumps into an oil well, gutting the entire complex and thwarting the imperialist ambition.⁷²⁴ The plot shows how the writer and director symbolically depict the initial stage of the plans of the Western powers to acquire control of the oil resources of the Middle East.

As Table 5.4 shows, Riaz Shahid was a key figure in progressive filmmaking as a script-writer and director, since his name appears in eight out of seventeen films in both capacities. Riaz Shahid was born in Lahore and received his early education in the 1940s from Islamia College. He became inclined towards progressive ideas from the early 1950s. Hameed Akhtar wrote that in the late 1940s when the police were conducting raids against Leftist activists and not allowing the management of the CPP publications to bring out the magazine *Naya Zamana*, Riaz Shahid lent his support to the party and allowed it to use his residential address as the place of publication of the magazine in order to evade the police, even though this caused trouble for his family.⁷²⁵

Figure 5.7 Riaz Shahid(d.1972)



Source: T.Akhtar, *Dafinay* (Lahore: 2002),p.15.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., pp.85–87.

⁷²⁵ Ahmed Salim, *Sawanih Umri, Hameed Akhtar*. Lahore: Book Home, 2010, p.164.

Riaz Shahid wrote a novel titled *Hazar Dastan* in 1955 that made the city of Lahore its locale. Unlike other novels that focused on the lives of the middle class, this novel revolved around the lives of poor people and depicted their everyday lives in the city. It showed the complexes and *mahrumi* that poverty engendered and only the poor could feel the agonies of the experiences that they underwent.⁷²⁶ Like the progressive writers of his times, he used film as a medium to depict these social realities and create awareness for change in society, which was the larger goal of the Leftist movement. His brief but illustrious film career (1958 to 1972) ended with his death in October 1972.⁷²⁷

The PPL newspapers played a key role in enhancing awareness about film as a radical medium. They took strong exception to the prevailing trend of plagiarism in filmmaking in Pakistan. Their critical tone annoyed film producers to such an extent that they boycotted or stopped giving advertisements to the *PT* and between October 1967 and February 1968 they imposed a ban on the *PT*'s film advertisements.⁷²⁸

Now we examine the factors that led to the failure of the Left-wing films. The progressive writers like Hameed Akhtar and Ahmed Bashir acknowledged that the major cause of failure of the radical experimentation was that they ignored the psyche of the film viewers. Moreover, they failed to understand the dynamics of film production and marketing and in some cases their films could not meet the quality standards in technical sense. These writings also provide clues to the organized efforts of the financiers and producers that

⁷²⁶ Riaz Shahid, *Hazar Dastan* (Lahore: 1955).

⁷²⁷ Akhtar, *Dafinay Show-Biz Kay Ahd-saz Logon ki Yaddain*, p. 15–17.

⁷²⁸ Shirin Ali, 'The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study' (Master's thesis, University of Punjab, 1969), p.95.

dominated the film industry to systematically thwart and discourage these initiatives. Though the latter reason sounds like a conspiracy theory however, the given the dominance of a particular clique of film makers, directors and producers over the film industry that were commercially oriented. It appears plausible that they would have discouraged such ventures.

5.5 Ayub Khan Regime and Responses of Progressive Writers

So far, we have highlighted how the progressives continued to create and disseminate progressive literature in the absence of the PWA. It brings into focus diverse dimensions of radical interventions, but the picture is incomplete because the regime of Ayub had devised a systematic policy of containing resistance, whether it was launched by progressives or anti-progressive intellectuals. Faiz Ahmed Faiz pointed out in 1976, ‘The regime of Ayub Khan instead of simply relying on *tehreeb* (coercion/intimidation) particularly employed the tactics of *takhwif-o-tehris* (incentive and terror), and because of that many literary writers deviated from their path’.⁷²⁹ Sadia Toor described these attempts as a strategy of creating ‘Establishment Writer’.⁷³⁰

First, I will highlight how the Ayub Khan government employed institutions to contain the intelligentsia. Table 5.5 lists the major institutions that the military regime established to influence public opinion.

Table 5.5 Institutions created to influence the Intelligentsia and Public Opinion

Name of Institution/ year	Functions of the Institution
Pakistan Writers’ Guild (PWG) (1959)	This institution was created to promote the general welfare of the literati, and the government projected it as a ‘writers’ trade union’. ⁷³¹ But, to its critics, it represented a calculated move designed to fit intellectuals in a subordinate role. ⁷³²

⁷²⁹ I have changed the order of these words in the English translation. Faiz Ahmed., Ghulam Hussain Azhar’s interview with Faiz Ahmed Faiz for (Quarterly Ghalib, April–June 1976)[published under the title ‘Adeeb aur Asri Taqazey’], *Mukalimat-e Faiz*, comp. Khalil Ahmed, pp.246–247.

⁷³⁰ Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam*, pp.86 –89

⁷³¹ Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.514.

National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) (1959)	The Ayub Khan regime put this institution to a number of uses. Its name suggests it was established to assist the government in its nation and state building endeavours. In practice, it constituted an important part of the government's propaganda machinery. It came under F.R. Khan and hired the services of the intelligentsia to carry out propaganda campaigns against opposition parties belonging to both the Left and the Right. According to Q.U. Shahab, 'the purpose of creation of this institution was to bring the nation in harmony with the thinking of the government'.
National Press Trust (NPT) (1964)	Like the NRB, the NPT formed part of the military regime's strategy to set-up a new 'information order'. The regime placed more than 6 newspapers and their 11 editions and magazines under its control between 1964 and 1967. ⁷³³
Pakistan Features Syndicate	This was part of the official news agency, Associated Press of Pakistan. The government placed it under the bureaucrat, Hamid Jalal. Unlike the other institutions, it could not hold out for long and the government closed it because it ran short of funds.
Thinkers Forum (1964)	It was established by Altaf Gauher and his brother, Tajjammul Hussain, two influential bureaucrats in the Ayub Khan regime. In addition to influence the literati of Pakistan. Its founders wanted it to develop it as a larger platform for the litterateurs of Asia and Africa. It was inaugurated by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran (1919–1980).

Sources: Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.535, Zamir Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, pp., Khalid Hasan, 'The *Pakistan Times*', p.11, and Intizar Hussain, *Chiaraghon Ka Dhuun*, pp.184–185, and 'Editorial: Adeebon kay Faraiz', *Lail-o-Nahar*, 8 February 1959, p.3, and; T. Masood, *Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabon Kay* (Islamabad:2012), pp.270–274.

In addition to these institutions, the Establishment initiated several literary awards under the auspices of the Pakistan Writers' Guild (henceforth, Guild or PWG), as the following table shows.

Table 5.6 The Guild and the Literary Awards

Name of Award	Year of Inauguration	Sponsors
Adam Jee Adabi Inaam Literary	1960	Adam Jee Foundation (Adam Jee Brothers: Wahid Adam Jee and Zikariya Adam Jee)
Dawood Adabi Inaam (Dawood Literary Award)	c.1961–1962	Dawood Foundation (Seth Mohammad Dawood)
Habib Literary Award		
National Bank Literary Award	c.1964	
United Bank Adabi Inaam	1964	
6 September Literary Award	1966	

Sources: Abdul Haq Khan, 'Pakistan Men Urdu Novel' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Jamia Sindh, 1969), pp.275–276, and; Mumtaz Ahmed Khan, 'Jameel-Ud-Din Aali, 'Harf-e Chand' in' *Azadi Kay Baad Urdu Novel*, (Karachi:1997), pp.13, 20, and 27.

⁷³² S. Toor places it in a larger context and describes it as part of the policy of the Ayub Khan regime to effectively manage its rocky relationship with the Left-wing intelligentsia. Chapter 2 of her work provides details. Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam*.

⁷³³ This study deals with this issue in detail in the section 4.2 of Chapter 4 and Appendix 9.

Interestingly, progressive writers were the main recipients of these awards. The organisers of the PWA, such as Q.U.Shahab and Jameel-ud-Din Aali, acknowledged that the writers received these awards on merit as the PWG had devised transparent criteria.⁷³⁴ Nevertheless, this created the impression that the progressives were the major beneficiaries under the regime of Ayub Khan. Table 5.7 lists the writers who received these awards in the 1960s.

Table 5.7 Awards won by Progressive Writers between 1960 and 1967

Year	Name of the Writer	Name of Work
1960	Ghulam Abbas Shaukat Siddiqi	<i>Jarey ki Chandani</i> (Collection of short stories) <i>Khuda ki Basti</i> (Novel)
1961	Jameela Hashmi Qateel Shafai	<i>Talaash-e Bhaarran</i> (Novel) <i>Mutribba</i> (Poetry)
1962	Khadija Mastoor	<i>Angan</i> (Novel)
1963	Abdullah Hussain Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi	<i>Uddas Naslain</i> (Novel) <i>Dasht-e Wafa</i> (Poetry)
1964	Shaheed-ullah Qaisar	(Bengali prose)
1966	Ahmed Faraz	<i>Dard-e Aashob</i> (Poetry)
1967	Mirza Adeeb	(Drama)

Sources: Jameel-ud-Din Aali, [‘Harf-e Chand’] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel*, by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan (Karachi: 1997), pp. , Jameel-ud-Din Aali, interview by Tahir Masood (May 1986), in Tahir Masood comp. *Yeh Saurat-gar kuch Khwabon Kay*, (Islamabad:1997), pp.269 and 272. Abdul Haq Khan, ‘Pakistan Men Urdu Novel’ (D.Phil thesis, Jamia Sindh, 1969), p.276.

This rather detailed background reinforces the impression that the Ayub Khan regime succeeded in reining in the progressive writers. Therefore, the litterateurs and journalists representing different shades of public opinion had no qualms about expressing their critical opinions about the progressive writers.

Zaheer Kashmiri felt more bitter about the tactics the regime of Ayub Khan had employed to reign in the litterateurs. He described the Guild as an attempt to ‘create privileged groups within the litterateurs, to undermine the radical intellectual movement in the country’. This organisation was designed for ‘courtiers and groups of eulogists’. To him, their role was analogous to that of

⁷³⁴ Jameel-ud-Din Aali, [‘Harf-e Chand’] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel, Hayiat, Asaleeb, Rujhnat*, by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan (Karachi: Anjuman-Tarraqi-e Urdu- Pakistan, 1997),pp., and; Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, p.515

mansabdars of the Mughal era.⁷³⁵ Waheed Qureshi, a literary critic who is considered a key opponent of the progressive writers, while commenting on their role under the Ayub Khan regime accused them of acting as collaborators of the regime.⁷³⁶ As he wrote in 1970 that the Ayub Khan government:

...pursued the policy of promoting the progressive in different walks of life. Apart from bestowing them favours and honours, it offered them employments, and nominated them in the officials committees and commissions. While looking at lists of names of the Advisory and Organizational committees of Television and Radio, one can easily assess that progressives had formed a '*muttahida mahaz*' [grand alliance] with the government and by taking advantages of the opportunities that presented themselves they began to dominate the means of communication [electronic media]. Their monopoly over the newspapers over the newspapers was already well established.⁷³⁷

This discussion opens up another dimension that casts doubt on the resistance by progressive writers. As I highlighted in 'Introduction' that this study seeks to examine the literary realm as a site to look at radical resistance in the literary culture. The question that arises is whether if the instances of corporation that some of the progressive writers provided to the martial law regime represent counter-factual evidence against the main argument that runs through the previous sections? Therefore, I will critically examine the nature of these allegation examine arising from interaction between the Guild and the progressive writers. I will seek to contest the criticism by various anti-progressive litterateurs and give substantial evidence to demonstrate that the PWM constantly faced a hostile Establishment and that there was no love lost between the Ayub Khan regime and the progressive writers. This critical

⁷³⁵ Zaheer Kashmiri, G.H.Azhar's interview with Zaheer Kashmiri, in *Ru-ba-ru*, comp. G.H. Azhar, n.d, p.168. Some prominent progressive journalists like Zamir Niazi and Ahmed Bashir were critical about the role of the progressives, Ahsan Akhtar Naz, *Taraqqi Pasand Tahrik-o-Sahafat, Makalmat*, pp..

⁷³⁶ Waheed Qureshi, 'Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik,' (part 17), *Weekly Zindagi*, Vol.8, Issue no.32, 1970, cited in M. A Beg, 'Anjuman-Taraqqi-Pasand- Musannifeen Punjab Men', p.163.

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

analysis is relevant because overlooking this issue could undermine the effectiveness of literature as a site of resistance in post-colonial Pakistan.

To place this issue within a wider context, it is useful to highlight the progressives' response to the PWG. It would be incorrect to assume that the progressive writers as a body co-operated with the Ayub Khan regime; even those who held positions in the Guild did not abandon their path of literary radicalism. The following table shows their response to the PWG

Table 5.8 Progressive Writers and their Response to the PWG

Writers who held important positions in PWG	Writers who initially supported PWG but later abandoned support	Writers who were members of PWG but did not hold positions	Writers who opposed PWG
Qateel Shafai Mirza Adeeb Ibrahim Jalees Farigh Bukhari Ahmed Rahi Ameer Hamza Shanwari Syed Waqar Azeem Sheikh Ayaz Hajra Masroor Shaukat Siddiqui Ghulam Abbas Tufail Ahmed Jamali Sufi Tabassum Shafqat Tanveer Mirza	Arif Abdul Mateen Muneer Niazi	Faiz Ahmed Faiz Sibt-e Hassan Khadija Mastoor Zaheer Babar Hameed Akhtar Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Qurat-ul-ain Haider	Habib Jalib Zaheer Kashmiri

Sources: A.. Nadeem, *Huey Ham-kalam*, (Lahore: 2013), pp.78–79, and 185–186, T. Masood, comp. *Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabon Kay* (Islamabad:2012), pp.212—252 and 255, G.H. Azhar, comp. *Ru-ba-ru* (Mir Pur: 1991), pp.167–169, and, 196–197, Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama* (Lahore: 2006), pp., S.Toor, *The State of Islam*, (London : 2011), pp.91–92, A.A.Naz, comp. *Mukalimat* (Lahore: 2003), p.44, R. Rasalu, *La Preet Ajahee Muhammad*, (Punjabi) (Lahore: 2008), pp.73–78, M. Adeeb, *Mitti Ka Diya* (Lahore: 2012), pp.,and; H. Jalib, 'Jalib's Poem on Sibte Hasan on not Accepting Daud Literary Prize', *Lail-o-Nahar, Weekly*, April 1970, p..

The table shows that the progressive writers did not tamely surrender to the PWG but had diverse responses. Even writers like Mirza Adeeb who supported the PWG considered it a trade union for the literary writers.⁷³⁸ In the first column of the table, Shafqat Tanveer Mirza is an interesting case; he

⁷³⁸ Mirza Adeeb, *Mitti ka Diya (Autobiography)*(Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 2012),pp.379 – 380.

considered the Guild as a platform for advancing the cause of the Punjabi linguistic movement and was elected President of its Punjabi chapter in 1962. But the Establishment did not allow this kind of radicalism to flourish and in 1963 the Punjabi branch of the Guild was closed down.⁷³⁹

Having highlighted the response of progressive writers about the Guild, it would be useful to compare the responses of the anti-progressive and neutral writers to the Guild. The table below shows that their responses varied.

Table 5.9 Responses of Anti-Progressive and Neutral Writers to the PWG

Anti-Progressives who held positions in the PWG	Anti-Progressives/ right-wing writers who were members but not office-bearers of the PWG	Anti-Progressives who opposed the PWG	Neutral writers who held positions in the PWG	Neutral writers who opposed the PWG
Shahid Ahmed Delhivi Abdul Aziz Khalid Ibn-e Saeed Ijaz Batalivi	Hafeez Jullandhari (became the advisor of Ayub Khan) Naseem Hijazi Ibn-ul-Hasan Zamir-ud-Din Ahmed Abbas Ahmed Abbasi	Muhammad Hasan Askari	Q.U.Shahab Jameel-ud-Din Aali Jameel Jalibi S. Waqar Azeem Ashfaq Ahmad Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum	Maulana Salah-ud- Din Ahmed ⁷⁴⁰ ,

Sources: T. Masood, *Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabon Kay* (Islamabad: 2012), pp. 265–266, and 465–466, G.H. Azhar, *Ru-ba-ru* (Mir Pur: 1991), pp.114 –115, Q.U. Shahab, *Shahabnama* (Lahore: 2006), pp., A.Sadeed, *Maulana Salah-Ud-Din Ahmed*, (Islamabad: 2007), pp.34 –35, Aziz Ibn-ul-Hasan, *Muhammad Hasan Askari*, (Islamabad: 2007), p.32, Jameel-ud-Din Aali, [‘Harf-e Chand’] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel*, by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan (Karachi: 1997), pp. .9–29, and; Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains* (Karachi: 1987), pp.

If we compare the three tables—Table 5.7, Table 5.8 and Table 5.9— I would identify two plausible reasons for the stigmatisation of the progressives. The first is that as the PWM had inspired a larger number of litterateurs and their presence in society was more ubiquitous; therefore, their activities drew a greater amount of public attention than those of the anti-progressives. Second,

⁷³⁹ Raja Rasalu. *La Preet Ajahee Muhammad*. (Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Board, 2008), p.69.

⁷⁴⁰ The editor of *Adabi Dunya* made a famous remark about it. While drawing a historical analogy between the works of the prophets and that of the literati, he quipped, ‘The prophets did not used to make [organisations like] Guilds’, A.Sadeed, *Maulana Salah-Ud-Din Ahmed*, (Islamabad: 2007), p.34.

the detractors of the movement among the literati and journalists failed to analyse the PWM on its own terms. The excerpt from Waheed Qureshi's work cited earlier part of this section provides an idea of this kind of thinking.

Now we come to the issue of literary awards. Jameel-ud-Din Aali, one of the pioneers of the Guild who served as the Secretary of the organisation between 1959 and 1971, revealed in 1996 that most of the awards led to controversies and created an awkward situation for the PWG organisers. Based on his account, the controversial awards have been tabulated below.

Table 5.10 Awards given to Progressive Writers and Subsequent Controversies

Year/	Name of Liberal writer	The Controversy
1960	Shaukat Siddiqqi	'This novel was published in 1957, The Establishment circles branded it as a socialist propaganda. The West Pakistan government was contemplating about taking action that PWG was established and that sought assurance the President that began to raise voices in favour of freedom of opinion of the literati...[the government] had to withdraw its decision of placing ban on the novel Shaukat Siddiqqi had written'.
1962	Khadija Mastoor	The Director Intelligence sent a report a day before the award ceremony to Q.U.Shahab, who was secretary to President Ayub Khan as well as the Secretary General of the PWG. An official note from the Secretary of Interior was attached to this report. Both documents drew the attention of the President towards the communist background of Khadija Mastoor and her husband Zaheer Babur. He proposed that either the awards ceremony should be postponed or that Khadija Mastoor should not be allowed to participate. Shahab got to know about this report when the awards ceremony was about to start and the guests had started arriving, so he was unable to bring this issue to the notice of the President. Jameel-ud-Din Aali who was an eyewitness claims in his account that he managed to convince Q. U.Shahab that both these proposals would not be good for the government and might hurt its reputation as well as that of the PWG. ⁷⁴¹
1964	Abdullah Hussain	The governor of Punjab, Ameer Mohammed Khan, had raised serious objections to the novel by Abdullah Hussain, <i>Uddas Naslain</i> ; he insisted that its author had used 'four-letter-words'. (According to Jameel-ud-Din Aali there were only three such words in the entire novel.) West Pakistan had even drafted an official notification to ban the novel, but it was yet to receive final approval.

⁷⁴¹ Jameel-ud-Din Aali further claims that he took an upright stand on this issue and told Qudrat Ullah Shahab that he would not ask Khadija Mastoor to leave the ceremony because he considered it impolite. He further made it clear that he could either accept his resignation or get him transferred to the Income Tax Department. (Jameel-ud-Din Aali was a civil servant and worked as an income tax officer; he served in the President's house on deputation for four years between October 1959 and October 1963).

		Jameel-ud-Din claims that he requested Akhtar Hussain, the President of <i>Anjuman Taraqi-e Urdu</i> , for help in reversing the approval process of the proposed notification.
1964	Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi	Jameel-ud-Din Aali revealed that the Ministry of Information and the Intelligence Bureau had made serious objections to the award given to Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi for his collection of poetry.
1964	Shaheed Ullah Qaisar	The Establishment initiated a major inquiry over the award given to Shaheed Ullah Qaisar, a radical literary writer from East Pakistan. Even the Bengali office-bearers of the PWG fully supported Shaheed Ullah Qaisar.

Sources: Jameel-ud-Din Aali, [‘Harf-e Chand’] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel*, by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan (Karachi: 1997), pp.12–17, and 22–28. T. Masood, comp. *Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabon Kay* (Islamabad: 2012), pp.265–266, 271–273, and 441–442.

This table shows that the organisers of the Guild had earned the displeasure of the Establishment by giving awards to the progressive writers. Jameel-ud-Din Aali added that when Abdullah Malik’s work *Musalmanoon ki Sad Jado-jahd* was selected, one of the judges, Rais Ahmed Jafferri, reacted, ‘This book would not get the prize because its author is communist, and to encourage any communist is against my creed’.⁷⁴²

These developments, along with negative propaganda about the Guild within the Establishment from other influential circles that were close to Ayub Khan such as F.R. Khan, and Altaf Guhar, annoyed Ayub Khan so much that from the organizers of the Guild that 1965 that he did not participate in any award ceremonies.⁷⁴³ This revelation was made no other than the Secretary of the Guild, Jamil-ud-Din Aali. This development made sponsors of the literary awards extremely frustrated that they made it clear to the Guild officials that

⁷⁴² Jameel-ud-Din Aali, Tahir Hussain’s interview with Jameel-ud-Din Aali, in, Tahir Hussain (ed.), *Yeh Surat-gar kuch Khwabon Kay*, May 1986, pp.270–271..

⁷⁴³ Several sources have highlighted the tussle within Ayub Khan’s Establishment for control over the Guild. Q. U. Shahab, *Shahabnama*, pp.528, and 535, Q.U.Shahab, Tahir Hussain’s interview with Q.U.Shahab[4 November 1983], in, *Yeh Surat-gar Kuch Khwabon Kay*, comp. Tahir Masood, p.137, Intizar Hussain, *Chiraghon Ka Dhuan*, P.164, and; Jameel-ud-Din Aali, interview by Tahir Masood, in *Yeh Surat-gar Kuch Khwabon Kay*, comp. Tahir Masood, p.273.

they would withdraw their sponsorship for the literary awards.⁷⁴⁴ The PWG's magazine *Ham-Qalm* was closed down in May 1965.⁷⁴⁵ In brief, the Guild failed in its political objectives.

Table 5.10 attests that there was no love lost between the Ayub Khan regime and the Left. Immediately after it came to power through a coup, there were mass arrests of Left-wing political activists including several intellectuals. The letter issued by the National Awami Party (NAP) highlights the situation that arose after martial law. The international committee of the National Awami Party drew attention towards the fact that

nearly three hundred persons have been imprisoned without trial in Pakistan by the military regime which took power in October 1958. Among them are some of the most loved and respected persons in the country. They include some of the leading intellectuals, writers, poets, journalists, university teacher...the finest element has been incarcerated into prison.⁷⁴⁶

Ayub Khan's military regime, realising the inadequacy of these measures, simultaneously pursued an alternative strategy aimed at restraining the progressives' political impulse for change through the agency of literature, and for that purpose it did not hesitate to use what we previously referred to as 'heavy-handed tactics' against the radical writers. The following table shows the coercive measures taken by the military regimes against intellectuals between 1959 and 1971.

⁷⁴⁴Jameel-ud-Din Aali, ['Harf-e Chand'] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel, Het, Asaaleeb, Rujahanat* by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan (Karachi: Anjuman-Taraqqi-ae-Urdu-Pakistan, 1997), p.29. It 1967 it was decided that instead of the President a Supreme Court judge would be invited to clear the backlog, Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Jameel-ud-Din Aali, ['Harf-e Chand'] introduction to *Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel*, by Mumtaz Ahmed Khan, p.29.

⁷⁴⁶ Q.S. Anis-ud-Din, Secretary International committee of the National Awami Party. Non-official (un-published). 'An Appeal' Non-official (un-published), January 27, 1959.

Table 5.11 The Establishment’s ‘high-handed tactics’ against Progressive/Liberal Writers

Name of the intellectual	The Coercive Action
Syed Sibte Hasan	The Ayub Khan military government arrested him in October. He was incarcerated in Lahore Fort and to humiliate him the authorities put him in a steel cage. Immediately after the PPL takeover, ⁷⁴⁷ the new management dismissed him from the editorship of the <i>Lail-o-Nahar</i> .
Faiz Ahmed Faiz	He was incarcerated for five months. He was charged under the Public Safety Act, but the authorities accused him of acting as a spy for the Soviet Union. ⁷⁴⁸
Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi	He was arrested in December 1958 and imprisoned for 100 days.
Hasan Nasir	He was tortured to death by the police at the dungeon of Lahore Fort in 1960. ⁷⁴⁹
Habib Jalib	The military regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan placed him under arrest three times between 1964 and 1971. The Ayub Khan regime also put a ban on his collection of poetry.
Mirza Adeb	He almost lost his job at Radio Pakistan in 1966, because he wrote a radio drama titled ‘Sheeshey ki Deewar’ that some people in the Establishment regarded as highly critical of Ayub Khan. Altaf Gauhar, the Secretary of Information, virtually sacked him from his job. Then two friends of Mirza Adeb in Radio Pakistan came to his rescue.
Qurat-ul-ain Haider	The Establishment got annoyed by the publication of her novel <i>Aag ka Darya</i> , and started a propaganda campaign against her. It employed journalists to write articles criticising her work. She got so frustrated that she left the country in 1960.
Farigh Bukhari	He wrote a rebellious poem, ‘Katiloo Hisab Doo’, about the assassination of Sardar Enyat Ullah Khan of Ganda Pur, a leader of the PPP (NWFP) in 1970. It was published in a progressive political magazine <i>Al-Fatah</i> . The publication of the poem provoked the wrath of the government of Yahya Khan, and the military court sentenced Farig Bokhari to one year’s imprisonment. ⁷⁵⁰
Munir Chaudhry, Shaheed-ullah- Qaisar and	These literary writers fell victim to the military operation that Yahya Khan’s regime launched in East Pakistan.

Sources: *Titliyan* [Documentary on Sibte Hasan in 4 *Episodes*] Part 2, 2011, you tube viedio,uploaded on 13 May 2011 by Enam Hasan, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ULBwMEh_fNk&feature=youtube_gdata_player,A. N. Q, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi interview with Radio Pakistan.Parts 1–3.wmv,[uploaded on 27

⁷⁴⁷ Sibte Hasan’s daughter made this revelation.

⁷⁴⁸ As proof, the government presented a photograph of him coming out of the Soviet embassy. Later, the governor of West Pakistan called Elyis Faiz and accused his family of buying a car with Soviet money. To refute these allegations, she had to provide evidence that she had bought the car from the inheritance she received from her deceased father.

⁷⁴⁹ For more details see, Kamran Asdar Ali, *Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, chapter on Hasan Nasir, entitled, ‘A Chronicle of a ‘Martyr’,pp.149 – 165. London: I. B. Tauris, 2015.

⁷⁵⁰ Sardar Enyat Ullah Khan of Ganda Pur, was a popular leader of the PPP (NWFP).

June2011],[This discussion confirms our contention that the progressive writers did not tamely surrender and there was no connivance between the literary writers and the Establishment as critics like Waheed Qureshi would have us believe.](https://www.youtube.com/redirect?q=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.radio.gov.pk%2F&r edir, Saeed Pervaiz, <i>Habib Jalib Shakhsyat-o-fann</i>, pp.126 –128, L. Vasilieva, <i>Parwaresh-e LooH-o-Qalm, Faiz</i>, (Karachi: 2008), pp.231 –232, M Adeeb, <i>Mitti ka Diya</i>, pp.374 and 376, Zia-ur-Rehman, ‘Farig Bokhari,Ahwal-o-Aasar’, pp. 324–326, T. Masood,comp. <i>Yeh Surat-Gar Kuch Khwabon Kay</i> (Islamabad: 2012), p. 449, S.T.Mirza, ‘Punjabi Themes: Hasan Nasir’s Case Should Be Reopened’, <i>Dawn</i>, 30 July 2009, and; Jameel-ud-Din Aali, [‘Harf-e Chand’] introduction to <i>Azadi Kay Bad Urdu Novel</i>, y Mumtaz Ahmed Khan, pp. 16–17.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter on literature showed that the PWA provided a formal platform to guide the radical literary movement launched by progressive writers. The PWA came to yield enormous influence among literary writers, which was disproportionate to the political influence of the Left in Pakistan. However, the Establishment, perceiving a threat from it, adopted an aggressive policy to contain or suppress it.

The Establishment’s suppression of the PWA gives the impression that progressive radicalism had fizzled out and that the progressive literary movement came to an abrupt end. But this chapter showed that despite the destruction of the organisational structure of the PWA, the progressive writers continued to advance the objectives the PWA had set itself. This aspect clearly indicates PWA’s transcendental impact in the literary realm.

The PWA’s strategic and organisational blunders also led to its alienation from a major section of neutral and non-progressive writers. However, critics of the PWA have tended to overstate this point and they have almost ignored or set aside the suppression that the progressive writers had to face between 1948 and 1954. But these challenges could not stop progressive writers from

producing radical literature. They adopted a number of ways such as literary works, literary journals and even films to advance their agenda even in the absence of the PWA.

This chapter discussed the role of the PWG at length. It showed that contrary to the widely held belief that the Ayub Khan regime succeeded in silencing the intelligentsia including the progressive writers. Moreover the failure of the PWG highlighted that such attempts did not succeed in the long run.

The section on the Leftist ventures in cinema demonstrated that the progressive writers tried to exploit the potential of film. The literati that ventured into the film industry fall two categories. First, the films by poets and writers such as Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ahmed Bashir, Hameed Akhtar and Ashfaq Ahmed failed at the box office, but these ventures left their mark in terms of symbolic importance. In the second category are film directors such as W.Z.Ahmed, Zia Sarhadi, Qaisar Khalil and Riaz Shahid who created semi-commercial cinema; they had developed an understanding of the psyche of film-viewers and so they successfully balanced the radical/social and the commercial demands.

CHAPTER 6

IDEOLOGICAL DEBATES AND DETRACTORS OF PROGRESSIVE WRITERS MOVEMENT

The discussion on the PWM in the previous chapter indicates that the progressive writers had embraced a distinct vision about the use of literature as a tool to reflect on the problems of ordinary people and to create awareness about changes in society. I also suggested that they articulated different views on the issue of nation building, by focusing on the stance of the CPP and the PWA on the promotion of regional languages. Similarly, the reference to social and socialist realism and ‘literature for revolution’ suggests that they considered ‘socialism’ and the collective solutions this notion contained as an alternative model to solve the problems faced by the country and the people.

In this chapter I will highlight how these stands by the progressive writers evoked a critical reaction from their ideological opponents, which triggered ideological debates. As I have indicated in the Introduction by engaging Edward Said, culture remains a ‘contested site’.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵¹ E.W.Said described it as a ‘theatre where political and ideological causes engage on each other’, and at another place describes it as a ‘battle ground’ right after the establishment of colonial rule, as the colonised people launch their efforts to ‘reconstitute a shattered community’. Said further mentions the efforts to redefine the past under the influence of the present. He maintains that the colonised people after independence continued their ‘cultural discourse’ against which the metropolitan intellectuals adopted the attitude of ‘theoretical avoidance’. If one examines its relevance to the colonial situation in India we find a different interplay of political forces, as the efforts for uniting a shattered community could not succeed and there ensued a political and cultural tussle between the Indian nationalists and the Muslim separatists along with resistance to colonial rule. Without going further into this terrain, I argue that after Independence, in post-colonial Pakistan there occurred ideological and cultural debates between the progressives and their opponents that centred on some of the issues that Said highlighted in his work, particularly concerning engagement with the past of the Muslim, on which the opponents of the progressives held a different point of view, Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage Books, 1993), pp.XIV, 160 and pp.252 –253.

To gauge this reaction, I will focus on two important personalities—Mohammad Hassan Askari (1921–1978) and M.D. Taseer (1902–1950), in the section 6.1. The former was a major intellectual who pioneered creative thinking on the issues of cultural politics and particularly the role of literary writers in the nationalist imagination in post-colonial Pakistan. The latter was one of the pioneers of the All India Progressive Writers Association (AIPWA), but emerged as a major detractor of the PWA [in Pakistan] during the late 1940s. His views reflect the scepticism about the socialist creed of the PWA that the ideological opponents of the Leftists had begun to express.

Section 6.1 portrays M.H. Askari and M.D. Taseer as exponents of ‘Pakistani cultural nationalism’ and described their agenda as ‘Pakistan Project’.⁷⁵² Though they were not the sole voices to articulate such a vision, a number of other literary writers Mumtaz Shirin, Samad Shaheen Shahid Ahmed Delhivi also held identical views, but the former took the initiative in expressing such sentiments and their views reflect a major stream of criticism against the Left. Section 6.2 juxtaposes the views of the progressive writers that gave primacy to the notion of ‘people’s supremacy’ for nation and state building; they had come up with alternative ideas to address the problems confronting state and society.

At one level one can describe the ideological debates which ensued in Pakistan as offshoot of the wider political debate about the political ideology the country should embrace. However, as this chapter focuses on literature

⁷⁵² Saadia Toor pointed out the opposing directions that these projects took. She wrote, ‘There was a key difference between their patriotic discourse and that of the ‘nationalist’ intelligentsia. The progressives tended to speak in terms of the *awam* (‘the people’), while the nationalists preferred the term *qaum* (‘the nation’), Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam: Culture And Cold War Politics In Pakistan*, p.78.

therefore it would be relevant to limit our discussion within the literary and intellectual framework.

The section 6.3 addresses a related theme –the internal debates that raged within the PWA that whether the progressives should adopt undiluted communist ideology or should they reconcile it with the progressive vision of Islam?

6.1 The ‘Pakistan’ Project and Exponents of Pakistani Cultural Nationalism

Ideological debates in the cultural sphere constitute a regular feature of cultural politics in post-colonial Pakistan and cannot be limited to a few years. But this section examines the debates that took place between the late 1940s and early 1950s. I will demonstrate that they covered all the important issues during a period that was crucial for Pakistan’s nation building experiences. Hence, they provide a good specimen to gauge the reaction of the anti-progressive literati. Before citing excerpts from the writings of the two leading opponents of the progressives—Mohammad Hassan Askari and M.D. Taseer—we should place their thinking within a wider context. It is useful to include Intizar Hussain, a distinguished short story writer who was a close friend of M.H. Askari. Intizar Hussain wrote an article in 1955 that captured the essence of the debate that ensued in Pakistan among literary writers in the early and mid-1950s:

Pakistan had not become the part of the consciousness of the people. It was a challenge for the people and asked them either to accept me and make me your part or reject me. Obviously this question posed a greater challenge for the literary writers who [were] concerned with the hearts and mind of the people...A small group of writers that preferred to avoid involvement in politics and took the position that it was a political issue and had nothing to do with the Urdu

literary writers. The other major group was of the progressives. They considered that the Hindu and Muslim, feudal lords and entrepreneurs had been the major beneficiaries of the partition. They insisted partition has only affected the division of land but the culture remained intact it had not been divided. On the other hand, some writers were arguing that the land had to be divided because, the culture had already been divided and that Pakistan is the realization of the nationalist or national aspirations of the Muslims of the sub-continent. This strand of thought found its manifestations in the movement called the *Pakistani Adab*, Muhammad Hassan Askari, Mumtaz Shirin were its ardent supporters.⁷⁵³

Although Intizar Hussain's insights into the views of the progressive are simplistic and can even be described as sweeping, this excerpt provides a good starting point for discussion.

M.H. Askari was sceptical about what he considered as the blind adherence of progressives to the notion of socialist and social realisms in literature. He had a different conception of literature; in an article published in 1945, he wrote, 'A literary writer can only write on these things/ matters that are drawn from his sensory experiences and evolved in his mental process'.⁷⁵⁴ In another article, '*Marxiat aur Adabi-mansubandi*' (Marxism and pre-conceived Literary Planning), he critiqued the concept of realism that Leftists had been advancing. He argued that 'the Marxist literati by attaching themselves to a comprehensive schema', rejected 'other interpretations of life' that provided understanding about the 'biological', 'spiritual', 'psychological' and 'emotional' dimensions of life.⁷⁵⁵ In an article '*Fasadat aur Hamara Adab*', he compared the attitudes of the British, French and Soviet literati towards

⁷⁵³ Intizar Hussain, 'Pakistan men Adab kay Rujhanat,' *Saqi*, cited in Inum Tahir, 'Mohammad Hasan Askari Aur Jadid Adabi Shuur' (Ph.D. thesis, Government College University, 2006–2009).

⁷⁵⁴ Muhammad Hasan Askari, 'Adab Aur Inqilab', in *Majmua Muhammad Hasan Askari* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), p.109.

⁷⁵⁵ M.H.Askari, 'Marxiat aur Adabi-Mansuba-Bandi', in *Majmua*, pp.91–93.

literature, and pointed out the harmful consequences of the subordination of literary writers under the Communist Party. He pointed out that in the Soviet Union where the political leadership had brought writers under their complete control, the writers, instead of following the established literary tradition, only pursued secondary objectives. Thus, their literary work became devoid of lasting literary and aesthetic values and the country could only produce great literature in the post-Revolution era.⁷⁵⁶

M.H. Askari also came to realise that Muslim writers were aloof from the masses. In his article, ‘*Adabi Shuur aur Musalman*’ in the early 1950s, he traced this trend from the *Gadr* (mutiny of 1857). He was of the view that Muslim writers had begun to alienate themselves from the community and people, and the establishment of the PWA in 1936 and the literary traditions it followed marked the culmination of this process.⁷⁵⁷ In several articles he made sweeping generalisations, particularly about the indifference of progressive writers to the larger issues that confronted the Muslim community.⁷⁵⁸

The rise of the Pakistan movement also coincided with the period when the PWA was established and had begun to yield enormous influence among the intelligentsia. But Askari found that the progressive writers were insensitive to the aspirations of the Muslim masses. In the same article about the attitude of the literati towards the Muslims, he analysed the responses of literary writers

⁷⁵⁶ M.H. Askari, ‘Fasadat aur Hamara Adab’, in *Majmua*, p132. In the article cited in the previous endnote, he also assessed the harmful consequences of literary planning on literary production in the Soviet Union, M.H. Askari, ‘Marxiat aur Adabi-Mansuba-bandi’, in *Majmua*, pp.94 and 104.

⁷⁵⁷ M.H. Askari, ‘Hamara Adabi Shuur aur Musalman’, in *Majmua*, pp.111–126.

⁷⁵⁸ This theme runs through several articles that he wrote between 1947 and 1949. But here I would allude to two of his articles that were published before 1947: M.H. Askari, ‘Adab Aur Inqilab’, p.123 and ‘Zahni Farar’, in *Majmua*, pp.1078–1080.

to the Pakistan movement. He observed that they were opposed to it, ambivalent towards it or indifferent to it. He concluded, 'our literati did not tie their future with that of the nation'.⁷⁵⁹ We can argue that during the 1940s he began to view the PWA from the Muslim nationalist cultural perspective.

Between 1945 and 1948 M.H. Askari wrote several articles that help us construct a detailed picture of what we can describe as a Muslim cultural nationalist project. From the mid-1940s when the prospect of the establishment of Pakistan became clear, he began to realise that literary writers had ethical and moral responsibilities. This is a reversal of his previous stand, where he had been extremely critical about the notion of social responsibility that the progressive writers were espousing for literature. In an article, *Pakistani Adeeb* written in November 1948, he conceded that his perspective had changed about the responsibilities of writers during the creation of Pakistan.⁷⁶⁰ This realisation stemmed from his belief in the rationale of Pakistan's creation. In a piece that he wrote in May 1946 he described Pakistan as the manifestation of the convictions of the Muslim masses.⁷⁶¹

In these articles he urged literary writers to assume ethico-historical responsibilities, because he believed in the subjectivist view of literature (*Dhakhiliat Pasand Tasawwur-e Adab*).⁷⁶² He accorded primacy to spiritual and non-material factors over economic and material factors in nation building. He wrote in September 1948 that 'prophets, politicians, literary

⁷⁵⁹ M.H. Askari, 'Hamara Adabi Shuur Aur Musalman', p.127.

⁷⁶⁰ M.H. Askari, 'Pakistani Adeeb', in *Majmua*, pp.1138–1139.

⁷⁶¹ M.H. Askari, 'Pakistan', in *Majmua*, pp.1048–1043.

⁷⁶² He wrote an article in October 1945. While critiquing the Marxist notion of realism in literature, he explained the concept that he believed in, M.H. Askari, 'Adab Aur Haqiqat', in *Majmua*, pp.974.

writers, and artists' play a defining role in developing the consciousness of a nation since they 'create awareness in a nation about its intellectual functions'⁷⁶³ Anum Tahir, a scholar on M.H. Askari, expresses the essence of what Askari from 1946 had been trying to tell literary writers. She opined that he had been advising them to play a crucial role in preserving the *Pakistaniat* (or Pakistan-ness) of the new country.⁷⁶⁴ In doing so, he desired to make it part of the consciousness of the nation. He argued, 'Pakistan was a new country (territorial state) but not a new nation'.⁷⁶⁵ He elaborated on this theme in an article, saying, 'Though we are placed in a new political situation but we have been overlooking the fact that we are 'older' than 'new'.⁷⁶⁶

It is useful to explain the role that Askari visualised for litterateurs in the new Muslim homeland. First, M.H. Askari wanted the literati to try to develop a greater connection or bond with a Muslim past because he considered Pakistan as the guardian of the historical legacy/heritage of Indo-Muslim civilisation in India.⁷⁶⁷ In 1945, he described Ashraf Sabohi's work. *Delhi ki Chand Ajeeb Haistian*, as the perfect illustration of the kind of engagement with the past that he expected from Pakistani litterateurs. He found the most impressive quality of Sabohi's work was way in which the writer captured the spirit of Muslim cultural life in Uttar Pradesh, particularly around Delhi, that was more than merely expressing the 'individuality of few personalities voiced/reflected the feelings of a community' because there was 'great congruity [Sabohi's]

⁷⁶³ M.H.Askari, 'Musalman Adeeb aur Musalman Qaum', in *Majmua*, pp.1112.

⁷⁶⁴ A. Tahir, 'Muhammad Hasan Askari Aur Jadeed Adabi Shuur', in *Majmua*, p.299.

⁷⁶⁵ M.H.Askari, 'Muslaman Adeeb Aur Muslaman Qaum', in *Majmua*, p.61.

⁷⁶⁶ M.H.Askari, 'Tarikhi Shuur', in *Askarinama* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 1998), p.263.

⁷⁶⁷ Aziz Ibn-ul-Hasan, *Muhammad Hasan Askari, Shakhshiyat aur Fann, Pakistani Adab Kay Memar* (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 2007), p. 46.

writings and the *awam ki hisiyati zindagi* (the people's sensoria).⁷⁶⁸ The latter dimension, according to M.H. Askari, was crucial for re-interpreting the past. In an article in September 1948 he described 'the loss of Delhi' as a great shock that had no impact on Urdu literature. He wanted litterateurs to 're-create' the incident as a tragedy by using their '*takhaiyul*' (imagination).⁷⁶⁹ But he lamented that there was no such artist that 'could mould it into universal tragedy'.⁷⁷⁰ In the same article he suggested that writers 'to make the people aware about the situation should invent new symbols by contesting more familiar symbols that already existed'.⁷⁷¹ Besides emphasising these aspects, Askari continued to remind the intelligentsia that they should not forget their own cultural identity as Muslims.⁷⁷²

M.H. Askari judged the progressives on this criterion and came to the conclusion that progressive writers were insensitive to the nationalist cultural aspiration of Muslims. He also felt pained that instead of showing any commitment to these issues, they were more interested in petty Left-wing politics. He wrote in October 1948, 'The Progressives felt more elated at the inauguration of the branches of their party', and had become so intolerant to

⁷⁶⁸ M.H. Askari, 'Ashraf Sabohi aur Unki Nasr', in *Majmua*, p.906. Syed Nauman Naqvi, in his brilliant chapter on Askari, has translated this term as '*awam ki hisiyati zindagi* (the people's sensoria). A simpler translation that comes to mind is 'the sensibilities of the people or community'. I have used Nauman Naqvi's translation of the term, Syed Nauman Naqvi, 'Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity' (Ph.D. thesis), p.135.

⁷⁶⁹ M.H. Askari, 'Musalman Adeeb Aur Musalman Qaum', p.1115.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ M.H. Askari was inspired by the work of Akbar Allahabadi (1845–1921). He wrote a series of articles about him between March and May 1945 that provide detailed explanations about his discourse on the invention of symbols, M.H. Askari, *Majmua*, pp.927–943. Nauman Naqvi construes it as the 'myth-making' role of the literati. He argued that he wanted to impress on the literati that they should make literature an instrument for the investigation and invention of values. Syed Nauman Naqvi, 'Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity', pp.140 --142.

⁷⁷² M. H. Askari, 'Taqsim-e Hind kay Bad', in *Majmua*, p.1139.

the reception of new ideas that they considered them as a conspiracy against their party.⁷⁷³

In the same article he regretted that the Muslim communists had become oblivious to the past of the Muslims, as the ‘investigation of the Muslim past from new perspective’ had never remained on their agenda.⁷⁷⁴ He suggested they should recapture the Muslim past in South Asia with empathy and should not view it from the ideological standpoint of Marxism.⁷⁷⁵ While describing some of the characteristics of the approach, he emphasised that they should focus on ‘history, cultural traditions, and distinct cultural identity’ and the egalitarian culture that flourished under the benevolent rule of the Mughals.⁷⁷⁶ In brief, M.H. Askari stressed the need to develop an understanding of Muslim culture that was rooted in its ‘own...history and tradition’ and reminded them that no ‘culture or literature could develop after severance from history’.⁷⁷⁷

The progressive writers had been expressing their disappointment over the manner in which the Establishment was running the country. These sentiments were manifested in the discourse of unfulfilled dreams about independence. (This theme will be highlighted in the next chapter.) The PWA had started taking a radical stance on the language issue. In addition, the CPP leader Sajjad Zaheer had made critical comments on Pakistan’s Kashmir policy on 9 May 1948. All these factors provoked Askari’s wrath and he came out openly against the progressive writers.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., p.1134.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., p.1133

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., p.1132–1133

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., p.1133.

In the article '*Musalman Adeeb aur Musalman Qaum*' published in September 1948, M.H. Askari without naming Faiz Ahmed Faiz snidely remarked, 'If you think your dreams are credible, and you have the capacity to guide the nation in the right direction, then make us believe that you belong to us and your life and death are tied to this nation'.⁷⁷⁸ He went on to blame the communists: 'some of them are willing to become mere puppets controlled by foreigners'.⁷⁷⁹ He also accused them of joining the conspiracy of the Indian communists that was designed to 'enslave the nation'.⁷⁸⁰ He described the stance of the Leftists on the language issue as a deliberate attempt to foment 'civil strife in Pakistan that might lead to the civil war'.⁷⁸¹ He then warned them, 'in this situation if the nation becomes indifferent towards them and resorts to mete out harsh treatment to them then [even this act could be] justified'.⁷⁸² Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi took notice these comments and, in a letter to Saadat Hasan Manto on 15 September 1948, he pointed out, 'Askari has asked government to treat the progressives as the fifth-column'.⁷⁸³

The following month M.H. Askari wrote an article '*Pakistani Hukumat aur Adeeb*', in which commented on the Establishment's action against three major progressive magazines in Pakistan. He gave the government and the Leftists some advice about the course they could have chartered.⁷⁸⁴ But he reverted to the discourse on the disloyalty of the progressives towards their

⁷⁷⁸ M.H. Askari, 'Musalman Adeeb Aur Musalman Qaum', in *Majmua*, p.1114.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.1115–1116.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p.1117.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p.1119.

⁷⁸² Ibid., p.1117.

⁷⁸³ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Letter from Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi to Saadat Hasan Manto', private, (September 15, 1948), in special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Monsoora Ahmed, *Montaj Quarterly* I, no.s 1 and 2 (Jan.–Aug. 2007), p.726.

⁷⁸⁴ M.H. Askari, 'Pakistani Hukumat aur Adeeb', in *Majmua*, pp.1120–1122.

nation and the state in the next month, for he wrote, ‘The Muslim communists either consciously or at that their party’s command have been trying to undermine the political foundations of the Muslims or [the country]’.⁷⁸⁵ He further commented, ‘The poor communists are intellectually inept. They should have felt proud of these acts of betrayal as they are carrying out the command of their party and the Marxist wisdom further dictates the same thing’.⁷⁸⁶

In November 1948, M.H. Askari wrote an obituary on Mohammad Ali Jinnah in which he also assessed the implications of the death of the founder of Pakistan for the country. He contended that this incident had put the cultural future of the country in jeopardy, and ‘in this sense the cultural debates could become a threat for the existence of the country. As we have seen that, certain political parties, in their lust for power are ready to take political advantage of these cultural upheavals and political controversies’.⁷⁸⁷ We do not need to stress what kind of political parties Askari alluded to in this article.

The bloodshed that accompanied Partition had deeply moved the progressive writers. Later, several progressive writers like Rajinder Singh Bedi (1915–1984), Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1916–2006), Krishan Chander (1914–1977) and Khadija Mastoor (1927–1982), to name a few, took up the theme of *fasadat* (communal riots) and sectarian violence in their fiction and presented a balanced perspective. These short stories also show that the writers viewed the victims of this violence with empathy and conveyed a strong message of secular humanism.

⁷⁸⁵ M.H. Askari, ‘Taqsim-e Hind kay Bad’, p.1131.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 1132.

⁷⁸⁷ M.H. Askari, ‘Quaid-i-Azam kay Bad’, in *Majmua*, pp.1147 and 1149.

However, M.H. Askari was a vocal critic of this literature on Partition. He wrote several articles on *fasadat* between 1948 and 1955 in which he took a critical view of the progressive writers.⁷⁸⁸ He argued that *fasadat* could not qualify for inclusion as the subject of literature because a literary writer has to perform his obligations in two capacities: first, as a litterateur and second, as a member of society, that is, as a citizen. Elaborating on this theme, he explained that the limitations of writers who made *fasadat* the theme of their work, and asserted that while dealing with this issue the writers could only write in the second capacity, that is, as members of society. Thus, their writings invariably brought in their personal perspectives, making them non-literary.⁷⁸⁹

He found the literature ‘absolutely insincere, lifeless and hollow’, lacking ‘fiery rhetoric’ and premised on an ‘artificial ideological superstructure’.⁷⁹⁰ In the same article he could not refrain from politicising the issue.

These writers have given the message against the partition
as they have depicted it as a British ploy by taking position

⁷⁸⁸ He only spared Saadat Hasan Manto and Q.U. Shahab.

⁷⁸⁹M.H. Askari, ‘Fasadat Aur Hamara Adab’, in *Majmua*, p.132. Askari also raised serious objections about the political and sociological stand adopted by the progressive writers. He pointed out that instead of focusing on human nature, as Manto had done, the progressive writers had donned the robe of reformers. For instance, in their articles they began to condemn the acts of brutality that had occurred during these tragic incidents and tried to convey the message that they should not have happened. Askari described this approach as tantamount to adding the personal into writings, *Ibid.*, p.136. In his article ‘Manto Fasadat par’, Askari identified a specific pattern in the short stories and described them as attempts of pre-conceived planning in literature. He noted about the ‘progressive writers that they had tried to depict themselves above the communal feelings as they wanted to save them from being labelled as communalists’, M.H.Askari, ‘Manto Fasadat Par’, in *Majmua*, p.140. Therefore, they consciously avoided depicting the actual situation. Instead of blaming a particular community ‘they tried to apportion it equally on a pair of scales. For instance, if a short story showed that Muslim had killed five Hindus in a particular locality but by the end of this story one finds that the Hindus had also settled this account by killing equal number of Muslims’, *Ibid.* In another article on *fasadat* that was published in the mid-1950s, Askari compared the progressive fiction on Partition to an ‘Euclidian equation’ and declared that ‘such kind of preconceived planning had neither worked previously in literature nor would be successful at this time’.

⁷⁹⁰ M.H. Askari, ‘Fasadat Aur Hamara Adab’, pp.126–127.

that had these communal riots not erupted, and had the partition not occurred the Hindus and Muslims would have still be living in perfect harmony...There is another dimension of these short stories that they contained propaganda against the Muslims and Pakistan.⁷⁹¹

After highlighting the positions taken by M.H. Askari, I move to M.D. Taseer, a key literary figure of Lahore. He was one of the early Indians who held a doctoral degree in English literature from Cambridge University (Pembroke College).⁷⁹² As we mentioned in the section on Lahore's radical literati, he was among the pioneers of the PWA in Punjab. In the late 1940s he developed major differences with the communists, who held sway in the PWA. M.D. Taseer had a volatile temperament and when he developed differences with the communists he became a vociferous opponent of the progressives, particularly after the first PWA conference in Lahore in December 1947.⁷⁹³ He wrote a series of articles on Pakistan that were published in the *PT* in late 1947, which showed the liberal vision he embraced for Pakistan as well his passion for the development and prosperity of the newly created country.⁷⁹⁴ It is ironic that he was the first liberal intellectual to argue for a ban on the communists and he joined the chorus of labelling the Leftists as disloyal in a campaign initiated by right-wing parties and newspapers.⁷⁹⁵ M.D. Taseer wrote a series of articles between 1947 and 1949, some in his own name and

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., p.126.

⁷⁹² K.K.Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore*, p.93.

⁷⁹³ Aftab Ahmed, one of his acquaintances, informs us that by 1946 he had undergone a major political transformation, for he wrote 'When I met him in Delhi in 1946, he had become an enthusiastic supporter of the Pakistani point of view', Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-Yad-e Subhat-e Nazuk Khayalan*, pp.80–81. One can earmark both personal and ideological reasons for his differences with the progressive writers. Ahmed Salim, in his work on Hameed Akhtar, has discussed this issue in detail, A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, pp.119–125.

⁷⁹⁴ We have cited a brief excerpt from one of his articles in the section on the *PT* in chapter 2, in which he appeared to be a staunch advocate of the freedom of opinion in the country.

⁷⁹⁵ M.A. Siddiqui, a renowned progressive critic, in an interview to a panel of progressive writers pointed out that 'it was the most serious verbal assault which questioned the loyalty of the progressive writers on the further launched against the progressives', M.A.Siddiqui, interview by Muslim Shamim and MazharJameel, in *Guftagoo*, ed. M.Jameel, p.185.

some under pseudonyms such as Hijazi, Quddusi and Ikhwan-ul-Safa, in which he wrote against Iftikhar-ud-Din, and he locked horns with the editor of *Imroze*, Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, which is known in the literary world as ‘*maraka-e Hasrat-o-Taseer*’ (battle between Hasrat and Taseer).⁷⁹⁶

M.D. Taseer expressed his first adverse reaction to the PWA when it tried to present a resolution on the language issue that Taseer considered could have undermined the status of Urdu as the national language.⁷⁹⁷ Like Muhammad Hasan Askari, M.D. Taseer was weary of the notions of the progressives about planning and literature. His concept of literature emphasised its aesthetic value; as wrote in June 1949, ‘The artists and writers could perform some useful functions through their creative writings. They should not adhere to any constructed doctrine or principle; rather, remain sincere to their self.’⁷⁹⁸

He was apprehensive about the potential consequences of the socialist revolution in Pakistan. He accused the Leftists of working for the Establishment of totalitarian dictatorship in Pakistan on the pattern that had developed in the Soviet Union. M.D. Taseer strongly disapproved of the restrictions on freedom of speech in totalitarian regimes under communism.

M.D. Taseer wrote a letter to Abdul Majeed Salik, the editor of *Inqilab*, who was an influential figure of Lahore. It was published on 27 May 1949. In the letter he differentiated between the ‘socialists’, and the ‘progressives’, and asserted emphatically, ‘Every progressive is not necessarily a socialist,

⁷⁹⁶ Tayyab Muneer, *Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, Ahwal-o-Asar*.pp; and M.H. Ashari, ‘Jawab Aan Ghazal’, in *Majmua*, pp.1153–1169.

⁷⁹⁷ Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-Yad-e Subhat-e Nazuk Khayalan*, pp.61–62.

⁷⁹⁸ M.D. Taseer, ‘Pakistan Men Culture ka Mustaqbil’, *Mah-e Nau*, Khas Number [Special Number], in *Maqalat-e Taseer*, ed. Sheema Majeed (Lahore: IIm-o-Irfan Publishers, 2001), pp.293–294.

[therefore], he is not a traitor’, whereas ‘every socialist is a traitor’.⁷⁹⁹ While providing reasons to support his contention, he argued, ‘The socialists considered the ‘Pakistani state as an oppressor’, they openly opposed the ‘interests of country’, and they are against annexation of Kashmir to Pakistan. He found them extremely sympathetic to the Soviet Union and predicted that ‘they would rule out war against it’.⁸⁰⁰ In other words, he accused them of forfeiting their loyalties to Soviet Union and India.

A month later, he sent a letter to the editor of Weekly *Chattan* that appeared on 27 June 1949. He maintained the same political tone. M.D. Taseer asserted that the socialists who were at helm of the PWA owed their loyalties to the Soviet model of socialism. He wrote, ‘The socialists disapprove Pakistan as well as its religious [Islamic] culture, upon which the political foundations of our country have been built’.⁸⁰¹ He pinpointed the ‘destruction of new nation’ as their primary motive.⁸⁰² M.D. Taseer condemned the attempts by the progressives to bring politics into literature and expressed the apprehension that the dominance of the PWA would suppress the growth of literary writers.

He wrote:

The literary writers had followed the doctrine/principle of ‘Literature for the sake of life’, since the 3rd century BC, since the times of Plato and Aristotle. But the socialists that dominated the PWA had transformed it into ‘Literature for the party’, that was even more ‘dangerous’ than the doctrine of ‘Literature for literature’.⁸⁰³

⁷⁹⁹ M.D. Taseer, ‘Letter from M.D.Taseer to A.M. Salik’, dated 28 May 1949, in *Daily Inquilab*, in *Maqalat-e Taseer*, ed.Sheema Majeed, pp.288–290.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ M.D.Taseer, ‘Letter from M.D.Taseer to S. Kashmiri (The *Chattan*’s Editor)’, dated 27 June 1949.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

He pointed out that the socialists were using the PWA for political purposes, which would destroy its foundations, and warned, ‘We would not allow this to happen’.⁸⁰⁴

Both letters written by M.D.Taseer tell us about his strategy to counter the dominance of the socialists in the PWA. In the letter to Abdul Majeed Salik, he made an impassioned appeal to him to try ‘to separate the progressives from the ranks of the socialists and assemble a team of literary writers around a platform to help him to create a party/body of ‘*saleh*’ (virtuous and honest) writers.⁸⁰⁵ Similarly, in letter to Soorish Kashmiri, he tried to seek the co-operation of other writers in the task of assembling writers to prevent the dominance of other ‘people having political persuasions’, which would eventually ‘destroy *Ilim-o-Adab* (literature and literary culture)’.⁸⁰⁶ These letters clearly show that M.D. Taseer was trying to tackle the radical writers in the PWA through political tactics.⁸⁰⁷

Interestingly, M.D. Taseer was quite confused about the containment of socialist writers, what we can describe as, though the intervention of the Establishment. Taseer tried to assess the potential outcome of such a resource in the letter to Soorish Kashmiri:

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ M.D.Taseer, ‘Letter from M.D. Taseer to A.M. Salik’ *Daily Inqilab*, 28 May 1949.

⁸⁰⁶ M.D.Taseer, ‘Letter from M.D.Taseer to S. Kashmiri, dated 27 June 1949.

⁸⁰⁷ Muzaffar Ali, a renowned literary critic, in his autobiography, *Yaddaun ki Sargam*, compared the two approaches used by Mohammad Hasan Askari and M.D. Taseer to counter the influence of the PWA. He wrote, ‘Askari Sahib was of the view that...we should oppose the *Anjuman* [the PWA], in the literary arena by making use of our logic and consciousness’. On the other hand, ‘Taseer sahib wanted to get the PWA banned through his official contacts’. Muzaffar Ali Sayed, *Yaddaun ki Sargam* (Lahore: Shoba-e Urdu G.C. University, 2007), p.37, cited in Mushtaq Ahmed Beg, ‘‘Anjuman-Tarraqi-Pasand- Musannifeen Punjab Men’’, p. 149.

Rather, it would strengthen the reactionary forces and embolden the feudal lords and the capitalist classes. The dominance of these elements in the society would inhibit the intellectual growth in the literary world...Thus the period of stagnation that the Muslims have lived through for centuries and [that inhibited our intellectual creativity] would further prolong...The socialists, at least, at the ideological level affirmed their commitment to the people. But the other parties are intellectually very frail [figurative].⁸⁰⁸

This excerpt from his letter shows that M.D. Taseer had become disillusioned with the socialists, but he still believed that a progressive agenda or a new progressive party could provide an alternative vision to society.

6.2 Progressive Writers and ‘People’s Supremacy’

The previous sub-section collated the views of the opponents of the PWM and demonstrated how the anti-progressive literary writers reacted to the progressives. This sub-section presents the responses of the progressive writers in order to highlight the larger vision that the writers had for the development of the state and society. Against the attacks by intellectuals such as M.H. Askari and M.D. Taseer, the progressives raised several pointed questions. They tried to counter the serious allegation of connivance with the Indian communists and their alleged involvement in activities designed to undermine the unity of Pakistan. They explained their position on the notion of loyalty to the state and the government. From this debate we can construct a blueprint of their vision of nation and state building that can be described as the ‘Project of People’s supremacy’.

First, we turn to the question of loyalty. The following table collates the main questions that the progressive writers asked M.H. Askari.

⁸⁰⁸ M.D. Taseer, ‘Letter from M.D.Taseer to S.Kashmiri’, dated 27 June 1949.

Table 6.1 Responses of the Progressive Writers to M.H. Askari

Writer	Questions addressed
Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi	Askari referred to Andre Gide (1869–1951) to argue that literary writers should be loyal to the government. Qasmi, keeping this context in view, asked, ‘Would it be an act of betrayal to assert and fight for rights of the people’? ‘Whether to express hatred and regret over the brutal killings and violent incidents that had occurred during partition can be seen as betrayal’? ‘Should we not condemn these traumatic and unpleasant incidents with the intention of prevention of such barbaric acts in future’? ‘Whether the struggle to undermine the dominance of feudal lords and capitalist can be termed as betrayal’?
Sahir Ludhianvi	‘What does Askari mean by loyalty and what is its criterion or yardstick’?
Zaheer Kashmiri	In problematizing Askari’s accusation of disloyalty to Pakistan, Zaheer Kashmiri asked, ‘What does he mean by Pakistan?’ and ‘How can one explain the notion of disloyalty towards Pakistan in the political terms?’

Sources: Sahir Ludhianvi, ‘Tarraqi Pasand Tehrik Aur Hub-ul-Watni,’ *Naqush*, Issue, no.8. [c.1948], pp.12–13. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ‘Letter from Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi to Saadat Hasan Manto,’ (September 15, 1948), in, *Montaj Quarterly*, August 2007, p., and; Zaheer Kashmiri, ‘Baat Cheet’, *Sewara*, Issues no.7–8, p.6.

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, while rebutting the allegations that M.H. Askari had made in his article ‘*Musalman Adeb aur Musalman Qaum*’, argued, ‘Askari was unaware of the fact that PWA was an independent body and it had no organisation linkages with AIPWA. He argued that the Indian communists had a different stand on the issues of Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh and viewed them from the political expediencies of their own country’. He categorically asserted ‘one could not find a singular incident of declared betrayal on part of any progressive writer of Pakistan’.⁸⁰⁹

The previous section as well as Table 6.1 show that loyalty to the state remained a recurring theme of criticism for both M.H. Askari and M.D.Taseer.

⁸⁰⁹ Qasmi, ‘Letter From Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi to Saadat Hasan Manto’, in special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Monsoora Ahmed, *Montaj Quarterly* I, no.s 1 and 2 (Jan.–Aug. 2007), p.724.

The progressive writers kept clarifying their position on the issue of loyalty, as

Zaheer Kashmiri wrote in *Sawera*:

If Askari means loyalty to Pakistan in terms of territory then he simply reminds us of days of *Jahialia* (times of ignorance and paganism in the pre-Islamic Arab territories), when the Arabs used to revere their lands. To us it is analogous to sort of idol-worship at intellectual level [it presents a reified view of affinity to territory]'. The exploitative forces used this slogan as their main tactics...if Askari's meaning of loyalty as loyalty to the government of Pakistan...then suppose if it [the latter] resorts to fascist tactics and denies the people of their right and undermines the democratic institution then definitely we would not be able to owe our loyalty to it and if Askari refers to loyalty as loyalty to the people of Pakistan then we owe our loyalty to them and our commitment to our people is beyond any doubt.⁸¹⁰

Askari had written in an article that the progressives were complaining when the people appeared satisfied. Qasmi wrote a poem in November 1948 that began with this couplet:

There is no change as still the practices of Alexander and Genghis are invoked or rulers are following the ways of Alexander and Genghis.⁸¹¹

When we will see the dawn of people supremacy

From lines ---to ---- he gives Karl Marx's concept of surplus value poetic expression. Then he contends:

The stinging smell of my starvation still fills my nose.

My wretched existence that I suffer has cast such a spell that I cannot speak.

You say people have become resigned to their fate.

You consider it as a garden fragrant with roses.⁸¹²

⁸¹⁰ Zaheer Kashmiri's editorial in *Sawera* cited in Samia Bashir, 'Zaheer Kashmiri aur Asri Tarraqi Pasand Tanqid' (M.Phil thesis, G.C. University Lahore 2008 –2010).

⁸¹¹ Alexander III of Macedonia (350–323 BC) was a famous conqueror. He dreamt of conquering the world and established a vast empire stretching from Macedonia to Iran that also included part of India. Ghengis Khan was a Mongolian warrior and ruler king of the twelfth century. Driven by his lust for conquests, he shed blood wantonly. Thus, the phrase 'Changesi Atwar' (the practices of Genghis Khan) came to be used in Urdu literature.

⁸¹² Ahmed Nadeem Qsami, 'Poem: Kab Aaey Ga Sultani-e Jumhur ka Daur', *Imroze*, 3 November 1948, sec. main page.

A few months later Qasmi wrote an editorial note in *Naqush*, a progressive literary magazine, in which he declared:

We embrace the cause of social and economic revolution but we would not resort to violent tactics... we would try to change the mentality of people by inculcating values like *khud-dari* (self-respect) *khud-mukhtari* (freedom of action) and *khud-tawangari* (human prosperity) We owe absolute loyalty to Pakistan and are well-wishers of its people.⁸¹³

Sahir Ludhianvi wrote an article for *Naqush* that examined the issues of progressive writers and loyalty at length.⁸¹⁴ He highlighted that it had become common practice for people who held dissenting views about the government to be branded as traitors. He did not consider the state as such a weak entity that the criticism expressed by a few individuals or protests by the country's labourers could undermine its stability:

The state is not endangered by the labour movement; rather it is threatened by the selfish mentality of the ruling classes. The demands of bread and employment cause no harm to the state, rather the harm is caused by [figurative] the paralyzed or incapacitated politics of the feudal lords that creates economic crisis and compels people to die on roads and in camps because of hunger.⁸¹⁵

He enumerated the reasons why the progressives were being labelled as traitors. He maintained:

We do not want Pakistan to become an instrument of imperialist impulses of the US, nor do we want to strike a deal with its bankers and businessmen, for some mills or factories, in lieu of our sovereignty...[We are being targeted] because we want our tenants to be free from the bondage or slavery and want to nationalize our factories by taking them over from individual ownership.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹³ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi 'Editorial: Tuluh', *Naqush* issue no.3, [c.1948], pp.6–7.

⁸¹⁴ Sahir Ludhianvi migrated to Pakistan in October 1947 and stayed in Lahore until the end of Hameed Akhter's work, *Ashnaiyan Kya Kya*, p. and Fikar Taunsavi's diary, *Chata Darya*, which contains an eye-witness account of Lahore in July-August 1947 and a few early months of 1948, provide an idea of the unfavourable situation in which the Leftists had to survive.

⁸¹⁵ Sahir Ludhianvi, '*Tarraqi Pasand Adeeb aur Hub-ul-Watni*,' *Naqush*, Issue no.8 [c.1948], p.12.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.12–13.

As the previous section indicated, detractors of the PWA like M.H. Askari had expressed serious reservations about the PWA's stance on the language issue. (I have highlighted in Chapter 2 of this enquiry that it was part of a larger vision of the Left on the question of provincial autonomy.) Other progressives like Mirza Adeeb also disagreed with the PWA stance. During the same the progressive *Adab-e Latif* also published a critical editorial on the policy and manifesto that the PWA adopted in the second conference. Against this backdrop Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, the Secretary General of the PWA, wrote a rejoinder to *Adab-e Latif* which, besides defending the PWA's policy, also explained the position of the progressive writers on the issues of language and provincial autonomy.

We have no aversion to doctrine of common language for the country. But we also want to keep the regional languages alive. The issue of protection/preservation and development of these languages is directly related to the question of provincial autonomy and the right of self-determination of provinces and communities... The issue of language cannot be dis-entangled with politics. Therefore, I have contended that only the provincial autonomy could open up opportunities for the regional languages to flourish...We fully appreciate the importance of Urdu, its eloquence and richness as a language and its larger significance of its universal appeal. And we want to promote it. But we do not want that it should be used/ deployed as an executioner.⁸¹⁷

6.3 Internal Debates within PWA on Islam and Socialism

The previous two sections focused on debates between exponents of the project on Pakistani cultural nationalism and the progressives. By engaging these perspectives I tried to explore the visions of the two ideological camps on state and nation building. In this section I will focus on the internal debates that took place within the progressive circles on engagement with socialism

⁸¹⁷ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Idarah Adab-e Latif Jawab Dey', *Sawera*, Issue no.7-8, [c. November/December 1949], pp.263-264.

and Islam. In Chapter 2 on the PPL, I indicated that there were differences within the Left on this issue. The literary arena also reflected these differences. The literati like Sajjad Zaheer, Mumtaz Hussain and Zaheer Kashmiri advocated a socialist system based on the Soviet model. They represented the strand of thought that remained dominant within the Left in the 1950s.⁸¹⁸ They looked at Islam through the lens of historical materialism. On the other hand, the literary writer Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Sarwar Jamai, journalist and scholar who also held editorial positions in *Imroze* in its initial three years, raised their voices to reconcile Islam and socialism and to try to impress upon the closeted communists the need for greater engagement with Islam to soften the message of the radical Left.⁸¹⁹

In this small section I want to give some idea of the nature of this debate. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi wrote an article in *Imroze* entitled *Ihtijaj aur Ihtiat* (Protest and Prudence) that was published around mid-1948. (The report by Anwer Ali and the article by Kamran Asdar Ali mention this article but do not give a specific date.) But we can assume that Ahmed Nadeem had called for the serious engagement of the Leftists with religion, keeping in view the preface to Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's work *Jalal-o-Jamal* in 1946 in which he had raised the question, 'Why do radical poets remain hostile towards God?'⁸²⁰ Then, he argued that religion cannot be described as a hindrance to the growth of *khud-fikri* (self-introspection), and 'had it resisted the growth of

⁸¹⁸ Zaheer Kashmiri became disillusioned with Soviet policies in the late 1960's and developed sympathy for the Chinese brand of communism, Zaheer Kashmiri, interview by G.H.Azhar, in *Ru-ba-ru*, comp. G.H.Azhar, pp.165 –167.

⁸¹⁹ I have given a brief introduction to Sarwar Jamai's views about Islamic socialism in Chapter 2.

⁸²⁰ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, *Jalal-o-Jamal* (Lahore: Asateer, 2000), p.24.

khud-fikri it would lost its identity as religion and would have been reduced to a compilation of Fascist [dictatorial] edicts'.⁸²¹

Sajjad Zaheer, taking note of this article, wrote to Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi in 1948. [Anwer Ali's report contains the translated version of the letter as well as of Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's reply].⁸²² Sajjad Zaheer, while critiquing the latter's arguments, expressed his views on Islamic history. He argued that the beginning of the movement for social justice could not be narrowed down to the advent of Islam. Rather, human society had evolved from primitive communism. He opined that Islam presented itself as a democratic creed but it could not promote a full-fledged democratic system and that flourished under Islam in the initial phase was 'similar to Greece and Athens', which existed with the institution of slavery.⁸²³ The system of democracy that Islam introduced ran into difficulties during the times of the Caliphate (*Khilafat-e Rashida*) when the effects of the 'pouring of wealth from conquests' created the conditions where the privileged classes succeeded in suppressing the voices of those who espoused equality and social justice. By the time of the Caliphate of Usman Bin Affan, the third caliph, the class cleavages had become manifested in the politics. With the onset of the rule of the Ummayyads, democracy was destroyed. 'Islam could not eliminate the classes'. He also contested the view that 'Islam was a complete system' by bringing in arguments from the theory of economic determinism.⁸²⁴

⁸²¹ Ibid, pp.24–25.

⁸²² Zaheer Sajjad, 'Letter from Sajjad Zaheer to Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi ['Sajjad Zaheer on Islam and Loyalty to Pakistan'], Official (published), in *The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action*, Vol I. (Lahore: 1952), pp.312–317.

⁸²³ Ibid, pp.313–314.

⁸²⁴ Ibid, p.314

After drawing this background, Sajjad Zaheer suggested that one should not 'drag' Islam into the debate. He rejected Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's contention that Islam could offer a middle ground between capitalism and communism. He also wanted to steer away from the polemics of 'real' and 'phoney' Islam, because he considered that the entanglement of Islam would wean/divert the 'people's attention' from the real issue of 'the class struggle' and that, in turn, would benefit the interests of the privileged classes.⁸²⁵ Therefore, he asserted that of the people who believed in social change through working class struggle only communists could provide solutions to all the problems.⁸²⁶

Mumtaz Hussain, a progressive critic, presented an article at the second conference of the PWA held in Lahore in which he said: 'There exist numerous forms of retrogressive forces in Pakistan. Some are trying to push us back to the past in the name of Islam. Some groups are chanting the slogan of Islamic socialism'. He also placed the other political elements, such as supporters of [both variants] of democracy, the national bourgeoisie, the Western bourgeoisie and advocates of Fascism, in the category of *rajat pasand* (reactionary).⁸²⁷ Against those forces he presented the PWA as the 'real representative of the economic and political interests of the working class'.⁸²⁸

The stand of major progressive writers like Sajjad Zaheer and Mumtaz Hussain indicate that both rejected the accommodation of socialism with Islam. On the other hand, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was among the few progressive writers who took the stance of reconciling Islam and communism.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., p.315.

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

⁸²⁷ 'Excerpt from Mumtaz Hussain's Speech', cited in Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, p. 91.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

As Kamran Asdar Ali pointed out quite rightly, he considered Islam as a ‘cultural question that had to be respected if the political work was to be accomplished within the masses’.⁸²⁹

While replying to Sajjad Zaheer’s letter Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi contended that despite the fact that the democratic system could not function for longer periods, he was an ‘admirer of Islamic democracy’.⁸³⁰ Contrary to the general perception that Islam and communism were mutually incompatible, he held that both ideologies shared a lot of common ground, particularly in terms of moral ideals, and he asked why they should not be brought together.⁸³¹ He also gave suggestions to reconcile the two ideologies. He conceded that Islam could not liquidate class but he asserted that through recourse to *Ijtihad* the harmful consequences of class cleavages could be addressed. On the other hand, communism could benefit from the moral ideals of Islam as it lacked a moral code.⁸³²

Qasmi wrote in 1968:

I consider Islam as effective means of *tanqid-e hayat* (criticism of life) and *tatheer-e hayat* (improvement/purification of life). Therefore, if a literary writer brings in Islamic perspective to criticize injustices of the prevailing social structure and opposes the concentration of wealth. If he raises his voice for economic justice and calls for egalitarian distribution of resources and condemns those who exploit the human labour and he wants to see every individual happy and prosperous and free from want, I consider him hundred percent progressive. Even, if he does not subscribe to the notion of economic equality....
[The communists do not reserve/ retain the exclusive right

⁸²⁹Ali, ‘Communists in a Muslim Land’, p.520.

⁸³⁰ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ‘Letter from Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi to Sajjad Zaheer [‘Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi’s Reply’],’ Official (published), in, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action* (Lahore: 1952), p.318.

⁸³¹ Ibid, p.320.

⁸³² Ibid, pp.318–319.

over progressivism]. They have not got the title-deed of progressivism registered in their name.⁸³³

The notion of Islamic socialism found greater acceptance within Leftist circles from the mid-1960s. In September–October 1966 the weekly *Nusrat*, a political-cum-literary magazine, brought out a special issue on Islamic Socialism [Number] that contained an important article by the Left-wing intellectual, S.Mir, entitled ‘*Islam aur Ishtrakiyat*’.⁸³⁴ Later, diverse elements in political parties like the PPP, NAP (Bhashani) and Jamiat Ulema-e Islam (Hazarvi) continued to voice support for Islamic socialism. Thus this view gained more acceptances in the Leftist circles since the mid 1960s and later from 1967 onwards the newly established Pakistan People’s Party tried to present its socialist programme that tried to re-concile Islam and socialism thorough the slogan of Islamic socialism. But after coming to power the populist rhetoric prevented its meaningful engagement with this vision. Moreover, differences between PPP and Left and between PPP and Jamaat Ulema-e Islam (JUI) that believed in more egalitarian interpretation of religion stunted meaningful dialogue on these issues.

6.4 Conclusion

The radical stances of the progressive writers on issues such as the use of literature as a tool of social change, the interpretation of the Muslim past, the condemnation of communal violence in the midst of Partition and the espousal of regional languages, elicited strong reactions from their opponents that triggered ideological debates after the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, the

⁸³³Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ‘Zindagi Afrozi ki Riwayat’, in *Pas-e Alfaz (Tanqid)*, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (comp. Mansoor Ahmed) (Lahore: Asateer, n.d.), p.155.

⁸³⁴ Mohammad Safdar Mir, ‘Islam Aur Ashtrikiyat’, in *Islamic Socialism*, comp. Hanif Ramay,, (Lahore: Al-Bayan, 1975), pp.136–149.

literary and political visions embraced by the progressive writers and their opponents exacerbated the clash over the major priorities in nation and state building. The intelligentsia on both sides of the fence had their own version of patriotism, which diverged radically in their specifics.

The ideological debates show that the Pakistani intelligentsia embraced differing visions or adopted different stands on the issues of nation and state building. The progressives wanted to bring the common people into the driving seat; these writers desired to bring about real change in the lives of the people and believed that only contented and emancipated people of a sovereign nation could ensure the future of their state. The progressives wanted to accord primacy to the rights of people, their civil liberties and economic and political freedom. They considered the people as the real guardians of the state and argued that the state does not exist in an abstract form. But the progressives made it clear that if the Establishment or a government that controls the state does not heed the aspirations of the people, it loses its legitimacy and no longer remains sacrosanct. They saw Partition not from an ideological standpoint but from the human perspective.

On the other hand, their opponents were more concerned with issues of patriotism and the role of religion and culture in the national imagination. To them, the issues of loyalty to state and task of nation building and state building. They became engrossed in the development of the state according to a particular vision that precluded the possibility of alternatives that the progressives were proposing. The vision Askari held about nation building shows that he wanted that the literati to create a literature that should

stimulate, among readers, the cultural imagination of reliving the experiences of the Muslim past in United India.

Unfortunately, the opponents of progressives like M.H. Askari and M.D. Taseer tried to criminalise the Left. Their criticism gives the impression that they were acting as self-appointed guardians of the nation's conscience. As the Establishment was focusing on state building, it became alarmed about the progressives. The trenchant criticism by M.H. Askari and M.D. Taseer against the progressives made the political atmosphere more hostile for the radical writers. As Karman Ashar Ali succinctly pointed out in 2011, these efforts provided fodder to the Establishment to pounce on the Left.⁸³⁵

The section on internal debates demonstrated that their existed differences within the progressive writers regarding the engagement of Islam or infusion of Islam with socialism. It highlighted two alternative approaches to Left-wing politics, which engaged the attention of progressive writers like Sajjad Zaheer and Qasmi, and were closely connected with the political struggles at that time. The dominant strand of Left-wing politics that prevailed within the progressive writers could not accommodate minority voices that called for a greater synthesis of socialism with Islam. They were convinced of the success of their class struggle and the spread of the communism in Asia and the Third World, and the growing influence of socialist movements on de-colonisation movements reinforced their belief in the socialist dogma. On the other hand, the other group that represented minority voices and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was its major exponent emphasized on greater synthesis between Islam and

⁸³⁵ Ali, Kamran Asdar. 'Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years.' *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 03 (May 2011): 534.

socialism. People like Sajjad Zaheer believed that flirting with the idea of Islamic socialism would dilute the emphasis on the class struggle. They asserted that recourse to undiluted socialism would lead to the success of Leftist project. But unfortunately at that time they failed to appreciate the significance of a greater engagement with Islam that the supporters of Islamic socialism had been trying to emphasise. That was related to the larger cultural question in Pakistan.

Chapter 7

Lahore's Literati as voice of Resistance

Chapter 5 considered the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) and its larger impact, and argued that it was an agency of literary resistance, and should be examined as an avenue of examining the idea of the Left. It presented the larger (macro) picture of the progressive project in Pakistan, and looked at the sustained efforts of progressive writers to resist the Establishment as a collective body and advance the cause of a progressive literary movement, first through the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) during 1948–1954, and later through other means, such as literary journals, the publication of literary works, the People's Publishing House and films. Through the prism of ideological debates between progressive writers and their ideological opponents, Chapter 6 tried to gauge their vision. While narrowing the focus, it explicated the internal debates. This chapter extends the scope of the debate by exploring the life and works of five prominent *littérateurs* of Lahore: Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. By focusing on these *littérateurs* and investigating the role of their personalities in the progressive project, this chapter attempts to gauge the radical ideas that literary writers had been expressing through their writings, and seeks to demonstrate that they embraced the ideal of social realism in literature. Therefore, they created literature to promote the ideas of liberalism, humanism and democracy, and tried to bring about change in society through both these ideas and their activism. This chapter illustrates and reinforces the argument we developed in Section 1.1: the literary genres that evolved in Urdu

literature had remarkable capacity to register political and social dissent. The various genres of literature (like ghazal, nazm, short story, and novel) contain a repertoire of literary tropes (like allegories, similes, imagery and symbolism) and of tools of rhetoric for conveying political opinion both directly and metaphorically.

Christina Osterheld, a German scholar of Urdu literature, argued persuasively, ‘Committed literature could use various modes of expression, from the direct to the abstract or oblique.’⁸³⁶ This chapter shows that the *littérateurs* of Lahore remained aware of the creative potential of literature as both a tool/weapon of resistance and an agency of promoting alternative vision in the society. They fully realized the social functionality of literary genres like ghazal, nazm, short story and novel as a means of literary expression and representation. The Table 7.1 reflects these views.

Table 7.1 Views of Progressive *Littérateurs* about Social Functionality of Major Genres of Urdu Literature

Genre	Writer	Views about utility of different genres of Literature
Ghazal	Zaheer Kashmiri	‘The frame/ mould of ghazal is capable of encapsulating all the dimensions of aesthetics and the philosophy of life. Some people consider that the external realism that the ghazal had embraced was a development in the second quarter of the twentieth century. But such a presumption is contrary to reality, as every aspect of the ghazal reflects both social perceptions/intuitive feelings of society, and [enable us to make] dialectical analysis’. He further cited a number of metaphors to stress that their political and cultural background contains elaborate stories of class war.
	Faiz	Faiz in an interview, used historical analogy ‘ <i>Mashuq-e hazar shewa</i> ’ (a beauty with a thousand wives), and described it as a ‘chameleon’ to depict how it could be used in numerous ways to register resistance. He argued that one should construe it not merely as ‘love poetry’. Rather, its ‘rigidity of form and ... innumerable forms of ambiguity’ enhance its quality. While explaining its expressive nuances, he contended that the ‘beloved’ in the ghazal ‘may not be he or she, but an ideal, inspiration, institution or a way of life; or ... a tyrannical prince or a fickle patron’. Thus, a poet may use such kind of ‘ambiguities’ to not only articulate the feelings but to make ‘social comments’.
	Ibadat Barelvi	The ‘ <i>ghazal</i> form’ of the Urdu literature ‘... expresses ... the entire civilizational temperament’ of the Indo-Muslim civilization but also has

⁸³⁶ Christiana Osterheld, ‘Urdu Literature in Pakistan: A Site for Alternative Visions and Dissent’, p.

		contributed towards its 'formation'.
Afsana (short story)	Faiz	'It is not necessary that a short story should incorporate lectures about politics and economy. But rather [its author], through the selection and choice of events and their arrangement in [certain] ways, could use it for expressing criticism.'
Novel	Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi	'Novels tell us about thoughts and aspirations of the people of society. They provide us access to the sub-conscious mind of the people and in this way could be helpful in perceiving the psychological realities of society'.

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Adab Barae log', in *Pas-e Alfaz*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Asateer, n.d.), p.230. Ibadat Bareilvi, cited in, Sayed Nauman Naqvi, 'Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity', pp.182–183, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, 'Urdu Adab ka Tarraqi Pasand Nazaria', in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majid (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), p.38, —Faiz Ahmed Faiz, 'Un published Interview of Fasiz Ahmed Faiz', by Mohammad Hasan, in *Faiz Nama* (Lahore: 2005), pp.30–31, and; Zaheer Kashmiri, *Tagazzul Gazalain* (Lahore: 1963), pp.14. and 16.

7.1 Lahore Major Poets and Literati as Voice of Resistance

The section on Lahore in the Introduction showed that it had become a major centre of the PWM in Pakistan, as it had a whole galaxy of leading progressive writers who represented a range of literary genres like poetry, short story, novel and literary criticism. Table 7.2 lists the leading progressive writers of Lahore.

Table 7.2 Lahore's leading Progressive Writers between 1947 and 1971

Poets	Short story Writers	Novelists	Humourists	Editors and Literary Critics
Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Arif Abdul Matin Faiz Ahmed Faiz Habib Jalib Ihsan Danish ⁸³⁷ Qateel Shafai Safdar Mir Mutalibi Fareed Abadi	Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Aziz Ahmed ⁸³⁸ Ghulam Abbas Hameed Akhtar Hajra Masroor ⁸³⁹ Khadija Mastoor Masood Ashar ⁸⁴⁰ Rehman Munzib ⁸⁴¹	Abdullah Hussain Aziz Ahmed Ikram-ullah Jamila Hashmi Khadija Mastoor	Ibn-e Insha Ibrahim Jalis ⁸⁴²	Safdar Mir Sibte Hasan

⁸³⁷ Although Ihsan Danish was not an ideologically committed supporter of the Left, he had the unique experience of working as a manual labourer for many years. Therefore, he expressed genuine empathy for the poorer segments of society that lent progressive substance to his poetry.

⁸³⁸ Aziz Ahmed was a strong supporter of the All India Progressive Writers Association (AIPWA) but, later, developed differences. He was also among those literati the PWA resolution of November 1949 sought to boycott.

⁸³⁹ Hajra Masroor shifted to Karachi in 1963, as her husband Ahmed Ali Khan Left the *PT* in 1963 and rejoined the *Daily Dawn* after 13 years.

⁸⁴⁰ In 1959, Masood Ashar was appointed resident editor of *Imroze* (Multan), and moved there. He held this position for 19 years. Masood Ashar, Personal Interview, 30 January 2013.

Zaheer Kashmiri	Saadat Hasan Manto Zaheer Babur			
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From this wide array of litterateurs, we have carefully selected the following five poets and fiction writers for discussion: Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. Let us briefly explain our selection criteria.

Faiz Ahmed Faiz, the most celebrated radical poet from Pakistan, makes for a natural choice because of not only his poetry but also of his other radical interventions in journalism, culture and trade unionism. Zaheer Kashmiri's poetry contains both the elements of aesthetic delight and radical content. Jalib was truly a revolutionary poet in terms of his commitment to the radical cause as well as the direct appeal of his poetry on people. One finds in him a blend of revolutionary political worker and sensitive intellectual, who empathized deeply with the poor and who remained in constant dialogue with people since early 1950. Khadija Mastoor was a leading novelist and fiction writer; her inclusion in this section adds depth and diversity to our narrative in which poets dominate. Moreover, her fictional writing enables us to listen to the dissenting voices of female writers, which were quite rare in post-partition Pakistan, particularly during the first two decades. In 1963, Munno Bhai, a renowned progressive journalist, described Khadija Mastoor and her sister Hajra Masroor as '*Mardana Dabbay ki Zanana Sawarian*' (the women

⁸⁴¹ Rehman Munzib was a progressive short story writer and tried to emulate Saadat Hasan Manto. Sex was a dominant theme of his short stories. However, his personal association with Wazir Aga—poet, editor and literary critic who was considered a staunch ideological rival of the progressives—damaged his relations with the other progressive writers.

⁸⁴² Ibrahim Jalees stayed in Lahore for almost eight years during 1948–1956. Initially, he freelanced as a journalist for *Imroze*, and later joined it as a sub-editor. In 1957, he moved to Karachi to join the daily *Jang* and other newspapers (*Anjam*, *Hurriyat* and *Musawat*). Imtiaz Hussain, 'Ibrahim Jalis, Shakhsiyat aur Fann' (Ph.D. thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University, 2000), pp.12–13.

passengers in the male bogey).⁸⁴³ This pointed remark reflected the inadequate representation of women in progressive Urdu literature. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was a journalist, literary editor, poet and short story writer who excelled in all roles. Above all, he was the main figure in the PWM between 1949 and 1954. Therefore, all these dimensions of Qasmi's role have influenced our choice of him as a progressive writer.⁸⁴⁴

7.2 Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911–1984)

Faiz is considered as one of the most celebrated progressive writers and Urdu poets in post-Independence Pakistan. In many respects, his poetry defines the era of progressive and resistance poetry in Urdu literature. He was from a family that had witnessed many vicissitudes in the preceding generations.⁸⁴⁵

The study of languages and literature was a major preoccupation for Faiz since his school days. He learned the Persian language from Maulvi Mir Hasan, who

⁸⁴³ Munno Bhai, 'Mardana Dabbay Ki Zanana Sawarian', *Naqush*, September–October 1962, p. 360.

⁸⁴⁴ I have defined criteria for their selection in section 1.5 of Chapter 1.

⁸⁴⁵ For instance, Faiz's great grandfather was among the wealthy elite, but Faiz's grandfather lived like a landless tenant. Faiz's father Sultan Mohammad Khan used to graze the domestic cattle of the landlords of his village in his childhood. But he was an amazingly talented individual, and by sheer dint of hard work developed close relations with the Afghan ruler Amir Mohammad Khan. And rose to the position of Secretary of Mir Munshi (Senior Minister) and tutor of the crown prince later served as Afghan Ambassador in Britain when he went to Cambridge University for higher studies. During that period, other prominent personalities from Punjab such as Mohammad Iqbal, Mohammad Shafi and Fazl-e Hussain were also reading for the bar. He also became a member of the Royal Geographic Society. Upon his return, he started legal practice, first at Jhelum, and later in Sialkot. But he was a spendthrift; when he died in 1931, his family was burdened with enormous debt, and had to settle it by selling the family property. Thus, Faiz, who had spent a happy childhood, had to face severe financial difficulties when he was a third-year student at the Government Lahore. In the following years, he could hardly afford to pay the university tuition fees. For more details, see Ludmila Vasilieva, 'Spoilt Child of fortune who worked very hard', *Think India Quarterly (Faiz Centenary Special)* 14, no. 1 (March 2011): 92–102, Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, chapters 1 and 2. Ahmed Salim, 'Kala Qadar Ka Charwaha (Khud Nawisht Ap-Beti kay Du Bab)', in special number on Faiz Ahmed Faiz, eds., Fakhr Zaman, Zaheer-ud-Din Malik and M. Asim Butt, *Quartely Adabiyat* 82, (Jan. --March, 2009): 305–285.

was one of Mohammad Iqbal's (1877–1938) teachers.⁸⁴⁶ He took a master's degree in English from Punjab University. He was a serious student of the Arabic language, and took his B.A. (Honours) degree in it. Later, he studied for a two-year diploma, and obtained an MA degree in Arabic. This educational background gave him a thorough grounding in both classical and modern traditions in literature, particularly poetry.⁸⁴⁷ The literary culture of cities like Sialkot, Lahore, Amritsar and Delhi, where he lived until 1947, further orientated him towards literature.⁸⁴⁸ Faiz also had in company of his friends, a group of music lovers or musicians like Khawaja Khursheed Anwar, Ustad Barkat Ali Khan, Rashid Ali Khan and Tawwakal Hussain Khan from whom he learned the art of judging the lyric content of poetry. That is why lyricism is a dominant feature of his poetry.⁸⁴⁹ Over time, he achieved absolute mastery over it.⁸⁵⁰ Thus, Faiz's intellectual training shows a blend of traditional and modern influences, and his poetry clearly reflects these. Faiz started writing poetry in school, and turned towards it seriously since 1928. The first phase of his poetry (1928–1935) was characterized by romantic poetry.

The decades of the 1920s and 1930s saw the rise of a number of anti-imperialist movements, like the Indian Nationalist Movement, the Khilafat

⁸⁴⁶ Iqbal was arguably the greatest Urdu poet of the twentieth century.

⁸⁴⁷ Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, chapter 2, and; Ayub Mirza, *Faiznama*, (Lahore: Classic, 2005).

⁸⁴⁸ Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, chapter 2 and 3.

⁸⁴⁹ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Anujuman Tarraqi Pasand Musannifeen ki Tarikh aur Faiz*, interview by Sohail Ahmed et al., April 1984, *Adab-e Latif*, no. 304, in *Mukalimat -e Faiz*, ed. Khalil Ahmed, p.161. More than three hundred singers have sung Faiz's poetry, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz Special*, Vi-mars, Rajya Sabha TV, (2011, You Tube Vedio).

⁸⁵⁰ While alluding to this aspect, Ludmila Vasilieva astutely observed that 'his poems move towards ghazals and ghazal develops into a poem', Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam, Faiz*, p.225.

Movement, Bhagat Singh's terrorist activities and the Leftist Movement. Some of Faiz friends sympathized with or had connections with Bhagat Singh's movement.⁸⁵¹ However, Faiz did not take any serious interest in politics.⁸⁵² His real involvement with Left-wing politics started in the mid-1930s, when he joined M.A.O. College, Amritsar as a lecturer. Here, he met a number of progressives, particularly Mahmood-uz-Zafar (1908-1954) and his wife Rashid Jahan (1905–1952), and M. D. Taseer (1902 –50), who were the founders of the AIPWA in Punjab. Mahmood-uz-Zafar founded a Marxist circle in Amritsar.

On several occasions, Faiz acknowledged that Rasheed Jahan profoundly influenced his perception of life by drawing his attention towards the real problems of people.⁸⁵³ Thus ensued the era of his active involvement in progressive literary activities. He performed an important role in carrying on correspondence with the Punjabi literati for the inaugural session of the AIPWA in Lucknow. Two years later, in 1938, he participated in organizing the second conference of the AIPWA.⁸⁵⁴ He also worked as the editor of the progressive literary magazine *Adab-e Latif* during 1938–1939.⁸⁵⁵

The previous two paragraphs indicated an ideological shift in his views. This shift can be identified in his prose writings too. In a 1938 article in *Adab-e Latif*, he tried to determine 'the meaning of progressive literature'. He argued

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., p.44.

⁸⁵² Ibid.

⁸⁵³ Ayub Mirza, *Faiznama*, pp. 48–49, and; Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Mah-o-Sal-e Ashnai, Yadon ka Majmua* (Karachi: Makataba-e Danyal, 1981), pp.11 –12.

⁸⁵⁴ Sajjad Zaheer, *The Light*, pp. 22 –23.

⁸⁵⁵ Ludmila mentions the years of Faiz Ahmed Faiz's editor-ship of *Adab-e Latif* as 1938–1939. On the other hand Sughaftha Hussain puts the years as 194–942. Sughaftha Hussain, 'Mahnama Adab-e Latif Ki Khidmat Ka Tahqiqi Aur Tanqidi Jaiza', p.69

that progressive writing should fulfil two criteria: ‘First, they should help in the social development, and second, they should meet artistic standards of literature’.⁸⁵⁶ In 1943, in an article he wrote for *Ravi*, he examined the role of the literary writer in society. He argued, ‘A litterateur’s mind is like a mirror that reflects the social reality and social milieu of that age.’ He highlighted the role of people in creating the social environment, and contended that a writer cannot describe the experiences of people without empathizing with them.⁸⁵⁷ In the same year, while writing for *Adab-e Latif*, he illustrated the utility of literature for the society, and argued, ‘The study of literature influences the ideas [attitude] of society. It promotes social values, reflects different point of views and develops intellectual and cultural trends in society’.⁸⁵⁸

We can trace the ideological shift in his poetry from 1935 onwards. His poems like ‘*Kutte*’ (dogs), ‘*Do Ishq*’ (two loves) and ‘*Mujh se pahli si Mahabbat*’ and ‘*Raqib*’ (the rival) highlight this fundamental change.⁸⁵⁹ Among these poems, ‘*Kutte*’ is very important because of how Faiz describes the wretched existence of the Indian masses:

These wondering unemployed dogs of the streets
 On whom has been bestowed ardour for beggary
 The curses of the age their property,
 The abuse of the whole world their earnings...
 9 The who suffer the kicks of everyone,
 10 Who will die worn out with starvation?

⁸⁵⁶ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Urdu Adab ka Tarraqi Pasand Nazaria’, in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majeed (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), p.33.

⁸⁵⁷ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Adab Aur Jumhur’, *Ravi*, (January 1943), in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majeed (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), pp.29 –30.

⁸⁵⁸ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Adab Ki Nafsiati Tehlil’, in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majeed, p.65.

⁸⁵⁹ Carlo Cappola, a scholar of progressive Urdu poetry, quite rightly pointed out that it represented a ‘shift in Faiz’s credo’. Carlo Cappola, ‘Urdu Poetry, 1935-1970: The Progressive Episode’ (University of Chicago, Illinois, 1975), p.410.

15 If only someone showed them consciousness of
degradation
16 If only someone shook their sleeping tails!⁸⁶⁰

In the preface of his work *Dast-e Tah-e Sang*, Faiz described ‘Mujh se pahli si Mahabbat’ as a poem that marked a change in his vision, which embraced as an aesthetic ideal that addressed both the issues, ‘gam-e janan’ and ‘gam-e dauran’, and considered them ‘two dimensions of the same experience’.⁸⁶¹ We find that this vision profoundly influenced the sensibility of progressive poetry.⁸⁶²

The year 1941 marked an important year in his life—he married Alice George, a Left-wing trade unionist. Their commonality of purpose reinforced Faiz’s belief in the Leftist ideology.⁸⁶³ She adopted the name Alice Faiz, and proved a supportive wife. His first collection of poetry *Naqsh-e Faryadi* garnered widespread acclaim from literary circles. In this period, until 1947, Faiz had unique experiences as poet and literary editor, trade unionist, radio broadcaster, propagandist in public relation department, teacher and journalist.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶⁰ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Poems by Faiz, Translated with an Introduction by V.G.Kiernan*, 1971 (Reprint 1973) ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 84–85. While analyzing *Kutte*, C. Cappola described it as ‘quite atypical of Faiz’s usual poetry, for here he is treating a subject of considerable importance with a certain sense of satire and levity that is not usually associated with verse. In addition, he approaches a stridency in delivery and even a cynicism that are seldom found in his verse, C. Cappola, ‘Urdu Poetry’, 1935-1970, p. 420. He compared it with Iqbal’s poem ‘*Tariq ki Dua*’ (Tariq’s prayer). He wrote that ‘Iqbal’s soldiers are great where as Faiz’s dogs are lowly. Of course, the dogs in Faiz’s poem are metaphor of the Indian masses as a whole, not just the Muslims that Iqbal refers to.’ Ibid, p.422.

⁸⁶¹ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Dast-e Tah-e Sang* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, 1965), p.16.

⁸⁶² Jameel Jalibi, interview by Tahir Masood, in *Yeh Surat-gar kuch Khwabon kay*, comp. Tahir Masood, p.289. and; Majrooh Sultanpuri, Hajra Masroor et al., interview with Majrooh Sultanpuri, in *Guftgu*, comp. Mazhar Jameel, pp. 89–90.

⁸⁶³ For details on Alice Faiz, see Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, chapter 6, and; Abdul Rauf Malik, *Faiz Shanasi*, Chapter 7.

⁸⁶⁴ Faiz Ahmed Faiz moved to Lahore for two years. Besides teaching at the Hailey College of Commerce, he proactively participated in trade union activities in Lahore and Amritsar. He worked part time for the All India Radio at its Lahore station, where he produced shows and

Section 2.5 of Chapter 2 covered the phase of Faiz's editorial responsibilities or editorship. Between 1947 and 1951, Faiz remained active on various fronts. He was elected the Vice President of the Pakistan Trade Unions Federation (PTUF), the President of the Postal Union and the head of the Pakistan Peace Committee. He participated in the PWA's activities, and his editorship of *PT* enhanced his reputation as a key public figure. The critical insights of his poetry and his hard-hitting editorials turned the Establishment into his foe. The implication of the Communist Party of Pakistan in the RCC led to Faiz's arrest on 9 March 1951; he spent four and a half years in prison.⁸⁶⁵ The US diplomatic officials in Pakistan had also been maintaining strict vigilance on the activities of Leftists in Pakistan. They became increasingly suspicious about the activities of Faiz, like that of other key Leftists such as Mirza Ibrahim and Iftikhar-ud-Din. In a despatch to the US Department of State, a US diplomat described Faiz as an important 'leader' of the communist movement in West Pakistan, and even more 'effective' than Sajjad Zaheer, because the latter was 'compelled to remain underground'.⁸⁶⁶

wrote thoughtful plays. He joined the public relations department of the British Indian Army in 1943, and was appointed as Major. Later, in 1946, he was promoted to Colonel. He advised the British military high command to make their publicity campaign more effective. In recognition, the British Government awarded him MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire). After the Second World War ended, he was appointed deputy director of a newly created department called Inter-services Morale Directorate, which was designed to address the growing anti-British sentiments in army personnel and the resentment against British rule. But Faiz considered this work unconscionable, and applied for the position of lecturer in the education department in Punjab, though there was a marked difference in salary.

⁸⁶⁵ The following sources examine Faiz Ahmed Faiz's involvement in the episode from different perspectives. Estelle Dryland, 'Faiz Ahmed Faiz and the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case', *Journal of South Asian Literature* 27, no. 2 (1 July 1992): 175–85., Sajjad Zaheer, 'The Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case [Lucknow, 13 January, 1956]', *Think India Quarterly (Faiz Centenary Special)* 14, no. 1 (March 2011): 206–208., Fateh Mohammad Malik, *Faiz, Shairi Aur Siyasat* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), pp., and Abdul Rauf Malik, *Faiz Shanasi*, pp.63–85.

⁸⁶⁶ He highlighted that 'Faiz directed the most important Communist-line newspapers in Pakistan. as acting president of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, he headed the Communist-control labour movement in Pakistan. The entire 'Peace' campaign throughout West Pakistan had been organized and directed by Faiz as had most other principal

While reverting to the Rawalpindi Conspiracy, Faiz explained his point of view through poetic expression:

Jis ka Saray Fasanay men Zinkr na tha
Wo Bat Unko Nagwar Guzri hy
They seem to be offended by the thing
Which was not even mentioned?⁸⁶⁷

Faiz's implication in the RCC in March 1951 marked the beginning of a turbulent phase of his personal life, which lasted more than four years. Ironically, this phase constitutes the most productive period of his literary career. He produced two major literary collections *Dast-e Saba* and *Zindan Nama*.⁸⁶⁸ Both are considered very high quality work in the domain of prison literature in Urdu in the sub-continent.

Faiz captures the real essence of social realism. In the introduction of *Dast-e Saba*, he offered a serious analysis of the important social responsibilities a literary writer or poet should take on. He contended that ' [a] literary writer or poet should not only focus his gaze on [what he described as] *Yam-e Zindagi* (the ocean of life)...but also show it to the others what he has seen'.⁸⁶⁹ He added,

This observation largely depends upon his vision whereas his ability to demonstrate to the others, what he has observed, is subject to the mastery of his art'... [and] it is [through this medium of [art], one can control the flow of

Communist activities during 1950 and 1951'. Warwick Perkins [Counselor of the US Embassy] to the Department of State, 'Current Soviet and Communist Activity in West Pakistan [Arrest of Faiz Ahmed Faiz]' (Department of the State, Action copy DC/R, no.1293,de-classified 79 01CO1/3-2052, 10 March 1951), p.2.

⁸⁶⁷ Faiz poetic comment on Rawalpindi Conspiracy cited in Abdul Rauf Malik, *Faiz Shanasi*, p.9.

⁸⁶⁸ The following sources provide a detailed exposition of the prison poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Ted Genoways, 'Let Them Snuff Out the Moon': Faiz Ahmed Faiz's Prison Lyrics in *Dast-e Saba*, *Annual of Urdu Studies* 19, (2004): 94–119, C.Coppola, 'Urdu Poetry, 1935-1970', pp.436–492, and; Ludmela Vasillieva, *Pawarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, chapter 11.

⁸⁶⁹ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Dast-e Saba* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1952), p. 7.

life that in turn hinges upon his passion and genuine enthusiasm.⁸⁷⁰

To put it simply, he tried to show that a writer should have ‘full understanding of the collective struggle for human life’.⁸⁷¹

After his release, he rejoined the *PT*, but in this phase, his role as chief editor was less proactive than his first stint five-year stint at this newspaper.⁸⁷² As this section is about Faiz’s poetry, it would be useful to tabulate the important developments in his career between the late-1950s and 1971 to move towards the more important theme of his art of poetry.

Table 7.3 Important Mile stones in Faiz Ahmed Faiz’s Career during 1956–1977

Years	Important Events
1956–1958	Active participation in establishing the Afro-Asian Writers Association, an international forum/ platform of progressive writers Visits to Delhi (1956) and Tashkent (1958)
1958–1959	Wrote the screenplay of <i>Jago Hua Sawera</i> , a film that won an award in an international film festival held in Moscow
1959	Faiz was arrested and remain incarcerated for five months between December 1958 and April 1959 under the Safety Act ⁸⁷³ Declined Establishment’s gave offer to take up <i>PT</i> ’s editorship after his release.
1959–1962	Appointed as Secretary, Lahore Arts Council
1962	Awarded Lenin Prize, 1962
1964–1968	Principal, Abdullah Haroon College
1968	Appointed member of 20-member committee on culture and education. Headed six-member Standing Committee on Culture that the above-mentioned Commission had created, the committee came to be known as Faiz Cultural Committee, the latter drew up 160-page Report for promotion of cultural activities in Pakistan
1968–1971	Vice President, Pakistan Arts Council, Karachi
1972–1977	The Government of Pakistan People’s Party based its cultural policy on the Report of the Committee

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

⁸⁷² Ashfaq Hussain, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, 2nd ed., Pakistani Adab Kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-eAdabiyat-e Pakistan, 2006), pp. 105 –106.

⁸⁷³ The following sources provide more details, Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh -o-Qalam*, pp.130 –134., and Ashfaq Hussain, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp.115 – 118.

Figure 7.1 Faiz Receiving Lenin Peace Prize



Source: Agha Nasir. *Hum Jatey Ji Masroof Rahey*. Lahore, 2011, p.45

Table 7.3 indicated that association with cultural activities remained one of his major pre-occupations of his life during 1956–1977. His writing on culture deepens the understanding of a broad range of cultural issues, like cultural nationalism, innovative use of cultural policy for national integration and the importance of cultural planning for the country’s socio-political development.⁸⁷⁴ Without ignoring the importance of religion, his writing on culture tried to contest the narrow views on cultural nationalism that the right-wing and other pro-Establishment intellectuals had been advancing, which that placed sole emphasis on religion as the marker for cultural identity, at the cost of lingual, ethnic and regional identities.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁴ Two important works containing Faiz’s own writings on culture provide detailed perspectives on his views. Ahmad Salim and Humaira Ishfaq, *Faiz, Folk Heritage and Problems of Culture* (Lahore, Pakistan: Islamabad, Pakistan: Sang-e Meel Publications; National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage, 2013), the second part of the work contains Faiz Cultural Report, and Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Problems of Cultural Planning in Asia with Special Reference to Pakistan’, in *Faiz: A Poet of Peace From Pakistan - His Poetry, Personality and Philosophy*, ed. Khalid Sohail and Ashfaq Hussain (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2011), 99–112. For larger context of Faiz’s writings on culture see, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, *Culture and Identity: Selected English Writings of Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majeed (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006)

⁸⁷⁵ In addition to the above-mentioned works following sources provide insightful understanding of the Leftist vision on culture, Salima Hashmi, ‘The Hue of the Garment: Faiz

7.2.1 Faiz and his Approach towards Literary Resistance

Faiz started his literary career in a period when several traditional modern and progressive Urdu poets, representing different political persuasions, had become openly critical of the Urdu ghazal. They deemed it inherently incapable of discussing and generating new ideas or expressing modern literary sensibility. But, contrary to this trend, Faiz clung to the traditional genre of the ghazal. As was convinced of ghazal's 'adjustability to demands for aesthetic articulation of contemporary experience'. In an interview he argued that:

This genre of poetry is able to do this...not by any innovation or modification of forms but various manipulations of 'meaning of meaning' i.e. endowing a word or sign with a number of concomitant reference explicable only in a particular textual or social context ⁸⁷⁶

It would be relevant to explain how Faiz used certain words to hide the political content of his poetry (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 The system of meaning of Faiz's Poetry

Choice of Words	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
<i>Ahl-e Hakam Hakim Khasan-e Zamin Hakim</i>	The Privileged classes/ the dominant classes/ Rulers Particular, exclusive: opposite to ordinary, the land Ruler	Establishment A particular class or interest group that has become dominant over religion These words also depicts imperialist powers and despotic regimes
<i>Raqib</i>	The Beloved's lover who	Imperialism and Imperialist Powers

Ahmed Faiz and a New Idiom for the People', in *Faiz: A Poet of Peace From Pakistan - His Poetry, Personality and Philosophy*, ed. Khalid Sohail and Ashfaq Hussain (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2011), Salima Hashmi, 'Faiz aur Funun-e Idaia/ Idaiyia (Faiz and the Performing Arts),trans. Mahmood-Ul-Hasan Jafri', in special number on Faiz Ahmed Faiz, eds., Fakhr Zaman, Zaheer-ud-Din Malik and M.Asim Butt, *Quartely Adabiyat* 82, (Jan. --March, 2009) : 216–229, and;The Saadia Toor's article, 'Bengal(is) in the House: The Politics of National Culture', in *Being Bengali: At Home and in the World*, ed. Mridula Nath Chakraborty (Routledge, 2014),pp.202 –233, provides perceptive insights on Faiz's concept of cultural development,

⁸⁷⁶ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Muhammad Hasan's Interview with Faiz Ahmed Faiz in Ayub Mirza Faiz Nama, Annexure-8 VII, p.33.

	acts as lover's opponent	
<i>Mohtasib</i>	Censor	All these words are used to depict exploitative forces / conservative Elements .They also represent forces of status quo that act against the larger interest of people as they support establishment. The Urdu poets also criticise their obstructionist and conservative defeatist outlook and world view. They also create obstructions in achieving political ideals. These elements play pro-establishment role.
<i>Shaikh</i>	Tribal chief, ruler, religious figure, head of religious institution	
<i>Gulcin</i>	One who plucks flower	
<i>Saiyad</i>	Hunter	
<i>Jabr</i>	Oppression	Political Repression
<i>Hajr</i>	Separation/ Disunion	
<i>Firaq</i>	Separation/Abandonment	
<i>Aql</i>	Wisdom or intellect	Temptations or incentives of political compromise and expediency
<i>Furog-e gulshan</i>	Illumination or glory of garden	Revolution Gulshan also means progressive way of thinking
<i>Inqilab</i>	Revolution	
<i>Junun</i>	State of possession/insanity	Higher Social and Political Ideals \Desire for better future
<i>Husn</i>	Beauty, goodness	
<i>Haqq</i>	Truth	
<i>Mujahid</i>	Freedom-fighter	Revolutionaries./Patriots
<i>Rind</i>	A heavy drinker	
<i>Bagi</i>	A Rebel	
<i>Gul</i>	Flower	Political and revolutionary convictions signifies political convictions and political objectives. It also denotes political ideals or objectives.
<i>Sharab</i>	Wine /Liquor drink	Channels for oolitical and social awakening Urdu poets draw its analogy with the worlds and prevailing system of injustices.
<i>Mai-khana</i>	Where people gather to drink wine	
<i>Saqi</i>	A cup bearer who distributes wine	
<i>Mahbub</i>	Beloved	Country /Homeland\People of the country
<i>Laila-e watan</i>	Beloved country	
<i>Qafas</i>	Cage/Jail	Political Imprisonment
<i>Tauq-o-Dar</i>	Anchoring collar	
<i>Saba</i>	The morning or cold breeze	This word is used to depict Political Change acts as a messenger or carrier for change

Source: Gopi Chand Narang. 'Faiz ka Jamaliati Ehsas aur Maniati Nizam', in *Faiz Ahmed Faiz Ki Shairi, Intiqab-e Maqalat*, ed. Ishtiaq Ahmed (Lahore: Kitab Sarai, 2010), pp.100–125, and pp.107—108; Ludmila Vasilieva. *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*,(Karachi :2007),pp.206—220, Mohammad Ali Siddiqi. *Dard aur Darmaan ka Shair* (Lahore: 2011), pp.49 and 94, and; F. M Malik, *Faiz, Shairi aur Siyasat* (Lahore: 2008), p.71.

All these dimensions hold the key to understand his system of meaning. This table reinforces the point that we made at the beginning of this chapter: the Urdu language has enormous capacity to reflect the themes of resistance. This chapter presents a small but representative selection of some of his couplets to provide insights into the kind of resistance literature that he produced.

Immediately after Partition, Faiz became a conscientious intellectual. He became very perturbed with bloodshed, degradation of human beings and the religious hatred that accompanied Partition. The first stanza of his poem ‘*Subh-e Azadi* (The Dawn of Freedom) *August 1947*’ conveys its real essence.

1 This stain-covered day break, this night-bitten dawn
 2 This was not that Dawn of which there was expectation
 3 This not that dawn with longing for which
 4 The friends set out, (convinced) that somewhere there would be met with,...
 21 Where that fine breeze, that the wayside lamp
 22 Has not once felt, blow from – where has it fled?⁸⁷⁷

Ludmila wrote that this was the poem that ‘got imprinted in the minds of an entire generation’.⁸⁷⁸ Faiz’s detractors maligned him and fellow Leftists as disloyal to the country⁸⁷⁹ due to the sarcasm in the poem, but ignored its last part, which encouraged the people to continue their struggle and march forward:

23 Nights heaviness is un lessened still the hour
 24 Of mind and spirit’s ransom has not struc;
 25 Let us go on, our goal is not reached yet⁸⁸⁰

Faiz served a four-and-a-half-year prison term after being arrested in the RCC. The first phase of his arrest was a very painful experience for him, as he was placed in solitary confinement, and the authorities did not even allow him to use pen and ink. He gave vent to his intense or inner feelings in these words:

1 If my property of tablet and pen is taken away, what grief is it
 2 When I have dipped my fingers in the blood of the heart?

⁸⁷⁷ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Poems by Faiz: Faiz Ahmed Faiz*, trans.and introduction. V. G. Kiernan(Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1971), pp.125-127.

⁸⁷⁸ Ludmila Vasilieva, Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam, Pawarish-e Loh-Ho-Qalam*, p.154

⁸⁷⁹ In the section 2.10 on *Imroze*, I have given reference to Anwer Ali ‘s (D.I.G, C.I.D) reaction on the poem in which he pin-pointed the element of lampoon in it.

⁸⁸⁰ Faiz Ahmed Faiz,V.G Kiernan, *Poems by Faiz : Faiz Ahmed Faiz*, trans.and introduction. V. G. Kiernan, p.127.

3 A seal has been set on my tongue: what of it, when I have put
4 A tongue into every ring of my chain?⁸⁸¹

He could express his radicalism in an inoffensive manner.

Dast-e Sayyad bhi ajiz hai cuf-e Gulcin bhi
Buo-e Gul tehri na Bulbul ki Zuban tehri hy
Helpless the hands of Sayyad and Gulcin
Who can capture the fragrance of followers or the song of the bird?⁸⁸²

These couplets conveyed the message that the Establishment cannot restrain the people from voicing discontent.

When Faiz was arrested in 1959, he wrote a moving poem ‘*Nisar Teri Galion men ai Watan?*’:

Oh, my homeland! I have all the love for you, but what
irony—
No one has a right to walk with [their] head up in your
streets.⁸⁸³

When Iftikhar-ud-din passed away, Faiz did not restrain himself from paying him a glowing tribute, although the martial law regime had victimized him.

1–2 Don’t squander your lightly poisoned blades
I have surrendered the whole of my heart
And gather the stones that remain
For my body is fully bruised
9–10 I was mountain when I stopped
And when I moved I crossed my being
O beloved path, I have step by step
Turned you into a memorial.⁸⁸⁴

After Ayub Khan won the presidential election in 1965, his elder son Akhtar Ayub took out a procession in Karachi to celebrate his father’s victory. Khan’s supporters allegedly opened fire on a group of opposition activists belonging to the Phatan Colony of Lahu Khet Karachi. Faiz expressed his sentiments in a poem entitled ‘*Lahu ka Suragh*’ (No Sign of Blood).

1 Nowhere, nowhere is there any trace of blood

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., p.117.

⁸⁸² Estelle Dryland, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz 1911–1984: Urdu Poet of Social Realism* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1993), p.165.

⁸⁸³ Ibid., p. 82.

⁸⁸⁴ Faiz, Faiz Ahmed. *Nuskha -Hai- Wafa* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, nd), p.365, cited in Shahid Saeed, ‘Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din’ *The Friday Times*, 18–24 February 2011.

2-3 Neither on the hands of assassin, nor under his finger
 nail,
 4-5 No red on the tips of his dagger
 No dye on the point of his bayonet
 10 The orphaned blood of murdered parents screamed out
 for justice;
 13-14 There was no plaintiff, no witness; therefore no
 indictment
 It was the blood of those, whose homes are made of dust,
 Blood that in the end became the nourishment for dust.⁸⁸⁵

These excerpts of Faiz's poetry attest that despite all the pressures, he did not stop from conveying political messages or expressing radical sentiments, and that he was passionately influenced by a deep sense of humanism, which is a hallmark of his poetry and of the Leftist project.⁸⁸⁶

The larger significance of Faiz's oeuvre is that he tried to incorporate revolutionary themes into Urdu poetry while staying within the classical tradition. All the ideas underlying his poetry were political, such as social realism, desire for change, raising political consciousness and a conscious use of literature, but all these are couched in a poetry that he carefully crafted. By using Persian-ized vocabulary, choosing words carefully and borrowing cultural symbols from the works of Muslim Sufi mystics, he was able to express radical ideas in his poetry as well as hide its radical content. Moreover, he borrowed imagery from languages like Persian and Urdu and deployed it as a tool of social realism.

⁸⁸⁵ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *The True Subjects: Selected Poems of Faiz Ahmed Faiz, (Trans.)*, Naomi Lazard (Lahore: Vanguard, 1988), pp.48-49. Qasmi and Jalib also composed poem on this incident. For detail see Qasmi's poem 'Karachi men Fasadat kay Pas-manzar Men'. He wrote it on 6 February 1965 which is included in his poetic collection, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi. *Muheet*. Lahore, 1966, p.66. Jalib also composed a poem on this incident and the first two couplets of which read as: *Nishemanon ko jala kar kiya caragan khob* (they have lightened their lamps by settlements of [poor]) *Sanwartin hen yuhin chera-e gulistan khob* (this is the way in which they are decorating the face of the garden), Habib Jalib. *Sar-e Maqal*. 3rd ed. (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, n.d.), p.12.

⁸⁸⁶ Alwin Vincent Murad's work, *Concepts of Human Dignity in the Works of Faiz Ahmed Faiz* (Gujranwala: Maktaba-e Anaveem Pakistan (MAP), 2010), work provides deep insight into this aspect.

Mohammad Ali Siddiqi, a progressive literacy critic, argued that the main contribution of Faiz was that he ‘developed new concepts of the allegories that carried singular meaning’.⁸⁸⁷ Carlo Coppola pointed out that Faiz was not the first poet to ‘use ... [the] newly transformed images and devices’ that became the defining feature of progressive poetry—Asrar-ul-Haq Majaz had come up with similar innovations—but Faiz elevated ‘the new imagery to an extremely refined and aesthetically satisfying level’.⁸⁸⁸ Last, but not the least, Faiz's exploration of the ghazal as a genre of articulating a radical message enhanced its attractive appeal for progressive poets.

7.3 Zaheer Kashmiri (1919–1994)

Among the radical poets of India and Pakistan, Zaheer Kashmiri was prominent but very underrated. In certain respects, his art of poetry appears similar to Faiz's. Kashmiri's real name was Ghulam Dastagir. He was born to a lower middle class family.⁸⁸⁹ Two of his family members Hakim Feroze-ud-

⁸⁸⁷ Mohammad Ali Siddiqi. *Dard Aur Darmaan Ka Shair* (Lahore: Pace Publications, 2011), p.27. In two interviews in 1975 and 1984, Faiz divulged some more details about his innovative approach towards poetry. In the latter interview, Faiz said he could not do political poetry, because he realized that it could render his work irrelevant after a particular period. He also kept in view the crucial distinction that the American poet Ezra Pound (1885–1972) had made between contemporary poetry and topical poetry; Pound had described contemporary poetry as good poetry. Faiz asserted, ‘Whatever [I] tried to write held contemporary relevance to that period—whether it was Ayub Khan's period or Yahya Khan's era’. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, interview by Intizar Hussain, in *Mulaqatain*, comp. Intizar Hussain (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 1988), p.25. In the earlier interview, in 1975, while answering a question about political poetry, he opined that ‘at times [a poet has to abstain from] very direct expression and explicit mention of his experiences as it does not seem politically appropriate or expedient’. One should not read this statement as a sign of political opportunism but rather of the unfavourable circumstances in Pakistan for political dissent that the intolerant military and dictatorial regimes had created. Quite understandably, this situation had forced the intelligentsia to express their critical thought and political point of view in indirect ways, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Mukhtar Zaman's Interview with Faiz Ahmed Faiz about Ghalib, in *Makalimat-e Faiz*, ed. Khalil Ahmed, p.80.

⁸⁸⁸ Carlo Coppola. ‘Urdu Poetry, 1935-1970: The Progressive Episode.’ University of Chicago, Illinois, 1975.

⁸⁸⁹ His father was a police constable in the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.). As he came from a poor family therefore he spent an unhappy childhood

Din Tughrai and Hakeem Zaheer-ud-Din (his paternal uncle) were well known figures, and had cultivated personal friendships with renowned poets like Hafeez Jullandhari, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum and Hafiz Shams Menai. This family background developed in him a refined taste for literature.⁸⁹⁰ After matriculation, he went to M.A.O. College in 1936, where Mahmood-uz-Zafar, M. D. Taseer and Faiz had been working as staff members and were the early pioneers of the PWA in Punjab. Later, he encountered a Left-wing student organization called the Student Federation (S.F.), and soon joined radical student activities. He was appointed president of the student union of his college, and later nominated the vice president of the Left-wing S.F. in the Punjab.⁸⁹¹

Between 1939 and 1941, the struggle for Indian independence gained momentum, and Communists and nationalists had to face severe repression. This was the phase when Kashmiri entered active politics and trade union activism. His active participation in politics landed him in prison in 1941, the same year he had taken the B.A. exam and had been awaiting results. He spent the period of his incarceration in various jails in Punjab.⁸⁹²

The cultural and political ambience of Amritsar between the 1920s and 1940s influenced Kashmiri's thinking. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy had already radicalized the political situation and, over the decade, its effect among the youth became more pronounced with the increasing influence of the Naujuan

⁸⁹⁰ Ali Mohammad Khan, *Lahore ka Dabistan-e Shairi* (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1999), p.564, and; Samia Bashir, 'Zaheer Kashmiri Aur Asri Tarraqi Pasand *Tanqid*' (M. Phil thesis, G. C. University, 2011), pp.2 –3. Kashmiri had begun to write good poetry in school, and some of these pieces were published in his first collection of poetry.

⁸⁹¹ A.Hameed (comp. Rashid Mateen), *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhsiyat-o-Fann*, Pakistani Adab Kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 1998), pp. 95.

⁸⁹² Zaheer Kashmiri, interview by Intizar Hussain, in *Mulaqatain*, ed. Intizar Hussain, (Lahore, Maktaba-e Aliya, 1988), p. 165.

Bharat Sabha.⁸⁹³ The industrial units were concentrated in the Chheharta area, which had become a hive of trade union activities. There was a flurry of intellectual activity in Amritsar. Intellectuals, poets, literary writers and political workers would meet at one or the other of three famous hotels—Comrade, Allah Diya and Turk—and discuss issues ranging from politics to philosophy and science to religion.⁸⁹⁴ Similarly, mushairas—both Urdu and Punjabi—were organized regularly. It was the city where Mahmood-uz-Zafar and his wife Rasheed Jahan established the PWA in Punjab.⁸⁹⁵

In his short biography of Zaheer Kashmiri, A. Hameed says that though Zaheer Kashmiri had earned a fine scholarly reputation, he learned a lot in the company of scholars like Hakim Tughrai, Hakim Arshi Amritsari, Zabt Qureshi and Saif-ud-din Saif, who he described as ‘the rare gems of Amritsar of that period’.⁸⁹⁶ Hameed says Kashmiri had a rebellious streak, but by the time he came of age, the country was in revolutionary ferment, and one could hear the chanting of ‘*Inqilab Zindabad* (long live the revolution) all around’.⁸⁹⁷ One can argue that the ambience of Amritsar in the 1930s and 1940s proved instrumental in the intellectual growth of not only Zaheer

⁸⁹³ Shalini Sharma’s work provides a comprehensive overview of the Leftist movement in Punjab in the 1930s and 1940s. Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition*, Chapters 3 and 4. For more comprehensive account of Naujuan Bharat Sabha see, Manmath Nath Gupta, *Bhagat Singh and His Times* (Lipi Prakashan, 1977).

⁸⁹⁴ A.Hameed, a romantic short story writer, who also wrote a number of reminiscences about persons and places in India, in one of his works in 1983, he provided a list of twenty prominent intellectuals and public figures who were regular habitués of these hotels or tea stall. His account fleeting glimpses of gradual expansion of the public sphere where these hotel functioned like parlour. Moreover, Amritsar’s close/ spatial proximity to Lahore, the Punjab’s capital and major cultural centre of north-western India, further acted as major stimulus for emergence Amritsar as one of the important political and cultural centres. A.Hameed (comp. Rashid Mateen), *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 23.

⁸⁹⁵ Zaheer Kashmiri, Intizar Hussain’s Interview with Zaheer Kashmiri, in *Mulaqatain*, comp. Intizar Hussain, p.165. For more details see, S.Sajjad Zaheer, *The Light*, chapter.6.

⁸⁹⁶ A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 43.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Kashmiri but a number of other personalities who soon became known literary figures, like Arif Abdul Mateen, Ahmed Rahi, Saif-ud-Din Saif and A. Hameed, to name only a few.

In 1941, the authorities arrested Kashmiri under the Defence of India Rules, 1938. After a few months, the government shifted him to Borstal Jail in Lahore, where they had incarcerated four hundred political prisoners. Most were revolutionaries from Northern India, and came from various political backgrounds.⁸⁹⁸ This experience made him realize the deep connection between trade unionism and the progressive creed that literary writers embraced. He concluded that active and direct participation in the social process, that is, the everyday struggle of labourers and workers, was an absolute prerequisite. Therefore, he decided to join the trade union activism.⁸⁹⁹ So, he sought membership of *Kochwan* (Tonga Drivers) Union, Railway Workers Union and Khansaman (Cook/Chef's Union) and worked as their secretary or president. He was also appointed General Secretary of All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in Amritsar district.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁸ Zaheer Kashmiri wrote an article in *Sawera* in the early 1950's that contained a good biographical account of the early years of his life. In this interesting article, he described his term of imprisonment that he served in the Lahore's Borstal jail, as memorable and learning experience. He equated this jail to a dars-gah (school), from where he gained a wealth of knowledge of modern Indian politics, ongoing revolutionary struggles, international communist movements and the strategies of the political parties, as the revolutionaries provided altogether different perspectives on these issues. The prison inmates had formed various groups like Charkha party, Alkali party and other Lefists and revolutionary factions. Zaheer Kashmiri and his like-minded comrades established the Socialist Bloc, which functioned like a study circle. He wrote that it was the place where he acquired formal education about Marxism, Zaheer Kashmiri, 'Meri Zindagi Mera Fun (My Life, My Art)', trans. Muhammad Umar Memon, *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* 2, no. 1 (2010): 145.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid, 145–146.

⁹⁰⁰ A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp.28, 33 and 101, Ahmed Bashir, *Jo Milay Thay Rastey Men* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 2006), p.86.

Kashmiri's association with the PWA, student politics and, later, trade unionism brought about a fundamental shift in his focus of poetry. As he wrote in *Sawera* in the early 1950s, a thorough study of Marxism persuaded him that it was inevitable for revolutionaries to participate in the mass movement. This realization had a 'decisive' influence on his literary vision.⁹⁰¹ He had to suffer a lot during this period. He was arrested twice under the charges of 'creating unrest' and 'rioting'.⁹⁰²

In 1945, Kashmiri moved to Lahore, where one of his AITUC comrades, Gopal Das Saigol, who worked for Masheshwari Motion Pictures, helped him enter the film industry.⁹⁰³ Kashmiri lived and worked in Lahore until his death, on 12 December 1994.

He became a regular habitué of Lahore's parlours, since he had moved there in the mid-1940s. He regularly attended the meetings of *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq*. In 1946, he wrote a scholarly article titled '*Urdu Shairi ka Smaji Pasmanzar*' (The Social Backdrop of Urdu Poetry) that won the first prize in the *Halqa* literary competition. In the same year, he produced a work on literary criticism, titled *Adab kay Maddi Nazariyey*.⁹⁰⁴ This book established him as a

⁹⁰¹ Zaheer Kashmiri, 'Meri Zindagi Mera Fann' (My Life, My Art)', p.145–146.

⁹⁰² He also absconded to Behar for a few months to escape arrest. He spent this time in a little, messy and dimly lit room which his friends referred jokingly as Dr Johnson's hamlet. A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-fann*, p.101.

⁹⁰³ Bashir, *Jo Milay Thay Rastey Men*, p. 88. In the same article, he mentioned that the realities of life affected this crucial decision. His autobiographical note, which covers the first 31 years of his life, portrays his frustration during the initial six years of his involvement in the movie industry. Zaheer Kashmiri, 'Meri Zindagi Mera Fun', p.149.

⁹⁰⁴ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Adab kay Maddi Nazariyey* (Lahore: Kamal Publishers, n.d.). This book was divided into five chapters entitled Adab aur Moashara, Urdu Shairi ka Smaji Pas-manzar (the social background of the Urdu poetry), Lenin aur Literature, Urdu Nasr ka Siyasi Pasmanzar (The social context of Urdu prose), Tarikh ki Adabi Riwayatain (the literary traditions in history).

Marxist literary critic; Kashmiri had a profound theoretical understanding of Marxism.

Until 1946, he had developed into an intellectual with a thorough grounding in Marxism and a compassionate individual. K. K Aziz, a renowned historian and a close friend of Kashmiri, narrated an incident of 1946. Kashmiri took Aziz, who was from an affluent family, to a third class stall in a film theatre in Bhatti Gate, Lahore, a working class neighbourhood. It was a new, uncomfortable experience for Aziz to watch a film in such circumstances,⁹⁰⁵ but Aziz did not speak of his discomfiture or displeasure.⁹⁰⁶ Later, Kashmiri took Aziz to a dirty tea stall, in a similar neighbourhood, and gave him a little lecture. Aziz gives us its gist in his book.

I know how uncomfortable you felt there. New strange surroundings. Strange people They are the unwashed whom you never met. They are the people for whose freedom, the Congress, your Muslim League and my Party are struggling. And you have never before met this people whom the all problem is all about. You talk about independence and the future of the country, but you don't know the people who live in the country. They smell, but they are the salt of the earth. I am not asking you to mix with them but be aware of them...I demand your sympathy and compassion. They deserve that as a human being this is the least that you can do for them.⁹⁰⁷

This excerpt presents Kashmiri's innermost thoughts, which he articulated through his poetry and other literary work.

Kashmiri's family experienced an awful tragedy while migrating from Amritsar to Lahore: two of his cousins and a paternal uncle were killed.⁹⁰⁸

Like many progressives, he reacted strongly against the bloodshed that

⁹⁰⁵ K. K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore: A Memoir 1942-57*, p. 37.

⁹⁰⁶ He wrote, 'I sat through the performance not as a pleasant but a painful novelty' Ibid, p.38.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.39

⁹⁰⁸ A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 104.

accompanied Partition. He was critical about British decision to ‘divide ---in Hindu biggies and Muslim biggies’.⁹⁰⁹ He wrote:

The balance of human and social relationships that had moulded me in a particular way for such a long time suddenly fell apart. The environment around me changed so drastically that I all could see before me was the death of a man or the satanic politics of British imperialism foisted upon me and every non-political Indian and Pakistani.⁹¹⁰

In 1949, he became editor of *Sawera*, a major progressive magazine, and edited five issues (5–9) between 1949 and 1951.⁹¹¹ During this period, the PWA passed through a difficult phase, and *Sawera* acted as its political mouthpiece. In 1951, he was incarcerated for more than six months.⁹¹² He was quite critical of the Leftist leadership, particularly of Sajjad Zaheer and Iftikhar-ud-din.

Figure 7.2 Zaheer Kashmiri (1919 –1994)



Source: Google Images, accessed on 13 August 2013.

⁹⁰⁹ Zaheer Kashmiri, ‘Meri Zindagi Mera Fann’, p.150.

⁹¹⁰ Excerpt of the preface of Zaheer Kashmiri’s work cited in, A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp.104–105.

⁹¹¹ Samia Bashir, ‘Zaheer Kashmiri aur Asri Taraqqi Pasand *Tanqid*’ (M.Phil thesis, G.C.University, 2011), p.17.

⁹¹² Abdullah Malik,(comp. M.R. Shahid), *Yeh Lahore He, Lahore Ki Ilmi, Adabi, Saqafati, Siyasi, Samaji Tarikh aur Waqeat*,p.

Kashmiri released his first collection of poetry, *Azmat-e Adam*, in 1955. He transformed smoothly from a poet who had excelled in *nazm* (poems) to a *ghazal-go* poet (a poet who chooses the ghazal as a mode of expression and whose poetry is steeped in the theme of love). The title of his collection shows his firm belief in his ideal of revolutionary humanism. This work and his long poem ‘*Admi Nama*’ that he wrote in 1981 showed that human emancipation remained a recurring theme of his poetry.⁹¹³ One of his close friends Ahmed Bashir wrote, ‘Even the ideal of socialistic system that he remained committed to throughout his life constituted first step towards the realization of the ultimate goal of humanism’.⁹¹⁴ Thus, for him, the revolution was not an end in itself; rather, it represented a transitional stage of human emancipation.

Kashmiri’s poem on the Bolshevik revolution, entitled ‘*Inqilab-e Rus*’ (The Russian Revolution), published in his first collection of poetry, provides a strong a message of collective struggle of the masses against the authoritarian regimes.

The red (socialist) ideas spread like molten lava all at once
 To annihilate the Czarist rule
 The slaves who were fettered in chains resolved to wage holy war
 To found new cities on their corpses
 It brought their sinking/slow pulses back to life
 As the poor people with pale faces exacted revenge on oppressive
 monarchy
 [Demonstrating that] Even the helpless people could take on the
 mighty tyrants, to uproot the rule of terror and injustice
 It gave the dignified sons of Adam the message that
 Now nobody would permitted to be sold in *darbar* [royal court]
 And if any *firoaun* [cruel tyrant] would exult in his power

⁹¹³ Mirza Adeeb, a progressive literary and fiction writer wrote an impressive review on *Aadami Namah* which provides clear idea about Zaheer Kashmiri’s stand point on humanism, Mirza Adeeb, ‘Zaheer Kashmiri aur Unka Adaminama ’review of *Adaminama* by Zaheer Kashmiri, in [Mirza Adeeb ed.] *Mirza Adeeb Kay Jaizay*, Kitabiyaat-e Urdu Adb (3) (Lahore: Maghrabi Pakistan Urdu Academy, n.d.), pp.224 --228.

⁹¹⁴ Ahmed Bashir, *Jo Milay Thay Rastey Men*, p.165.

Then this intrigue calls for staging a revolt for preserving peace ⁹¹⁵

One can trace a touch of sarcasm in his poem that depicted the freedom of speech progressive litterateurs had. He wrote that:

My each word is subjected to the laws of censorship
My emotions that were once like leaping flame
But efforts are being made to dampen them
Yesterday they considered me axis of all the seditions in the world
Today I have become completely silent like a statue⁹¹⁶

He was one of the most vociferous advocates of the Left, and expressed his convictions in both his writings and through his participation in the PWA and *Halqa*'s meetings. He was incarcerated for the second time in 1958.

Initially, Kashmiri preferred the *nazm*, but transformed into a *ghazal-go* poet by the time his second collection of poetry appeared in 1963. His command over both ghazals and nazm was impressive,⁹¹⁷ and he conveyed his radical message in between those couplets. In the Introduction of the above-mentioned work, he rebutted the major criticisms against the *ghazal*, made by Altaf Hussain Hali, Kaleem- ud-Din Ahmed and ____, and said that he was fully persuaded of the ghazal's capacity to register literary resistance, and that the frame/ mould of *ghazal* is capable of encapsulating all the dimensions of aesthetics and the philosophy of life.⁹¹⁸

⁹¹⁵ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Azmat-e Adam* (Lahore: Naya Idarah, 1955),p.132.*Yak-ba-yak Surkhi-e Afkar ka Lawa Phuta / Isqaf-o-Zar kay Daman ko Jalanay kay liye / Pa-ba-Zanjir Gulamon nay kiya Azm-e Jihad / Apni Lashon par Naye Shahr Basanay kay liye / Waqt ki Dubti Nabzon Men Hararat Ai...*

⁹¹⁶ Zaheer Kashmiri, '*Fard aur Riyasat*' cited in Hina Kanwal, '*Jadid Urdu Nazm Men Ban-Ul-Mauzuati Riwayat*' (Ph.D. thesis, G.C.University, 2006), p. 324. *Har Lafz peh Qanun ki Zanjirian hain / Mery Jazbat keh they Shola-e Musabbat ki tarah / Ab unhain Kuhr men laney ki Tadbirian hain / Kal Samajhtay they Mujhe Mehwar-e Hangama-e Dahar / Aaj Men hun But-e Sang ki Manand Khamosh*

⁹¹⁷ A.Hameed, *Zaheer Kashmiri, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 36.

⁹¹⁸ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Tagazzul, Gazalain* (Lahore: Naya Idarah, 1963), p. 14.

Some people consider that the external realism that the ghazal had embraced/accepted was the development of the second quarter of the twentieth century. But such a presumption is contrary to reality. As every aspect of ghazal, reflects, both social perceptions/ intuitive feelings of society, and [enable us to make] dialectical analysis.⁹¹⁹

He cited a number of metaphors, to stress that their political and cultural background contains elaborate stories of class war.⁹²⁰

An important characteristic of his work is that it expresses sentiments of positive action and hope. In an early 1970s' interview, he recalled that, 'The study of contemporary thoughts/writings gave me an optimistic outlook on life. This optimism associated me with the Progressive Movement'.⁹²¹ His later interview to Intizar Hussain gives us a similar optimistic outlook.

When I look back on my life, I can trace [a] continued evolution of progressive ideas...I had considerable experience of participating in movements. Therefore, I knew that they do not follow a straight path rather they experience ups and downs. If they are faced with temporary setbacks, it does not mean that our interpretation of social and political situation was wrong. So, I never felt desperation.⁹²²

Therefore one finds in his poetry some of the best couplets on hope and optimism that progressive poet had composed. The following couplets provide its ample illustration:

7 Though we know that we are like flickering/extinguishing
lamp of later part of night

8 But we are confident that there is no gloomy darkness
after us rather the day-light will break/prevail.⁹²³

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁹²⁰ Ibid.

⁹²¹ Zaheer Kashmiri, interview by G.H.Azhar, in *Ru-ba-ru*, comp. G.H.Azhar, p.161.

⁹²² Zaheer Kashmiri, interview by Intizar Hussain, in *Mulaqatain*, comp. Intizar Hussain, 1st edn (Lahore, Maktaba-e Aliya, 1988), p. 166.

⁹²³ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Tagazzul, Gazalain*, p.102. *Hamain Khabar hy keh hum hain Cirage-e Akhar-e shab / Hamaray bad Andhera Nahin, Ujala hy*

This optimism also reflects in another couplet of the collection:

3 Why are the people of the garden (the country)
disappointed with our circumstances?
4 Though we are stricken by autumn, but we are apostles of
spring too
5 They will lay the foundations of new world on our ashes
6 Though we concede that we are mortals; but we leave our
lasting/ permanent imprints too.⁹²⁴

Like the other progressive poets, Kashmiri had a clear conception of radical literature and the role of a progressive poet in society. In his estimation, literature functions not only as ‘a mirror of society’ but also both as a ‘*ham-riqab*’ (a stir-up fellow/ attendant) mirror and a guide to direct the collective life of society;⁹²⁵ and a progressive poet ‘reacts against the established practices and depicts external [social] realities of life in a way that it becomes part of collective sensibilities or feelings’.⁹²⁶ All his literary oeuvre promoted this critical thinking. In one of his couplets, he lamented that the intelligentsia had not been paying attention to the problems of the present or the future, and had its gaze fixed upon the past.

13 We feel anguish over the lost moments of the morning
breeze at all times

14 Why I am not destined to ponder about today and
tomorrow [present and future]?⁹²⁷

In the 1960s, the ideological schisms between the Soviet Union and China had divided Pakistani Leftists into two ideological camps. Kashmiri clearly

⁹²⁴ Ibid, p.46. *Hamaray Hal se mayus kiun hian Ahl-e Caman / Khizan-zada hain tu Paigambar-e Bahar bhi hain / Hamari Khak sy Dalain gay Tarah-e Alam-e nau / Fana Durst magar Jins-e Paidar bhi hain*

⁹²⁵ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Azmat-e Adam*, p.12.

⁹²⁶ Samia Bashir, ‘Zaheer Kashmiri Aur Asri Taraqqi Pasand *Tanqid*’, p.80.

⁹²⁷ Zaheer Kashmiri, *Tagazzul, Gazalain*, p.60.

supported China.⁹²⁸ Zaheer Kashmiri lived like an ordinary man in quarters at Beadon Road, Lahore that had been allotted to his father, but maintained his equanimity.⁹²⁹ Therefore, he was fully aware of the miseries and tribulations that the poor had to face.

7.4 Habib Jalib (1928 –1993)

Social realism is most clearly manifested in the poetry of Habib Jalib. The kind of realism he brought into poetry in terms of both themes, and his use of language, encouraged several writers and commentators to compare his poetry with that of Nazir Akbarabadi (1753–1830), an Urdu poet who stands apart from contemporaries and predecessors in expressing social realism, communicating popular feelings and focusing on the common people's problems. Besides bringing about a change in the focus of poetry, Nazir used colloquial language to express these sentiments. Jalib had thoroughly studied Nazir, whose poetry gave him poetic inspiration.⁹³⁰ Faiz wrote that Nazir was the first poet who made ordinary people and their issues of sustenance the focus of his poetry.⁹³¹ Jalib articulated his real feelings, and also voiced the sentiments of ordinary people about politics, democracy and democratic institutions, the Establishment and Western imperialism in such a direct manner and through (if one borrows Saadia Toor's eloquent and well-chosen

⁹²⁸ In an interview to Ghulam Hussain Azhar in the early 1970s, he identified two major flaws in the Soviet policy, one was its policy of rapprochement towards the US and the other was – application of doctrine of –. On the other hand he opined –.

⁹²⁹ K. K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore*, p.34.

⁹³⁰ Therefore, according to literary writers like Sibte Hasan, Intizar Hussain and Abdullah Malik in the whole corpus of Urdu poetry one can only compare Jalib with Nazir. Sibte Hasan, 'Sacha Awami Shair', in *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi (Lahore: Frontier Post Publications, 1993), p.21, Intizar Hussain, 'Aj Ka Nazir Akbar Abadi, Habib Jalib', in *Habib Jalib Fann Aur Shakhsiyat* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, n.d.), p.37.

⁹³¹ Faiz Ahmed Faiz, 'Nazir Aur Hali', in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majid (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), pp.211–219.

words) his ‘irreverent and openly agitative poetry’, and achieved the national fame as ‘the peoples’ poet’.⁹³²

Habib Jalib was born in 1928 into a poor family that hailed from Bani Afghanan in Jullundur district. His father had a refined taste for literature,⁹³³ but was a poor cobbler, and could not pay for Jalib’s education beyond class nine.⁹³⁴ After Partition, his family migrated to Karachi, where Jalib stayed until 1958, except for a sojourn to Lahore between 1950 and 1952.

One cannot disentangle Habib Jalib’s political and literary careers. Throughout his life (until the late 1980s), he remained proactively involved with Left-wing political activism through a number of Leftist parties and groups: Azad Pakistan Party (1950–1956), Sind Hari Tehrik (1953–1957), National Awami Party (1957–1975), [and later its successor organizations] the National Democratic Party (1975–1980), and Awami National Party] (1980–1988). He also sought membership of the PWA since in the early 1950s that provided him further clarity of thought.⁹³⁵

⁹³² Saadia Toor, *The State of Islam*, p.93. Two prominent Left-wing intellectuals Amin Moughal and Abdullah Malik hold different opinions about the main focus of Jalib’s poetry. The former, in an article on Jalib in 1993 described him as poet, whose poetry addressed to the middle class. He called him as the ‘poet of democracy’. Ameen Mughal, ‘Habib Jalib–Ek Yargamal’, in *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi, pp.123–125. According to Abdullah Malik Jalib’s influenced the ordinary people particularly the ‘semi-illiterate’ segments of society. Though both opinions carry weight, however, I would support Abdullah Malik’s position. Abdullah Malik, ‘Zikr Harf-e Sar-e Dar Ka’, in *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi, pp. 45–47, 50.

⁹³³ Sufi Enayat Ullah, ‘Mera Beta Habib Jalib’, in *Habib Jalib–Ghar Ki Gawahi*, ed. Saeed Pervaiz (Karachi: Danyal, 1994), p., Saeed Pervaiz, ‘Mera Bhai, Mera Jalib’, in *Habib Jalib–Ghar Ki Gawahi*, pp.132–156, ---, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, 2nd ed., Pakistani Adab kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 2009), pp.29–38.

⁹³⁴ However, he did his matriculation, intermediate and graduation as a private candidate. With support of Punjab University Oriental College teacher he got admission in the M.A. Urdu but adverse circumstances hindered him to complete that degree.

⁹³⁵ Mohammad Khawar Nawazish, *Mashaheer-e Adab Khar Zar-e Siyasat Men* (Islamabad: Muqtadra Qaumi Zaban, 2012), p.238, Jugnu Mohsin, ‘Habib Jalib: An Archetypical Lahori’, in *The Illustrated Beloved City: Writings on Lahore*, ed. Bapsi Sidhwa (Karachi: Oxford

Jalib was a full time poet; he never held a job for any significant period. He worked as a proof-reader at the daily *Imroze* (Karachi) and daily *Afaq* (Lahore) during the 1950s.⁹³⁶ Sometimes, he wrote songs for films. He had a large family to support, so he was always financially pressed, but, on the other hand, his carefree lifestyle gave him a kind of freedom. He had virtually no stakes in the system, and could persevere on the radical path. This perseverance eventually became a hallmark of his persona. The life Habib Jalib spent personified the notion of free man that the work of Frantz Fanon provided and that portrayed the free man as an individual who had no stakes in the system.⁹³⁷

But Jalib's experiences during early childhood and late adolescence developed in him a deep empathy for the underprivileged that shaped his poetic vision. Jalib's family were village subalterns; the local landlords were contemptuous of them. This contempt was deeply ingrained in his mind. Despite all odds, his family supported Pakistan. But the migration turned out to be a frustrating experience; after moving to Karachi, it lived in abject misery. In an interview to Ahmed Salim in 1984, Habib Jalib remorsefully pointed out, '[My] family deserved respect for supporting the cause of Pakistan. But we were beaten ... with sticks'.⁹³⁸ His early poetry also reflected this frustration.

5-6 We had idealized a different view of the country

University Press, 2012), pp.285–286, and; Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 50 and pp.237–238.

⁹³⁶ Sufi Enyat Ullah, 'Mera Beta, Mera Jalib', in Saeed Pervaiz ed. *Habib Jalib Ghar ki Gwahi*, (Karachi: Danyal, 1994), pp.79--80. Syed Kaswar Gardezi. 'Qafas-ta-Qafas', in *Habib Jalib, Fann-o-Shakhshiyat*, (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, n.d.), p.124.

⁹³⁷ One can apply Frantz Fanon's notion of free man to Jalib in metaphorical sense, Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2005).

⁹³⁸ Ahmed Salim, 'Jahd-e Musalsal ka Safr, Habib Jalib, interview by Ahmed Salim (1984), in *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi (Lahore: Frontier Post Publications, 1993),151.

that motivated us to move to Pakistan
7-8 But where did the new dawn break and what impact it
had on the lives of people we have no clue.⁹³⁹

The above-mentioned couplet showed he felt grief over the helplessness of the poor. At a *mushaira* in London in the late 1980s, he recited a moving ghazal; one of its couplets encapsulated the essence of his political message.

Ruke-e Muflisoon peh Jalib Hain Azal say Jis kay Saiy
Usi Muflisee ka gham tha usi muflisee kay gham he
Grim faces of the poor reveal the pale shadows the poverty
had cast for eternity
I felt grief for their state of helplessness, and this abject
poverty still gives me emotional pain.⁹⁴⁰

Jalib targeted his poetry at the poor; he did not want it to be a source of amusement for the elite.⁹⁴¹ In a television interview in the late 1980s, he maintained, ‘There are two established [major] institutions, the Establishment and the people [to which the poets owe their allegiance], and I represent the court of the people’.⁹⁴² He had consciously chosen to disassociate from the ‘Establishment’. In an interview to Ahmed Salim, Jalib pointed out that ‘*teri gali kay log*’ referred to the ‘Establishment’.⁹⁴³

This context helps to understand why Jalib’s poetry conveyed a strong message of defiance against the Establishment: he tried to impel the people to get rid of their helplessness through their collective struggle. Unsurprisingly,

⁹³⁹ Habib Jalib, *Barg-e Awara* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, 1960), p.27.

⁹⁴⁰ *Shair-e Awam Habib Jalib ki Yad Men* (Remembering Habib Jalib), Dusra Pehlu CNBC’s Programme, presented by Mujahid Bralvi, Part I of VII, (n.d., You Tube video, uploaded by Mujahid Bralvi by on 14 March 2010), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DLnzFjyk7G8&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

⁹⁴¹ Ahmed Salim, ‘Jahd-e Musalsal ka Safr, Habib Jalib’s Interview with Ahmed Salim [1983/1984], p. 146. He asserted that [figuratively] ‘I wanted to strike blow of hammer on the heads of the privileged and ruling classes’. In other words, he stated, he made the elite classes, direct target through his poetry.

⁹⁴² *An Interview and Poem of Habib Jalib*, Posted by A.Raziq Piracha, ([c. late 1980s], You You), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3y4a4vK03Go>.

⁹⁴³ Ahmed Salim, ‘Jahd-e Musalsal ka Safr, Habib Jalib’s Interview with Ahmed Salim (1984)’, p.151.

he was the *bête noire* of the Establishment, and subjected to constant police harassment for adopting such a direct and hard-hitting style of poetry. The governments that ruled Pakistan between 1954 and the mid-1980s sent him behind bars over eight times.⁹⁴⁴ Thus, his poetry embodies a unique attribute of direct defiance against the Establishment.

His first poetic collection *Barg-e Awara* appeared in 1956. This work read as that of a traditional '*ghazal-go*' poet. Later, however, Jalib tried to dispel the impression that there occurred an ideological shift in his poetry after *Barg-e Awara*. In an interview to Ahmed Salim in 1984, he insisted:

Dil ki baat ka zikr phley bhi tha aur aaj bhi he (I had said the word of heart at that that time and saying the same thing even today), [though he conceded] he extended its scope even further ... [as he] found a more simple and direct expression. And transformed his poetry into '*geet*' (songs) and tried to convey his genuine feelings through these songs. As this kind of poetry possessed a renewed/new-found sense of reality and therefore these songs became widely popular.⁹⁴⁵

A serious reading of this collection shows that Jalib offered critical and insightful commentary on the societal attitude/unsatisfactory behavioural patterns of middle class intellectuals in poems like 'Coffee House', '*Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq*', '*Roey Bhagat Kabir* (Bhagat Kabir Wails/Complains)' and '*Naye Paud* (The Younger Generation)'. '*Waziran-e Karm* (The Respected Ministers)' is a satire on the political elite. On the other hand, there is a radical

⁹⁴⁴ According to Mujahid Bralvi, Jalib spent seven years in prison whereas according to my estimate his total period of imprisonment was about four years. I would stress that dabbling in the controversy about the number of years of imprisonment is not important, what is important is the significance of Jalib's resistance. I agree with Ifikhar Arif's estimate of Jalib's resistance that he represented the voice of resistance and defiance of our time.

⁹⁴⁵ Ahmed Salim, '*Jahd-e Musalsal Ka Safr*', Habib Jalib's Interview with Ahmed Salim (1984)', p.144. 'By specifying the word of heart', he referred to the first rhyming couplet of his work *Barg-e Awara*.

message in the poem ‘*Shahr-e Zulmat ko Sabat Nahin* (The place of darkness holds no permanence or, literally, the oppressive system would not last long). Even some of the couplets in his ghazal bear deep political meaning.⁹⁴⁶ For example:

13 Someone should dare to come out and raise the flag of
his collar Jalib,
14 There is howling wilderness all around and one
remembers [awaits] lovers who have crossed the lunatic
fringe.⁹⁴⁷

The above-mentioned couplet points towards the silence that ensued after the suppression of the opposition, particularly Left-wing parties, and towards growing public indifference over issues of larger political significance, as the Establishment had silenced the voices of dissent. It further impels people to raise their voice and follow the footsteps of the *diwanas*.

In a rhyming couplet of another *ghazal*, Jalib expressed a strong desire for establishing the socialist system, and spelled out why the Establishment and capitalists were extremely afraid of socialist thinking:

9 The upholders/advocates of *nizam-e zar* [the capitalist
system] are suffering from this nagging anxiety [over];
10 The creation of a system that values life is not
established [in the country].⁹⁴⁸

In the country, Jalib’s was the lone voice that openly and directly challenged Ayub Khan’s rule. His poem ‘*Ain*’ took the country by storm. When he read

⁹⁴⁶ The second edition of Jalib’s work was published in 1960, with an Introduction by Andleeb Shadabi, a scholar of Urdu. In it, Shadabi wrote, ‘The story Jalib has narrated about his life is not invention of his mind but the outcome of the circumstances in which he has lived in. ... Jalib had not strictly confined his ghazal to reflect his *dakhili waridat* (subjective experiences/perceptions), rather it encompasses the social and political circumstances of his period.’ Andleeb Shadabi, introduction [*Maqdama*] to *Barg-e Awara* by Habib Jalib.p. (urdu alphabet Fay).

⁹⁴⁷ Habib Jalib, *Barg-e Awara* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, 1960), p.82. *Koi to parcham lay kar niklay apnay gariban ka Jalib / Charoon janib sannata he aur diwaney yaad aatay hain*

⁹⁴⁸ Habib Jalib, *Barg-e Awara*, p. 102. *Ise fikrmen hain galtan yeh nizam-e zar kay banday / Jo tamam zindigi he woh nizam na aa jaey*

this poem for the first time at Murree, the gathering turned into a political procession.⁹⁴⁹ Whenever he recited this poem at *mushairas*, organizers would become unnerved, as government officials were in attendance as guests. Apparently, he titled this poem ‘*Ain*’, but practically it directly targeted the whole political edifice of Ayub Khan’s military regime. This stanza of the poem provides us a fair idea of the degree of its sarcasm.

1 He whose light shines only in places
 2 who seeks to please only the few
 3 who moves in the shadows of compromise
 4 such a debauched traditions such a dark dawn
 5 I do not know, I will not own.⁹⁵⁰

In the same period, he wrote a long poem entitled ‘*Jumhuriat*’, addressed to ‘*Dus Karor*’ (100 million people) of United Pakistan, who had become ‘alienated from their own lives’. And the situation had come to such a pass that even those people who lacked political vision or foresight had begun to label ordinary people as ‘*Be-shuur*’ (ignorant). The second stanza tells people how and in what ways the military, industrialists and landlords had been

⁹⁴⁹ *Habib Jalib Poetry Recital*, (1988, You Tube vedio), up-loaded by Tangible Emotions, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DLnzFjyk7G8&feature=youtuve_gdata_player

⁹⁵⁰ Habib Jalib, *Sar-e Maqal* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Karavan, n.d.), p.14. I have taken this translation from Habib Jalib, ‘Dastoor’, in *The Illustrated Beloved City: Writings on Lahore*, ed. Bapsi Sidhwa, trans. Bapsi Sidhwa and Parizad N. Sidhwa (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.290. It would be relevant to mention the views about the poem of two important officials of the regime of Ayub Khan: Manzoor Qadir, who served as the Law Minister, and authored the Constitution of 1962, and Altaf Gauher, a government bureaucrat and trusted aide of Ayub Khan. Gauher acknowledged Jalib’s radical role in Pakistan’s politics after three decades. Within a few months of the promulgation of the Constitution, Qadir called his friend, Malik Ghulam Jilani, a lawyer and opposition leader, to his house and expressed his apprehension that the Constitution might not work, because this poem, composed by a young poet, had cast such an impact on the people that every time he recited the poem, they started repeating the words ‘*Men nahin manta* (I do not accept)’. Eventually, his prophecy about the Constitution became self-fulfilling. Mujahid Bralvi, ‘Is Awaara Dewaney o Jalib Kathey Hain’, in *Koi To Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi, p.137. Altaf Gauher conceded ‘When [Jalib] wrote... [the poem] that made a particular constitution an object of ridicule but in actual sense it directly targeted towards the creator of the constitution [Ayub Khan]. As the poem had dealt with the eternal subject of ‘*inkar* (defiance)’. It was a protest against the very system/regime or any document of oppression, Altaf Gauhar, ‘*Harf-e Sar-e Dar*’, in *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi (Lahore: Frontier Post Publications, 1993), p. 41.

exploiting them. It presents a bleak picture of those at the receiving end. The third and fourth stanzas highlight the prevailing political situation, and the insurmountable difficulties facing students, student activists and political workers in their political struggle. The fourth stanza describes the people as ‘guardians’ and encourages them to play their role to save the country. The last stanza of this poem shows that if the intelligentsia expressed their thought and opinion, they were restrained and censured by officials, and that the people were yet to free themselves from the chains of colonial rule. It says that the elite had assumed dominance over the country, and nothing happened without their say-so.⁹⁵¹ Towards the end, it presents the solution and asks the people to wage struggle for a radical change:

40 *Jis men tum nahin shamil woo nizam badlo bhi*
 41 *Doston ko pehcano dushmanon ko pehcano*
 42 *Das Karor insano!*
 Change the lives of the afflicted, and;
 Change that system as well, of which you [they] are not part
 of
 O, the hundred million! Recognize your foes and friends ⁹⁵²

Jalib worked hard on developing his diction, or style of rendition,⁹⁵³ which—coupled with his defiant stand against the Ayub government—enhanced his appeal among the people. Therefore, when the newly formed alliance of five opposition parties, called the Combined Opposition Parties (COP), nominated Fatima Jinnah, the younger sister of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as its presidential

⁹⁵¹ Habib Jalib, ‘Jumhuriat’, in Habib Jalib, *Sar-e Maqatal*, pp.19–23.

⁹⁵² *Ibid*, p.23.

⁹⁵³ Following sources shed some light on about this dimension, Shah Mohammad Marri, *Usshaq Kay Kaafley*, C.R.Aslam, (Lahore: Sanjh Publications, 2007),p.156., and; Sohail Ahmed Khan, cited in, Ajmal Naizi, ‘Habib Jalib Nay Sabit Kar Deya Keh Shaair Ba-Zarar Nahin Hota’, in *Koi To Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi, p. 78.

candidate, they included Jalib, and used to invite him to speak before Fatima Jinnah's speeches, which she used to deliver in Romanized Urdu.⁹⁵⁴

In August 1964, at a rally held at Nishtar Park, Karachi, Jalib recited two poems 'Ain' and 'Jumhuriat'. His delivery electrified the audience and provided great impetus to this campaign. As the COP's next major campaign rallies were scheduled in Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, the main cities of West Pakistan, the organizers of the Lahore rally made posters to advertise that Jalib would recite these two poems.⁹⁵⁵ But the increasing popularity of the COP's presidential campaign had made the government understandably nervous; it had a criminal, Abdul Waris Malik, file a fake criminal case against Jalib, and had him arrested under false charges.⁹⁵⁶ Jalib had to spend more than two months in jail. The West Pakistan High Court freed him on bail in late October 1964. Mahmood Ali Kasuri, Jalib's defence counsel and the National Awami Party's (NAP) Punjab leader, took him to a special reception that the COP's leaders had organized for Fatima Jinnah at the Lawrence Gardens, Lahore. There, Jalib recited a poem 'Bis Gharanay' (The Twenty

⁹⁵⁴ Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp.101–102, and; Mujahid Bralvi, *Habib Jalib*, pp.41–43. Jalib was also on a five-member committee that the COP's organizers had set up, and which was to take part in all the campaign rallies. The committee members included Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Maulana Bhashani, Nawabzada Nasr ullah Khan and Habib Jalib. Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din had served as the country's second governor general and later as the second prime minister. Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, a powerful bureaucrat, also served briefly as prime minister from August 1955 to August 1956. Maulana Bhashani was the leader of the NAP, the major Left-wing political party in Pakistan. And Nawabzada Nasr ullah Khan was an important opposition leader from Punjab who remained a key figure in forming opposition alliances from the mid-1960s. Thus, Jalib's inclusion in this committee of political heavyweights enhanced his public stature, Mohammad Khawar Nawazish, *Mashahir-e Adab Khar-zar-e Siyasat Men* (Islamabad: Muqtadira Qaumi Zaban, 2012), p.245.

⁹⁵⁵ Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p.104.

⁹⁵⁶ Zahid Akasi, 'Sahafi aur Siyasi Kar-kun Zahid Akasi Ki Yaddashtain, Waqt Ka Bahta Darya', *Mah-nama Naya Zamana*, September 2003, and Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp. 105–111.

Families), which he had written in jail, and which offered a fine example of social realism in literature.⁹⁵⁷

Jalib produced his second collection of poetry ‘*Sar-e Maqtaal*’ (In Front of the Place of Execution) in September 1966. This work earned such popular acclaim that it had to be reprinted four times in the first month, and another three times in the next two months.⁹⁵⁸ This reception so unnerved the Establishment that it banned the work and arrested its publisher Chaudhry Abdul Hameed.⁹⁵⁹

Iftikhar Jalib, the chief exponent of the *Lisani Tashkilat* movement, and a New Leftist intellectual, acknowledged Jalib’s wider importance in the political context of the 1960s:

The publication of this book was the most important literary event of 1966. The other events like its wide reception and the placement of ban were its causal chains. An important feature of this collection is their living contemporaneity.... All the topics that Jalib had covered are politically explosive.... [He] was aware of the fact that these topics were potentially explosive but he consciously chose to discuss them in a direct way... and at a time when they had their real and contemporary relevance for the people.⁹⁶⁰

Appreciating the wider significance of ‘*Sar-e Maqtaal*’, Iftikhar Jalib wrote, ‘This is the best document that offered straightforward interpretation as well

⁹⁵⁷ Habib’s account, cited in Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, pp. 112–113, and Habib Jalib, *Sar-e Maqtaal*, pp. 112–113, Habib Jalib, *Sar-e Maqtaal*, pp. 49–53.

⁹⁵⁸ Jugnu Mohsin, ‘Habib Jalib: An Archetypical Lahori’, in *The Illustrated Beloved City*, p. 287.

⁹⁵⁹ Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p. 126. It would be useful to add Quadrat Ullah Shahab’s observation about the freedom of expression that literary writers had under Ayub Khan’s regime. Shahab revealed that during the inaugural convention of the PWG, Ayub Khan had assured writers that his government would not ban their literary works, and that it had kept his promise. But he did not mention about the development.

⁹⁶⁰ Iftikhar Jalib, *Lisani Tashkilaat Aur Qadim Bangar*, (Karachi: Farhang, 2001), p. 80.

as [a clear and realistic] picture of the events that had occurred in our public life over these few years.’⁹⁶¹

Jalib was affiliated to the NAP, Wali as a political activist. This party was undecided about its support to the anti-Ayub movement, but joined it in the later stages. However, other opposition parties, particularly the Pakistan People’s Party used his poetry to mobilize people during the anti-Ayub movement.⁹⁶²

When Yahya Khan assumed power, Jalib wrote a critical poem that virtually challenged Yahya Khan’s authoritarianism:

The person who ruled before you, was also absolutely sure
of his almightiness like the God
Could you tell me of somebody who had been able to
withstand/stand fast to the might of the people
Where have all those [vanished] who took pride in
themselves and their power. Or Where have all those
[vanished] who swelled with pride in themselves and their
power⁹⁶³

Since the anti-Ayub movement began, Pakistani society became increasingly polarized between the political Islamists and the Left. Seeing the growing popularity of the Left, political Islamists came up with the slogan ‘Islam in danger’. In response to the anti-Left propaganda campaign, Jalib wrote a number of poems, like ‘*Khatray Men Islam Nahin*’, ‘*Ulema Sau kay Nam*’, ‘*Maulna*’ and ‘*Fatwa*’.⁹⁶⁴ One can place another poem, entitled ‘*Pakistan ka*

⁹⁶¹ Ibid.

⁹⁶² Saeed Pervaiz, ‘*Mera Bhai, Mera Jalib*’, p.183.

⁹⁶³ Mujahid Bralvi, *Habib Jalib*, p. 36–37. This ghazal was also later published in *Lail-o-Nahar* (Karachi), Habib Jalib, ‘*Ghazal*’, *Lail-o-Nahar*, 14–20 December 1970, p.17.

⁹⁶⁴ Habib Jalib, *Ahd-e Sitam* (Lahore: Aman Publications, 1980) contained two out of four poems ‘*Khatraymen Islam Nahin*’, and ‘*Ulema Sau kay Nam*’, pp. 20–23. Of the other two poems ‘*Fatwa*’ was published in *Lail-o-Nahar* (Karachi) on 19 April 1970, and ‘*Maulana*’ also in the same period.

Matlab kya', in this category as well, as it explains the meaning that the Left attached to the *raison d'être* of Pakistan.

It reads as:

- 1 Bread, clothes and medicine
- 2 A little House to live in
- 3 I [everyone] should get free education
- 4 I am also an equally staunch Muslim
- 5 What does Pakistan mean?
- 6 There is no God, but God...
- 25–26 The basic thing is that the people should be freedom
- 27 And usurpers and exploiters should be ruined
- 28 The People who are aware of the truth speak rightly.⁹⁶⁵

Z. A. Bhutto asked Jalib to join the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and offered him a party ticket, but—to Bhutto's utter surprise—Jalib refused.⁹⁶⁶ The PPP also used Jalib's couplets to bolster its image as a radical party.⁹⁶⁷ Jalib contested the 1970 election on the NAP's (Wali) ticket on a provincial assembly seat from Lahore, but lost the election in the midst of a strong swing in favour of the PPP.⁹⁶⁸

Section 4.8 of Chapter 4 mentioned that Lahore's Left-wing intellectuals had launched a signature campaign against the military action in East Pakistan. Jalib was one of the most active protagonists of this campaign. He visited the offices of various newspapers to get this statement published in the newspapers.⁹⁶⁹ Later, he addressed a political meeting of the Democratic

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 17 and p.19.

⁹⁶⁶ Mujahid Bralvi, a renowned journalist who wrote a biography of Jalib recorded his reaction. Jalib declined the offer, saying '*Kabhi sumandar bhi daryaun mien gira katray hain*' (Have you ever seen the seas falling into rivers)? This reply demonstrates Jalib's courage of conviction as well as his belief in the righteousness in his cause, Mujahid Bralvi, *Habib Jalib*, p.23.

⁹⁶⁷ Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-O-Fann*, p. 132.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.253.

⁹⁶⁹ Naeem ul Hassan, '*Bain Bazu kay Nazariyat Kay Furogh Men Akhbarat ka Kirdar*' (M.A report, University of Punjab, 1988).

Students Federation (DSF) that was organized outside Lahore’s Kisan Hall. Jalib warned that Yahya Khan’s policies would lead to Pakistan’s disintegration, and urged the people to raise their voice, and not fear being jailed. He equated silence on the issue as a compromise on integrity, and viewed it as an act of betrayal.⁹⁷⁰ At the end of his speech, he recited a *qita* entitled ‘*Khun-asham Bengal*’ (Blood-stained/blood-bathed Bengal)’:

1 You are sowing love through bullets
 2 You are staining the country’s face with blood
 3 You think that you are making progress
 3 But I know that you have lost your way.⁹⁷¹

As subsequent events showed, this warning proved prophetic. In view of the proactive role that Jalib performed in the realms of politics and literature, a number of scholars and political commentators like K. K. Aziz, Sohail Ahmed Khan, and Siddiqa Begum describe him as a poet whose poetry allows us to listen to the voice of the conscience of the Pakistani nation.⁹⁷²

Figure 7.3 The streets of Lahore you would remember me (Habib Jalib)



Source: Mujahid Bralvi In *Koi to Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, Mujahid Bralvi (ed.). Lahore Habib Jalib, 1983⁹⁷³

⁹⁷⁰ Saeed Pervaiz, *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p.140.

⁹⁷¹ Habib Jalib, *Kulliyat- Habib Jalib*, 4th ed. (Lahore, Mawwara, 2005), p.205.

⁹⁷² K.K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore*, p. . Ajmal Naizi, ‘Habib Jalib Nay Sabit Kar Deya Keh Shaair Ba-Zarar Nahin Hota’, p.64; Sohail Ahmed Khan cited in Ajmal Naizi. ‘Habib Jalib Nay Sabit Kar Deya Keh Shair Ba-Zarar Nahin Hota’, in *Koi To Parcham Lay Kar Niklay*, ed. Mujahid Bralvi, p.77; and Siddiqa Begum cited in Saeed Pervaiz. *Habib Jalib, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, p.216.

⁹⁷³ We have taken this line from one of Habib Jalib’s couplet

7.5 Khadija Mastoor (1927 –1982)

Until here, the narrative has explored the poetry of Lahore’s progressive poets as an avenue of examining its literary radicalism. To expand scope, it shifts to prose, and examines the oeuvre of Khadija Mastoor, a powerful representative of women’s voices in the literary realm. Mastoor was born to a middle class family that lived in a place called Jhoi Toyala in Lucknow. Her father Tehwar Ali Khan was a veterinarian and mother a short story writer. This atmosphere had a profound impact on Khadija and her siblings, as six out of eight of Tehwar Khan’s children became renowned litterateurs and journalists.⁹⁷⁴ Khadija Mastoor, Hajra Masroor and Ayesha Jamal earned fame as fiction writers. Intizar Hussain once compared them to the Bronte sisters.⁹⁷⁵ Khadija’s father died in 1937; his death deprived her family of a regular source of income. Thus, she had personal experience of recognizing the problems of the poor and lower middle classes.⁹⁷⁶ In the late 1930s and 1940s, Lucknow’s literary ambience exhibited both conservative and progressive characteristics and—as Mastoor came under both these socio-cultural influences—directly influenced her political, intellectual and literary thinking.⁹⁷⁷ For instance, one of her early writings included an article in favour of *Parda*. Even in her early

⁹⁷⁴ Taj Begum Farrukhi, *Khadija Mastoor Shakhsiyat aur Fann*, Pakistani Adab kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 2010), pp.30–31.

⁹⁷⁵ Khadija Mastoor, Intizar Hussain’s interview with Khadija Mastoor, in Intizar Hussain, *Mulaqatain*, (Lahore, Maktaba-e Aliya, 1988), n.d., p.

⁹⁷⁶ Rashida Qazi, ‘Urdu Afsanawi Adab ki Riwayat Men Khadija Mastoor ka Maqam’ (Ph.D. thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University, 2003).

⁹⁷⁷ Mushirul Hasan, *From Pluralism to Separatism: Qasbas in Colonial Awadh* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), Sarah Waheed, ‘Radical Politics and the Urdu Literary World in the Era Of South Asian Nationalisms’ (Ph.D. thesis, Tufts University, 2011), pp. and Átul Tiwari, ‘Lucknow of Faiz Ahmed ’Faiz’, *Think India Quarterly (Faiz Centenary Special)* 14, no. 1 (March 2011): 146–55.

years, as an active member of the PWA, she used to participate in the *Anjuman's* meetings clad fully in *Parda*.⁹⁷⁸

In 1943, Mastoor began sending her writing to *Adab-e Latif* for publication, and later came to know its editor Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi well. Qasmi used to think of her as his sister. In 1947, when Mastoor's family moved to Pakistan, he became their guardian.⁹⁷⁹

Khadija Mastoor and her sister Hajra Masroor began writing in the golden era of Urdu literature, particularly in fiction and poetry, when giants like Saadat Hasan Manto (1912 – 1955), Krishan Chander (1914 –1977, Rajinder Singh Bedi (1915 –1984), Ghulam Abbas (1909 –1982), Balvinder Singh and Khwaja Ahmad Abbas (1914–1984) dominated the literary scene. Women writers like Ismat Chughtai(1915 –1991), and Qurratulain Haider (1928–2007) had carved out a niche, and their bold writing style greatly inspired Mastoor, her sister and several other young progressive women writers. However, despite drawing early influences from Ismat Chughtai, both sisters maintained their distinctive style of writing in terms of choice of subject and treatment of theme.⁹⁸⁰ Mastoor's first collection of short stories, *Khel* appeared in 1944.⁹⁸¹ Two years later she published her second collection, titled *Bauchar* in 1946.⁹⁸² In these collections, she focused mainly on describing isolated events.

⁹⁷⁸ Taj Begum Farrukhi, *Khadija Mastoor Shakhshiyat Aur Fann*, and; Rashida Qazi, 'Urdu Afsanawi Adab ki Riwayat Men Khadija Mastoor ka Maqam'.

⁹⁷⁹ Rashida Qazi, 'Urdu Afsanawi Adab ki Riwayat Men Khadija Mastoor ka Maqam', p.7.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 144.

⁹⁸¹ Khadija Mastoor, *Khel*, (Lahore: Naqush Press, 1944).

⁹⁸² Khadija Mastoor, *Bauchar*, (Lahore: Naqush Press, 1946). In these short stories K.Mastoor mainly dealt with the issues of domestic lives of women, their everyday problems, and

In 1947, Mastoor moved to Lahore, and enrolled in the APPWA and *Anjuman Jumhuriat Pasand Khawatin*, where she was an active member. As she was a woman, Mastoor was never sent to prison, but the CID kept her under constant vigilance. Once, a CID informer snatched the PWA proceedings from her.⁹⁸³ Mastoor delicately balanced her roles of housewife and littérateur, and maintained a close rapport with the poorer segments of society.

The narrative will now focus on Mastoor as a novelist and on her first novel, *Angan*. Therefore, it would be useful to provide a bird's-eye view of important milestones in her literary career in a tabular form.

Table 7.2 Literary Works of Khadija Mastoor

Year	Nomenclature of the Work
1951	<i>Cand (chand) Roz Aur</i> (collection of short stories) ⁹⁸⁴
1962	<i>Angan</i> (novel) ⁹⁸⁵ , <i>Thakay Haray</i> ⁹⁸⁶ (collection of short stories) Its title is quite symbolic and suggestive as it depicts the worn out marginalized people, women, domestic workers who suffer from poverty, societal behaviour and excesses of feudal lords or dilemmas arising out of feudal values.
1981	<i>Thanda Metha Pani</i> (short stories) ⁹⁸⁷
1984	<i>Zamin</i> (novel) ⁹⁸⁸

Sources: Rashida Qazi, 'Urdu Afsanawi Adab Ki Riwayat Men Khadija Mastoor Ka Maqaam'

The progressive element becomes more explicit in both her collections. These stories represented the evolution of Mastoor's craft as a writer. She focused on the social life of women of the lower strata of society. There appeared a major difference in her approach in her later three collections, where she tried to

unfulfilled desires of love/love desires as well as sex. Through this theme she tried to highlight the social sufferings.

⁹⁸³ Taj Begum Farrukhi, *Khadija Mastoor Shakhshiyat aur Fann*, p.131.

⁹⁸⁴ Khadija Mastoor. *Cand Roz Aur* (Lahore: Naya Idarah, 1951).

⁹⁸⁵ _____, *Angan* (first edn. 1962) (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2012).

⁹⁸⁶ _____, *Thakay Haray* (Lahore: Matbuat, 1962).

⁹⁸⁷ _____, *Thanda Metha Pani* (Lahore: Matbuat, 1981).

⁹⁸⁸ _____, *Zamin* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel, 1984).

establish their connections with larger causes or issues of society. She tried to place it in a broader perspective and connect it with larger issues of life.

7.5.1 Khadija Mastoor and *Angan*

Mastoor's claim to fame, in addition to her short stories, is her novel *Angan*, which was published in 1962. She wrote another novel, *Zaminin* 1981. This novel was an extension of the theme of *Angan* to post-colonial Pakistan's perspective. Hence, in this sense, it is more relevant to this study. But the date of its publication takes it beyond the scope of this study, and I have chosen *Angan* as an object of enquiry.⁹⁸⁹

This novel showed the effects of political transition in undivided India between 1920 and 1940 on a Muslim feudal family. It exposed the contradictions of the *zamindari* system, and the excess or injustices of social customs on the lives of individuals. It reflected the widening political divide in Muslim families that began to destroy the larger social and political fabric of society in India in the 1940s. Mastoor carefully crafted all these themes into this novel.

The novel is a narrative of two successive generations of the *Nawab* family. Aliya, Tehmina and Shamima (Cheemi) are the main female characters, and represent the younger generation. The characters of Dadi (Aliya's grandmother), Amma (Aliya's mother), Najma (Aliya's aunt) and *Bari Caci* (chichi) (wife of Aliya's elder uncle) represent the previous two generations. The novel's male characters include Mazhar (Aliya's father), *Baray Caca*

⁹⁸⁹ V.G. Julie Rajan, a scholar of post-colonial literature has engaged this novel in her work, V. G. Julie Rajan, 'Rewriting Nation: Post-Independence Narratives of Resistance by Women of India and Pakistan' (Ph.D. thesis, The State University of New Jersey, 2005).

(chacha) (the elder brother of her father), and Aliya's first cousins Jameel and Safdar, and represent two generations. The novel introduced Bua and Israr Mian, who represent the lower strata of society. *Bua* is depicted as a family servant, and Israr Mian is portrayed as one of the surviving illegitimate children of Muzaffar, the deceased zamindar. Characters like Safdar and Israr Mian could not get social acceptance due to their inferior class background. Though Safdar is featured as the first cousin of Aliya, most family members hold him in contempt, as his father was a poor farmer and a tenant of her grandfather, whom Safdar's mother had fallen in love with and married.

In the novel, Mastoor covered issues like love affairs, suicides of characters like Kusm and Tehmamina (Aliya's sister) as the result of a clash between love and tradition in Indian society, domestic tensions, desires of the old members of family, like *Dadi* and Aliya's mother, to cling to the values of feudal order, that they cherished and wanted to preserve it at all costs. The novel depicted them as opponents of the forces of change in the society. This novel is an insightful study of a decadent feudal family. *Bua* represented those people in the feudal system who endured the excesses of their masters, but had become so resigned to their fate that they romanticized the oppressive system. *Bua's* inhuman and discriminatory treatment against Israr Mian showed that she had become accustomed to look at things from her master's perspective.

The most striking feature of the novel is that Mastoor provides glimpses into the effects of a political divide on a family. Mazhar is featured as an anti-imperialist and a staunch supporter of the *Khilafat* Movement. Once, a British officer cursed him; he became so infuriated that he beat up the officer. This act landed him in prison. The court sentenced him to seven years' imprisonment,

where he died. Mastoor depicted his younger brother *Baray Chacha* as a staunch nationalist and a close friend of J. L. Nehru. He is so committed to his cause that he does not care about his family or their severe financial constraints. Jameel and Cheemi, two of Aliya's cousins, become ardent advocates of the Muslim League. Cheemi actively supports the Muslim League, organizes children's rallies and often argues with her uncle. Khadija Mastoor invented these two characters to represent the change in the political thinking of Indian Muslims. Safdar was inclined towards Communism, which had become a passion among frustrated youth who aspired for political change.

This novel brought into focus the immediate political situation after Partition. Aliya's uncle, who went to see J. L. Nehru, was killed by an extremist Hindu. This incident demonstrated that communal frenzy had touched such heights that it had eroded the difference between foe and friend. This novel further shed light on the political situation in Pakistan. The novel offered glimpses into political corruption, financial irregularities and mal-practices in allotments of the evacuee property in which the affluent classes and government officials had indulged, and which was very frustrating for people like Aliya.⁹⁹⁰ The way in which her mother behaved after migrating to Pakistan further showed the change in their social behaviour.

Mastoor gave the novel a dramatic twist at the end. Safdar, who had moved to Pakistan, visits Aliya's house by chance. After meeting Aliya, he tells her mother he wants to marry Aliya. Her mother refuses, but Safdar tries to

⁹⁹⁰ Ilyas Chattha, 'Competitions for Resources: Partition's Evacuee Property and the Sustenance of Corruption in Pakistan', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 5 (1 September 2012): 1182–1211.

persuade her by saying that he has abandoned his political views and intends to get an import–export licence and go into business. Aliya declines his proposal; she is not interested in material possessions, which have become the norm in society. Her rejection of Safdar’s proposal shows the strength of her character, and the change in Safdar’s views shows the unfavourable situation Communists had to face in Pakistan. Some persevered, and remained committed to their cause, whereas most gave in and began to tread on the path of political opportunism.

Mastoor tells the narrative through Aliya’s voice. In a narrow sense, *Angan* is the study of a family and of its branches, which had spread over various places, but in the metaphorical sense, it narrated the story of three *Angans*, as Aliya spent her life at three different places. The first was her own home, where she was born and brought up. The second was her uncle’s house, where she had moved when her father was imprisoned. The third was the house that was allotted to her family after she moved to Pakistan. Mastoor divides her novel into two temporal phases: the past and the present.

Figure 7.4 Khadija Mastoor and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi



Source: Google Images, accessed on 13 August 2013.

7.6 Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1917–2006)

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was one of the key literary figures of Lahore. He was a journalist, literary editor, poet and short story writer, and excelled in all these roles. Above all, he was the main figure in the PWM. His literary career spanned seven decades. He edited literary journals and magazines for almost fifty four years.⁹⁹¹ Qasmi spent most of his life in cities, but his works, particularly his short stories, focus on the rural environment. Between 1939 and 1942, Qasmi frequently visited Lahore. His mentor Abdul Majeed Salik advised him to resign his government job and recommended him to Maulvi Mumtaz Ali for the position of editor of his magazines.⁹⁹² That advice changed his life profoundly.

Qasmi's wrote his first piece in 1931. It was an elegy for Muhammad Ali (1878 –1931), a renowned Indian nationalist and pan-Islamist. His uncle and guardian — appreciated this effort so much that he had it published in the *Daily Siyasat*.⁹⁹³ The paper published the piece on the front page of its special edition on Muhammad Ali. Qasmi's first short story 'Bad-Nasib But-Tarash' was published in 1933 in a literary magazine called *Roman*.⁹⁹⁴ In 1937, Qasmi wrote a short story titled 'Gunah'. It attracted the attention of Sadat Hasan Manto, who had carved out his niche as a short story writer by that time.

⁹⁹¹ One can divide his editorship into two broad phases: 1942–1959 and 1963–2006. During this period, he wrote — collections of poems, — collections of short stories, and numerous columns and articles for the dailies *Imroze* (Lahore), *Hilal-e Pakistan*, *Ehsan*, later *Jang* (Lahore), and *Huriat* (Karachi) since 1952.

⁹⁹² Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ['Dibaca'] introduction to *Jalal-o-Jamal*, by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 34th ed. (Lahore: Asateer, 2000).

⁹⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁴ Akhtar Shirani (1905–1948), the editor of that magazine was the major exponent of the Romantic Movement in Urdu literature since the late 1920s. Fateh Mohammad Malik, 'Preface' to *The Selected Poems of Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi (Urdu-English)*, translated by Sajjad Shaikh, trans. (Islamabad: Alhamra, 2004), p.xii.

Between 1943 and 1947, Qasmi performed a central role in the progressive print culture and radical literary activism. Table 7.6 provides its brief overview.

Table 7.3 Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's Literary Career between 1936 –1947

Year	Milestones
1936	Published his first short story
1938/39	His first collection of short stories was published.
1942–1945	Appointed as Editor of <i>Phul</i> , (children magazine) and <i>Tehzib-e Niswan</i> (women magazine)
1943	Appointed as the editor of <i>Adab-e Latif</i>
1944	Joined the AIPWA
1945 –1946	He organized Muslim League's election campaign in <i>Khushab Tahsil</i> during 1945–1946 election ⁹⁹⁵
1946 –1947	Edited <i>Sawera</i>

Source: Malik, Fateh Mohammad. *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Shair Aur Afsana Nigaar*. Lahore: Sang-e Meel, 2007, p.266.

Since his early twenties, Qasmi had been an aspiring literary writer and poet, and had published ---collections of short stories and three collections of poetry by 1941. In 1946, Qasmi moved to Peshawar to work as Script-writer at Radio Pakistan Peshawar. At the time of Partition, he was still in Peshawar. He composed the first three national anthems and songs that Radio Pakistan had aired at midnight of 14 and 15 August, the moment that marked the birth of a new state in South Asia.⁹⁹⁶ Immediately after Partition and the creation of Pakistan, there were communal riots in Peshawar, in which Muslims targeted Sikhs. Qasmi, who witnessed these riots, felt so grieved that he raised critical questions in some couplets he composed at that time.

⁹⁹⁵ He supported Nawab Aziz Tiwana, a close relative of Khizr Hayat Tiwana, who was the leader of the Unionist party and became Punjab's prime minister in 1943, after Sikandar Hayat's sudden demise. A number of Muslim League leaders of Punjab, like Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat, who visited Khushab during the election campaign, became bewildered at the level of popular mobilization against the powerful Khizr Hayat Tiwana. He could only manage to save his seat with a narrow margin. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi 'Rawan Dawan', *Jang*, 5 July 1995; Mian Mumtaz Daultana, 'cand Yadain'; For historical context of Khizr Hayat Tiwana's rule see, Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Surrey: Curzon, 1996).

⁹⁹⁶ Naheed Qasmi, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Shakhshiyat-o-Fann*, Pakistani Adab Kay Memar (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adabiyat-e Pakistan, 2009), p.266; and Mohsin Ahsan, Mohabaton ka Devta', *Adabiyat*, Special Issue, 2006, p.71.

Would you invite another foreign power for invasion?
 This road will turn into this corner
 O! The people of the country where would you go from
 here
 Why you do not try to discover your own cause OR Why do
 you not try to trace your own mark/ foot-step? ⁹⁹⁷

Like Faiz, Qasmi composed a critical poem about the project of Partition.

The awful night that has fallen has bathed in the redness of
 twilight
 If the grim/dark night in the/its beginning resembled of
gaza (rogue)
 Its culmination/end resembles of redness of *hinna* (henna)
 What a strange incident is it, that God has bestowed us such
 a favour
 That the morning Sun, which has set is *lala-fam* (tulip-
 red/ruby red).⁹⁹⁸

Table 7.6 indicated that Qasmi was a stalwart supporter of the Pakistan movement, but the excerpts above from Qasmi's poetry demonstrate his criticism of the Muslim League government.⁹⁹⁹ Like many other progressives, such as Iftikhar-ud-Din, Abdullah Malik and Mirza Ibrahim, to name only a few, Qasmi was not opposed to the creation of Pakistan, but became increasingly disillusioned about the way the state was governed by the ruling elites, particularly the Establishment, in collusion with the other influential classes, like the feudal lords.

Immediately after Partition, Nadeem became a key figure of the Progressive Movement, and stayed so until 1971.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 266 –267. *Kiya phir koi ajnabi bula lao gay / Yeh rah tau is mor pa mur jaye gi / Ai Ahl-e Watan ab kahan jao gay / Kiya apna surag khud nahin pao gay*

⁹⁹⁸ Nadeem's ghazal cited in Ludmila Vasilieva, *Parwarish-e Lauh-o-Qalam*, p. 157. *Muheeb raat shafaq men naha kay aye he / Muheeb raat ka aghaz tha agar ghaza / Muheeb raat ka anjam bhi henai he / Yeh aik ajeeb sa ahsan-e kibreyai he / Jo aftar deya ham ko lala fam deya*

⁹⁹⁹ Later, in an interview, he explained that caused disillusionment that included, the rampant corruption in the process of allotment and the accompanying woes of the millions of refugees who had migrated to Pakistan as well as the sufferings of the common man had compelled Leftists to take critical stock of the situation. *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi interview with Radio Pakistan*, interview by Arif Abdul Mateen and Fatah Mohammad Malik, part I of III, (n.d.c.[1990's], You Tube audio-recording, 27 June 2011), uploaded by Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPgEsRvlnHQ>.

Table 7.4 Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's Literary Career during 1946 –1968

Years	Milestones
1946–47	Edited the first four issues of the progressive magazine <i>Sawera</i>
1948–1949	Edired <i>Naqush</i>
1949	Elected as Secretary General of the PWA
1951	Remained incarcerated for six months May and October 1951 ¹⁰⁰⁰
1952	Re-elected as PWA's Secretary General
1953–1959	He joined the PPL and worked as <i>Imroze's</i> editor
1958	He remained incarcerated for more than three months in the prisons
1959	Resigned from <i>Imroze</i> after takeover.
1963	Launched his Literary Magazine <i>Funun</i>
1964	Received <i>Adam Jee</i> Literary Award
1968	The government awarded him pride of performance ¹⁰⁰¹

Source: M.Abbas Tauravi. *Ahmed Shah Say Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Tak*, pp.7and 11.

The table demonstrated that like other progressives, the Establishment had targeted him. The ordeal the progressives and the democratic forces faced made them critical of the state of freedom of opinion in the country, and Qasmi did not hesitate to criticise censorship. He was critical of the loss and

¹⁰⁰⁰ He had to suffer a lot while pursuing this path. In 1951, he was incarcerated for more than six months, and treated as a C-class prisoner, but maintained his magnanimity. He had a refined sense of humour. During his prison days, he had to frequently eat *chana* (chickpea), as there was no other decent food available, and he would joke that he feared he would start neighing like a horse when they would be free from prison. Hameed Akhtar's interview with Farrukh Sohail Goindi, Pakistan Television's programme *Tanazur*, presented by Farrukh Sohail Goindi, (2009, You Tube vedio, up-loaded on 27 August 2009), part II of V, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nf99jNFYx8I>.

¹⁰⁰¹ It appears quite strange that Ayub Khan's government bestowed such an honour on Qasmi, who was quite critical of it. Quite understandably, it gave rise to critical questions. In one of his interviews in the early 1970s, Qasmi said that he had received this award from the state—not the Ayub Khan government—for his contributions towards the ideology of Pakistan, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, interview by G.H.Azhar, in *Ru-ba-ru*, comp. G.H.Azhar,p? This reference to the ideology of Pakistan is quite critical. It is relevant to understand the ideological vision progressives like Qasmi had. In an interview to Arif Abdul Mateen and Fateh Muhammad Malik in 1980, Qasmi differentiated between Jinnah's vision of ideology and the later perverted interpretations of the Establishment and other conservative elements. He stressed that he only believed in Jinnah's interpretation, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's interview with Radio Pakistan*, interview by Arif Abdul Mateen and Fateh Mohammad Malik, part II of III, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPgEsRvlnHQ>. Qasmi's poetry and short stories provide very critical insight into post-Partition Pakistan's political history and show that he consistently lamented deviations from these objectives in the foot-note no.995 suggests. As regards his acceptance of the award by Ayub Khan's regime, one can explain or understand it in the light of the explanation or discussion in Section section 5.5 of chapter 5 this enquiry, which shows that of this chapter the progressive writers without compromising their ideology, reacted differently on the issue of literary awards. Some accepted them, but others like Habib Jalib and Zaheer Kashmiri were quite critical.

absence of political freedom. His poem *Pabandi* (restriction) expresses these sentiments.

My Master Complains:
Why does my candidness reveal
What he wants to conceal.
I asked him:
Why does your politics mingle poison in my arts?¹⁰⁰²

The type of society he wanted Pakistan to develop into is reflected in his poem *Dard-e Watan* of August 1953.

1 We demand mode of love from politics
2 And a garden dawn from desert's night
5 We demand nothing save freedom of speech
6 Or natural spontaneous expression for Man
7-8 The plucker has carried away the petals and bids
imprisoned in his cloak
9 They all demand their own tongues to speak¹⁰⁰³

Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi was arrested for the second time in October 1959,, after the imposition of the martial law in Pakistan. Qasmi wrote a poem in the jail in while in January 1959 that directly attacked Ayub Khan:

Your terror is universal, indeed
but, by God,
being a beggar of love,
I am better than you---
O mighty Monarch,
Merchant of hate!¹⁰⁰⁴

Two months after Qasmi resumed his editorship of the *Imroze*, the Ayub Khan government took over the PPL, and he resigned.¹⁰⁰⁵ This was a great financial

¹⁰⁰² Sajjad Shaikh, trans., *The Selected Poems of Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi*, p.354. *Meray Aqa ko gila he ki Meri Haqq-goi / Raz kyun kholti he / Aur Main poochta hun – teri siyasat, Fann men / Zahr kyun ghoolti he*

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid, p.340.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid., 340.

¹⁰⁰⁵ In another interview he revealed the management had conveyed him the message that it he should continue as the *Imroze*'s editor.

sacrifice, as he did not have any regular job. For the next fifteen years, he had to struggle as a freelance writer. Almost throughout the 1960s, he worked as a regular columnist for a number of newspapers, like *Magribi Pakistan* (Lahore), *Ehsan* (Lahore), *Imroze*, and dailies *Jang* (Karachi) and *Hurriyat* (Karachi).¹⁰⁰⁶ He launched his literary magazine *Funun* in April 1963, and continued to publish it regularly until his death in July 2006. He brought out 126 issues during that period.¹⁰⁰⁷

Qasmi was among those figures of the Progressive Movement who consistently differed from the Communist line or dissented against it. He did

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid. 376. In an interview to Radio Pakistan he revealed the management had conveyed him the message that he should continue as *Imroze*'s editor, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's interview with Radio Pakistan*, interview by Arif Abdul Mateen and Fateh Mohammad Malik, part I of III, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPgEsRvlnHQ>.

Year	Newspaper	Column's Nomenclature	Other details
1959	<i>Magribi Pakistan</i>	Mauj Dar Mauj and Panj Darya	
1960	<i>Ihasn</i>	Mataibaat	
1960–1964	<i>Imroze</i>	Harf-o-Hikayat	He wrote this humorous column under Anqa's pen name. His articles on literary and cultural issues also appeared in <i>Imroze</i> 's weekly edition and later magazine <i>Qismat-e Ilmi-o-Adabi-e Ilmi-o-Adabi</i> , entitled 'Tehzib-o-Fun'.
1968 (and later) 1970	<i>Jang</i> (Karachi)	Lahore, Lahore <i>He</i>	
1970	<i>Hurriyat</i> (Karachi)	Mauj-dar-Mauj	

¹⁰⁰⁷ I have tried to bring creation dimension of his differences with the CPP in the previous chapter Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi never identified himself as a closeted communist. In an interview to Asghar Abdullah in 1989 he described himself as a progressive not as a 'political progressive'. Following sources provide more details on this aspect. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, interview by Asghar Abdullah, in special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Mansoor Ahmed Quarterly *Montaj*, Issues 1 and 2, January–April 2007, and May– August 2007, [c.1989], p.616.

not become a member of the CPP.¹⁰⁰⁸ On the Sino–Soviet schisms, he supported China. From 1965 onwards, he became a vehement opponent of the Soviet policy towards South Asia. He also developed differences with the Leftists in the Afro Asian Writers Association, a group supported by the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁰⁹

In 1966, He commented on the information order of the regime of Ayub Khan in these words:

It has been decreed to convey the truth in such a mode,
Nadeem
That one should call wound as wound rather, it should
be depicted as a flower¹⁰¹⁰

In 1974, Qasmi wrote a poem entitled ‘*Nafi*’ (denial) that was sarcastic towards the attitude of avoiding reality. Though the period in which he composed this falls beyond the scope of this study, the sentiment of the poem holds true for the period we consider.

We are contradicting ourselves
And think that; the truth is prevailing on account of our very existence
We are snuffing out all the candles
And claim that after us; there is daylight all around.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰⁰⁸ Fateh Mohammad Malik, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Shair Aur Afsana Nigar* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel, 2007), pp.104 –105.

¹⁰⁰⁹ He criticized Soviet government’s indifference on the issue of Soviet support to Egypt during the second Arab –Israel war (1967).He expressed his serious reservations on the soviet policy editorially in his magazine *Funun*. He also wrote a short story in which he metaphorically criticized Soviet Union with the other powers as he classified it with the other imperialist powers like the US and the Britain He wrote a critical poem on Soviet government’s indifference on the issue of support to Egypt , Ibid, and .Masood Ashar, ‘Akhri Mulaqat’, in special Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi number, ed. Mansoor Ahmed Quarterly *Montaj Montage* 1, no. 1– 2, (2007), p.44–45.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Hukm Yeh he ki Sacc bhi Qarina say kaha jaye Nadeem / Zakhm ko Zakhm nahin, Phul bataya jaye*, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi, *Muheet* (Lahore, 1966),.

¹⁰¹¹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, *Muheet*, p.106.

There were many dimensions to Qasmi's personality, and he excelled in all fields. Until now, the narrative has focused on his radical poetry. It will now consider his fictional writing, the other significant aspect of his oeuvre.

7.6.1 Qasmi and His Fictional Literature

Qasmi was a prolific writer; he published six collections of poetry during 1942–1976 and 151 short stories in eleven collections during 1939–1973.¹⁰¹²

A full-fledged doctoral study is required to cover the entire range of his writing. This section focuses on his fictional writing on rural Punjab, which constitutes one of the dominant themes of his work.

The deprivations and milieu of Qasmi's childhood developed in him empathy for the '*kamis*' [the subalterns of rural society who did menial work and lived in appalling social conditions].¹⁰¹³ Therefore, he could grasp the unpleasant realities of feudalism and its disastrous consequences for the masses, and both his prose and poetry reflected these. He had a passionate desire to change the inferior status of '*kamis*' to respectable citizens of society, and voiced it through his writing.¹⁰¹⁴ Therefore, the vast bulk of his literary work depicted feudal lords' repression of and indifference towards peasants and the other labouring classes.

¹⁰¹² Sajjad Shaikh, '*Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Kay Afsanavi Majmuay*', *Montage Quarterly Nazr-I-Nadeem*, no. 1–2 (January– April, and August 2007), p.140.

¹⁰¹³ We can borrow from Frantz Fanon and describe them as the 'wretched of the earth'. For more details about the difficulties Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi faced in his early childhood, see, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi's interview with Radio Pakistan*, interview by Arif Abdul Mateen and Fateh Mohammad Malik, part III of III, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPgEsRvlnHQ>. had Urdu International Canada, *Ashfaq Hussain Interviews Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Toronto, Canada - 1992)*, 20

¹⁰¹⁴ Qasmi particularly admired Bhutto, as the latter had been able to politically mobilize unprivileged classes for their democratic rights, and his popular politics had instilled in them the confidence to challenge the dominant classes. Of the several poems Qasmi wrote on Bhutto, '*Ek Fard Ek Tarikh*' was the most notable cited in Fateh Muhamd Malik, pp.92–94.

Qasmi was born in Anga, a village in the Soan valley (present District Khoshab), and experienced abject poverty in his childhood. His father was a *pir* (spiritual teacher), oblivious to his family's material needs.¹⁰¹⁵ Therefore, he had to work as a *muharrir* (scribe), clerk, telephone operator and a sub-inspector in the liquor department—all jobs that were at odds with his literary temperament.¹⁰¹⁶

The village constituted the main locale of his short stories. On the surface, this made the themes of his stories quite limited. But Qasmi made the panorama of events quite large through his plot development, detailed observation of village life, choice and construction of characters and strength of narrative. His short stories like '*Baurha Sipahi*' and '*Hiroshima say Pehley Hiroshima kay bad*' were set in the context of the military recruitment from Punjab for the two world wars.¹⁰¹⁷ The former focused on the First World War and the latter on the Second World War. These stories explored the sociological and social consequences of the world wars on the family system in villages, and the moral crises that poverty had engendered in the absence of wage earners (the main characters of the stories). In addition to these, short stories like '*Sipahi Beta*' and '*Baba Noor*' examined the other dimensions of war and its adverse effects on the family system in villages.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ Ashfaque Hussain interviews Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Asian Television Network's (ATN) show presented by Ashfaque Hussain, (1992, You Tube video, up-loaded on 28 July 2012), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FknHWjrecR8>

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, '*Hiroshima Say Pehley Hiroshima Kay Bad*', in *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab-Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), pp.485–517.

¹⁰¹⁸ Burah Sipahi, in, and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, '*Baba Noor*', in *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008). Literary critic Anwar Sadeed criticizes Qasmi's short stories because their villagers are passive spectators. This author argues, on the contrary, that in several short stories, like *Jutta*, *Jub Badal Umed Ayay*, *Vote* and *Lawrence of Theleba*, when the

In his short stories, Qasmi tried to uncover the entire political economy of exploitation that feudalism perpetuated and sustained. He identified how the lower hierarchy of government machinery in rural areas, like *zaildars*, *nambar-dars*, *kursi-nishins* and local police connived with feudal lords, and demonstrated that the latter's social attitude clearly was anti-peasant. By ingeniously blending their role, Qasmi was able to depict their existence as a curse and anathema of rural society and poor peasants.

Qasmi's fictional writing on rural Punjab exposed the mind-set of landlords, who took as a personal insult the poor peasant community's long struggle to improve their lot through educational and social progress, because they feared that after getting education and better employment opportunities *kamis* might challenge their absolute dominance in rural areas. The short story '*Pakka makan*' (a house made of cement) is centred on that theme. Yaroo, a poor villager, moves abroad for employment opportunities, and finances a house in his village through his savings. But the feudal lord, who was earlier the only one in the village who had a *pakka makan*, is enraged and jealous that an ordinary villager had dared to emulate him, and his cohorts and he humiliate Yaroo when he returns. The story shows the conservative nature of rural society.¹⁰¹⁹

Feudalism exerted its corrupting influence on the Punjab's *Khankhahi nizam*. Through connivance with landlords, *pirs* and *sajjada-nishins* were well entrenched in rural society. Pakistani Leftists were extremely critical of the

protagonists become aware and conscious, they challenge feudal dominance and such depiction reflects the changes in rural society. Even if one accepts Sadeed's contention for argument's sake, Qasmi's short stories show the real picture of Punjab's villages until the late 1960s.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Pakka makan*, cited in Anwar Ahmed Khan, *Urdu Afsana Ek Sadi ka Qisa*, Faisalabad: Misal Publishers, 2010, pp.278 –279.

negative role of *pirs*, but Urdu literature did not reflect this criticism adequately. Qasmi, who had closely observed the corrupt practices that had crept into the upper and lower echelons of the system, exposed the wrongs in the functioning of this *Khankhahi* system. Some of his short stories pointed out that there were those, like Qasmi's father, who had devoted their lives to the spiritual quest, and also those, like relatives of the real *darwaishes* (recluses), who turned that mission into a profitable business. Qasmi exposed the wrongdoings of *sajjada-nishins* and depicted them as a parasitic class that abused religion for selfish gain. One of his short stories, entitled 'Bain', is about how Sain Ji, a pseudo *pir*, exploits people's weaknesses, and sexually exploits a hapless woman.¹⁰²⁰ Qasmi highlighted the hypocrisy of some *mullas* (a category of religious theologians). The character of Abul in the story 'Alhamd-o-Lillah' is a characteristic example.¹⁰²¹

One of his short stories entitled *Ek Aurat Tin Kahanian* depicted the miseries of women born in poor rural families. One of the characters Noor Khatoon, a small girl, narrates her story:

After I was born the first thing that welcomed me in the world, was the splash of dirt [poverty] that hit me on my forehead and that sealed my eventual fate. Though they gave prayer in my ear and I was wrapped in bundle of wraps, but the splash of dirt had played its role'.

She went on to narrate that:

Now I am 7-8 years old, my mother made a clumsy doll for me but the *Chaudhrians* (the female members of the family of local feudal), say that my doll is like *mirasan* [a sort of *kami*, who belonged to family of *mirasis*] of their dolls.

¹⁰²⁰ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. 'Bain' In *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), pp.9 –18.

¹⁰²¹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. 'Alhamd-o-Lillah' In *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), pp. 341–365.

Therefore, I cannot cultivate friendship with them. My friend is Taru, the daughter of the village's cobbler. She remained barefooted. Once I asked her: 'being daughter of a cobbler you why are barefooted, what is that!' She replied 'It is the same thing, just as you being daughter of a farmer remain hungry'. 'Her answer settled our scores. Therefore I developed friendship with her'.¹⁰²²

Qasmi's short stories, like 'Kharbuzay' (melons), 'Nannahay nay Slet kharidi' and 'Wahshi', detail the social tragedy that results from the tribulations and compulsions poverty creates for the poor. These show children and elderly women deprived of necessities, and forms of deprivation in society.¹⁰²³ Stories like 'Vote', 'Jab Badal Umad Ayay', 'Lawrence of Thaleba' and 'Kahani Lakhi Ja Rahi he' contained a deep political message.¹⁰²⁴ A brief summary of 'Vote' should depict the kind of message Qasmi wanted to convey. It is the story of the family of a feudal lord, Malik Saheb, whose ancestors used to do marble work on graves. An elder of the family prepared a marble grave of one of the female slaves of Shah Jahan, the Mughal ruler. The emperor was happy, and granted the mason 100 acres of land. His descendants extended this estate by pledging allegiance to Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab and, later, the British rulers, and thus acquired substantial fortunes. Even later they supported the pro-feudal Unionist party in Punjab, and under the ministry of Khizr Hayat Tiwana, Malik and his family filed cases against Muslim League workers who advocated the cause of Pakistan under false pretexts, and even had stalwart supporters of the Pakistan movement of their jagir tortured. On the eve of the

¹⁰²² 'Ek Aurat Teen Kahanian' in Fateh Mohammad Malik, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Shair Aur Afsana Nigar*, p.171.

¹⁰²³ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Wahshi' In *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ed. (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2008), pp.182 –189 —, 'Kharbuzay', in *Ibid*, pp.521 –528.

¹⁰²⁴ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Baba Noor', in *Afsanay, Khud-Muntakhab Karda Chalis Behtarin Afsanay*, pp.245 –245, —, 'Jab Badal Umad Ayay', *Ibid*, pp.431 –446,— 'Kahani Lakhi Ja Rahi he', *Ibid*, pp.447 –468, and 'Lawrence of Thaleba', *Ibid*, pp.72 –84.

creation of Pakistan, this family changed its loyalty, and began to present themselves as well-wishers of the new state. They hoisted the flag of Pakistan and began to host lavish parties for the members of the Establishment and the ruling party. Unforeseeably, the behaviour of rural peasants changed, and some began to defy the landlords and protest bitterly against feudalism.¹⁰²⁵ In this story, Qasmi tried to portray the opportunism of feudal lords and unforeseeable social changes that perturbed feudal lords. The other stories mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph elaborate on similar themes.

Characterization constituted a core element of Qasmi's technique of writing short stories. The following table provides a specimen of the characters of some of his important short stories.

Table 7.5 Characters of Qasmi's Short Stories

Title of Short story	Name of Character
Rais Khana	Fazloo and Marian
Ek Aurat Tin Kahaniyan	Noor Khatoon
Be-Gunnah	Rehman
Sooney ka Har	Ahmed Ali
Batey Batian	Hadi Kumhar
Charwaha	Dada
Badnam	Nooran
Khel	Rani
Kafarra	Peeru
Usul ki Baat	Abdullah
Burhia	Wahshi
Naseeb	Akbar
Baba Noor	Baba Noor
Kahani Lakhi Ja Rahi he	Fatima
Shiknain	Ghuffura

Source: Sabina Awais. 'Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Ki Nasr Nigari Ka Tanquidi Jaiza.', Chapter 3; Fateh Mohammad Malik, *Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Shair aur Afsana-nigar*, Chapter 1 and 2.

The above-mentioned characters represent ordinary people—peasants, tenants, women farmers, servants and menial workers—and constitute the real heroes of Qasmi's short stories. They add elements of social realism to his fictional writing. Qasmi depicted them as engaged in an unequal struggle, but—as he

¹⁰²⁵ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Vote' cited in Anwar Ahmed Khan, *Urdu Afsana Ek Sadi ka Qisa*, pp.295–297.

wrote in the preface of —'I derive immense satisfaction with the fact that I have tried to represent those voiceless people whose lives have been held captive daily struggle by and the customs and traditions have sealed their lips.'¹⁰²⁶ In an interview to Aslam Farrukhi, he argued that:

I did not write any symbolic short-story. But I make claim that the characters of my short-stories are not isolated individuals rather they represent wide social circle. Therefore, they become symbols.¹⁰²⁷

The views in his fiction found expression in one of his poems entitled '*Merey Afsaney*':

1The villages may appear like paradise to you, but
2I have seen the deserted and desolated abodes/ dwellings
in this paradise...
21Would that! You also see, what I have seen
22 Capture their hearts and feel the pain caused by their
bleeding¹⁰²⁸

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a case study based on the individual profiles of five prominent literary writers of Lahore, and placed the *littérateurs* in the context of their socio-political milieu to demonstrate how it affected their consciousness and how that, in turn, influenced their oeuvre. It tried to examine the concept of the Left that emerged from the works of the selected *littérateurs*, and tried to present its literary representation in various genres of Urdu literature.

¹⁰²⁶ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Debaca' (introduction) to *Tulooh-o-Ghroob* by Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Asateer, 1995), p.10.

¹⁰²⁷ Aslam Farrukhi (comp.), *Nadeem-nama* (Karachi: Idarah-e Tasneef-o-Talif-o-Turjuma, 2006), p.155.

¹⁰²⁸ *Mere Afsaney*, cited in Afshan Malik, *Afsana-Nigar Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Asar-o-Afkar* (Delhi: Educational Publishing House, 2007), and ; M. Abbas Tauravi, *Ahmed Shah Say Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi Tak* (Lahore: Pakistan Writers Cooperative Society, 2010), p. 64.

The overall theme that the chapter discussed included these *littérateurs*' strong commitment towards the lot of socially marginalized classes. This impulse prompted them to critique feudalism. Their strong criticism of the authoritarian rule of the Establishment was interwoven with a vision of democracy. In Pakistan, both journalists and the *literati* used the expression '*jumhur ki baladasti*', (the notion of people's right to rule) to advance the agenda of democracy. Secular humanism and internationalism were important components of the progressive vision. The assumptions of *samraj-dushmani* (anti-imperialist vision) underpinned the philosophy of both humanism and internationalism. The *literati* followed the ideals of social realism and socialist realism, and therefore tried to depict social and political realities boldly and defiantly, without fear or favour. Cumulatively, all the themes that I discussed in the chapter (like Chapter 2 on print culture) helped develop a broader conception of the Left. The Leftist project carried other shades of meaning, which included promoting awareness of radical change in society and advancing the concept of human emancipation.

On the surface, the themes that the progressive *littérateurs* of Lahore explored reflect a degree of commonality of concerns. Critics object that their range of themes is narrow. But the chapter demonstrated that despite their commitment to the progressive cause, each writer followed their own diction. Further, this difference shows in their approach towards literary resistance, which in many respects defined their distinct identity. The approach and work of Faiz and Kashmiri look similar in many respect; for instance, they used Persian-ized vocabulary, and tried to hide radical content through careful deployment of their literary repertoire. From the very outset, Faiz's poetry was enmeshed in

the traditions of the ghazal, and so was Zaheer Kashmiri's, from the mid-1950s. Last but not the least, both delicately balanced their aesthetics and politics. Therefore, in their poetry, the romantic element overwhelms the dogmatic and didactic elements. As regards their activism, Faiz's engagement with the progressive project was much more diverse than Kashmiri's. In his early phase, Kashmiri was involved in trade union activities, but later followed only literary pursuits. But Faiz, in addition to writing poetry, was involved in journalism and trade unionism throughout his career, and tried to promote the alternative, Leftist viewpoint through the cultural sphere, folk theatre, performing arts and films. Jalib and Qasmi, on the other hand, preferred to focus only on poetry. Qasmi commented on Jalib:

Neither he tried to hide his intention by using symbols, or extending metaphors nor attempt to muffle it up by making subtle literary illusions'. Rather he expressed himself with absolute clarity and followed a direct approach.¹⁰²⁹

Qasmi's assessment of Jalib's poetry holds true for his own, and the description here of his literary work attests it. However, although the poetic expression of both poets exhibit certain closed similarities, there were considerable differences in their approach of resistance towards the Establishment. One of Qasmi's couplets, written in 1957, acknowledges this fact, and reinforces our contention.

We have also adopted *Anal-Haq* (defiance and beholding of truth) as a slogan
But we say it in a different way.¹⁰³⁰

But it does not mean that Faiz's resistance was less significant; rather, one can attribute the difference in a different set of circumstances.¹⁰³¹

¹⁰²⁹ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Habib Jalib ki Infradiyat', in, *Habib Jalib Fann aur Shakhsyat*, p. 12.

¹⁰³⁰ Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, *Dasht-e Wafa*, p.84. *Apna Nara bhi Anal-Haq he / magar, farq yeh he / Ham wohi bat ba-andaz digar kehtay hain*

Sections 7.5 and 7.6 examined the oeuvre of two writers of fiction: Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Khadija Mastoor. Though both were renowned short story writers, the chapter examined Qasmi as a short story writer and Mastoor as a novelist (although we briefly overviewed the main features of her short stories), and noticed certain similarities. Anwar Ahmed Khan, a scholar of Urdu *afšana*, points out that the ‘progressiveness’ of Qasmi’s fiction is ‘not theoretical or intellectual; rather, it stems from his deep observations of events and personal experiences he had’.¹⁰³² The section on Mastoor’s novel showed that her political commitment did not affect her writing, which could have diminished its aesthetic value, and that she painted a balanced, compelling picture of the socio-political conditions in Northern India in the 1930s and 1940s and in the early years of post-Partition Pakistan.

Both writers tried to show that their characters’ social attitudes were shaped by their social background and by the class structure of society. It may be argued that such depiction embodies the essence of social realism. Both *littérateurs* shared the ideal of secular humanism, and demonstrated great empathy with socially disadvantaged classes and groups, the ‘wretched of the earth’. In representing marginalized communities, like tenants, labourers and domestic maids, both writers displayed their strong belief in their characters’ goodness. Their characterization indicated that the poor possessed the admirable traits of honesty, integrity and untiring perseverance in the face of unfavourable

¹⁰³¹ Faiz was much senior to Jalib in terms of poetic career as well as association with Left-wing movements. The Establishment and the Islamic Right had marked him as a target of vilification campaign since late 1940’s. On the other hand, on account of Jalib’s proactive role in the COP, and anti-Ayub Presidential campaign had made the Islamic right fairly sympathetic towards him.

¹⁰³² Anwar Ahmed Khan, *Urdu Afsana Ek Sadi ka Qisa*, p.311.

circumstances. All the progressives shared this ideal. As Jalib says eloquently in one of his couplets:

Though it is true that the people of our age do not consider
us more than tiny specks
But we do not beg to stars for light.¹⁰³³

Progressive writers used various literary tropes, like ghazal, nazm, afsana and novel, to spread political and social awareness in society, and accorded much emphasis to their *tarsil* or communicative competence. The profiles of progressive writers like Faiz, Jalib, Kashmiri and Qasmi showed that they made sacrifices for the larger cause, resisted the Establishment's temptations of favours and rewards and went to jail for their pains. Their conscious deployment of literary resistance and various forms of activism—whether literary, trade union or political—helped in many ways in developing rapport with the people. We can presume that it was one of the main reasons that their literary oeuvre profoundly impacted society.

The manner in which Faiz enmeshed aesthetics and politics was a turning point in Urdu literature. His views on culture influenced official thinking in a key area of national activity, which had suffered disgraceful neglect, and of which the conservative and religious elements had a low opinion. A number of cultural institutions were created in the country between the early 1960s and 1977. Faiz did not found all these institutions, but his views mark a shift in the government thinking towards cultural affairs.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰³³ *Nigah-e Daharmen Zarray sahi, magar ham log / Zia ki Bhik nahin mangtay Sitaron say*

¹⁰³⁴ For details see, Salima Hashmi. 'The Hue of the Garment: Faiz Ahmed Faiz and a New Idiom for the People', In *Faiz: A Poet of Peace From Pakistan - His Poetry, Personality and Philosophy*, ed. Khalid Sohail and Ashfaq Hussain (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre,

Jalib's immense popularity was its most illustrative examples or further attests our contention. Even Faiz acknowledged that 'no poet in the entire the history of Urdu literature could get the audience that Jalib had'.¹⁰³⁵ Manzoor Qadir's confession about failure of the constitution of 1962 attests the effective role the Lahore's literary writers had begun to play in the society in the late during 1960s.

The literary magazine *Funun*, which, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi had launched, provided the progressive literati a veritable platform for carrying on their literary work which the obviously used for articulating the radical ideas under martial laws. Moreover it proved instrumental in the intellectual training of scores of aspiring writers. If we juxtapose with the discourse on Guild in section of section 5.5 of chapter 5, it reinforces our contention that the progressive literati of Lahore functioned as an intelligentsia that continued to offer sustained resistance against the authoritarian regimes. In broad sense it supports our larger argument that civil society was putting up resistance and literature provided veritable lenses to examine this resistance.

University of Karachi, 2011), pp.145–164, and; Ahmed Salim, *Faiz: Yadain, Batain Kub Yad men tear sath nahin* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel, 2011), pp.33 –52.

¹⁰³⁵ M.Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Tahrey Ajnabee*. Lahore: The Classic, 2004.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMING UP

Through a localized study of the intellectual resistance of Leftist journalists and *littérateurs* of Lahore during 1947–1971, this work sought to explore the idea of the Left expressed through the Left-wing print culture, and its two major constituents, the press and literature. It used as lenses the Left-wing press and the radical literary movement, the Progressive Writer's Movement (PWM). This study chose the Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) and its two Lahore-based dailies, the *Pakistan Times* (PT) and *Imroze*, as sites to execute this project. It examined the role of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) as another avenue to explore the larger theme. It attempted to demonstrate that—contrary to the widely held belief that the dominance and well-entrenched position of the Establishment and of the privileged classes had rendered the role of the Left peripheral in the Pakistani state and society—the Left continued to play a proactive role in Pakistan, and emerged as an agency of resistance. Within a short time, the PPL newspapers began to function as an effective medium for disseminating the Leftist influence. Likewise, the PWM had already gained a strong footing by the time of the Partition, and within a few years began to dominate the literary scene. Naturally, the Establishment became increasingly discomfited with the radicalism of these agencies, and targeted the PWA in 1954, and the PPL in 1959. This study based its enquiry on the Establishment's action against these two agencies, which provided us a conjuncture to examine the course of intellectual resistance until 1971. In doing so, the study discussed an array of topics, radical journalism, trade unionism, censorship, the oeuvres of radical

literati, and the reactions this kind of intellectual resistance generated, which prompted ideological debates among progressives and between them and their opponents. As all the radical interventions were made in the city of Lahore, this work also examined its role in facilitating this radicalism.

The study began by discussing the perspective on the Left of both the Establishment and of the recent stream of scholarship on it. It pointed out that notwithstanding the viewpoint of its detractors, the general impression of the Left in post-colonial Pakistan is that it acted as a carrier of an alternative vision. But that dream could not be realized, because the Establishment did not allow it space to flourish. Despite this limitation, the Left profoundly impacted intellectual life, the labour movement, literary traditions and the struggle for democratic institutions. That was the premise of the enquiry. The dominant narrative about the Left has been profoundly influenced by the views that the Establishment and the political Islamists held about it. More recently, Saadia Toor, Anushay Malik, Taimur Rehman and Kamran Asdar Ali have complicated this narrative quite eloquently. This study too tries to do so, and seeks to contribute to the body of scholarship on the Left.

By examining agencies like print culture (specifically, the PPL and the PWM), the study demonstrated that, despite all odds, the Left was not a passive actor, and progressive intellectuals and journalists put up continual resistance during the period under study; and that, therefore, the Left functioned as the disseminator of a new vision. In other words, the powerful Establishment could not completely suppress the agency of the Left. This study described the entire process, to demonstrate how this resistance had taken place, and what the larger impact of this change was, as a vantage to explore the idea of the

Left that emerged from the print culture of Lahore, the work of five of its prominent littérateurs and from the literary activism of the PWM. It deployed the last-mentioned agencies to show how the PPL newspapers and the progressive literati reflected the viewpoint of Left-wing parties and movements and their positions on domestic and foreign issues, as well as the radical solutions they proposed to the problems of ordinary people. The study also looked at the role of PPL newspapers and progressive literati in advancing the radical agenda.

The Introduction to the thesis set out the main premises of the enquiry. It gave the reasons for choosing the two newspapers, the *PT* and the *Imroze*, and the PWM. It stressed that the period under enquiry, between the years 1947 and 1971, was of critical importance, as it coincided with Pakistan's independence, and enabled us to examine the different visions of nation and state building—of the Establishment, of Left-wing parties and Right-wing parties. The Introduction highlighted Lahore as the hub of the Left's print culture and literary radicalism. It argued that this evolution had been facilitated by the colonial transformation, the religio-educational reform movements and the indigenous literary tradition that took roots in Lahore as part of the larger cultural milieu of Indo-Islamic civilization. It noted that the British created a built environment by taking on several development projects and cultural ventures that led to the concentration of educational and cultural institutions within the urban confines of Lahore. Thus, developments in the colonial and post-colonial periods created an environment conducive to cultural activity. The discussion also flagged the presence of a culture of socialism in the intellectual life of Lahore and examined how, in turn, this shaped radical

politics, and fostered Left-wing print culture and the growth of a radical literary movement.

This thesis showed how the PPL emerged as a unique entity that pioneered the setting up of two newspapers, the *PT* and the *Imroze*. Chapter 2 discussed the traditions of journalism that existed before the PPL, and the difference that PPL newspapers made in modernizing the newspaper industry in Pakistan as well as professional journalism. Some of its major contributions were the introduction of new technology, improvements in the technical aspects of newspaper production, qualitative changes in the overall content of newspapers and the presentation of news in new formats. Chapter 2 also highlighted how the PPL's owner Iftikhar-ud-Din created professional working conditions for journalists and employees and allowed them to form trade unions and participate in union activity. Moreover, the salaries of PPL employees were not only high, but unprecedented in the history of Pakistani journalism.

Chapter 2 also considered the persona of Iftikhar-ud-Din. It characterized him not as a closeted Communist, but rather as a social democrat passionately involved in Left-wing politics for almost three decades. The different dimensions of his character—Left-wing leader, businessman and feudal lord are discussed. His opponents often maligned him, somewhat unfairly, on his being a businessman and feudal lord, but an overall assessment finds that creating PPL and allowing its newspapers to pursue a radical agenda was a daring initiative on his part. He was among the earliest Opposition leaders to shape radical and oppositional politics in United Pakistan, through political parties like the Azad Pakistan Party, the Pakistan National Party and the

National Awami Party (NAP). Moreover, as a parliamentarian, he created a niche for himself by taking bold and radical stances on domestic and international issues.

Chapter 2 also tried to show how PPL newspapers often mirrored the agenda of the Left. It found that the Pakistani Left consistently followed a democratic agenda. It was noted that, by and large, Left-wing parties opposed feudalism and advocated land reform. The biggest problem that Pakistan faced immediately after Partition was the rehabilitation of more than five million refugees. As a Left-wing leader, Iftikhar-ud-Din proposed a radical solution. From the beginning, the Establishment tried to draft a Constitution for the new country and, through it, create a strong centre. It focused primarily on state-building, at the cost of nation building. From the beginning, Leftist political parties opposed this stance. They supported Provincial Autonomy and questioned the mono-lingual vision of the Establishment and the political Islamists and proposed pluralistic solutions to resolve lingual disputes. This stance was manifest in their support to the Bangla lingual movement of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the rights of ethnic minorities and opposition to the 'One Unit' scheme. Overall, the Left worked towards an egalitarian society, and tried to promote awareness about structural solutions that would enable the state to play a welfare-oriented role. In the realm of foreign policy, it vehemently opposed the growing influence of the Anglo-American bloc. The Left supported the national liberation movements of Indonesia, Algeria and Palestine. Our treatment of both PPL newspapers demonstrated that these effectively reflected the Leftist point of view on these issues and, in many respects, projected them in more ingenious ways than Leftist parties.

In looking at the content of the *PT*, the discussion highlighted how the daily sought to promote awareness about the radical changes taking place in Pakistani society. Its journalists initiated a debate for socialization through the [conjunctures] of problems of refugees, peasants, working class, women and minorities. This debate was couched in very constitutional language, as the Establishment had become increasingly intolerant of socialist jargon. The PPL journalist I.A.Rehman described it as 'generic ways'. The *PT* used the 'Letters to the Editor' section very ingeniously to highlight issues, orientate its readership and society to women's rights, and draw government attention to it.

In looking at *Imroze's* content, we tried to show that many of the causes it espoused were closely aligned with the Leftist agenda. The *Imroze* aimed to influence the 'future directions of country's political system' and advocated socialism in more ingenious ways than traditional Leftist groups like the Communist Party of Pakistan had been doing. *Imroze's* advocacy of Islamic socialism offers one clear example. The study also demonstrated differences within the Left on the engagement of Islam. Communist leaders like Sajjad Zaheer and Sibte-Hasan took a historicized view of religion, which was influenced by Marxist perception, and opposed the Islamic socialism promoted by Jalal-ud-Din Bokhari, Fazl-Elahi Qurban and the followers of Maulana Obaid Ullah Sindhi. However, PPL newspapers, particularly *Imroze*, supported Islamic socialism.

The role of *PT* and *Imroze* proved so effective that Tariq Ali, a scholar-cum-activist, stated that the 'PPL was the Left of West Pakistan'. Ultimately, this thesis pointed out that PPL newspapers played a greater role than the conventional press, but also problematized this type of assessment, by

highlighting that newspapers have limitations and could not have assumed the mantle of a Left movement. However, given the distinctive role the PPL newspapers played, one cannot altogether dismiss Tariq Ali's viewpoint.

Chapter 3 dealt with issues of state censorship and control of the Press in Pakistan. It drew upon primary sources from the Press Laws Branch to examine how the Establishment reacted to the radical agenda of the PPL newspapers. It also argued that the Establishment was hostile not specifically to PPL newspapers, but to those that differed with its policies, including the pro-Muslim League press. Left-wing newspapers, particularly CPP publications, openly opposed government policies and understandably earned its wrath. The chapter pointed out that, at the height of the Cold War, the Pakistani Establishment tried to magnify the Leftist threat to entice US support and, as a part of this policy, suppressed the Left-wing press, other Left organizations such as CPP, labour organizations and the PWA; and such suppression was tacitly supported by US administration and diplomatic officials, who had been observing the activity of the Left, as it had consistently been taking an anti-Establishment, anti-US stance.

In looking at Left-wing newspapers, the discussion differentiated between CPP, non-CPP and PPL publications. In discussing the PPL, the chapter highlighted the kinds of pressure its journalists were subjected to. The Establishment imposed fines and various forms of censorship on PPL newspapers. They arrested journalists and sent the police into PPL premises. Successive regimes initiated inquiries against the PPL and its management. Journalists at the PPL not only withstood these pressures but also defended the freedom of expression through their leading role in the trade union movement.

A substantial part of Chapter 3 dealt with the PPL takeover which, it argued, was the logical corollary of changes in the Establishment's perception. To explain the takeover, it presented the discourse, analysis and views of PPL journalists like Ahmed Bashir, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Mazhar Ali Khan, Ahmed Ali Khan and I. A. Rehman.

According to Ahmed Bashir, the conspiracy against the PPL had started in the early 1950s. The Establishment had been planting informers in PPL newspapers, felt Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. Ahmed Ali Khan held that by critiquing the Ayub Khan government's introduction of a controlled democracy, PPL newspapers had earned its displeasure; and the publication of an editorial ['Ends and Means', 29 March 1959, by Ahmed Ali Khan] had convinced it that these newspapers could create hurdles for them. Although PPL editors had expressed their critical views between the lines, the Establishment construed that under the management of Iftikhar-ud-Din, the newspapers would not follow its whim. Mazhar Ali Khan wrote that the increasingly influential role of the PPL newspapers and their high circulation tempted the Establishment to take these over.

In framing the PPL, the Establishment alleged that Iftikhar-ud-Din had received funds from socialist countries like the USSR and China, but could not prove them in court. Many of these allegations are analyzed. The manner in which the Ayub Khan government brought these charges against Iftikhar-ud-Din further exposed its bias. Instead of protesting this assault on the freedom of the Press, rival newspapers sided with the Establishment and helped their attempt to criminalize the PPL and its newspapers.

Chapter 3 also briefly looked at developments after the PPL takeover. Although Iftikhar-ud-din sought legal recourse in an attempt to retain control, the higher courts played a compliant role and seem to have applied Hens Kelson's Theory of Revolutionary Legality in legal cases involving the justiciability of fundamental rights. Quite ironically, Iftikhar-ud-Din's petitions belonged to that specific category. The newspapers were initially auctioned to a coterie of businessmen, who lacked the skills required to run a media business and had to dispose of the newspapers in quick succession. The discussion focused on two major phases of managerial change in the PPL, and on the resistance of PPL journalists after the takeover.

After the Ayub Khan regime's experiment to run the PPL newspapers under malleable private proprietors failed, it considered other options. Subsequently, the National Press Trust (NPT) was created. It presaged the institutionalization of press control in Pakistan. The NPT deviated from previous norms, as its control imposed serious limitations on the freedom of expression and substantially diminished the ideal role of newspapers—to act as a 'watchdog of government policies' and as 'a mirror of society'. It is argued that NPT control turned out to be destructive for newspapers, including PPL's newspapers, in the long run.

Chapter 4 highlighted the challenges PPL journalists faced after the takeover and how they struggled valiantly to express radical views within the limitations. To show their internal struggle, the analysis incorporated PPL journalists' views, which complicated the widely held belief that—although the policy of the PPL newspapers had undergone a paradigmatic shift—its journalists acquiesced with the Establishment. Instead, the discussion showed

that the journalists devised new ways and means to carry their struggle forward, and enumerated the factors for their success, such as the dominance of radical journalists in the PPL even after the takeover, and their strategy to put across their message between the lines; the supportive role of editors; and loopholes in the regulatory framework of the Ayub Khan regime, which manifested in discrepancies in Press laws.

Following the takeover, journalists left the PPL of their own will. The Establishment forced several others to leave. These journalists pursued various trajectories. The chapter tried to identify these, by exploring their role as a 'diffuse community', particularly through the newspapers and magazines that it described as offshoots of the PPL, like the Lahore-based dailies *Musawaat* and *Azad* and the Karachi-based weekly *Lail-o-Nahar*. Their radical interventions, under the military regime of Yahya Khan, were quite critical. They vehemently opposed the regime's perspective on political crises, particularly the issue of East Pakistan's autonomy. They construed the political Islamists' new interpretations of Pakistan's ideology as a deliberate attempt to give new meaning to the rationale of the establishment of Pakistan, and challenged these interpretations. Finally, the discussion on the trade union activism in the late 1960s highlighted the PPL trade unionists' defiant role.

Chapters 2–4 of the thesis engaged with print culture as the agency of resistance; and Chapter 5 sought to examine the role of literary resistance. It took a broad view of the phenomenon, and tried to explore it at the all-Pakistan level. It portrayed the PWA as the harbinger of literary resistance. The chapter is divided into two broad parts; each represents a different period. The first explored the literary resistance under the aegis of the PWA in an

institutionalized form. It focused on three conferences that the PWA organized in December 1947 (Lahore), November 1949 (Lahore) and July 1952 (Karachi), and used these events as three veritable conjunctures to gauge shifts in the PWA's policy. It analyzed the disastrous consequences of the hard-line stance that the PWA adopted in 1949, and explained why that alone cannot be said to have sealed its fate, as the literati (like Intizar Hussain) and scholars (like Hafeez Malik) would have us believe. After the PWA was banned in 1954, literary radicalism petered out. The chapter alluded to two failed efforts at reviving the PWA—the establishment of the *Anjuman Azad Khayal Musanifeen* (c. 1955–1956) and of the *Awami Adabi Anjuman* (1967). The Establishment banned the Anjuman; the influence of the *Awami* remained limited to the province of Sindh.

Chapter 5 looked at a very important form of literary resistance that scholars on the Left have paid little attention to—the Leftist interventions in films. This brief overview focused on two kinds of Leftist literati: that had had no exposure to film making (like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Hameed Akhtar and Ashfaq Ahmed), and all of whose ventures failed; and professional film directors like W. Z. Ahmed, Zia Sarhadi, Khalil Qaisar and Raiz Shahid. Their ventures were, mostly, commercially successful. Writers like Faiz, Akhtar and Ahmed tried to develop a new way of thinking through these films, but could not achieve the results they desired, because financiers, producers and directors were habituated to formulaic films that guaranteed instant success, and saw little value in experimental films. But we can construe these films as the earliest attempts to develop an alternative cinema.

Chapter 6 considered the reaction of the opponents of the PWA's literary radicalism, and explicated the viewpoint of two anti-progressive *littérateurs*, M. H. Askari and M. D. Taseer. Their discourses are critical in understanding the main postulates of what is described as the project of Muslim cultural nationalism. Though progressives and their opponents appear on the surface to be engaged in a polemical rhetoric, this chapter tried to piece together valuable clues to bring out the distinct visions of the literary writers, each of a different ideology. In contrast to the Pakistani nationalist, the progressives did not consider the state a sacrosanct entity, over and above the rights of the people; they advanced the concept of the supremacy of the people, and prioritized their problems. Their stance on the lingual issue and provincial autonomy indicated their vision of unity in diversity, but their opponents could not understand it or its nuances. The larger purpose of this chapter in engaging in these debates was to understand the vision of the progressives and their opponents, and not to judge.

The last section of the chapter examined the internal debate over engagement with Islam or Islamic socialism. This debate was part of the larger cultural question of the Left. While focusing on the correspondence between Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Sajjad Zaheer, the section tried to bring out two different perspectives on this issue. Zaheer considered socialism as a panacea and took a hard-line stance, but Qasmi advocated a more creative engagement of Islam with Communism, and focused on the larger cultural question: How could the Leftist ideology be made part of the sensibility of the Muslim nation? After the collapse of Communism, this issue assumed greater importance, and there

is growing realization that a hybridized vision of the Left could make it more relevant to cultural sensibilities.

Chapter 7 narrowed the focus of debate to Lahore's five major *littérateurs*: Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Zaheer Kashmiri, Habib Jalib, Khadija Mastoor and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi. To focus on their engagement with politics and literature, the chapter contextualized them in their socio-political milieu to show how it shaped their consciousness which, in turn, influenced their progressive vision.

The progressive *littérateurs* discussed in the chapter reflected the voice and conscience of ordinary people. Their work assumes greater importance if one considers their context—the period when the Establishment was trying to stall the democratic process and hinder the process of political socialization in society. Collectively, progressive *littérateurs* were not silent on the political blunders that the Establishment had committed during these years; rather, they consistently voiced their displeasure over them. More importantly, they tried to develop in society the faculty of critical thinking; their writings provide sufficient material for introspection. Equally crucial were their efforts to bring the state of self-denial and cultural narcissism, as the couplet of Qasmi I quoted in the chapter amply reflected.

This summary of chapterization attests to the ways this enquiry attempted to encapsulate the different forms of Leftist resistance— in journalism, literature and culture. It presented the Left as a potent agency of resistance. The study devoted three chapters each to print and literature. The chapters on PPL endorsed the choice of the newspapers as an agency of the Left, as the account showed that all the major personalities of the Left and of the progressive literary movement had at some time been associated with this institution. The

PPL journalists also played a role in carrying forward radical ventures in the film industry.

Although this study is not an exhaustive study of the Left or a comprehensive narrative of the movement—it focuses on agencies (PPL and PWM) and location (Lahore)—it sheds some light on the wider dimensions of the Leftist movement. While conceptualizing the Left, the Introduction highlighted certain distinctive characteristics. Comparing these with the idea of the Left that emerged from subsequent chapters, one sees a clear similarity.

One specific finding of the study is that the Left was divided and unorganized because the Establishment suppressed it systematically. Also, doctrinal disputes among Left-wing parties created disunity. This division was reflected in the ideological standpoints of prominent Leftist personalities and intellectuals; being part of society, they could not remain detached from ideological cleavages, and were affected by these. The brief biographical sketches in our study of journalists and *littérateurs* showed that they represented different ideological persuasions within the Left, but remained committed to the larger cause, and tried to advance it in their own ways. Chapters 2 and 6 pointed out that the traditional Left failed to engage Islam sufficiently, and could not appreciate its significance in the larger cultural question of the country. Had the CPP addressed the issue more seriously, it would have enabled the Left to make itself part of the sensibility of society in more meaningful ways.

Table 8.1 Comparing Ideas of the Left Emanating from Chapters of the Study

Introduction	Conception of the Left emerging from chapters on the PPL, 2–4	Conception of the Left emerging from chapters on the PWM, 5–7
Equality, and advocacy of human emancipation	Opposition to all the oppressive feudal dominance by privileged classes	Awareness of feudalism
Liberty	Criticism of statutes and laws against civil liberties	The progressive project of peoples’ supremacy
Secularism	Opposition to the use of religion for political purposes and its deployment as a tool of establishing a theocracy	Creation of literature advocating secular humanism
Progressivism	Conception of journalism that promotes public interests.	Deployment of literature as a tool for promoting a progressive outlook
Association with grassroots politics	Focus on disabilities and deprivations of marginalized segments of society and submerged groups, minorities, women, peasants and the proletariat; the discourse on the difficulties of ordinary people reinforced this vision	Empathy with the poorer segments of society Conception of literature as a weapon of arousing consciousness for rights and the problems confronted in everyday life
Commitment to a programme aimed at bringing radical change in society and politics	Support of economic agenda aimed at establishing an egalitarian society Espousal of provincial autonomy Advocacy of independent foreign policy Promotion of awareness of anti-imperialism Espousal of definite programme of socio-economic reforms inspired by socialistic ideals	The notions of socialist realism envisaged the role of literature as a tool for carrying out a revolution The creation of literature that espoused a distinct ideal of the obligation of literary writers towards society The radical stance of the PWA on the issue of language Primacy of people’s rights over the state Commitment to socialism Anti-imperialist themes in poetry and short stories of progressive writers
Democracy	The discourse of PPL newspapers on undiluted democracy	Insistence on <i>jumhur ki baladasti</i>

Despite all its limitations, the Leftist movement resisted the Establishment’s authoritarianism and the political Islamists’ obscurantism; promoted

democratic culture and liberal values; and strengthened the secular fabric of society. The Leftist agenda promoted democracy, support to provincial autonomy, developing consciousness against feudalism, demand of reformulation of country's foreign policy on neutral line, anti-imperialist agenda and struggle for freedom of expression. Therefore, one should not equate certain of its failures with failure in absolute terms. While at that time progressives faced severe opposition, there is greater consensus in society on all these issues now; in certain ways that highlights the long-term impact of the Left. Instead of appreciating the significance of this vision, the Establishment, nationalist intellectuals and political Islamists tried to discredit it, and point the country in the opposite direction. Interestingly, as early as 1947, the Leftists had pointed out the implications of adopting such a course. For instance, Ihtesham Hussain, a progressive literary critic, wrote to Intizar Hussain on 20 July 1948 and expressed reservations over subjecting the country to the control of the *millat* [translated here as religious community]. This prediction was proved accurate by later developments in Pakistan—the rise of sectarianism, Islamic radicalism, Praetorianism and marginalization of the trade union movement and working class politics. Therefore, this context makes this study relevant in some ways for present-day Pakistan, as it pinpoints several of its dilemmas over the past three decades. Moreover, when there is effort under way to reorganize the Left, by contemplating more hybridized forms of progressive ideologies, studies like this, which brings out both its contributions and limitations, may help in developing a more profound understanding of the Left.

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Appendix 1

Table 1.4: Typologies/Types of Left-wing Parties in Pakistan (1947–1971)

Type/Category	Name and nomenclature of party	Year of establishment
Traditional Marxist Parties	Communist Party of Pakistan [West Pakistan Committee]	February 1948
	Communist Party of Pakistan [East Pakistan Committee] ¹⁰³⁶	March 1948
Moderate Leftist Parties	Azad Pakistan Party	November 1950
	Gana Tantari Dal (East Pakistan)	November 1953
Working Class Parties	Sindh Hari Committee	1945
	Krishak Sramik Party [Peasants and Workers Party, East Pakistan] ¹⁰³⁷	July 1953
	Mazdoor Kisan Party	1968
	Worker's and Peasant Socialist Party ¹⁰³⁸	1969
Non-Marxist Left	Pakistan Socialist Party	July/ August 1947 ¹⁰³⁹
Regional Left	Peoples Party of Pakistan	May 1948
	Awami League	February 1950
	Sindh Awami Mahaz	April 1953
	Ustaman Gal [The Party of the People] ¹⁰⁴⁰	July 1955
	Pakistan National Party	March 1957 ¹⁰⁴¹
	National Awami Party	1957
	NAP [Bhashani]	1967
	NAP [Muzaffar]	1967
National Awami Party [Wali Khan]	1967	
Populist Left	Pakistan People's Party	November 1967
Islamic Left	No particular party, groups within and personalities espoused this cause.	

¹⁰³⁶ According to Badr-ud-Din Umar, a veteran communist leader of Bangladesh, this branch of the communist party was initially part of the Communist Party of India (CPI), as 'the latter was not formally divided.' Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan* (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 42.

¹⁰³⁷ Rafique Afzal, a scholar of the politics of post-colonial Pakistan, describes its formation as 'a revival of an old provincial organization, the Krishak Praja Party (Peasant–Tenant) Party, set up by Fazl-al-Haq in 1927.' M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1976), p. 113.

¹⁰³⁸ It was established by Nirmal Sen.

¹⁰³⁹ This party held its first conference in November 1947. Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi. Jamaatain* Ist edn 1986 (Lahore: Sang-e Meel, 2004), p.293..

¹⁰⁴⁰ It was a reincarnation of the Kallat National Party, which was established in 1939.

¹⁰⁴¹ I find a slight discrepancy in the date and year of its establishment. Shah Muhammad Marri puts the year of its creation as 1956. Shah Muhammad Marri, *Baba-e Balochistan, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizanjo*, Usshaq Kay Kaafley 8 (Quetta: Sanjat Academy of Sciences, 2009), p. 62.

Militant Left	Revolutionary Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist)RCPB-ML ¹⁰⁴²	1966
	Communist Party of East Bengal ¹⁰⁴³	1968
	East Bengal Communist Party- Marxist-Leninist [PBCP-ML]	1968
	Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [Barua] ¹⁰⁴⁴	1971
	Proletarian Party of East Bengal (Central Committee) PBSP(CC) ¹⁰⁴⁵	1971

M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958* (Islamabad: 1976), pp. 82–87 and 114–115.

Saul Rose, *Socialism in Southern Asia* (Oxford: 1959), p.

Shah Mohammad Marri, *C.R.Asalam*, (Lahore: 2007) p. and, _____, *Baba-e Balochistan, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizanjo*, (Quetta:, 2009), pp. 61–62.

Ghulam Mustafa, 'Alliance Politics in Pakistan,' *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* XXXI, no. I (2010), pp. 109 and 111.

Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'The Rise and Fall of the Left and the Maoist Movement in Pakistan,' *India Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2010): pp. 251–65.

'Leftist Parties of Bangladesh : JMB Leaflet 2005' (www.broadleft.org/bd.htm, 2005), pp. 1–5.

A. M. M. Quamruzzaman, 'The Militia Movement in Bangladesh Ideology, Motivation, Mobilization, Organization, and Ritual' (M.A., Queen's University (Canada), 2010), pp. 224–227.

Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan* (Karachi: 2004), p.46, Hafiz Taqqi ud din Ahmad, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Jamaatain aur Tahrikain*, (Lahore: 2001), p. 456.

¹⁰⁴² Bangladesher Biplabi Communist Party (M–L). It was founded by Arif Hossain.

¹⁰⁴³ Splinter faction of CPP, West Pakistan. It was founded by Mujahid-ul-Islam Salem.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Bangladesher Sammabadi Dal (Marxbadi–Leninbadi, Barua).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Purba Banglar Sabhara Party (Central Committee). It was founded by Siraj Sikder. In addition to these, there were a number of militant parties, about which neither of the sources I gleaned this information from gave the date/year. These are Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist- Leninist) [Dutta], Golden Bengal Communist Party, People's Freedom League and Proletarian Party of Bangladesh (Bangladesher Sarbahara Party [Kamrul].

The Changing Meaning of the Left: A Historical Overview

The modern conception of the Left assumed popular currency in the late eighteenth century, and has undergone continual change since. In the French Revolutionary Convention, ‘radical deputies’ like the Jacobins, and liberals and moderates, used to sit on the extreme Left of any convention. Both these groups espoused ‘popular democracy and egalitarianism.’ Conservatives, who championed the right of private property, sat on the right.¹⁰⁴⁶ Thus, initially, the term ‘Left’ was applied to seating arrangements (the US legislature did not follow this practice), and did not signify an ideological divide between Left-wing and right-wing parties based on party programmes and ideological agendas. However, in the first half of the eighteenth century, some groups that supported varieties of Utopian Socialism and the rights of trade unions and labourers were considered Left-wingers. In one of his works, Geoff Eley, a Marxist historian of Modern Europe and the Left, identified one of these groups as Blanquists that had begun to take political lines. He described them as predecessor of socialists.¹⁰⁴⁷ Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels’ formulations of communism redefined the concept of the Left. Marx defined the ideological agenda of the leftist movement and formulated its theory of institutions.

In the 1890s, two strands of thought emerged in the Leftist movement—social democracy and Bolshevism—and divided Leftists. After the Russian Revolution, its leader V. I. Lenin promoted the idea of a ‘vanguard party’. Later, Joseph Stalin, the second President of the Soviet Union, added the concept of ‘revolution from above’ to its meaning. The Chinese revolution in 1949 enhanced the appeal of revolutionary socialism among the Leftists and, simultaneously, presented a parallel model of revolution based on the mobilization of peasants. Later, the Chinese critique of the Soviet Left in the 1950s, and the reaction of the Soviet leadership, created schisms within the Leftist movement. The Chinese brand of communism affected the course of the Leftist movement more profoundly in Asia than in other parts of the world.

Simultaneously, between 1930 and 1960, the social democratic streak of Leftist thought became well entrenched in Western and Northern European countries. It attested to the widening of the gulf between Social Democratic and Communist

¹⁰⁴⁶Willie Thompson, *The Left in History: Revolution and Reform in Twentieth-Century Politics* (London: Pluto Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁴⁷Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000*. Oxford University Press, 2002, p.27.

parties in Europe and elsewhere. Later, the Communist parties gravitated further away from the class-based model of Leftist politics. An important conference of German Social Democratic Party (SPD) was held at Bad Godesberg, a town near Bonn, in which the party renounced its agenda that espoused the class based politics.¹⁰⁴⁸

Scholars like Frederick Jameson and Geoff Eley pinpointed a number of factors that in their estimation promoted serious debates within the western Left. These included: 'philosophical post-modernism', 'new feminism', 'theories of post-structuralism' and 'cultural criticism of the British New Left'.¹⁰⁴⁹ These debates drew the attention of the western Leftist intellectuals away from the traditional issues related to political economy, like class as an agency of revolution.¹⁰⁵⁰ The Leftists in Western Europe began to explore new issues, like ideology, consciousness and subjectivity, and opines Eley.¹⁰⁵¹

Since the late 1950s, a movement called the 'New Left' developed in the US and Western Europe that challenged the traditional notions of the Left. Almost concomitant with this development, social democrats—particularly in countries like Britain, Austria and Australia, to name a few—began to promote the ideas of a 'Third Way,' which proposed a middle ground between capitalism and socialism but, on the surface, was more sympathetic towards socialism. Although the New Left or Third Way could not impact the mainstream Left at that time, their long-term influence can be seen in the Left that emerged in the 1990s, particularly in Europe. After the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, the popularity of the new liberal ideology increased the tendency of incredulity towards traditional Leftist notions situated in the framework of traditional Marxism. Assessing the cumulative impact of these developments on socialist ideology, Geoff Eley observed in 1988 that 'the old class bounded models of socialist political action and traditional idea of the socialist party around the movement culture are now dead'.¹⁰⁵²

In an article in 2000, Finnish scholar and political activist Jan Otto Anderson provided three typologies of the Left: first, second and third. Each category marks not

¹⁰⁴⁸ For more details see, Schellenger, Harold Kent, Jr, *The SPD in the Bonn Republic: A Socialist Party Modernizes*, Published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Netherlands 1968. PP.86-92.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Frederic Jameson, 'Actually Existing Marxism', and Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Eley, *A Crooked Line*.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵² Geoff Eley, 'Socialism by Any Other Name? Illusions and Renewal in the History of the Western European Left,' *New Left Review*, I, no. 227 (February 1998): 114.

only a particular phase of history but also embodies a peculiar set of political and social values that defined the concepts of the Left that existed over two hundred years.

Appendix 3

Table 1: Use of the Regulatory Framework of Press Laws against the pro-Muslim League Press

Year	Nomenclatures Newspaper/Magazine	Editor/Proprietor	Action and Outcome
1948	<i>Daily Al-Haq</i> (Sibi)	Malik Mohammad Ramzan	The government demanded Rs. 2,000 as security. It could not pay, and shut down.
1948	Weeklies <i>Khurshed</i> and <i>Al-Islam</i> (Quetta)	Fazl Ahmed Ghazi	These magazines were shut down and their editors arrested.
1949	<i>Freedom Weekly</i> (Karachi)	M. H. Sayed and Yusaf Afghan	This weekly was subjected to pre-censorship under the Sindh Maintenance of Public Safety Act in January 1949. It did not survive long.
1949	<i>Weekly Al-Jamiat</i> (Peshawar)	Syed Sultan Shah Gilani	This magazine followed a hardline policy against Qayyum Khan's ministry. Its editor was arrested and dragged into court under a flimsy pretext. Its security of Rs 2000 was forfeited.
1949	<i>Daily Sarhad</i> (Peshawar)	Rahim Bakhsh Yousfi	The declaration of this newspaper was cancelled, and its editor Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi apprehended under the Safety Act.
1949	<i>Daily Safina</i> (Lahore)	Maulana Waqar Ambalvi	It was very critical of the policies of Francis Mudie (the Punjab Governor). On 20 July 1949, it published a sensational front-page story on Mudie's role in alleged 'transfer of truck-load of secret papers to London.' It was banned immediately. The trade unions of journalists protested the ban, but could not move the Punjab government.
1951-52	<i>Weekly Insaf</i> (State of Bahawalpur/ Baghdad-	Hayat Tareen	It used to frequently criticize the policies of Hasan Mahmood's

	ud-Jadid)		ministry. It was sympathetic to the cause of the labour movement. Its declaration was cancelled in 1951. In 1952, it was banned for six months. The cancellation and ban caused resentment among local labour leaders and led to their protest.
1951–52	<i>Weekly Sutlej</i> (State of Bahawalpur/ Baghdad-ud-Jadid)	Ali Ahmed Riffat	First, its declaration was cancelled. Later, Hasan Mahmood's ministry banned it. After press organizations nationwide protested on 15 July 1951, the ministry removed the ban on <i>WeeklyInsaf</i> and <i>WeeklySutlej</i> .
1951–52	<i>Daily Nawa-i-Waqt</i> (Lahore)	Hameed Nizami	It faced four different types of abuse of press laws between April 1951 and March 1952, when it resumed publication in a normal way.
1952	<i>The Star</i> Monthly (Lahore)	Aziz Beg	It published an article that was critical of the special preparations for the visit of the King of Iraq to Pakistan, which angered the military establishment. Charges of defamation were brought against this magazine, and it was banned.
1952	<i>Daily Al-Wahid</i> (Karachi), a Sindhi newspaper	Abdullah Haroon launched this newspaper. Later, several distinguished journalists and intellectuals served as its editors. Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi was its last editor.	The government had serious reservations over the political tone of several of its articles published in 1952 between 13 March and 6 June. It asked this newspaper to deposit two securities worth Rs. 3,000 each. Later, this newspaper was closed down.
1952–53	<i>The Evening Times</i> (Karachi)	Z. A. Suleri	On 30 December 1952, the government had its editor, publisher and cartoonist arrested,

			and later charged under Sections 124 and 125 of the Pakistan Penal Court. The trial lasted several months. Suleri was incarcerated for three months. In 1953, it ceased publication, and was re-launched in 1958 as the <i>Times of Karachi</i> . The Sindh Chief Court acquitted the accused. In its verdict, it said that ‘the meaning of Section 124 should not be stretched to cover the criticism of party in power.’
1953	<i>Dawn and The Evening Star</i> (Karachi)	Altaf Hussain	In November 1953, both the central and the Punjab governments deprived these newspapers of ‘all government patronage,’ such as advertisements and purchase of copies. Their journalists were denied the right of access to information from government offices and to other official functions, including press conferences.
1954	<i>Daily Hilal-e Pakistan</i> (Lahore)	Muhammad Salim (publisher)	The Punjab government imposed a penalty of Rs.1,000 in December 1954. The High Court upheld the Punjab government’s decision..
1954–1955	<i>The Daily Nawa-e Muslim</i> (State of Bahawalpur/ Baghdad-ud-Jadid)	Pirzada Saleem Aslam	It severely criticized the policies of the Bahawalpur ministry. The ministry banned it. Nine months later, after strong protests by journalists, the ban was lifted. It resumed publication in April 1955.
1954–55	<i>The Daily Pakistan Standard</i> (Karachi) it called itself Muslim League’s Official Organ	Farid S. Jafri	Its liberal policy proved unpalatable for its patrons. One of the Muslim League factions sent some hooligans to harass its staff members, which

			caused its eventual closure.
1957–58	<i>Mirror Monthly</i> (Karachi)	Begum Zaib-un-Nissah Hamid Ullah	It was banned for six months under Section 12 of the Security of Pakistan Act in November 1957. The Supreme Court, in this landmark case, overturned the ban, and upheld that Article 12 of the Security Act ‘conflicted with Article 8 which guaranteed to every citizen freedom of speech and expression...’

Source: This information has been extracted from the following sources; Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.49–47; M.Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, Chapters 1 and 4; Maulvi Mohammad Saeed, *Aahang-e Bazghast*, 3rd edn, Islamabad: Qaumi Idarah Brai Tehqiq-a-Tareekh-o-Sakafat, 1989, pp.335–336.

This table provides a chronological overview of the Establishment’s action against the pro-Muslim League Press. Some of these newspapers and magazines, which became a target of the Establishment’s anger, belonged to certain very influential journalists who either were considered close to M. A. Jinnah or claimed to be ardent supporters of the Muslim League’s cause. Among these individuals were M. H. Ahmed Isphani (editor, *Freedom Weekly*), Altaf Hussain (editor, *Daily Dawn* and its evening newspaper *Evening Star*) and Hameed Nizami (editor, *Nawa-i-Waqt*). During the crucial years (1944–1947), newspapers like the *Dawn* and the *Nawa-i-Waqt* had functioned quite effectively as organs of the Muslim League in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Aziz Beg (editor of a magazine called *Star*) and Z. A. Suleri (editor of the *Evening Times* daily) had both authored or compiled books on Jinnah that are considered important sources about his life and times.

This table endorses our earlier contention in the sections 3.2 and 3.3 of chapter 3 about the Establishment’s growing intolerance towards dissent, and shows how it tried to tame critical voices through the selective and whimsical application of press laws. It shows that, of all provincial governments, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan’s government acted most arbitrarily to muzzle press freedoms. In most cases, the Establishment’s actions against pro-Muslim League newspapers were not motivated by any principled stance; rather, factors like personal rivalries and the Establishment’s anathema to criticism seem to have had a direct bearing.

Table 2: Establishment's Crackdown against the CPP's Press

Year	Magazine's Nomenclature	Editor	Action and outcome
1948–1949	<i>Weekly Naya Zamana</i> (Lahore) This magazine was launched as an organ of N.W. Railways Union. The CPP took it over as its organ in August 1948.	Sibte Hasan, the renowned intellectual in charge of CPP's publications, was its editor. The editorial board (comprising Sibte Hasan, Abdullah Malik and Hameed Akhtar) and some other members looked after editing, production and distribution. Arrest warrants had been issued against Sibte Hasan since he had migrated to Pakistan. Therefore, the name of the other members of the editorial board, particularly of Hameed Akhtar, appeared as its editor.	Between 23 August 1948 and 7 April 1949, only 13 issues appeared. This shows it was not published regularly, due to hurdles created by the Establishment. The police conducted frequent raids on progressive book centres, the offices of the P.T.U.F. and the People's Publishing House (PPH). During these raids, besides impounding non-periodical literature, it used to confiscate copies of the <i>Naya Zamana</i> . To make things worse, the Punjab government demanded a security of Rs 3,000, which sealed the fate of this magazine. Sibte Hasan challenged this decision in the High Court, which in its brief judgment suspended the Punjab government's action, and allowed the magazine to continue its publication until the pronouncement of the final verdict. The Establishment overlooked the High Court's legal instructions and continued its hostile policy. Thus, <i>Naya Zamana</i> had to be closed down.
1949	<i>Siasayat Namah</i> (newsletter, published on cyclostyle)	CPP's editorial board	Faced with difficult challenges, this magazine survived long enough to publish 10 issues.
1950	<i>Monthly Irtiqua</i> (Lahore) It was CPP's ideological periodical. Its declaration was sought under Ikram Ludhnavi's name, who was Hameed Akhtar's close friend.	Syed Sajjad Zaheer	Its only two issues appeared between March and May 1950, after which the CPP had to discontinue its publication because of the hostile anti-Left political atmosphere created by the Establishment.
1950	<i>Weekly Apna Watan</i> It was a sort of reincarnation of <i>Naya Zamana</i> . Its declaration was issued in November 1949, but started publication on 7	CPP's editorial board	It was banned for publishing rebellious material in April 1950 for six months. After the lifting of this ban, it reappeared for a brief

	January 1950. It shut down in April 1950.		period, but soon became victim of the Establishment's high-handedness, as the key members of its editorial board Sibte Hasan and Hameed Akhtar were arrested.
1950–51	<i>Weekly Sehr</i> (Lahore)	CPP's editorial board	It had to face similar unfavourable circumstances. Anwer Ali's report reveals that the CPP had to suspend its publication due to the printer's blackmail and unfair demands. It also states that the printing presses refused to publish it.
195–953	Weeklies <i>JahanNuma</i> and <i>Saz-e Nau</i> . In their memoirs, the CPP's key members mention the names of these two weeklies, but not their period of publication. A.R. Malik's account places <i>Saz-e Nau</i> before <i>Jahan Numa</i> , but it is not confirmed by other contemporary sources. It can be presumed that <i>Jahan Numa</i> was launched after <i>Apna Watan</i> , sometime between 1952 and 1953.		These magazines made a brief and infrequent appearance but failed, like their precursors, mainly because of the Establishment's anti-Left attitude.

Source Extracted from: (i) *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol. I, pp.116-117 and Vol. II, pp 379-381; (ii) A. R. Malik, *Sajjad Zaheer*, p.103.

Table 3: Confiscation of CPP's non-periodical Literature

Year	Nomenclature of Booklet/Pamphlet	Brief description of content	Authorship
1949	<i>Inqilab-e Cheen Zindabad</i> (Long Live the Chinese Revolution)	It was published just before the Chinese Revolution.	Sibte Hasan wrote this pamphlet, and the PPL press published it.
1949	<i>Indonesia</i>	Translation of a detailed article published in <i>New Times</i> (Moscow).	A. R. Malik and Raiz Javed were its translators. Its price was two annas.
c.1950—51	<i>Liaquat Ali Khan Jawab Dein</i>	It was a critical commentary on Liaquat Ali Khan's policy	
Not mentioned	<i>Amreeki Safarat Khanay</i> (The US Embassies)	This monograph was about the espionage activities of the US Embassies.	It was a translation of Anna Bellay Baker's book. Its price was one rupee.

Source: Based on an annexes in A.R.Malik's biographical account of Sajjad Zaheer, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*, pp.146—147, and; A.Salim, *Hameed Akhtar*, p.130—131 and pp.239—245.

Table 4: Establishment's Crackdown against the Non-CPP Press

Year	Nomenclature: Newspaper/Magazine/Literary Periodical	Ideological Strand	Editor/Proprietor	Nature of action and its outcome
1948	Weekly <i>Bolan</i> (NWFP). It was one of the earliest <i>Pushto</i> magazines.	Red Shirt's organ	Mir Hasan Nizami	This magazine was highly critical of the policies of the chief minister of the NWFP. This opposition cost it dearly. The magazine was closed down only after a few issues, and its press was confiscated.
1948	<i>Adb-e Latif</i> (Lahore)	Leftist/Progressive	ArifAbdulMateen/Ch.Barkat Ali	It was banned for six months. After five months, on 1 February 1949, the ban was lifted.
1948	<i>Naqoosh</i> (Lahore)	–	Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Hajra Masroor/Tufail Muhammad	Same as above
1948	<i>Savera</i> (Lahore)	–	Zaheer Kashmiri and Ahmed Rahi/Ch.Nazeer Ahmed	Same as above
1949	<i>The New Orient</i> Weekly (Karachi)	Left-leaning	Ghiyur-ul-Islam	This magazine was avowedly progressive, as evident from the tone of its first seven issues. On March 24, its declaration was suddenly cancelled. The police carried out a raid in its office and impounded all the copies of its back issues. This action forced the immediate closure of this magazine.
1950	Weekly <i>Istiqlal</i> (Quetta)	Nationalist/Regional Leftist, an organ of the <i>Anjuman-e</i>	Abdus Samad Khan Durrani	The government took action against this

		<i>Watan Party</i>		paper under the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) and the Punjab Public Safety Act. Its editor and publisher were arrested and the paper was banned. It could not be published again due to the government's hostile policy.
1952-53	Daily <i>The Pakistan Observer</i> (Dacca)	Independent Opposition Paper, sympathetic towards Left	Hameed ul Haq Chaudhry	In February 1952, this paper published an article critical of Khawaja Nazim-ud-din's government. A couple of weeks later, the government banned it, and implicated its management in imprisonable offences. Its editor and one of its proprietors were apprehended. This newspaper remained closed for two years. Its management had to sustain a loss of almost 300,000 rupees. Its forced closure rendered its 150 employees jobless.

1953	Weekly, <i>Nawa-i-Watan</i> , (Quetta)	Progressive/Regional- Leftist	Gul Khan Naseer and Abdullah Jamaldeeni	The government's action against this magazine clearly smacks of political victimization. First, the Establishment pressurized its editor Ghulam Mohammad Shahwani to disclose the source of a letter that, it alleged, defamed a doctor. Then, it initiated legal proceedings against Shahwani, arrested him and told to pay a fine. After he refused to do so, he was imprisoned, and released only after a relative paid the fine on his behalf. These prolonged court proceedings against this magazine led to its closure.
1954	Monthly <i>Pushto</i> (Quetta)	Progressive magazine and <i>Lat-Khana movement's</i> (a variant of the Progressive Writers Movement) representative	Kamal Khan Sheerani and Khudai Daad	This magazine was launched in 1953. It advocated pro-Left, anti-Establishment and anti-US policies. The Establishment could not tolerate it and shut it down in 1954.

1954 –71	Weekly <i>Ittefaq</i> (later Daily) (Dacca), a Bangla newspaper. Maulana Abdul Khan Bhasani founded it in 1949 as a weekly. Its first issue appeared on 15 August 1949. <i>Ittefaq</i> came out as a daily newspaper on 24 December 1953. ¹⁰⁵³	Awami League’s mouth-organ	Initially, Bhasani and, later, Toffazal Hossain, known as Manik Mia, served as its editors. Bhasani brought in Manik Mia, who served as editor until his death in 1969.	After the dismissal of the United Front government in 1954, it was banned for a few months. Being an opposition newspaper, it suffered victimization from the Establishment between 1954 and 1971 in various forms. It had to survive under the strict regime of the press laws. Manik Mia was sent to jail many times. Its office was completely burned down during the military operation in March 1971. After its revival, it was taken over by Yahya Khan’s regime in May 1971.
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Source: This information has been gleaned from the following sources; Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, pp.50—67; M.Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, Chapters 1 and 4; A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Tarraqi Pasand Sahafat*, Chapters 3 and 10; Shah Mohammad Marri, *Ussahhaq kay Kaafley, Abdullah Jan Jamal Deeni*, pp.47—50; A.S.Bahar, ‘The Religious and Philosophical Basis of Bhasani’s Political Leadership’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, p.148 and Daily Ittefaq <https://www.facebook.com/pages/DAILY-ITTEFAQ/1149571386...> And; Daily Ittefaq All Bangla Newspaper <http://www.allbanglanewspaper.com/daily-ittefaq.html>, accessed

Table 5: Establishment’s Punitive Measures against the PPL before the Takeover

¹⁰⁵³ There is a discrepancy in dates of origin between the brief historical overview of *Ittefaq* on its official web site and its Facebook profile, which says it started as a weekly on 24 December 1953, and the doctoral dissertation of Bangladeshi scholar Abid S. Bahar on Maulana Bhasani, which dates its public launch as a weekly magazine to 15 August 1949. Majeed Nizami says that ‘On the eve of the provincial elections, this paper began to appear as a daily organ of the party.’ This period synchronizes with the date mentioned on its official website, 24 December 1953. I have relied on Bahar’s work, as it constitutes a rigorous academic study of Maulana Bhasani. See Abid S. Bahar, ‘The Religious and Philosophical Basis of Bhasani’s Political Leadership’, (Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, 2003), p.148. See also Majeed Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, p. 25 and

[https://www.facebook.com/pages/DAILY-ITTEFAQ/1149571386 ...](https://www.facebook.com/pages/DAILY-ITTEFAQ/1149571386...) accessed on 29 November 2013 at 8:12 PM.

Year	Nature of Establishment's Action
April 1948	<i>Imroze's</i> editor Faiz and printer/publisher Amir Hussain Shah were arrested on 12 April 1948 over the publication of a news item on 19 March 1948 concerning a DSP. The police officer took it up as a serious matter of defamation, but Faiz editorialized it as an 'unwitting mistranslation of an ambiguous phrase,' and published a corrigendum the very next day. Faiz was arrested, but took a courageous stance, and the issue was resolved within a few hours.
c.1948—1949	Three of PPL's non-periodicals were confiscated. One was a pamphlet published for the CPP titled <i>Inqilab-e Cheen Zindaabad</i> (Long Live the Chinese Revolution). The names of the other two have not been ascertained.
August 1950	The Punjab government ordered each of the PPL newspapers <i>P.T.</i> and <i>Imroze</i> to deposit Rs. 3,000. These newspapers challenged this order in the Lahore High Court, which suspended the order.
March 1951	Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a celebrated poet and editor of <i>P.T.</i> was implicated in the R.C.C. (1951), and remained incarcerated for four years under Section 121 A of the Pakistan Penal Code.
April 1951	Four prominent journalists of PPL—Ahmed Ali Khan, Ghiyur-ul-Islam, Zaheer Babur and Hameed Hashmi—were arrested and imprisoned for more than three months between April and July 1951.
May 1952	Tufail Ahmed Jamali, one of <i>Imroze's</i> veteran journalists, wrote a satirical piece on the Security Act in his column ' <i>Gar Tu Bura Na Mane</i> '. It was published in <i>Imroze</i> (Karachi) on 28 April and in <i>Imroze</i> (Lahore) four days later (on 2 May 1952). The Punjab government reacted strongly against the publication of this article and accused the newspaper of sowing dissent and disaffection against it among the people. To penalize the PPL, the government asked <i>Imroze's</i> printer and publisher Mazhar Ali Khan and <i>P.T.'s</i> keeper to pay a forfeit of Rs.3000 each. <i>Imroze's</i> management challenged the order in the High Court, and the judge overturned the government order. He emphasized the critical role of the newspapers in shaping 'healthy public opinion'.
1953	Mazhar Ali Khan, the <i>P.T.'s</i> editor, had written an article critical of the Punjab government. The government filed a case against him for inciting hatred against it. While ruling in Khan's favour, the court took a lenient view and described him as an 'iconoclast' and advised that 'the government could ... have relied on the good taste of its people.'
1953–54	The government filed a case against Z. A. Suleri in the Sind High Court under Sections 124 and 125 of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). During the proceedings of the trial, Interior Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani made a misleading statement. The <i>P.T.</i> published a hard-hitting editorial note against it. As the matter was sub judice, the Establishment promptly sued for contempt of court, and the editor of the <i>P.T.</i> had to submit a written apology.
May 1954	In May 1954, in the midst of the Establishment's massive crackdown against the Leftists, three PPL journalists were arrested. Hameed Akhtar and Sibte Hasan were apprehended from Lahore and imprisoned for more than six months between May 1954 and January 1955. Eric Rahim, the <i>P.T.'s</i> Karachi correspondent, was arrested and later subjected to detention, along with some other journalists, for one year under the Security Act of Pakistan.
1958–59	In October 1958, Sibte Hasan (editor of the <i>Lail-wo-Nehar</i>), Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (editor of the <i>Imroze</i>) and Hameed Hashmi (chief news editor of the <i>Imroze</i>) were arrested and detained under Section 3 of the Punjab Public Safety Act in jail between October 1958 and February 1959. Faiz was abroad at that time. On his return in April 1959, he was arrested and detained for more than four months.

Source: A.R.Malik, *Sajjad Zaheer*, p.73; A.Salim, *Hameed Akhtar*, pp.184–188; Hameed Akhtar, *Aaashniayan-kya-kya*, Chapters on Faiz, Sibte-e-Hasan and Hameed Akhtar; *Pakistan Law Reports*, 'Mazhar Ali Khan v. The Governor of the Punjab', cited in Anushey Malik, 1953 PLR 253, Lahore Book Depot, 1953, cited in Anushay Makik, 'Alternative Politics and Dominant Narratives: communists and the Pakistani State in the early 1950's', *South Asia History and Culture*, p.6; Z.Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, p.64; A.A. Naz, pp.100 and 102; Mohammad Abbas Toorawvi, *Ahmed Shah say Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi*

Tuk, Lahore, 2010, p.197; M.M. Saeed, *Aahang-e Baazgashat*, p.368; Majeed Nizami, *The Press in Pakistan*, p.58; Marco Mezeera and Safdar Sial, *Media and Governance in Pakistan* (A Report Sponsored by the Initiative For Peace building (IfP Eu)), 2010, p.30; News Items: Punjab's government's Press Release and Press Consultative Committee's reaction about the arrests of Faiz and Amir Hussain Shah, *Imroze*, 12—13 April 1948; 'Editorial: What Price Liberty?', *The P.T.*, 13 April 1948; News Item: 'Order on Pakistan Papers', *The Times of India*, 3 September 1950, and; News Item: 'Arrest of Syed Sibte Hasan', *The P.T.*, 18 November 1958.

This brief profile amply demonstrates that the Establishment had adopted a hard-line, aggressive policy against the PPL, clearly directed at scaring the PPL's proprietor, journalists, editorial team and trade union activists into total submission.

Tables 2, 4 and 5 show instances of how the Establishment muzzled the Left-wing press, whereas Table 4 tells us about the confiscation of non-periodical literature. These tables provide an overview of the Establishment's crackdown against the Left-wing press, which smacks of systematic suppression, but do not give a clear idea of the covert forms of pressures and implied threats that were ever-present, which the Left-wing press had to face constantly. As the sub-section on censorship showed, apart from applying direct methods of coercion, such as drastic action and frequent arrests of radical journalists and trade union activists, the Establishment also used underhand/stealth tactics for muzzling them. Thus, overall, this outright denial of press freedom and civil liberties to the radical press created a regimented atmosphere, which these tables fail to capture accurately. In drawing inferences from these tables, we need to keep these inclusions and exclusions in mind.

If one compares Table 1 with Tables 2, 4 and 5, that is, the Establishment's actions against the pro-Muslim League press vis-à-vis its suppression of the Left-leaning press, we can draw a number of inferences. These tables show that the Establishment's intolerance of dissenting newspapers was not confined to the Left-leaning press, although it was a constant victim. The pattern of coercive action against them brings to surface certain obvious differences between the ruling elite's treatment of the Left-wing and non-Left-wing press. For instance, we do not find any kind of systematic, well orchestrated propaganda campaign against the non-Left-wing press. Also, Left-wing publications became a more frequent victim of the intrusion of the C.I.D. and other agencies. In most cases, the Establishment's punitive measures against the pro-Muslim League press were motivated by personal differences, or grudges of government officials against proprietors and editors. On the other hand, actions against Left-wing publications appear to be motivated by ideological and policy considerations. In most cases, the Establishment made frequent, direct use of the state's coercive apparatus under the Security Act of Pakistan and the Public Safety Ordinances and, further, deployed it indirectly, to force printers and publishers

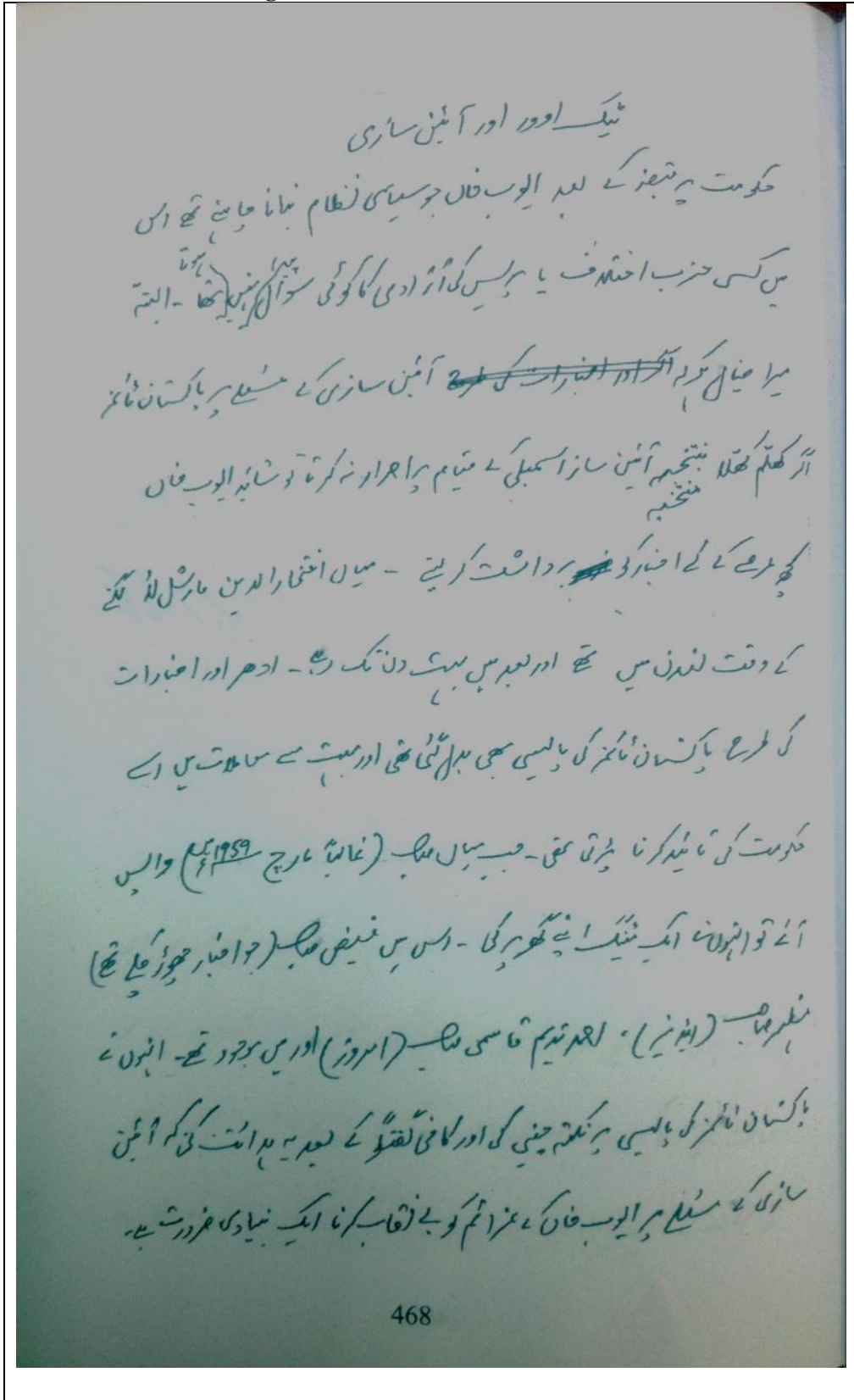
to deny newspapers and magazines printing facilities. Hence, we find that the Establishment's policy against the Left-wing press were much more intolerant and arbitrary.

Table 6: Formation of Parallel Trade Unions of the Working Class Journalists during 1950's and 1960's

Name	Years of Existence
National Union of Journalists(NJA) (Karachi)	1954 –1959
Lahore Union of Journalists (LU J.) (Lahore)	196–962
Sub Editors Forum (Lahore)	1966
Lahore Journalists Association (Lahore)	1968 It could barely hold its existence and was dissolved in the same year

Source: This table is based on information extracted from: (i) Azra Rehana, '*Pakistan Men Sahafiyoon Men Trade unionism ki Tarikh (1947—1969)*', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Punjab, 1969, pp.51-54 and 60—62, and (ii) A.Ahmad, *Walls Have Ears*, Lahore, 2011, pp.446—449.

Factors Leading to PPL's Takeover: Ahmed Ali Khan's Version



Source: Ahmed Ali Khan. *In Search of Sense: My Years as a Journalist.*, 2015.

Table 1: Contemporary Newspapers' Reaction to PPL's Takeover

Newspaper's Name	Views about the PPL before its takeover	Reaction to its takeover	Views about the PPL after its takeover
<i>Dawn</i> (Karachi)	<i>Dawn's</i> editor Altaf Hussain had serious reservations against <i>P.T.'s</i> critical tone, and made concerted efforts to counteract the growing influence of PPL's trade unionists over journalists' organizations. The PPL newspapers viewed such attempts as manoeuvres to manipulate and control the affairs of the press. While criticizing the PPL, the <i>Dawn's</i> editor also used to question their loyalty towards the state. In June 1951, the <i>P.T.</i> reacted by titling one of its editorials 'The Dawn of Dictatorship.' (It did not, however, mention or name the <i>Dawn</i>).	PPL's takeover was hailed by <i>Dawn's</i> editor as 'the ideological rebirth of the <i>Pakistan Times</i> '. It termed this act of the 'revolutionary government' as a '... signal service to the cause of a free press' and induced the 'rest of the National Press' to enthusiastically welcome it. While highlighting the emancipatory dimensions of the takeover for PPL publications, it used some euphemistic phrases from a <i>P.T.</i> editorial titled 'The New Leaf,' and expressed the hope that it would set them free from ideological bondage to 'distant orbits and alien horizons.'	
<i>The Times of Karachi</i> This newspaper was the reincarnation of <i>The Evening Times</i> ; it started its publication in 1958.		Its editor Z. A. Suleri felt so exhilarated by this development that he published a front-page editorial carrying his signature.	
<i>Daily Nawa-i-Waqt</i> (Lahore)	Its proprietor and editor Hameed Nizami wrote a critical editorial in the early 1950s advising the government to seize both PPL newspapers. In 1957 and 1958, the <i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i> repeatedly accused Iftikhar-ud-Din of procuring	<i>Daily Nawa-i-Waqt</i> supported the government action surreptitiously. On 19 April 1959, the <i>Imroze</i> had published an editorial titled 'The New Leaf'. The newspaper did not hail the takeover, but confined itself to reproducing that editorial, and	<i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i> came out more openly on this issue in November 1975. By then, it refused to consider the takeover as a 'question of Press freedom'; rather, it attributed the takeover to 'business malpractice' and 'ideological aberration.' It further argued that the publication of 'New Leaf' was 'a confession of guilt'.

	<p>newsprint from Communist states like the Soviet Union at very low prices. In an editorial published in February 1957, it demanded that the government establish a commission to examine the ‘financial resources of the newspapers, incomes of their editors and proprietors’; and that the scope of such examination should include matters like newsprint licences and circulation, and ‘whether certain newspapers were acquiring newsprint from any external institution, and whether their policy was not being formulated outside of Pakistan.’</p>	<p>translating the title to ‘<i>Naya Warq</i>’. They added, ‘We welcome this declaration of faith and pray to Almighty that the existence of these contemporaries may be beneficial to the country and the people.’ Ostensibly, its brief editorializing and comments conveyed to its readers indirectly that the PPL’s management had confessed its wrongdoing by running a self-incriminatory editorial. <i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i> published an anonymous ‘Letter to the Editor’ in which its writer—while expressing delight over the nationalization of Lahore’s Communist Press—said that ‘even the greatest protagonists of press freedom would have no qualms about this decision’.</p>	
Daily <i>Kohistan</i> (Lahore)	<p>In an editorial in February 1957, the <i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i> had accused the PPL of receiving foreign aid. In commenting on the accusation, the <i>Kohistan</i> contended: ‘... If <i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i>’s allegation is true, then it implies that Iftikhar-ud-Din and his newspapers had disgracefully surrendered their freedom and policy to a foreign power. It is equally embarrassing for the Government of Pakistan that these Communist papers are still receiving aid from the foreign countries without restraint.’ It found this situation unfair</p>		

	for competition in the newspaper market, as ‘It has changed the values of competition’. It asked the government to launch an investigation into this affair, and ‘if the investigation proves the allegation then the whole existence of these newspapers should be ended’.		
Weekly <i>Chattan</i> Lahore		Its editor S. Kashmiri supported this action enthusiastically.	S. Kashmiri bitterly criticized Iftikhar-ud-Din in a short biography published in 1967, and echoed the Establishment’s allegations against the PPL’s founder.
<i>Daily Mashriq</i> (Lahore)			While writing about this episode in May 1970, this newspaper opined that ‘The PPL’s newspapers... had become a tool for promoting the objectives of the international Communist movement. This institution was accused of getting foreign aid. Some American diplomats had advised the Pakistani government to take notice of this affair, even before martial law was imposed in 1958.

Sources: Z. Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, p.83–84; Linesman, ‘Between the Lines’, p.5; Ahmed Salim, *Pakistan of Jinnah: The Hidden Face*, p.197; A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Taraqqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.159; N. Raza, ‘Progressive Papers Limited’, p.70 and; A. Rehana, ‘Pakistan Men Sahafiyoon Men Trade Unionism Ki Tareekh 1947–1969’, p.17.

This table shows that much before the takeover of the PPL, some of its rivals had been inducing the government to take drastic action against it, and that even many years later, its ideological opponents continued to reinforce this perception in the public opinion.

PPL and the Newsprint Issue in Wider Perspective

Eventually, the Establishment used the newsprint issue as an excuse to launch the final assault on PPL publications. Considering the critical importance of newsprint in the PPL narrative, a balanced assessment would be useful. While going through the files of *Imroze* (in both Lahore and Peshawar), one comes across sparse but credible information on the newsprint situation in Pakistan—there was chronic shortage, from the outset. While taking any decision on issuing declarations to newspapers and magazines, the Information Department used to make it clear to aspirants that it would be their responsibility to arrange for newsprint.

In commenting on S.A.H. Shah's application in February 1948, Syed Noor Ahmed, the DPR Punjab, highlighted the uncertain 'position about news print,' and expressed the apprehensions that newsprint scarcity is threatening 'some of existing newspapers.' While 'accepting' *Imroze's* declaration, he underscored the fact that its management will be 'undertaking the responsibility to provide newsprint.' He further speculated that *Imroze* would 'borrow' from the P.T.'s 'stocks.'¹⁰⁵⁴ Ten years later, in applying for the declaration of *Imroze's* Peshawar edition, S.A.H. Shah clearly mentioned in his application: '... no quota of news print and printing material will be required by us to publish this edition from Peshawar.'¹⁰⁵⁵

An official survey of the 'paper market in relation to the book publishing industry in Pakistan' published in 1964 confirms that the country had faced an acute shortage of newsprint during 1947–1959.¹⁰⁵⁶ The following two tables show a detailed picture of the newsprint situation between 1955 and 1962.

¹⁰⁵⁴Note from Noor Ahmed (D.P.R.), 2 February 1948, PLB, Civil Secretariat Lahore/ File on *Imroze*/ 13359.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Letter from Deputy Commissioner (Peshawar) to Director Public Relations (West Pakistan Lahore), no.1827172, 20 November 1957, PLB, Civil Secretariat, Lahore/ File on *Imroze*, Peshawar / 2170.

¹⁰⁵⁶The Economic Research Committee commissioned the National Book Centre of Pakistan, to undertake this survey, which was later published in form of a 73-page report.

Table 1: Supply Position of Newsprint in Pakistan 1955-1962 (tons)

Year	Domestic production	Imports	Total	Trend
1955	–	4576	4576	100
1956	–	4205	4205	91
1957	–	7285	7285	158
1958	–	5473	5473	119
1959	3532	5686	9218	200
1960	21369	10673	32042	700
1961	28800	10666	39466	863
1962	30688* (estimated)	11000	41688	911

Source: *The Situation of Paper in Pakistan*, Appendix1-B, Karachi, 1964, p.68.

Table 2: Import of Newsprint Paper in Pakistan 1956- 1960

Year	East Pakistan		West Pakistan		Total		
	Quantity Value		Quantity Value		Quantity Value		
	Cwt	Rs.	Cwt	Rs.	Cwt	Tons	Rs.
1956	20177	986283	63928	2924408	84105	4205	3911691
1957	18296	831571	127397	2821237	145693	7285	3652808
1958	18388	851941	91068	1605856	109456	5473	2457797
1959	21199	877901	92526	3551710	113725	5686	4429611
1960	24395	1020325	189022	10014370	213317	10666	11034695
(January to June; six months only)							

Source: *The Situation of Paper in Pakistan*, Appendix III, Karachi, 1964, p.72.

Table 1 gives an overview of the newsprint supply system in Pakistan between 1955 and 1962. Table 2 describes in detail the newsprint imports in Pakistan between 1955 and the first half of 1960, providing a break-up by province, along with their calculated value in rupees. The compilers of the report mentioned above prepared Table 1, and cited ‘The Foreign Trade Statistics, C.S.O.’ as the source of Table 2. The tables differ on the quantity of newsprint imported, but show that the country was heavily dependent on imports. Table 1 shows that Pakistan did not produce any newsprint until 1959; even then, it had to import heavily. Between 1960 and 1962, the

newsprint situation improved tangibly, as shown by the increasing share of domestic production. Table 3, derived from the statistical figures in Table 1, illustrates it clearly.

Table 3: Increasing Share of Domestic Production of Newsprint in Pakistan during 1959–1962

Year	Percentage share of Domestic Production	Percentage share of Imports	Total
1959	38.316	61.683	99.999
1960	66.690	33.309	99.999
1961	72.974	27.025	99.999
1962	73.613	26.386	99.999

Source: Table 1.

Tables 1 and 2 do not provide specific details on the individual importers of newsprint in Pakistan or their percentage shares in this business. All three tables focus on the role of newsprint importers and show that they, besides earning profit, helped the country cope with the shortage of newsprint that lasted over a decade. Moreover, importing cheap newsprint from the Soviet Union helped save foreign exchange.

The Establishment alleged that Iftikhar-ud-Din received Soviet aid by importing newsprint, but could not prove it. Critics tend to overlook that by procuring cheap Soviet newsprint, importers like Iftikhar-ud-Din were helping the government save foreign exchange and thus indirectly contributing to economic development. A salient feature of Soviet trade policy towards third world countries, which had to do with the Socialist mode of production, was to export commodities at low rates. Even PPL newspapers, while suggesting radical improvements in the country's economic, trade and commercial policies, frequently demanded that, instead of relying entirely on the Anglo-American bloc, the government consider other options. The Ayub regime's hesitation to bring this issue in higher courts further makes its allegation far less credible.

It would be useful to cite Hasan Zaheer's version on this issue, as he was the first bureaucrat-cum-scholar to use the de-classified documentary evidence about the R.C.C., in his important work on this subject. Zaheer seems to concur with the Establishment's view that Russian officials in Pakistan (particularly, Bolshokov, the representative of the news agency TASS) helped establish initial trade relations between Russian trading concerns and the CPP. Zaheer asserts that it was Bolshokov who suggested to Ashfaq Beg (a member of the CPP's Central Committee) to 'set up a trading committee'. These instructions led to the establishment of a trading concern

in Karachi by Anis Hashmi. The other branch was established in Lahore, in the last months of 1948.¹⁰⁵⁷ He further maintains that:

The business undertaking in Russian goods by the Pakistan Communist Party was a very sound device to obtain funds for the Party in a legal way, but it did not survive the onslaught on the party after the exposure of the Conspiracy.¹⁰⁵⁸

Hasan Zaheer further informs that Iftikhar-ud-Din secured a business contract for newsprint with ‘the intervention of the Russian Ambassador.’¹⁰⁵⁹ That is all he writes about Iftikhar-ud-Din, and shows that until the R.C.C. trial was under way, the Establishment had not accused Russian diplomats of aiding the CPP through Iftikhar-ud-Din’s business transactions with the Soviet Union.

Let us now consider the views of some of the most prominent right-wing journalists and intellectuals on this issue. They are quite important in that they reflect the general impression that the Establishment and right-wing intelligentsia tried to create among the public on the newsprint issue. Table 4 collates the critical opinions of three key figures of right-wing journalism.

Table 4: Critical Views of Right-Wing Journalists on the Newsprint Issue

Journalist’s name/Context	Views on Newsprint issue
S.Kashmiri / <i>Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din</i> (1967)	‘ ... Mian Sahib imported coal from China and newsprint from the Communist countries of the Eastern Europe’
Z.A. Suleri/ Interview with N. Raza (1991/1992)	‘...I think so; there was truth in [the] allegation that the PPL was aided by the Communist countries. The documents released ... after the Soviet disintegration ... also tell that they (the Soviets) provided help to those institutions, in other countries, which supported them’
A.K.Abid/Interview with A.A. Naz (mid-	A.K.Abid accused Iftikhar-ud-Din of earning a commission in the coal business with China and also wrote that ‘... (the Chinese

¹⁰⁵⁷ While specifying the nature of trade links, he adds ‘To begin, with, in November, the Soviet Trade Consul in Pakistan, placed a quantity of Russianyarn at disposal of Anis Hashmi .A small net profit was made on the deal and this was handed over to Sajjad Zaheer.’Hasan Zaheer, *The Times And Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy, 1951*, pp.223–224

¹⁰⁵⁸ One needs to take caution while accepting this view uncritically, as Hasan Zaheer does not indicate his exact source. Moreover, his work relies mainly on the de-classified documents about the RCC, which contain prosecution evidence, or only the Establishment’s viewpoint; the defence counsels’ evidence is still classified. Therefore, one should be careful about deriving any definitive conclusion from this limited body of evidence.

Ibid., p.224.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.

1990s)	government) made an offer to provide complimentary newsprint, and kept on providing this newsprint to the PPL’
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Source: S. Kashmiri, *Mian Iftikhar Ud Din*, Lahore, 1967, p.40; A.A. Naz, *Mukalmat*, Lahore, 2003, p.225 and; N.Raza, ‘Progressive Papers Limited’, 1992, p.71.

Table 4 clearly shows the wild nature of allegations against Iftikhar-ud-Din and the PPL as well as the paucity of evidence. In the end, it would be appropriate to counterpose Mazhar Ali Khan’s opinion:

...newsprint was imported against licences issued by the government, and some of these licences were stamped ‘Valid for USSR only’....But even if, the licences had been open, it is strange that a commercial organization should have to be condemned for buying a commodity in the cheapest market. Nor was the PPL the only Pakistani organization to buy Russian newsprint.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁶⁰Linesman, ‘Between the Lines’, p.6.

PPL Administration after Takeover 1959–1971

Table 1: List of PPL's Managing Directors 1959–1971

No.	Name	Designation	Duration of Stint
1	Sarfraz Ahmed	Administrator Managing Director	18-4-1959 to April 1962
2	Ch. Mohammad Husain	Managing Director	Oct /November 1962 to April 1962
3	Haji Mohammad Hanif ¹⁰⁶¹	Managing Director	c.196–962
4	Ch.Zuhur Elahi ¹⁰⁶² Ch.Inayat Husain	Managing Director Director In charge (deputized for the M.D.)	c. May 1962—1964
5	Mr Khalil ¹⁰⁶³	Managing Directors	c. April to September 1964
6	Majeed Malik (Former Information Officer)	Managing Director	September 1964 to April 1966
7	Ghani Erabie (Former Information Officer)	Managing Director	29-4-1966 to 4-7-1968
8	Mohammad Aslam	Managing Director	c.1968—1970
9	Rafique Saigol	Managing Director	c. November 1970 to 21-12-1971
10	Khawaja Mohammad Asaf	Managing Director/Chief Editor <i>P.T.</i>	22-12-71 to 7-11-74

Source: A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Taraqqi Pasand Sahafat*, Lahore: 2000, p.93 and 104; K. Chaudhry, 'Roz nama Imroze ki khusoosi Ishaat 'Qismat-e Illimi-o-Adbi' ka Tanqeedi Jaiza', 1978, p.8, and 104; Khalid Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times,' p.2.

The PPL Newspapers: Editors and Journalists

The following two table provide a bird's eye view of the job descriptions of the PPL's working journalists c.1959–1970.

¹⁰⁶¹ Haji Mohammad Hanif was Ch. Mohammad Hussain's partner.

¹⁰⁶² A.A. Naz mentions Mian Maqsood Ahmed's (the PPL's Printer-Publisher) name in the lists of P.T.'s Chief-Editors/Editors. A.A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Taraqqi Pasand Sahafat*, p.93.

This list shows that Maqsood Ahmed worked at a senior managerial position for five months in 1962, (in addition to his role as PPL's Printer-Publisher), from 12-5-1962 to 25-10-1962. As, he was definitely not a journalist by training, therefore, we can reasonably presume that he would have assisted Ch.Zuhur Elahi, as the Managing Director.

¹⁰⁶³ There exists an apparent discrepancy in determining that who was the first Managing Director of the PPL under the NPT. Generally, Majeed Malik is known as the first incumbent of this post who was appointed by the NPT. However, Jamila Khatoon and Kausar Chaudhary in their Master's theses on *Imroze* have mentioned Mr. Khalil's name as the PPL's first Managing Director under the NPT, Jamila Khatoon, 'Roz Nama Imroze Ka Tanqeedi Jaiza', 1969, p.7, and, Kausar Chaudhary 'Roz nama Imroze ki khusoosi Ishaat 'Qismat-e Illimi-o-Adabi' ka Tanqidi Jaiza', p.8. While synthesising these apparently contradictory facts, we can argue that Khalil would have served in the interim between April and September 1964, which is between the establishment of the NPT and the appointment of Col. Majeed Malik as PPL's managing director.

Table 2: The *PT* Editors and Journalists

Editors	Ahmed Ali Khan (1959—1963), Z. A. Suleri (c.1962—1963 and 1970—1971), and Khawaja Mohammad Asaf (c.1962—1966, and c.1968—1970).
Assistant Editors	A. T. Chaudhry, Azeez Ahmed Zia, I.A.Rehman, Jameel Ahmed, Mohammad Adrrees, Tahir Mirza and Aziz Siddiqui
Leader's Page	Ahmed Ali Khan, Khawaja Asif, Z.A.Suleri T.Chaudhry, I.A.Rehman, Tahir Mirza, Aziz Siddiqui
News Desk	Prominent journalists who worked at the news desk included Kamal Haider, Jeff Player, G.M.Naqash, Sarwar Shah, Sh.Akram and Iqbal Jafri
Reporting Side	In 1959, Ayub Khan imposed martial law and banned political activity. Immediately afterwards, chief reporter S. Shabbir Hussain Shah resigned, and Amjad Hussain replaced him. Other prominent reporters were Maqbool Sharrif (whose forte was legal reporting), Abdul Majeed and Ali Asghar. Later, the inclusion of I.H.Rashid and Khalid Ahmed provided new life to the <i>PT</i> 's team of reporters.
Magazine Section	Rasheed Gilani and, later, Jameel Ahmed served as <i>PT</i> 's magazine editors. Safdar Mir also handled the <i>PT</i> 's magazine affairs for some time.
Journalists carrying out other important assignments	H. K. Burki served as diplomatic correspondent. Kamal Haider used to oversee special projects. Akhtar Ali Mirza was in charge of the district correspondents.

Table 3: *Imroze* Editors and Journalists

Editors	Zaheer Babur (1959—1970), Hameed Jhelumi (c. 1970—1989), Haroon Saad
Leader's Page	Zaheer Babur, Hameed Jhelumi, Haroon Saad, Hameed Akhtar, Munno Bhai
News desk	Hameed Hashmi (d. May 1965 in Cairo crash) Aslam Kashmiri succeeded him as the chief news editor. Haider Ali, Azeem Qureshi, Fakhre Humayun, Abbas Athar, Fuzail Hashmi, Nazeer Ludhinavi, Mahmood Jafri, Waheed Usmani
Reporting Side	Abdullah Malik and, later, Akmal Aleemi served as chief reporters. Badr-ul-Islam Butt and Mahmood Sultan joined the team, and both rose to the position of chief reporter.
Magazine Section	<i>Imroze</i> was the first Urdu newspaper to launch a Sunday weekly magazine. Hameed Jhelumi and, later, Azhar Javed served as its editor.
Journalists carrying out other important assignments	First, Zaheer Babur, and from 1963 onwards, S. T. Mirza edited <i>Imroze</i> 's special Punjabi page. In the late 1950s, Punjabi activists had started literary and lingual movements. The page promoted these, by featuring classical poets and litterateurs and the activities of literary

	circles.
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PPL under NPT

Table 1: Newspapers and Magazines under the NPT's Control

No.	Nomenclature of Newspaper/Magazine	Editions	Company/Former Proprietor	Year of merger
1	Imroze (Urdu Daily)	Lahore and Multan	PPL ¹⁰⁶⁴	August 1964
2	The Pakistan Times (English Daily)	Lahore and Rawalpindi	PPL	August 1964
3	<i>The Morning News</i> ¹⁰⁶⁵ (English Daily)	Karachi and Dacca	National Publications Limited (NPT acquired its 67 percent shares and the remaining 33 percent were public holdings)	1964
4	<i>Mashriq</i> (Urdu Daily)	Lahore (<i>Daily Mashriq</i> started its publication from Karachi and Peshawar on 15 April 1967 and 1 August 1967 respectively. It was launched from Quetta in June 1972.)	<i>Mashriq</i> Limited ¹⁰⁶⁶	1964
5	<i>Dainik Pakistan</i> ¹⁰⁶⁷ (Bengali Daily)	Dacca		c.1964
6	<i>Anjam</i> (Urdu Daily)	Karachi and Peshawar (both editions were later merged with <i>Daily Mashriq</i>)	Usman Azad	1966
7	<i>Akhbar-e Khawateen</i> (Urdu Weekly)	Karachi	<i>Mashriq</i> Limited	1964
8	<i>Sports Times</i> (Weekly)	Lahore	PPL	

Sources: Z.Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, Karachi, 1987, p.88; 'History of Daily *Mashriq*', siteblog, posted on daily *Mashriq*'s (Peshawar) official site, dated 24 October 2009, www.historyofdailymashriq.blogspot.com, accessed on 18 March 2014 at 9:20 AM and; M.Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-1971* Karachi, 2001, pp.259–260.

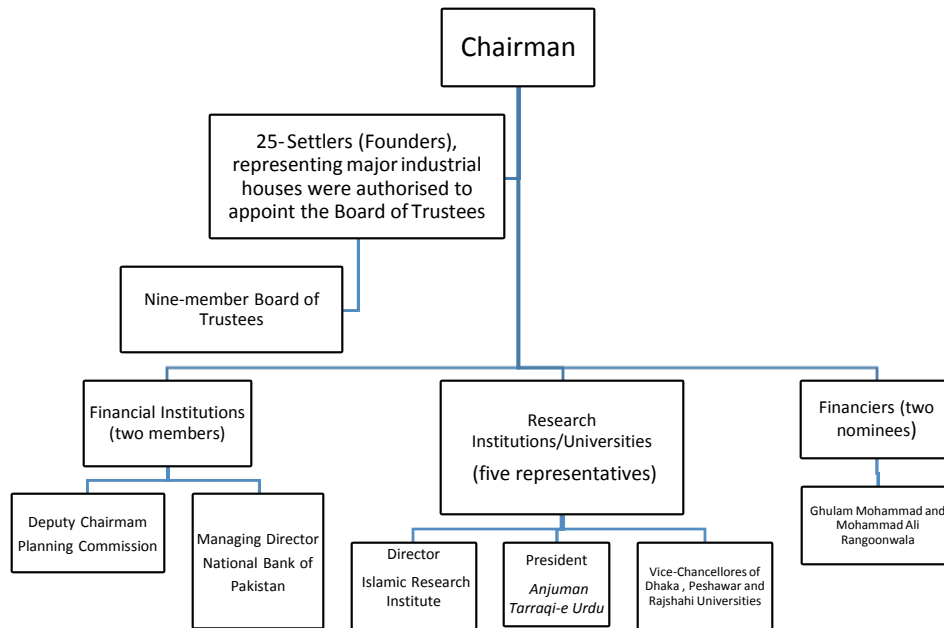
¹⁰⁶⁴ The NPT owned 74 percent of its shares. The rest was public holding.

¹⁰⁶⁵ After the separation of East Pakistan, its Dacca edition left the NPT's fold.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The NPT exclusively owned this company.

¹⁰⁶⁷ It remained under NPT's control until December 1971. After the secession of East Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh, it was renamed *Dainik Bangla*.

Hierarchal Diagram describing NPT's Organizational Structure



Source: Z.Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, Karachi, 1987,p.88.

Table2: Showing changes in the NPT's Organizational Structure under Z.A.Bhutto's Government

Date and Year	Regulations/Legislation bringing changes in the NPT
15 February 1972	Martial Law Regulation Order (MLO) 53 suspended the board of directors and board of trustees.
2 September 1972	The National Assembly approved a bill called the National Press Trust (Appointment of Chairman) Bill, authorizing the President of Pakistan to appoint the NPT's chairman. It further stipulated that the chairman '... will hold office during the pleasure and on terms and conditions to be determined by the President.'
February 1975	The National Assembly amended Article 269 of the Constitution which, along with certain other modifications, gave official sanction as well as legal immunity to '... All proclamations, President's orders, Martial Law Regulations, Martial Law Orders, made between 20th day of December 1971 and the 20th day of April 1972 (both days inclusive).' In other words, it means that it retrospectively legitimized the MLR-53.

Source: Z.Naizi, *The Press in Chains*, Karachi, 1987,pp.90—91.

This table shows that Z. A. Bhutto's elected government enacted further legislation to bring the NPT under its centralized control, which effected changes throughout its organizational structure

Table 3: List of NPT's Chairmen 1964–1971

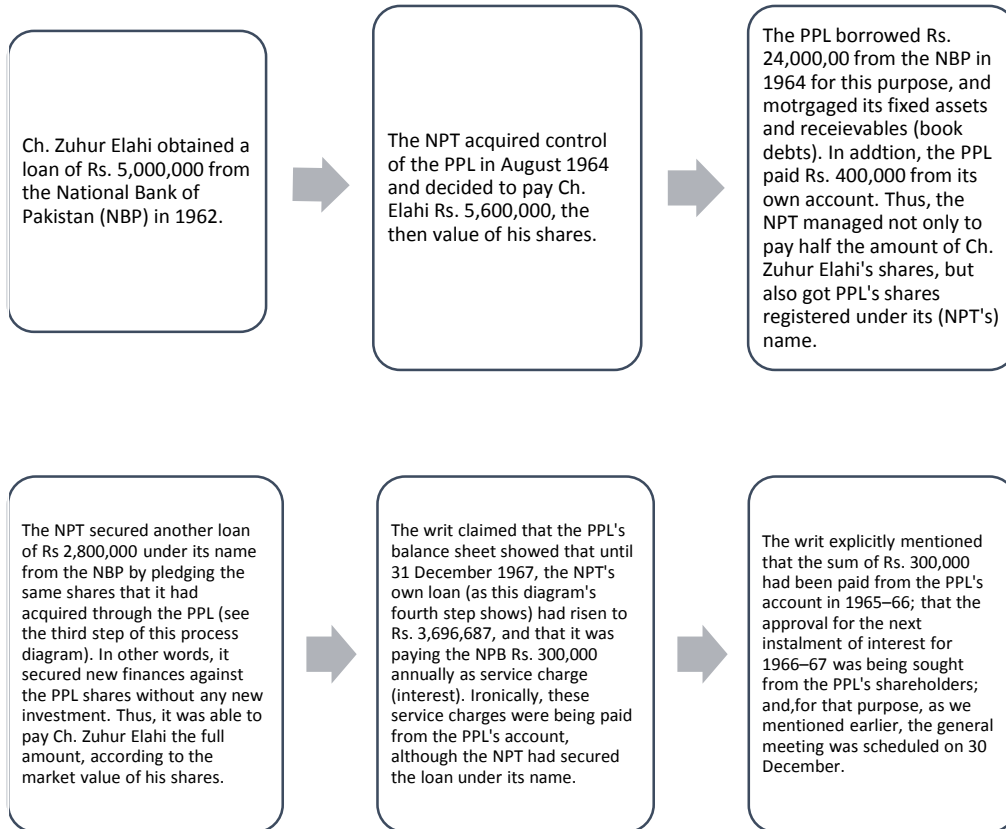
No.	Name	Stint as Chairman
1	Akhtar Hussain ¹⁰⁶⁸ (Senior Civil Servant, belonged to former ICS cadre)	April 1964 to 15 April 1965
2	Maj.Gen.Haya-ud-Din ¹⁰⁶⁹	1/2 May 1965 to 20 May 1965
3	A.K.Sumar (Senior Civil Servant)	c. 1965—1967
4	Aziz Ahmed (Senior Civil Servant, belonged to the former ICS cadre)	c.1967—1970
5	Maj. General Habibullah Khan Khattak	c.1970— Decmber1971
6	Yunus Said	23 December 1971...

Source: Z.Naizi, *Ungliyan Figar Apni*, Karachi, 2009, p.28.Khalid Hasan, 'The Pakistan Times', p.2.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Q. U. Shahab informs us that Ghulam Faruq was the NPT's first chairman, but veteran journalists like Mazhar Ali Khan and Z. Niazi say it was Akhtar Husain. See Shahabnama, p.76, Mazhar Ali Khan's article on Akhtar Hussain's death, *Viewpoint Weekly*, 21 July 1983, cited in Z. Niazi, *The Press in Chains*, endnote 24, pp. 92–93; also see p. 88. Khan and Niazi were illustrious, lifelong journalists; therefore, their reference can be described as more authentic.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The PIA airplane's crash in Cairo, on 20 May 1965, claimed his life, see, Omar Kureshi, 'Ebb and Flow: The Cairo Crash', *Dawn* 30 May 2003.

Illustration 1: Irregularities in the PPL’s Transfer of Ownership



Source: Shirin Ali, ‘The Pakistan Times—A Critical Study’, pp. 93–95.

This illustration shows how the military government favoured its cohort Ch. Zuhur Elahi by facilitating him, first, in his purchase of the PPL newspapers in 1962 and, after two years, relieving him of the terrible burden profitably. It also shows that the NPT acquired PPL’s ownership shares without any investment. On the other hand, the PPL was forced to pay Rs. 2,800,000 (Rs 2,400,000 though a bank loan plus Rs. 400,000 of its own) to buy its own shares. It even had to pay the interest on a loan taken by the NPT.

GLOSSARY

Aalamti	Symbolic
Aangan	Court Yard
Adab	Literature
Adab barae log	Literature for People
Adab-barae-Adab	Literature for literature
Adabi Dunya	Literary world
Adabi-mansubandi	Literary Planning
Adeeb	Literary Writer
Afsana	Short story
Ahl-e Hadith	The health of Hadith
Ain	Constitution
Amdani	Income, Revenue
Amm Admi	Ordinary people
Anjuman	Organization
Awami	People
Bala-Dasti	Dominance/ supremacy
Ban-ul-Aqwami	International
Biradari	Linage or extended family in South Asia; Kinship group
Caci	Paternal Aunt
Bua	Paternal Aunt
Caca	Paternal Uncle
Cadar (chadar)	Sheet of cloth use for veiling
Chacha (caca)	Paternal Uncle
Dadi	Paternal Grandmother
Dars-gah	Educational Institution
Darvesh	Religious mendicant
Dhakhiliat Pasand Tasawwur-e Adab	Subjective view of literature
Din	Faith or Religion
Ehsan	Favour, kindness
Farangi	Foreigner
Fasadat	Communal Rights
Fatwa	Juristic opinion
Funun	Arts
Gadar	Mutiny
Galiyaan	Streets
Garib	Poor
Ghazal	Genre of Poetry
Ghazal-go	Ghazal reciter
Geet	Songs
Haisiyat	Ability, Capability
Hakim	Government ruler
Halqa	Circle

Halqa-e Arbab-e zauq	Circle of the Men of Good Taste
Haqiqat	Reality of Truth
Haqq	Rights
Harfay Chand	Few words
Hayat	Life
Hukumat	Government
Huriat	Passion for Freedom
Ijthad	Independent Judgement and reasonig, Adaptation in interpretation in Islamic law
Ilim-o-Adab	Knowledge
Inqilab	Long live the revolution
Insan	Human
Ishtrakiat	Communism, Socialism
Ittehad	Unity, alliance
Jabr	Force, power, violence
Jahialia	Times of ignorance and paganism in the pre-Islamic Arab territories
Jaiza	Overview, Survey
Jamhooriat	Democracy
Jihad	Holy war
Jizya	Islamic Text on Non-Muslim Citizen In Islamic State
Jumhur	People, Community
Jumhuriat	Democracy
Junun	State of Possession
Kami	Menial servant
Karor	Ten million
Khankhahi Nizam	System of Sufi Hospices
Khansaman	Chef, cook
Khilafat	Caliphate
Khwab	Dreams
Kisan	Farmer
Kursi-nishin	Government official associated with lower rungs of the revenue hierarchy
Lahu	Blood
<i>Lail-o-Nahar</i>	Day and night
Lakh	One Hundred Thousand
Log	People
Maashi	Economic
Maddi	Material
Magribi	The west, western
Mahaz	Front
Mahbub	Beloved
Mahrumi	Deprivation
Makan	House
Mashuq	Beloved
Maulana	Title of Religious Scholar
Maulavi	One who is learned in Islamic sciences
Mirasan	Community of subaltern who sings
Moashara	Society
Mohtasib	Censor
Moufi-nama	Apology

Mufakkir	Thinker, Philosopher
Muhajirin	Migrants
Muhaqqiq	Researcher
Muharrir	Writer, Scribe
Mujahid	Islamic warrior
Musalman	Muslim
Musannifeen	Writers
Mushaira	Poetic Gathering
Muttahida	United
Mulla	A low ranking cleric
Nambar-dar	Government official associated with lower rungs of the revenue hierarchy
Naya	New
Nazaria	Ideology, theory
Nazm	Poem
Pabandi	Restrictions
Parcam	Flag
Pardah	Veil, Seclusion of women
Pas-manzar	Background Perspective
Paud	Generation
Pir	Religious leader, spiritual guide
Qaum	Nation
Qita	Genre of poetry which comprises four rhyming couplets
Raqib	Rival, competitor, enemy
Riwayat	Tradition
Roshan-khayal	Liberal
Rujhan	Trend
Sad sala	100 years
Saiyad	Hunter
Sajjada-nishin	Custodian of a sufi shrine
Saleh	Virtuous, Honest
Sanati Taraqqi	Industrial Development
Saqi	One who distributes Wine or Liquor
Sarkari	Government
Sawera	Morning, dawn
Shairi	Poetry
Shahid/ Shaheed	Martyr
Shakhsiyat-o-fann	Life and Work
Shariat	Islamic law; The divinely ordained law
Sheikh	Sufi master
Shuur	Wisdom
Sifarish	Recommendation
Samaji	Social
Tahrik	Social, Political or Religious Movement
Takhaiyul	Imagination
Taqsim	Development
Taraqqi pasand	Progressive
Tasawwuf	Islamic Mysticism
Ulama	Religious Scholars
Waraq	Page
Watan	Native country, homeland

Zaildar	Government official associated with lower rungs of the revenue hierarchy
Zamana	Time, Period
Zamindar	Feudal Lord, Land Lord
Zamindari	Land ownership