

## **ASPECTS OF RESISTANCE POETRY DURING THE REGIME OF Z. A. BHUTTO (1971-1977)**

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### **Abstract**

Literature plays a vital role in human society since it brings out the esoteric and underlying realities with which mankind needs to engage. This is true of all its forms, whether poetry, drama, novel, or short stories. Protest poetry by its nature is not very nuanced and is usually full throated. In Urdu as well in other languages spoken in the territory in which Pakistan is established, protest poetry began with the stirrings of 1857 and grew sharper after the British regained power. Protest against the colonial power began in the wake of the establishment of the Home Rule League, it was sharpened, at least till the Second World War by members of the Progressive Writers Movement since 1936. Since the demand for Independence was accompanied by demands for Social justice, protest did not even pause at the moment of liberation. Always we see protest against monarchical or dictatorial regimes. In this paper we shall try to discover why protest poetry continued in the democratic regime of the Pakistan People's Party headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto though the protest he led against the Tashkent Declaration 1966 was accompanied by protest poetry, especially by Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Habib Jalib, Sheikh Ayaz, Ustad Daman, Fehmida Riaz, Yunus Sharar and Naeem Siddiqui. Their protest was also met with coercive state reprisals. The study of this period 1971-1977 promises to be rewarding.

**Key Words:** *Tashkent Declaration, National Awami Party, Outlook, Jasarat and Musawat*

Pakistan People's Party had been founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979) and his associates in the first instance in 1967 to protest against President M. Ayub Khan's acceptance of the Tashkent Declaration which had rendered futile the valour of Pakistan's Armed Forces in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War. The second cause was that of introducing Socialistic legislation which had been prompted by the revelation of Dr. Mahbubul Haq that 'the wealth of Pakistan was held by only 22 families'.<sup>1</sup> Islamic Socialism was not a new slogan the term had been employed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah<sup>2</sup> and Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>3</sup> but had gone into oblivion during the very prosperous regime of M. Ayub Khan (1908-1974).

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was transferred the office of C.M.L.A and President on 20 December 1971, in the wake of the fall of Dacca on 16 December 1971. He had promised *Roti, Kapra, Makan* (Bread, Clothes and Shelter). However, he had come to power after a war had been lost and the people demoralized. He could not make good on his promise. He nationalized industrial units, land, banking and insurance. Although it was not a part of his manifesto November 1967, Z.A. Bhutto nationalized all colleges and most schools in September and October 1972 respectively. These measures made him powerful enemies while the workers he had hoped to succor proved disappointing in their performance. The trade unions Z.A. Bhutto had empowered made monitoring their performance difficult, thus adding to the criticism his regime had to face.

The press was a very strong opponent. *Dawn* immediately on Z.A. Bhutto's assumption of power, ran a series of articles on its op-ed page written by S. R. Ghauri the former editor of *Morning News* which questioned the credentials and every measure of the regime. *Outlook* under I. H. Burney wrote every editorial against Mr. Bhutto ten of which are reproduced in *Outlook a Journal of Opinion Selected Articles*, (Oxford, 2018) *Jasarat* the organ of the Jama'at-i-Islami which had run a vicious election campaign against the Pakistan People's Party continued its tirade when Z.A. Bhutto assumed power.

The 1971 War had left the residual question of the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh---mostly of Bihari origin whose re-settlement in Sindh was resisted by members of his own party. Bhutto unfortunately was given to fits of rage and under pressure he turned against the Leftist element in the Pakistan People's Party such as Mukhtar Rana, Mairaj Muhammad Khan, Sa'eed Hasan, M. Hanif Ramey all of whom were at one time or another put into jail. The worst treatment was meted out to J.

A. Rahim the Secretary-General who was beaten, humiliated and taken to jail.

Another formidable source of protest was the writers and poets belonging to, or sympathizing with the National Awami Party (Wali Khan)<sup>2</sup>. It had been banned under the military regime of Yahya Khan, along with its counterpart (Bhashani) in the East wing<sup>3</sup>. Z. A. Bhutto had lifted the ban the same day he assumed power but, because of irredentist elements in NAP, especially after the discovery of a cache of arms in the Iraqi Embassy, Bhutto dismissed the JUI-NAP coalition government in Balochistan and the same coalition resigned from the North-West Provincial government in protest. Thus Bhutto faced organized resistance from members of the NAP among whom was Habib Jalib.

During the Anti-Tashkent Declaration 1966 protests Habib Jalib had written a poem, "Zulfiqar-i-Ali"<sup>4</sup> but when Bhutto assumed power, Habib Jalib wrote with reference to Bhutto's home town:

*Larkane chalo warna thane chalo*  
Go to Larkana, otherwise go to jail<sup>5</sup>

Which meant that all those who dissented from Bhutto shall be sent to jail. This poem was first published underground.

Habib Jalib was truly a 'people's man, He was the voice of a multitude, he deserves the credit for taking Urdu poetry out of literary salons making his verses popular slogans. His poetry collection *Sar-i-Maqtal* was banned under the Ayub regime. Habib Jalib's life was representative of the common man. He conveyed their sorrows, fears, wishes, pains and dreams through his poetry. At a time when people were afraid to breathe in the atmosphere of fear, his hot blood put life into a dying nation.

Habib Jalib was born in 1928 at Hoshiyarpur, India and he migrated to Pakistan when he had already veered to the Left. His first poetry collection *Barg-i-Awara*, being rather conventional was received as other meritorious collections of poetry by his contemporaries, but it was in the Ayub Era (1958-1969) that his poetry acquired a challenging tone, insulting to autocrats and which enabled his poetry to transcend literary events and to become as popular as slogans. Jalib's poetry reflected his vision. To him truth was the primary value of life. He never wavered from the path of protest he had chosen for himself, never succumbing to either fear or treasures. For carrying out his mission he faced poverty, imprisonment and humiliation. He was the first person to cause unease to the dictatorial regime, and had his *Sar-i-Maqtal* banned.

Many of his contemporaries accepted high posts. When the first P.P.P regime came into power, Josh Malihabadi (1895-1982), Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984) and Ahmed Faraz (1931-2008) accepted posts offered by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Habib Jalib although he was the poet who most aided Z.A. Bhutto during his anti-Tashkent Declaration Movement, and, as we have seen written a poem on Bhutto, he did not accept any government post, fearing he would be compromised. Habib Jalib, beginning with the Ayub Era, was sent to jail by every regime. Even in the Bhutto regime his membership of the National Awami Party earned him a 10 months prison term.

This was an anomaly. His political struggles were in line with the movement led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, but he remained a member of the N.A.P. which though undoubtedly socialist had irredentist claims on Pakistani territory, which complicated his party's relations with successive governments, and brought him into conflict with his erstwhile leader. Habib Jalib died in March 1993 and was buried at Lahore. Habib Jalib wrote film lyrics some of which became classical despite being purely romantic like *Bujhe na dil raat ka safar hai*, and *Bhula bhi de use jo bat ho gayi piyare* and was consequently awarded The Nigar Award.

Faiz Ahmed Faiz was the first prominent poet to be jailed in Pakistan, in 1951 for The Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case<sup>6</sup> and 1958 after declaration of Martial Law, the regime being averse to Communists. His theme was revolutionary his style lyrical and this is what called Noon Meem Rashid<sup>7</sup> and Aziz Ahmed<sup>8</sup> to say he kept wavering in between Romance and Revolution but was unable to cross over, although both admitted that his venture into revolutionary poetry was successful.

The hiatus arose because of the changing alliances during the Second World War, When the Soviet Union and Britain became allies during the war, poets with a closer affiliation to the Communist Party began co-operating with British rulers whereas, Josh Malihabadi and others continued their anti-Imperialist struggle. Faiz Ahmed Faiz became a major in the British Indian Army, and was awarded an M.B.E.<sup>9</sup> (Member of the Order of the British Empire) Even before Bhutto came to power, Faiz had supported the stance taken by Bhutto *vis a vis* Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, who obtained a majority but insisted on a confederal constitution saying that Z. A. Bhutto was justified in saying that no Constitution could be framed or no central government be formed without the participation of the Pakistan People's Party<sup>10</sup>. Thus Faiz (along with Josh) accepted posts from the P.P.P. Regime.

When after the election results of 1977, the P.P.P. initially sought to repress it, Faiz did recite some verses at the Ghalib Library, but those poems did not see their way into any of later collections like *Sham-i-Shahr-i-Yaran* perhaps, because of the ultimate fate of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.<sup>11</sup>

The next revolutionary poet was Ustad Daman who wrote in Punjabi. Ustad Daman born in 1911 was a Punjabi revolutionary who recounts his life of struggle which he relates to the common man of the society. His Punjabi poetry was as forceful as Jalib's. His life was structured in a simple fashion and he spent all his life in a small locality in Lahore, but his work extended to all over the country. His theme was the problems and issues of the common man. All his life, he preferred the Punjabi language. The true colours of revolution can be seen in his poetry as he spent most part of his life for the protection of the Punjabi language.

He being a man of solitude, spent most of his life reading and in libraries. His small room known as the 'kothri' in the vicinity of the walled city, became a hub for intellectuals, politicians, poets and writers, masses and even artists from film and TV were frequent visitors.

He remarks on his involvement in the famous "Bomb Case" during Z.A. Bhutto period<sup>12</sup> became a resounding satire as he claimed that though this time, he was being arrested for keeping forbidden arms the next time, he would be accused of keeping a canon in his small house. His life had been a struggle ever since he could remember, but his love for words won him great laurels in the promotion of revolutionary ideas in the Punjabi language, understood by most poor people in Pakistan.

He often shared his struggles with his visitors. His financial conditions had been very weak. His humble disposition won the hearts of all, as well as he captured the minds of his readers. His poems spoke to the heart of the masses. He was celebrated by the people but always suffered at the hands of the ruling elites. He himself claims to have lived in a hut, won the hearts of the people, but never surrendered to become a courtier. The wrestler like figure was reduced to a skeleton when seen last on the funeral of Faiz, just 20 days before his own death in 1984, a true contemporary of Faiz from the year he was born and till his death.

'He lived in a hut, but wore the people's crown,  
Amongst people, as Daman, he won renown,  
This poet who wore the crown  
He did not become a courtier, as others did.  
Not even in forgetfulness did he do the establishment's bid  
For poor deprived people he laid his life down

This poet who wore the crown  
 The oppressors were laid low by his poetic might,  
 Amidst tempests his lamp continued to give light,  
 With pride he will be remembered in every village and town,  
 This poet who wore the crown  
 One can only say ‘*Amen*’ to that’.<sup>13</sup>

Sheikh Ayaz a Sindhi leftist spent his life challenging authoritarianism and calling for change brought many consequences. Behinds the bars, was one inevitable result of resistant poetry for all poets. No resistance is ever accepted by the establishment. It is a threat to the ruling elite, and suppressing the resistant poets and writers indirectly means to ward off anyone who might have similar ideas. He did not only resist the establishment but his whole life was also spent in fighting the “religious hypocrisy and intolerance” which brought him in direct confrontation with the fundamentalists along with the feudalists.

*This whole land is jaundiced  
 Every evening on the horizon is yellow*

Ayaz believed his life was transformative rather than transmissive, like his poetry. To him truth was most important and he spent his life fighting for it. His act of accepting the post of Vice Chancellor of the Sindh University during the Bhutto Period stirred a wave of controversy, objections and criticism. He still was a revolutionary and a visionary for Sindh leadership. Despite all, he remains a celebrated poet and activist in the Sindhi literary and social spheres.

Fahmida Riaz, (1946- 2017) a bold woman, was leftist revolutionary in her thought and ideas. Her life was a struggle in search of peace and truth. Her self-imposed exile to India as a retaliation turned her into one of the most controversial poets, but did not change her bold disposition and strength to fight for the rights and face detention and imprisonment.

Fahmida had political overtones to her poems, and during Bhutto period she joined the Sindhi and Balochi Nationalists. The life of Fahmida Riaz had its own trolls, moving to America after her marriage gave her a new vision, which was often considered as taboo in our society. Her unsuccessful marriage and return to Pakistan, added to her political activism. She remarried a Sindhi Marxist, and together they started a political magazine *Awaz* Despite much criticism, the magazine continued its publications till the Bhutto government was toppled.

Her voice and appeal was sent out to the people in the cover of revolution and feminism. As a result of her political activism, both she and her second husband were arrested on the charges of treason after the removal of the Bhutto government. Although during the Bhutto period, she was often held accountable for her writings but, Bhutto being himself a Leftist and a revolutionary would at times put a blind eye to her activism, which otherwise was not acceptable to the contemporary political and religious parties and organizations, in particular to the Islamic right winged literary movement poets and writers.

While the leftist were in great number and popular, Na'eem Siddiqui was a Rightist, who was popular and influential in his circle. His fundamental views were not popularly accepted, but his life is an example of bringing a change in the minds of the people that gave birth to the Islamization and military regime that followed the fall of Bhutto. The Islamic literary movement had slowly but deeply affected the minds of the people.

*Rooposh naheen mafroor naheen  
Phir hum ko jawab-e-da'wa men  
Kuch kehna bhee manzoor nahee  
Ta'zeer ko hum khud hazir hain  
Hum log iqrari mujrim hain<sup>14</sup>*

We are not hiding or absconder  
But still we are answerable  
We can't say anything  
We are present before the court  
We declare to be accused

*Naeem Siddiqi*

Maulana Naeem Siddiqui was born in 1916; he was an Islamic scholar, writer and a politician and founding member of the Jama't-i-Islami, with close association with Maulana Abul A'la Maudoodi. Writing appealing forms of verses on social, political and most importantly, religious issues became his forte and created a large audience for Islamic and religious poetry in Pakistan and across the world.

*Hum Musalman is mumlikat-e-Khuda dad kay  
Aksariyat key zubaan bundi aqliyat key hukamrani hai<sup>15</sup>*

We are the Muslims of this country of God  
The majority is quiet while the minority rules

*Naeem Siddiqi*

The different resistance poets during the Bhutto period were responsible for bringing a certain form of enlightenment to the people. Their lives depicted the true sufferings and experiences of a common man. They opened the minds of the masses and were able to induce in them a sense of belonging, defining their identity and giving them a hope for a better tomorrow.

Since the coming into power by Z. A, Bhutto in December 1971 was consequent on the fall of Dhaka, which was a blow to the resistance poets and their vision of the new regime faced a high alert.

*Hum keh tehray ajnabi kitni madaratoon kay baad  
Phir banain gay ashna kitnee mulaqatoon kay baad  
Kab nazar men aye gee bay daagh sabzay ki bahar  
Khoon kay dhabbay dhulain gay kitnee barsatoon kay baad*<sup>16</sup>

*We are yet strangers again after many heartfelt times  
How many more meetings to make us friends again  
When will we witness the unstained spring  
How many rains will it take to wash away the blood stains?*

*Faiz Ahmad Faiz-1974*

These were the feelings of Faiz regarding the dismemberment of Pakistan. In fact, this was the time when the country was yet again in political and social turmoil. East Pakistan had been separated soon after the elections of 1970 and the east wing became Bangladesh. Our poets and intellectuals had still the memories of the 1947 migration afresh in their minds; the violence in the eastern wing, first by Awami League militants and then the retaliatory actions of military had left a darkening impact in the lives of the poets and intellectuals. The unanswered questions of the people to the resistant poets were haunting their everyday life at the instance came the blow of 'fall of Dhaka'. This left a deep wound on the minds and life of the poets who had lived all their lives fighting for peace, justice, rights and freedom.

The recognition of Bangladesh by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was not accepted by the poets. The dream had been crippled and was unrepeatable.

*Mouhabat gollion say bow rahay ho  
Zammen ka chehra khoon say dhoo rahay ho*



*Guman tum ko keh rasta kutt raha hai  
Yakeen mujhko key manzil khoo rahay ho*

You think of planting love with bullets  
Washing the face of land with blood  
Assuming that there is a way ahead  
I am certain you have lost the goal

*Habib Jalib*

These resistance writers made it a point to remind Zulfikar Ali Bhutto time again of the beliefs that had won him their support. After the separation of East Pakistan, in Balochistan and Sindh political instability rose, which came with the proposals of the Constitution Pakistan of 1973. In March 1973, the PPP government ordered police to open fire on the rally of National Awami Party. This was a time when poets like Fahmida Riaz had already been losing hope with Bhutto. Excerpt from her poem that was widely read at the time.

*How suddenly a brisk wind blew from the west today;  
How blood arose from under the dust,  
Madly whirling through the streets,  
Hugging pedestrians,  
Banging against closed doors,  
Waving like a flag over the town.  
Today my fears left me suddenly.  
Today my chest is thirsting for blood,  
I want to dance like a tornado.  
Come my countrymen,  
Dance a dance of anger,  
Of unfurling imagination,  
Of grief and infamy; of a hope repentant,  
Tear off all your vestments of convenience,  
Wade through the showers of your tears,  
Raise your reluctant arms in the air and let your body swirl in  
dance.  
City after city as we go dancing,  
Circle after circle will the whirlpools form.17*

*Fahmida Riaz*

Fahmida Riaz was not just a feminist but also one of the few resistant poetess who not only raised their voice against the tyranny but also when Bhutto failed to fulfill his promise for the common people.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was elected by the common man, and was supported by the revolutionists of the military rule. He had promised to assimilate socialism and democracy. Habib Jalib being closely acquainted to Bhutto was seen as a revolutionary leftist. Although Jalib supported the ideologies of Bhutto, he knew that Jalib's commitment will confirm his loyalties; however, Jalib had not joined PPP officially. On one occasion when Bhutto asked Jalib, when he intended to join his political party, Jalib very strongly replied in his iconic word;

*'kabhee samundar bhee darya main utray hain'*<sup>18</sup>  
'Have the oceans ever fallen in rivers.'

This was later followed by the arrest of Jalib, on another account, when a controversy arose, on a visit of Shah of Iran, a renowned actress was asked to dance before him. This was marked as oppression and '*Larkanay chalo warna thanay chalo*' as recounted above, became the new slogan of harassment.

*Larkanay chalo ,warna thanay chalo*  
*Apnay hoontoon key lali lutanay chalo*  
*Warna thanay chalo*  
*Geet Gaanay chalo warna thanay chalo*<sup>19</sup>

Go to Larkana or go to jail  
Go to give in to your beauty  
Or go to jail  
Go to sing or go to jail

*Jitnay miray wazir hain*  
*Saray he bay zameer hain*

All these of my leaders  
Have no consciousness

Jalib found himself behind the bars again when he remarked on the dismissal of Baloch government on account of conflict of provincial governments of KP (then NWFP) and Balochistan. This was marked as 'snuffing out of a nascent democracy'.

Jalib maintained his stance of pointing out the failings of Pakistani government in the Bhutto period and relations with Bhutto were of love and hate at the same time. Resistant poets and their life went through a mild change during Bhutto regime. From being absolutely dispirited during the military rule, it was now that the ray of hope kept flickering. The ideology was there but there were also times when the

vision seemed to be lost. Their lives were also in a metamorphosis. The resistance towards the politics although met with lesser brutality in comparison to the military rule was more of a check and reminder to keep up to the dream of a progressive Pakistan.<sup>20</sup>

This progressive ideology on the other hand was strongly met by the Islamic literary Movement. It was a strong anti-Bhutto drive, which had a route to Islamization. The progressive ideas were not met with any sort of welcome by the religious scholars. They spent their time and effort in picking up reasons to create disharmony in the state. Apart from being in complete clash with the progressive poets, the Islamic writers, being the traditional right winged forming Jama‘t-i-Islami, and Jami‘at-i-‘Ulama-i-Islam were not ready to ease pressure on Bhutto.

Bhutto tried his best to give the common people ‘*awam*’ a political awareness. This was first time any political leader, through reforms with the help of the progressive poets, using his charismatic personality made an impact on the ‘*awam*’. The religious litterateurs took the role of resistant poets. The poetry of Na‘eem Siddiqui had a strong flavour of resistance towards the progressive elements. His poetry was based on the ideologies of virtuous and evil. The lives of the religious literaries and resistant poets were devised in propagating against the new and modern ideas of the leftist. Although Bhutto tried to make concessions, to satisfy and conform to the religious resistant poets, but it was not well accepted.<sup>21</sup>

Na‘eem Siddiqui was one poet that is said to have the flavour of both Jalib and Faiz. It holds the evolutionary element of Jalib and thought provoking elements of Faiz. Despite the clash of ideologies, the various aspects of their lives, the resistant poets kept the political environment on their toes. The clash between the revolutionary ideas was seen when Habib Jalib criticized the role of religious preachers in Pakistan. Jalib strongly believed that despite the revolutionary ideas, they facilitated the exploitation of people by the feudal, to hold back the progress of the country.

*Buhat mai nay sunee hai aap kee taqreer maulana  
magar badli nahee abb tuk miree taqdeer maulana  
khuda ra shukar kee talqeen apnay pass hee rakhiaye  
yeh lagtee hai miray seenay per bun kay teer Maulana.*<sup>22</sup>

I have heard the sermons many a times maulana  
But my fate has met no change as yet  
Keep the preaching of gratefulness to yourself  
O Maulana, they hit me like an arrow in my heart.

*Habib Jalib*

This rift during the Bhutto time gave way to left and right wing resistant poets to express them and gave a way to the people to rationalize and think for themselves what is right and wrong. This thought provoking element of the poets lives during Bhutto period and comparatively more freedom than the previous regimes, won Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a massive win, which was not accepted by the religious political parties alliance. This credit of bringing consciousness to the people falls to the hands of the resistant poets during Bhutto, who despite their differences with the ruling establishment were able to instill in the people the difference of regimes of the oppressors and the regime of the masses.

These election results were not accepted, and were accused of being rigged by the Pakistan National Alliance, which was coalition of nine religious parties, which was thought to have the backing of the fundamentalist army chief General Zia-ul-Haq, who soon after the elections arrested Bhutto on the charges of murder and he was hanged and another decade of exploitation of the people began along with the process of Islamization, which was the agenda of the right winged Islami Literary Movement.

*Tumharay jabr ka halqa buhat mazboot hai laiken  
Hamaray sabr kee taqat bhee apna aur hee andaaz rakhtee hai  
Tumharay zulm ki had say buhat agay kaheen per hai.*<sup>23</sup>

No doubt the realm of your suppression is too tough, The power  
of our endurance has its own style  
Edge of our fortitude lies far beyond the border of your brutality

Amjad Islam Amjad

### **Conclusion and Analysis**

History stands witness that whenever oppression and force has taken over the lives of the people, the power of pen and words has twisted the chains to empower the down trodden. It is the power of pen and words that help to defeat the enemy without a sword. Literature holds the colour of resistance as there is unjust in the world. It is through literature that keeps a nation alive. It makes us think, unites us and leads a nation towards progress and peace. Poetry, prose or any form of literature holds in its expression the power of sensitivity, passion and determination of a new generation.

Considering the different aspects of life of resistant poets during the Bhutto period, they played their role to bring about the consciousness to the people; they were able to mark the difference and could think. The resistance poets during Bhutto played their cards very well. They were subjected to certain unfair detentions but still their support for Bhutto did not fade. They all knew except for the few right wing resistant poets; it was only Bhutto who had the power to bring a change in lives of everyone.

After the announcement of the execution of Bhutto, it was all these poets that again set to roads to retaliate against the upcoming tyrannical rule of the fundamentalists. Despite the differences which Bhutto himself marks as a check on him; the resistant poets during his period were like a guiding star for the masses. The various aspects of their lives were like a mirror of the peoples own emotions and sentiments. They could see themselves not only in their verses and words but also in the way they lived. There was no difference and there were no class boundaries. The resistant poets and politics both underwent transformation towards a thought provoking and conscious nation. They now knew and understood exploitation and were able to raise their voices, despite the fact of facing detentions, humiliations and even imprisonment.

They were proud of their poetry and knew the truth was on their side.

‘Writers have to, willingly or otherwise,  
Stand with or against or question the existential basis of dominant  
Perceptions, narratives, discourses or ideologies of their times.  
They cannot stay neutral. If they decide to stay silent where they  
should speak, they implicitly endorse the course of events’.<sup>24</sup>

### Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> "System is to blame for the 22 wealthy families". Human Development Center, Originally published on London Times. Human Development Center. 22 March 1973. p. 1. Archived from the original on 22 July 2013. Retrieved on 13 November 2022.

<sup>2</sup> National Awami Party was founded in Dhaka in 1957.

<sup>3</sup> East Wing is commonly used for the East Pakistan, former province of Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

<sup>4</sup> Habib Jalib, *Sar-i-Maqtal*, (near slaughterhouse), Lahore: Maktaba-i-Karawan, 1966, pp. 91-92.

<sup>5</sup> Habib Jalib, *Kuliat-i-Habib Jalib* (Collection of Habib Jalib), Lahore: Mavra Publisher (4<sup>th</sup> Edition), 2005. P 337.

<sup>6</sup> Hasan Zaheer, *The Times and Trial of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press; 1998 and also see Estelle Dryland, "Faiz

Ahmed Faiz and the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case." *Journal of South Asian Literature* 27.2 (1992): 175–185

<sup>7</sup> Sheema Majeed,(ed.) *Maqalat-i-Rashid* (Articles of Rashid), Islamabad, Alhamra, 2002,p.378

<sup>8</sup> Taraqqi Pasand Adab (Liberal Literature), Multan, Karawan-i-Adab,, 1993, p.86

<sup>9</sup> Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, it is the third highest award in the British Army

<sup>10</sup> Syeda Birjis Bano, *Faiz Ahmed Faiz ki Sahafat* (Journalism of Faiz Ahmed Faiz), Karachi, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2000, p.31

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Reza Kazimi, Introduction, *Culture and Identity: Selected English Writings of Faiz*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. xvii

<sup>12</sup> Mushtaq Sufi, Remembering Ustad Daman: man who confronted the powerful, *Daily Dawn*, 10 September 2018.

<sup>13</sup> D. A. Bhatti, *Shakhsiat aur funn-Ustad Daman* (Personality and Art: Ustad Daman), (Islamabad: Classic Press.2009)

<sup>14</sup> D. M. Qadri, *Islami adab kay naqeeb ki muzahimati Shaeri* (Resistance Poetry of Viewer of Islami Literature), (n.d.) pp. 175-192

<sup>15</sup> M.N. Siddiqui, *Jamhoriyat aur hum* (We and the Democracy). (Karachi.n.d)

<sup>16</sup> Faiz Ahmed Faiz, *Dhaka se wapsi per* (on returning from Dhaka), 1974.

<sup>17</sup> <https://bbc.com/news/world-asia-4362729>

<sup>18</sup> J. Abid., Remembering Jalib, (10 October 2012) Retrieved March 15, 2019, from Pak Tea House: <http://pakteahouse.net/2012/10/10/remembering-jalib/>

<sup>19</sup> Habib Jalib, *Kuliat-i-Habib Jalib* (Collection of Habib Jalib), Lahore: Mavra Publisher (4<sup>th</sup> Edition), 2005. P337.

<sup>20</sup> Amjad Islam Amjad, Personal Communication, (5 March 2019)

<sup>21</sup> D. M. Qadri, *Islami adab kay naqeeb ki muzahimati Shaeri* (urdu), opcit.

<sup>22</sup> Habib Jalib, *Maulana*(n.d).

<sup>23</sup> Amjad Islam Amjad, Personal Communication, (5 March 2019)

<sup>24</sup> N.A. Niyyar., Resistance in literature (26 November 2017). Retrieved March 15, 2019, from The news on Sunday: <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/resistance-literature/#.XKECtpgzblU>