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**Literary Radicalism and the Tools of its Articulation:  
Examining the Role of the Progressive Writers Association  
between 1948 and 1954**

**Abstract**

The article argues that the progressive litterateurs who were fully cognizant of the social functionality of literature, deployed literary radicalism as a tool of articulation of radical ideas to develop an alternative vision of the state and society that clashed with the vision of military-bureaucratic nexus.<sup>1</sup> The latter unable to appreciate its subtlety began to perceive threat from the radicalism and tried to suppress it and the apprehensions culminated into the imposition of ban of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA). Thus, the piece seeks to historicize the most crucial as well as productive phase of the literary history of Pakistan through the vantage of the Progressive Writers Association by bringing into focus the literary radicalism of the PWA. However, it asserts emphatically that the placement of ban on the PWA did not signal the end to the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM), which continued to advance the cause through myriad other radical interventions.

**Key words:** Literary Radicalism in Pakistan; All India Progressive Writers, Association(AIPWA); Progressive Writers Movement(PWM); Progressive Writers Association (PWA); Social Realism and Socialist Realism, and; Social Functionality of Literature

**Introduction**

It highlights/analyzes the role the progressive litterateurs of the PWA through the different forms of radical literary interventions, which include: the launching of the literary journals, the holding of literary conferences at the all-Pakistan level, the organization/hosting of diverse social gatherings to promote cultural awareness and articulating an alternative vision of the language question. The phase was not free from controversies as the PWA came under strong influence of the Social realism. of the All India Progressive Writers Association (AIPWA), and the military-bureaucratic establishment started labelling it as a stooge or ancillary organization of the AIPWA, thus, providing it the pretext to place ban on the PWA in July 1954.<sup>2</sup> The drastic action proved disastrous for the democratic evolution of the country as its critics see it as attempt to stifle the dissenting voices and foreclose the arenas/ avenues(figurative) of alternative imagination. The article

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concludes by providing fleeting glimpses into retrospection the progressive did on the hardline stance of the PWA during the most vibrant phase of literary activism.

Let us have few words about my rhetorical strategy. The article is divided into five sections. Section I sets the context by briefly alluding to the AIPWA in India before the partition. It brings into focus the views of the progressive litterateurs on the social functionality of the major genres of the Urdu literature and demonstrates their determination to use literature as a tool of articulation of radical thought in the society. Section II examines the various dimensions in which the PWA pursued its radical activism/ pursued its radical agenda. Section III gauges the response of the progressives, moderate progressives, and anti-progressives. Section IV turns the focus to the perception as well as the reaction of the military-bureaucratic nexus against the progressive litterateurs.<sup>3</sup> Section V provides revealing insights into the views of the main ideologues the PWA like Sibte Hasan, Ahmed Nadeem Qasim and Faiz Ahmed Faiz to show how they came to view the PWA’s policy in retrospect.

(I)

The Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) had its beginning as the All-India Progressive Movement (AIPWA) in 1936 and blazed a trail in the literary culture in India.<sup>4</sup> 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 ordinary people.

Pakistani progressives continually endeavored to carry forward/ accomplish the mission, under which literature was not merely a tool of communicating the feelings and emotions of love or a channel of deriving aesthetic pleasure rather they saw/viewed literature as “*ek nazaria aur ek hathiyar* ”(an ideology and a weapon/instrument ), though which they wanted to draw the gaze (figurative) of the society to unpalatable realities which it wanted to avoid.<sup>5</sup> The views of the progressive literati about the social functionality of the major genres of the Urdu literature provided in the Table 1 attest this view/contention.

Table 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 (1919--1994)	‘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 Ahmad Faiz(1911--1984)	Faiz in an interview, used historical analogy ‘Mashuq-e hazar shewa’ (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(1920—1998)	The ‘ghazal form’ of the Urdu literature ‘... expresses ... the entire civilizational temperament’ of the Indo-Muslim civilization but also has 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 (1917—2006)	‘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’.

Source: Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, ‘Adab Barae log’, in *Pas-e Alfaz*, ed. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Lahore: Asateer, n.d.),230. Ibadat Barelvi, cited in, Sayed Nauman Naqvi, ‘Mourning Indo-Muslim Modernity’, 182–183, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Urdu Adab ka Taraqqi Pasand Nazaria’, in *Faizan-e Faiz*, ed. Sheema Majid (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aliya, 2006), 38, —Faiz Ahmed Faiz, ‘Un published Interview of Fasiz Ahmed Faiz’, by Mohammad Hasan, in *Faiz Nama* (Lahore: 2005), 30–31, and; Zaheer Kashmiri, *Tagazzul Gazalain* (Lahore: 1963),14. and 16.

The Table shows that how they progressives held strong conviction about the socially committed literature. They fully realized that literature can be used as a tool of resistance. Their views about the social functionality of different genres of Urdu literature fully attest to the fact. How the vision directed the approach/path of the PWA serves as the focal point of the debate in the next section of the piece.

Since the article makes frequent mention of the terms “staunch progressives” and “moderate progressives it is relevant to explain the context in which they are used in the article. The manifesto issued by the PWA conference (held in Lahore in December 1949) defined the responsibility of progressive writers, which gives us a fair idea of the organization’s conception of staunch a progressives. To avoid from repetition, I will not explicate the theme in the section. However, the concept of

“moderate progressives” requires thoughtful deliberation. To provide the perspective I cite the views of the country two prominent progressive writers Mirza Adeb(1914--1999) and Qateel Shafai (1919--2001).

Mirza Adeb conceives the concept of Taraqqi Pasandi as:

The concept of progressivism varies from country-to-country because each country has its own distinct culture. And literature, being part of culture is subject to/undergoes continuous changes as a result of societal reaction. For instance, the oppositional stance of Akbar Allahabadi was the direct reaction of Sir Syed’s [Aligarh] movement...and it was quite necessary...it is true that the rationalist movement during its journey did not remain the same as it used to be in Sir Sayed’s times. In the mid of the process of its collision with Akbar Allahabadi’s ideas and thoughts, it imbibed healthy ideas/ influences [figurative] and is marching ahead.<sup>6</sup>

Qateel Shafai, a noted progressive poet in an interview with Ayub Nadeem, a journalist defined “Taraqqi Pasandi” as:

To me progressivism is like Chinese food. Nowadays we find Chinese restaurants in every century. Though there is special/ formula(recipe) to make /prepare Chinese food, but it is adapted in accordance with local environment, with the addition of local touch [figurative]. Likewise, the basic doctrines of Socialism are already established. However, when the dispensation is applied/implemented in Russia it can embrace Atheism. But on the contrary, if the system is to be implemented in Pakistan, then it is not necessary to altogether abandon the Islamic religious practices. Socialism is a system of economic equality not of “*aqaid aur ibaddat*”(religious tenets and forms of worship).The prevailing objective conditions of a society and the response they generate mainly determine its political attitudes. In some places Liberalism would be considered synonymous with Progressivism but at the others it could be used as a tool of defeating the progressives.<sup>7</sup>

The two definitions of progressivism cited above fully embrace the idea moderate progressivism.

(II)

The section discusses in detail how the PWA strived for the promotion of distinct ideal of the espousal of the obligations of the literary writers towards society. It locates its literary activism in the diverse areas of literary radicalism such as the launching of literary journals, holding of literary conferences and the progressive litterateurs’ espousal of the labour cause and their nuanced approach toward the lingual question.

### **The PWA and the Promotion of Cultural Activities**

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.<sup>8</sup> It had laureates like Sajjad Zaheer and Sibte-e 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.

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 government's constant pressure and intimidation, the members of the PWM had to change the venues four times.<sup>10</sup> The meetings were suspended during 1951 and 1952 in the middle of the military-bureaucratic establishment's witch-hunt against the Leftists, which had rendered the PWA virtually dysfunctional.<sup>11</sup>

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 *afsanā* (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.<sup>12</sup> M.Ashfaq Beg in his doctoral work on the PWA mentions the names of 60 members who had registered with its Lahore branch.<sup>13</sup> Initially, both progressive and non-progressive literary figures participated in these meetings.<sup>14</sup> And at times non-progressives also presided over these meetings.<sup>15</sup>

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).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, members of the *Halqa* participated in the PWA meetings, particularly when they were held at Dyal Singh College Library.<sup>17</sup> 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 many of the opponents re-joined the meetings.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> The PWA's Lahore chapter held 'a *mushaira* under the auspices of North-Western Railway Union in Bagbanpura', Lahore in July 1948.<sup>20</sup> This *mushaira* (a meeting at which poets recite their poetry) was not an isolated event. Such social gatherings like *mushairas* had become an integral part of the literary culture of Lahore.<sup>21</sup> 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*',<sup>22</sup>

The article of Ateeq Ahmed on “Anjuman Taraqqi Pasand Musannifeen Karachi Mein”, provides illuminating insights about the activities of the Karachi chapter of the PWA in 1949 and 1950. It tells us that besides holding literary meetings on regular basis it held poetry festivals and special ceremonies on the occasions of the birthdays of the distinguished Urdu poets—Mirza Ghalib(1797--1869), Altaf Hussain Hali (1837--1914) and Muhammad Iqbal(1877--1938). It organized important seminars which focused on the themes like: “Taraqqi Pasandi kya He? (What is Progressivism?)”, “Taraqqi Pasand Adab ki Shinakht (The Identity of the Progressive Literature)”, and “Adab aur Mazlum Tabqat ka Rishta(The Literature and the Oppressed Classes”.<sup>23</sup> The PWA hosted special receptions for the poets and litterateurs from India like Jigar Moradabadi(1890—1960), Josh Malihabadi (1898—1982) and Ijaz Hussain. In the year 1950 it continued to organize its literary gatherings on regular basis and celebrating important “Days” of luminaries of Urdu literature.<sup>24</sup> The PWA established its regional branch in Peshawar in the early 1950; Farigh Bokhari and Raza Hamadani(1910—1999) were its main organizers.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Radical Literary Journals as a Tool of Articulation of Radical Ideas**

Between 1947 and 1950, progressive magazines—*Adab-e Latif*, *Sawera*, *Sahar*, *Naqoosh*, *Javed*, *Afkar*, and *Sang-e Meel* enjoyed huge popularity in the literary circles of Pakistan.<sup>26</sup> 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. (The Table 2 in the end notes shows that Lahore held a prominent place in Pakistan’s literary culture immediately after partition). Although the exact circulation figures of these magazines is not available, the involvement of a large number of progressive writers and their collective influence through these journals, suggests that the readership of these journals was large. 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.

Even entrenched critics of such writing, authors like Intizar Hussain, acknowledged their far-reaching influence. Intizar Hussain (1925-2016) an acclaimed Urdu short story writer and novelist, was a habitué of Lahore’s tea-house culture, and a staunch opponent of the progressives. In his autobiographical work, he acknowledges that these writers had an overwhelming influence over the educated people in the 1950s.} In his words: “*Saqi* had not been launched till then. Though there was no dearth of literary magazines in the city. But all of these (magazines) were progressive”.<sup>27</sup> He adds:

The progressives held sway over the literary domain in the city (Lahore) and became virtually unrivalled in stature. They had gained immense popularity from Lahore to Karachi. This period coincided with the phase when the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) had reached the height of its popularity in the subcontinent. Even people who were not progressive had come under its influence in one way or another. No one had the power and courage to intellectually disagree with the progressives.<sup>28</sup>

Cumulatively, the literary culture provided conducive environment for the growth of art and literature. Abdullah Malik, a renowned journalist and progressive activist while writing in early 1950's, notes:

Art and literature began to flourish mainly on account of the significant intellectual contribution that progressive writers made over three-and-a-half years after the creation of the country. Their opponents, who held a different point of view, may have disagreed with them on various issues but one cannot deny the fact that the proactive role of progressive writers generated and stimulated intellectual debates and brought new subjects and themes up for discussion. The literateur of different ideological conviction openly criticised each other and this openness aroused great desire and curiosity among the educated classes.<sup>29</sup>

Although the views of Abdullah Malik do not relate directly to Leftist magazines and journals, they provide us important clues to the reception and impact of socialist ideals in society. The growing popularity that the progressives enjoyed at the time was markedly disproportionate to the Left's political strength and its support base in the country.

The journals published literary compositions aimed at raising awareness about the deplorable plight of the vast majority of the working classes. This was due to the exploitation of their labour by the privileged minority, including the landed feudal and urban capitalists. The difficult lives of the rural poor was one of the major themes of progressive literature. Through these writings, progressive writers tried to convey the dignity and self-respect of the rural poor despite the harsh conditions they lived in. Such portrayal contrasted sharply with the writings of those literati who wrote either for entertainment or subscribed to art or art's sake. These literary magazines and journals also tried to put matters in a larger perspective of global imperialism and tried to exhort people to strive for social change by means of class struggle.

### **Literary conferences and socialist activism**

Between the years 1947 and 1949, the PWA initiated a number of public activities, including three literary conferences that were held in Lahore and Karachi.<sup>30</sup> This was an attempt to deliberate on the issues emanating from socio-economic disparity and to forge links with other groups and segments of society who did not necessarily subscribe to the Leftist ideology. The conferences aimed to develop a particular vision for the newly founded state. We can read it as an attempt to build a nexus between the non-communist elements of civil society and the Leftists.

The first among such endeavours was a national conference held in Lahore on 5-6 December 1947, with the aim to organise progressive writers and publishers and to draw the attention of non-progressive writers towards the need for a new literary culture. This conference marked the informal beginning of the PWA in Pakistan.<sup>31</sup>

Before holding the first National Conference (in November 1949) the PWA also held an important conference in Lahore 12-18 February 1949. It scrutinized PWA Punjab's organisational matters, elected its office bearers and endorsed its manifesto.<sup>32</sup> Its other main objective was to engage the working class in literary activism.<sup>33</sup>

(As alluded earlier) The PWA organized its first national conference in Lahore between 11 and 13 November 1949. More than five hundred delegates attended the conference, as reported by progressive magazine *Sawera*. Abdul Majeed Salik presided over the proceedings.<sup>34</sup> Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik presided at the conference and delivered the inaugural address.<sup>35</sup> The delegates presented resolutions for the protection of fundamental liberties; for strengthening of the democratic process in the country; for maximum political and religious freedom for minorities; and urged the government to eliminate feudalism. The writers also stressed upon state functionaries to address the problems of the refugees from India and called for promoting cultural co-operation between Pakistan and India.<sup>36</sup> (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).<sup>37</sup>

It would be relevant to bring into discussion the major shift that took place within the PWA and its policy towards non-progressive writers became harder. Leaders such as Sibte Hasan and Mumtaz Hussain Siddiqui regarded this as the outcome of the meetings held in Behmeri, Bombay, where the All-India Progressive Writers Association's (AIPWA) organised its fifth conference on 27–29 May 1949.<sup>38</sup> It would be pertinent to briefly describe the background of the conference as it would enhance our understanding of explore the impact of the conference's decisions on literary activism in Pakistan.<sup>39</sup>

Before the Behmeri conference, the Communist Party of India (CPI) and AIPWA had been following the "United Front Line", that called for unity between the middle classes, the rural peasantry, and the urban working classes.<sup>40</sup> As the non-progressive literati belonged to the middle classes, progressive writers of Pakistan and India saw no harm in joining hands with them for a bigger cause. But this policy was rescinded in the Second Conference of the CPI, held 28 February- 6 March 1948 in Calcutta, probably because of the deteriorating relationship between the communists and the Nehru regime. This new strategy of the CPI termed the "BT Ranadive (BTR) Line", was the result of BT Ranadive's declaration that the governments of both Pakistan and India were "reactionary", accusing them of falling under the influence of the imperialists. There was a strong disavowal of working with the middle classes who were declared friends of the capitalists; instead, the only alliance that came naturally was between the communists and the working classes who shared the vision of bringing about a socialist revolution in the subcontinent.<sup>41</sup>

The writers of AIPWA pursuing BTR Line defined the concept of progressive literature and the role of "progressive writers very narrowly and rigidly". Hence the exclusion of middle-class writers began from the AIPWA. Qamar Rais (1932–2009), a prominent Indian progressive writer, explained this policy:

The manifesto that Behmeri conference had drawn up pledged that we would call only those writers "progressive" who held clear Marxist or socialist views, who could interpret the existing class conflict in society dialectically, and who had the courage to side with the oppressed classes in their struggle. Meaning thereby that the Conference declared that without clear ideological commitment, literature could not be described as progressive, nor could any literary writer be considered progressive.<sup>42</sup>

The context helps us to understand the kind of change that had occurred in the PWA's creed before the holding of the second national progressive writers' conference, which was again held in Lahore on 11-13 November 1949. Chiragh Hasan Hasrat (1904—1955) presided over the inaugural session and more than one hundred delegates comprising rural workers, urban labour and members of the middle-class intelligentsia, across the country attended the three-day proceedings.<sup>43</sup> The event provided an opportunity to the PWA to project its image as a revolutionary alliance on the literary front.<sup>44</sup> Sajjad Zaheer's message read on the occasion described the role of writers as custodians "of political and economic power as well as intellectual and spiritual traditions".<sup>45</sup> He lamented that the dominant classes had been wielding absolute authority and (thus denying the people their rightful place in society). He asserted,

...people cannot realise 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 revolution". And this could only materialise if "the intelligentsia, the proletariat and the peasantry united in this struggle to form a democratic front[alliance]".<sup>46</sup> He urged intellectuals to use their "poetry and literary works, art and knowledge as means to successfully accomplish this task."<sup>47</sup>

As the event progressed, the PWA began closing its ranks and became less inclusive of anti-progressives and liberal writers who held a neutral position. The tone of the resolutions reflects the change. A resolution passed on 11 November called for a boycott of "opportunists" such as Muhammad Hasan Askari, Mumtaz Shirin, Ahmed Ali, Akhtar Hussain Raipuri, Saadat Hasan Manto, Shafique-ur-Rehman, NM Rashid, Mumtaz Mufti and MD Taseer.<sup>48</sup> The resolution urged progressive writers and journalists not to write for magazines such as *Mah-e Nau*, *Urdu Adab*, *Naya Daur*, and *Saqi*, because the editors of these magazines did not subscribe to socialist ideals.<sup>49</sup> The conference endorsed the decision of the PWA to hold the literati accountable.<sup>50</sup> 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".<sup>51</sup> The PWA pledged in the manifesto:

We, the progressive literati, do 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 resolve the contradiction that exists between our social system and fundamental human needs. Our primary objective is to establish a humane system that provides everyone with the opportunity not only to satisfy their needs but to develop and nurture their aesthetic taste, which may enable us to foster our creative and intellectual abilities as well as our glorious cultural traditions.<sup>52</sup>

Faiz Ahmed Faiz summed up the changes to the political creed of the PWA in these words: "(the) Anjuman [the PWA] had moved from its goal of social realism to socialist realism in literature".<sup>53</sup>

In March 1951, the CPP was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, and the PWA also had to bear the brunt.<sup>54</sup> Progressive writers such as Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Zaheer Kashmiri and Hameed Akhtar were imprisoned for six to ten months and all literary activity was closely monitored.<sup>55</sup> The following year in July, the PWA tried to rise from the ashes as it were, in the third national conference held in Karachi.<sup>56</sup> The conference held four meetings on 12 and 13 July 1952. Only the delegates attended the two closed meetings, whereas the remaining two were open meetings. Maulvi Abdul Haq (1870—1961) presided the inaugural session. Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik (1894—1959) was the president of the second open session. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi presented a report in which he made a realistic analysis of the performance of the PWA in the past three-and-a-half years.<sup>57</sup> The most important development of the conference was that it presented a resolution to rescind the resolution of 1949 that called for boycott of non-progressive litterateurs.<sup>58</sup> The association hammered out a new manifesto confirming the changes in its policy.<sup>59</sup> This resolution stated:

We have not included 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 most of them did not subscribe to it. Pakistan has not yet reached the stage of industrial revolution. Rather, the agrarian problem is the basic issue here. Therefore, for Pakistan, the path of democracy remains open. However, after presenting this political perspective, (we maintain) that Anjuman is a literary organisation whose primary task is to create literature and to evaluate it properly. And, for that purpose, we can apply the key principles of critical consciousness.<sup>60</sup>

Afterward the PWA's Sectary General read out the new manifesto of the organization before the hose. The participant enthusiastically endorsed it.<sup>61</sup>

### **The PWA's Activism: Its wider dimensions**

The above discussion encapsulated various aspects of the literary activism of the progressive literati I argue in sub-section that the radicalism of the progressives was not necessarily confined to the literary domain rather they endeavored to create a broad alliance with labourers and regional/vernacular elite. It would be relevant to shed light on their radical stance on the labour question and on the issue of regional languages.

The progressives right after the independence lent their enthusiastic support to the labour cause. The labour organizations reciprocated the feelings by enthusiastically participating in the National Conference that the progressive organized in Lahore in December 1947.<sup>62</sup> The informal alliance gained further strength over the years as the CPP leaders like Sajjad and Sibte Hasan wrote letters to the PWA organisers and its and 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.<sup>63</sup>

In the second all Pakistan Progressive Writers' Conference in Lahore in November 1949 further symbolized the commitment of the organization to the labour cause. Abdullah Malik's report on the proceedings of the second conference informs us

that the banners emblazoned with revolutionary slogans were hung in the *pindal* (the conference's venue). It also featured full-length portraits The decoration of the pavilion and the hanging of the portraits of Karl Marx( 1818—1883),Fredrick Engels(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), Mohammad Iqbal(1877—1938) and Prem Chand (1880—1936).<sup>64</sup> He wrote that along with the other portraits, 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 proletariat'"<sup>65</sup>

In February 1950, the PWA collaborated with the Peace Committee and the Pakistan Trade Unions Federation (PTUF) to organise a conference in Okara. The conference criticised the government for its "aggressive action against the PWA" and demanded the annulment of the decree which had declared the *Anjuman* (PWA) a political party. It further stated that "such cruel treatment cannot lower the morale of the progressive writers nor can it stop them from producing such literature", which they termed *Awami Adab* or pro-people literature.<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup>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 furor among a group of writers. So, this resolution had to be amended.<sup>68</sup> Sajjad Zaheer wrote a letter to District Organization Committee (D.O.C.) in which he stressed the need to promote Sindhi literature.<sup>69</sup> 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'.<sup>70</sup>

The *pindal* of the second PWA conference along the display of the portraits of the afore-mentioned revolutionary leaders and poets was also adorned with portraits of classical poets of regional languages like Khushal Khan Khattak(1613—1689),Rehman Baba(1653—1711), Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (1689—1752),and Waris Shah (1722—1789) which symbolized the PWA's strong commitment to the cause of regional languages.<sup>71</sup>

The manifesto issued on PWA's Second National Conference in Lahore informs us about the stance of the organisation on the language issue. The progressives lamented the fact that: "We have been negligent over the literature of the other nationalities—Sindhi, Pushto, Bengali and Punjabi. <sup>72</sup> It reminded the progressive writers that "It is our duty to closely study the old and new literature of these languages and reap benefit out of it".<sup>73</sup>

The manifesto carried the PWA's conviction that:

We declare we would invite the litterateurs of these languages to our movement and make these languages a medium/an agency of articulating our views. We will fully participate take part in the struggle for the *tarraqi-o-baqa*(development and survival) of the regional languages. Through the medium we will be able to arrive at greater/richer understanding of the thoughts and emotions of ordinary people and present them in our writings.<sup>74</sup>

The PWA's conference passed a resolution on the language question on 13 November 1949 which proposed that "apart from Urdu the other regional languages should also be promoted".<sup>75</sup> The manifesto advised the progressive intellectuals "to adopt democratic attitude on the language issue".<sup>76</sup> It expressed serious reservations on the government attempts of promoting Urdu at the cost of other languages and demanded that "it should allow all the languages to flourish and blossom".<sup>77</sup> While supporting the cause of regional languages it unequivocally stated that

We cannot allow any language, which has now earned appellation of the state language, to attack the other languages. We accord all the languages an equal status. Though we concede that certain languages are more developed, and the others have not been able to achieve that level of development. But it does not mean that the developed language should stamp out the less developed languages on the pretext that they have already been suppressed.<sup>78</sup>

All the discussion shows the support of regional languages remained an important part of the agenda of progressive writers, right after the creation of the new state.<sup>79</sup>

### (III)

The section shifts the focus of discussion to the strong/critical reaction of the litterateurs having different ideological persuasions, on the hardline Stance of the PWA in the second conference Let us first look at the reaction of the staunch supporters of the PWA who looked at the issue from different perspectives. Zaheer Kashmiri (1919--1994) the editor of *Sawera*, supporting the policy justified it as an "ideological purge".<sup>80</sup> While writing editorial comments on this conference, he welcomed the move and said that now that the PWA had come up with the slogan 'Adab barae Inqilab' (Literature for Revolution), it had rendered all conceptions of literature, 'out of date'.<sup>81</sup> Qamar Rais (1932—2009), a prominent progressive writer from India, in an interview to .M.A. Siddiqui, a literary critic, opined that :“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”.<sup>82</sup>. (as alluded earlier) Faiz Ahmed Faiz, pointed out in 1978 that the 'Anjuman [the PWA] had moved from its goal of social realism to the socialist realism in literature'<sup>83</sup>. While illustrating that point he maintained that “[The committed socialist realism] was not the initial creed of the Anjuman[PWA] as was evident from its manifesto”.<sup>84</sup> While questioning the suitability of the policy he expressed his apprehension the attainment/realization of the ideal of committed socialist realism was “not possible in context of the country's peculiar social and political conditions/circumstances...”.<sup>85</sup> While analyzing the policy's implications he maintained that it caused confusion and led to the rise of voices and movements

that called for ‘purging the literature’ and laid emphasis on ‘adopting a separate course’”.<sup>86</sup> Thus encouraged separatist tendencies.<sup>87</sup>

Even the policy antagonized the moderate progressives like Mirza Adeeb-- the editor of *Adab-e Latif*. He not only vehemently opposed the policy but also tried to block the resolution and urged the writers to stand firm against this move. He did not turn up for the opening session of the second literary conference, which resulted in his immediate expulsion from the Anjuman.<sup>88</sup>

He had serious “mental reservations” regarding the two resolutions, which had been tabled.<sup>89</sup> Elaborating the theme he wrote in his autobiography:

The general sense of the first resolution was that every regional language is entitled to be accorded the equal status of the national language... If all the regional languages were to be conferred/given the status of the national language then what would be the place of Urdu, which has[had] been declared Pakistan’s official and national language and which fosters and preserves links among the provinces? Quaid-i-Azam’s official pronouncement in Dacca... and his strong assertion that only Urdu would be the national language—in my estimation was manifestation of his political prudence and sagacity. [it shows that] that he had realized that national unity could only be brought about/ achieved with lingual unity. I was definitely not ready to see/ accept the adoption the resolution at the national level”...The second resolution asked the progressive/ magazines and journals not to publish the writings of the litterateurs like Mohammad Hasan Askari, Saadat Hasan Manto, and Qurat-ul-ein-Haider who had been opposed to the organization...It was an attempt to bound Adb-e-Latif to boycott/ disassociate itself with the literati who were critical to the movement.<sup>90</sup>

While justifying his opposition to the resolutions he maintained that:

I oppose the first on the ground that I only consider Urdu (only Urdu) as Pakistan’s national and state language. If every regional language is accorded/ conferred the status of national language, then each province of Pakistan would be separated linguistically in practical terms. The absence of “*lisani markaziat*” (logocentrism/lingual centrism) can [could] shatter our national unity’. ... I had serious reservations with the resolutions: the first could have resulted in lingual anarchy and other seemed to be bent on negating the democratic principles ...<sup>91</sup>.

He further informs us that he “Coincidentally, I was assigned the task/asked to table the second resolution. I personally disagreed with the idea. Therefore, I did not participate in the session”.<sup>92</sup>

The anti-progressives like Intizar Hussain and Anwar Sadeed outrightly rejected the policy. Intizar Hussain attributed it as outcome of the Left-wing extremism, which had disastrous consequences for the PWA. 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.<sup>93</sup> Anwar Sadeed (1928—2016) in an interview to ... in used interesting analogy of “literary martial law” to describe the policy.<sup>94</sup>

The previous pages examined the response of litterateurs to the PWA's policy. It would be relevant to critically analyze their positions on the issue. The positions of staunch progressives seem to be sharply divided. Zaheer Kashmiri came out to fully endorse the policy. Qamar Rais tended to evade the issue diplomatically by setting it in the larger context of the change in policy of the AIPWA. To him it was a non-event-- as he saw no discernible impact on the literature the progressives had produced. Faiz Ahmed Faiz explicated it in more academic terms by placing it in the larger historical context. To him it signaled perceptible but abrupt shift in the doctrinal emphasis of the PWA's policies that shaped the radical activism of the organization. He was rather bewildered at the change in the creed of the PWA. His reaction shows that he had reservations about the relevance of the policy for country's specific circumstances. Equally disturbed were moderate progressives (liberal with neutral positions) like Mirza Adeeb who They resented this segregation within the literati. If one critically scrutinizes the views of Mirza Adeeb on the issue certainly themes stand out. He seemed to be absolutely convinced of the crucial role of Urdu in maintaining national integration and apprehended that the country could have descended into lingual anarchy with its replacement with regional languages. He fully endorsed Jinnah's policy on the language statesmanship and construed it as a great act of his statesmanship. He viewed the stance the PWA had taken on the issue of boycott of those litterateurs who tended to differ with the PWA imprudent and und undemocratic.

The anti-progressives like Intizar Hussain and Anwar Sadeed quite understandably dismissed the policy. The analogy drawn by Anwar Sadeed that we cited, contains hints of sarcasm. The opponents of the PWA in Pakistan seem to hammer the point that Left-Wing extremism had crept into the policy of the PWA and according to Intizar Hussain the PWA had to bear the devastating consequences of scumming to the Left-wing extremist tendencies.

(IV)

The previous debate examined the reaction of the literati on the hardline stance of the PWA in the second conference. Now we weave into our narrative the negative perceptions that the "military-bureaucratic nexus" had of the Left, particularly the progressive litterateurs. The official report of M, Anwer Ali, Deputy Inspector General of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), corroborates the view. He viewed the PWA as an ancillary organization of the AIPWA which acted as a cultural front of the CPI.<sup>95</sup> Another piece of evidence, which reflects the bureaucratic-military establishment's perception of the progressive litterateurs was the 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".<sup>96</sup> One can argue that the military-bureaucratic camp's perception decisively influenced the official/government's thinking about the Left in general and the PWA in particular, as it began to criminalize the Left. It tried to project the image of the PWA as an ancillary organization of the AIPWA. This is the kind of crude caricature that Answer Ali's report tried to create of the PWA that it was shilling for the CPI.

Before moving to show how the negative perceptions of the bureaucratic-military establishment decisively shaped government's policy it would be relevant to critically examine Anwer Ali's letter. On the basis of an anonymous Anwer Ali called the PWA a cultural front of the CPI and flagged this point in his official report at the time". But he himself acknowledges that: "its authorship is not known, and it is possible that it was produced by the CPI and sent to Sajjad Zaheer". Unsure of its exact date, Ali believed that "it is obviously written after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi...[and]...is written by a very able communist, who passionately believed in the unity of India and Pakistan".<sup>97</sup> All the inferences that he has drawn seem to be based sheer/wide speculation. Thus, the very basis on which he tries to substantiate his claim does not seem very sound. His report mentions isolated instances of personal differences between the Leftist leaders such as Sajjad Zaheer, Main Iftikhar-ud-Din and Ghaffar Khan.<sup>98</sup> One can construe it as an attempt to play up the differences among very the Leftist leaders. His characterization of the PWA as cultural front of the CPP erodes the crucial difference between the PWA and the Progressive Writers Movement (PWM). The PWA was a literary organization that the government banned in 1954 by labelling it as a front-line organization of the CPI. The PWM, meanwhile, was a literary movement, a movement of ideas, and an agency of literary resistance that represented a goal that progressive writers had set for themselves. The close liaison between the two organizations spawned the impression reinforced by state propaganda, that PWA was part of the CPP.<sup>99</sup>

The previous discussion enables us to understand that by the early 1950s, the military-bureaucracy camp began to view literary radicalism as anti-public and anti-state and its attitude became increasingly hardened. The writings and interviews of Lahore's two most influential progressive litterateurs, Hameed Akhtar, and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi provide a fair idea of the ordeal that progressive writers had to undergo between 1948 and 1954.<sup>100</sup> It 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 organized under its umbrella. An official circular circulated to the different government departments prohibited employees from participating in the PWA's literary activities.<sup>101</sup> In March 1951, the CPP was implicated in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, and the PWA also had to bear the brunt. Progressive writers such as Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Zaheer Kashmiri and Hameed Akhtar were imprisoned for six to ten months and all literary activity was closely monitored.<sup>102</sup> The bureaucratic-military establishment's drastic action against the PWA had significant consequences. 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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> The *Sang-e Meel* (Peshawar) was closed down in 1951.<sup>105</sup> And the very next year, the *Sawera's* proprietor also yielded to the Establishment's enormous pressure and adopted a moderate editorial policy.<sup>106</sup> By

1952 government had forced the literary journals to tone down their radicalism. In July 1954, the Establishment banned the PWA along with its affiliated organisations, even though it had avowedly disassociated itself from Left-wing politics.<sup>107</sup>

(V)

The brief section shifts the focus of discussion to the retrospection that the, the progressives, particularly Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi and Sibte-e Hasan, who were at the helm of the PWA, did on their stance. It shows that they came acknowledge that the PWA was swayed by the influence of Left-wing extremism. They accepted that the PWA had been forced to bear the adverse consequences of this policy.<sup>108</sup> In July 1952, Ahmed Nadeem 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".<sup>109</sup> Intizar Hussain wrote that Sibte-e Hasan in a discussion with him on this issue accepted 'sole responsibility of drafting the resolution'.<sup>110</sup> The latter's autobiography includes a letter that Sibte-e Hasan wrote to him in September 1981, in which acknowledged that he had 'written the manifesto that was published in *Sawera*'.<sup>111</sup> 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.<sup>112</sup>

Faiz tried to disassociate himself from the course/path. Ayub Mirza's biography on Faiz informs us about the poet's reaction on the policy of the PWA.<sup>113</sup> Let us focus on how Faiz saw it: "Now these people tried to steer/change the course of Anjuman(PWA) from "Realism" to "Committed Socialist Realism"(emphasis added), which was not possible considering the political and social conditions that prevailed in the country at that time".<sup>114</sup> He went on to elaborate the differences between the two courses/strategies. According to him "Committed Socialist Realism is the "*meraj*" (ascent/ascension/ zenith/ the highest point) of Realism, which could only be achieved/reached within the boundaries of a socialist state.<sup>115</sup> He further argued that:

In principle it is valid or correct that if you diagnose the disease but if you do not prescribe its remedy, it would be dishonesty on your part. But just stopping at figuring out/ detecting the problem and not prescribing its treatment and then not eradicating the disease through the diagnosis is tantamount to a greater dishonesty. If you go on locating the root causes of poverty and misery, while depicting these grotesque realities then it is possible that government/ ruling establishment may tolerate you. But if you prescribe the remedies (of these ills) surely it[would] invite the wrath of conservative forces and the *Hakim e Waqt* (the ruling establishment).<sup>116</sup>

Faiz also expressed his serious reservations on the policies of the PWA he alluded to a meeting that held in the garage of Mazhar Ali Khan's residence, which Safdar Mir presided. Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi read a paper on Iqbal, which carried a trenchant criticism. The tone of the article made Faiz greatly perturbed and saddened. After expressing his serious reservations, he asked the organisers:

“What has been going on? What you people are doing?”<sup>117</sup>To him it was no more than rigid and meaningless extremism. But the organizers could not heed to his advice/objections and he reacted by refraining from participating in the meetings the PWA and confined “his attention to administering the affairs of *The Pakistan Times*”.<sup>118</sup>

### **Summing Up**

The article examined how the PWA carried out its mission of disseminating the radical ideas in the society through the medium/agency of literature. It showed that how the progressives litterateurs used literature as a tool to create awareness and through that consciousness tried to bring change in the society. I argued in the article that the radical literati and through the effective use of the medium of literature incessantly endeavored to disseminate radical ideas and to promote and alternative vision of state and society. The vision clashed with the notions/ideal of the military-bureaucratic nexus dominating the state. This dissonance eventually resulted into imposition of ban on the PWA. However, the end of the PWA could not hinder the dissemination of radical ideas in the society though the PWM.

To fulfill the vision the PWA organized literary meetings on weekly basis. Its members participated enthusiastically in literary gatherings organized under the auspices of the *Halqa-e-Arab-e-Zauq* (Circle of Those with Discerning Tastes). The PWA organized the literary conferences at the all-Pakistan level tried to use them as a vehicle of articulating the vision of an egalitarian society. They tried to enrich cultural life by celebrating literary events on birthdays and death anniversaries of the luminaries Urdu of literature. The organizers of the PWA further tried to broaden the social base of its activism by forging broad alliance with the labour organizations and the regional Left/elite. The association’s emphasis on socialist and socialist realism in literature shifted its gaze to the problems of labourers, workers, and the other marginalized segments of the society. One can construe its stance on the language issue as an attempt to develop/promote/ fashion an alternative vision of nation-building. The enthusiastic participation of the representatives of the labour organizations in the national conferences organized by the PWA attest to the fact that how greater liaison had begun to develop between the literary and labour organizations of the Left.

The section II examined progressive literary interventions in the diverse areas such as launching of literary journals, which served as effective tool of articulation of radical ideas, holding of literary conferences and the progressives litterateurs’ espousal of the labour cause and their novel approach to the lingual question. I also added new perspective into the debate by showing that how the policy of the PWA came under influence of Left-wing extremist tendencies of the AIPWA, which had adopted Ranadive thesis/ line. The change of creed shifted its focus from “Social realism” to “Socialist Realism”. In the section III I also tried to gauge the response of the litterateurs representing different shades of opinion—that is: progressive; moderate progressives and anti-progressives on the sudden shift in the PWA policy. The detractors of the PWA like Intizar Hussain earmarked the hardline stance the organization adopted, as the main cause to its decline. The section further showed that the PWA could not stick to the plan or follow the line

for long and had to completely revise its strategy in the third national conference held in Karachi in July 1952. On the other side of the border the AIPWA also revisited its decision in following years.

I agree with Khalil-ul-Rehman Azmi that the hardline policy of the AIPWA had marginal impact of the literature/ literary works that the progressive litterateurs had produced.<sup>119</sup> Though Azmi had been referring to the AIPWA, however, it equally holds true in Pakistan's situation. Notwithstanding the debate about the duration of the phase when the PWA had fallen under the extremist influences and its impact on literary productions one should admit/ concede that it promoted and encouraged the extremist tendencies among the Pakistan litterateurs as they were divided into opposing ideological camps--the Progressive and anti-progressives. The factionalism became more pronounced and sharpened over time.

Section V zeroed in on the scope of debate to the reaction of the military-bureaucratic nexus. It highlighted that it perceived threats to the PWA and remained hostile to it in the entire period between 1948 and 1954. I cited pieces of documentary evidence about the response of the bureaucratic-military establishment. They demonstrated that how the ruling establishment had begun to suspect the PWA's role since the early 1950's and this suspicion eventually culminated in the imposition/slapping of ban on the organization in July 1954.

The article further showed that stance that the PWA took on the issues like the problems faced by the ordinary people, the responsibility of the literati in the society, and the radical agenda of the organization particularly on the language question, and the regional autonomy in the country, symbolized an alternative vision. I construe it as an attempt to promote understanding about the bottom-up federalism, which was anti-thesis to/at odds with the bureaucratic-military establishment's top-down approach toward federalism. The latter could not appreciate the subtle nuances of the vision and began to call the loyalties of the progressives into question and restored to the heavy-handed tactics to curb/squeeze the space and scope of literary activism.

The narrative briefly alluded to the fact that how progressive continued to carry out their mission in unfavorable circumstances. The progressive litterateurs like Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911—1984), Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (1916—2006), and Arif Abdul Mateen(1923—2001) continued to insist that because of the ban on PWA, the movement did not die out.<sup>120</sup> Their main contention was that the placement of ban on the PWA only signaled its end as a literary organization, which the military-bureaucratic nexus sought to criminalize as a front-line organisation of the CPP. However, the PWM, continued to survive as a literary movement, a movement of ideas, and an agency of literary resistance that represented a goal that progressive writers had set for themselves. Activist members of the PWA strongly believed that cultural activity could be instrumental in raising the consciousnesses of marginalised groups and thereby play a part in their social uplift. They believed in depicting the ugly but true face of society in literature, theatre, film, and other performing arts.

## Appendix-I

Table 1: The Operative Word Used by Scholars on Post-colonial Pakistan to Describe the Dominance of Non-Political Forces

The Name of the Scholar	Use of the Term/operative Word
Ayesha Jalal	“a state system dominated by non-elected institutions”; “bureaucracy and military”; “the dominance of non-elected institutions”, and; “nexus between top echelons of military and bureaucracy”.
Hamza Alavi	“military bureaucratic oligarchy”, and; “military-bureaucratic apparatus”.
Ian Talbot	“Authoritarian military-bureaucratic polity”
Muhammad Waseem	“ruling establishment”.
Rasul Bakhsh Rais	“bureaucratic-military establishment”.
Saeed Shafqat	“military bureaucratic elites”.
Samina Choonara	“military-bureaucratic nexus”
Tahir Kamran	“bureaucratic statism”
Younas Samad	“military-bureaucratic oligarchy”, and; “military-bureaucratic camp”.

**Sources:** Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), 2,3,4 and 5.; Hamza Alavi, ‘Class and State’, in *Pakistan: Roots of Dictatorship, The Political Economy of a Praetorian State*, eds. Hassan Gardezi and Jamil Rashid (London: Zed Press, 1983), 71.; Hamza Alavi, ‘Army and Bureaucracy in Pakistan’, *International Socialist Journal* Vol.III, no. March--April (1966) 4.; Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A New History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 61.; Rasul Baksh Rais, ‘Security, State, and Democracy in Pakistan’, in *South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1996) 60.; Mohammad Waseem, “Political Sources of Islamic Militancy in Pakistan, in *The Deadly Embrace: religion, violence, and Politics in India and Pakistan 1947—2002*(The subcontinent Divided: A New Beginning), ed. Ian Talbot(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007),155.;Saeed Shafqat, “ Military Hegemony, Political Decay and Economic Development: An Assessment of the Ayub Era”, in *Contemporary Issues in Pakistan Studies*. Saeed Shafqat, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Azad Enterprises, 2000),92 .; Samina Choonara, e-mail message to the author, March 15, 2021 ; Tahir Kamran, ‘Pakistan’s First Decade: Democracy and Constitution- A Historical Appraisal of Centralisation’, in *Constitution-Making in Asia: Decolonisation and State-Building in Aftermath of the British Empire*, 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2016) 105.,and; Yunas Samad, *A Nation in Turmoil: Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-1958* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995),130 and 210

**Appendix-II**

Table 2 provides a list of major literary magazines that were published in West Pakistan

**Table 2: Major Progressive Literary Magazines in West Pakistan: Late 1940s to the early 1950s**

Magazine Name	Year of launch/ place of Publication	Editor	The other insights into the Policy
<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. <sup>1</sup>	
<i>Sawera</i> (Quarterly)	1946/Lahore	A.N.Qami, A. A. Mateen, Z.Kashmiri and A.Rahi (August ...1947 and ...1952	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, ‘Cult Hafeez Malik has used the same term, 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>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	
<i>Afkar</i> (Monthly)	June 1951/Karachi	Sehba Akhtar	
<i>Sang-e Meel</i> <sup>1</sup> (Bi-monthly)	August 1948/ Peshawar	Farigh Bokhari, Raza Hamdani, Khatir Ghaznavi and Qateel Shafai	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.
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Sources: Sughaftha Hussain, ‘‘Mahnama *Adab-e Latif* ki Khidmaat ka Tahqiqi Aur Tanqidi Jaiza’,’ (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University, 1996); A. Sadeed, *Pakistan Men Adabi Rasail Ki Tarikh* (Islamabad: Akademi-e Adbiyat-e Pakistan, 1995),107–125. Aziz Ahmad, ‘Cultural and Intellectual Trends in Pakistan’, *Middle East Journal* 19, no. 1 (1965): 38--39, accessed April 5, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/stable/4323813>.Hafeez Malik, ‘The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 4 (1967), accessed April 5,2014, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2051241>. 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), 54.; A. A. Naz, *Pakistan Men Taraqqi Pasand Sahafat* (Lahore: 2002), 251., and; Zia-ur-Rehman, ‘Farigh Bokhari,Ahwal-o-Aasar’, ( Ph.D. thesis, Jamia Peshawar, 2005).

## Notes & References

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix-I

<sup>2</sup> According to Iqbal Leghari the ban was placed on 22 January 1950, Iqbal Leghari, ‘*The Socialist Movement in Pakistan*’, 56.

<sup>3</sup> As this notion is used frequently in the piece and the word establishment has fallen into disuse. Therefore, I will preferred to use “military-bureaucratic nexus” or “bureaucratic-military establishment”.

<sup>4</sup> Carlo Coppola, ‘Urdu Poetry, 1935-1970: The Progressive Episode’ (University of Chicago, Illinois, 1975), 37--275; Khizar Humayun Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought Among North Indian Muslims, 1917-1947* (Book Traders, 1990), chapters 3 and 5; Talat Ahmed, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism: The Progressive Episode in South Asia, 1932-56*, 1 edition (New Delhi: New York: Routledge India, 2009) and; Rakhshanda Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change: A Literary History of the Progressive Writers’ Movement in Urdu* (OUP India, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Abdullah Malik, ‘Mustaqbil Hamarah Hey, Kul Pakistan Tarraqqi Pasand Musannifeen Ki Conference Munaqida 11,12,13 November Ki Mukamal Ruedad’, non-official(published) (Lahore, Al Jadeed, n.d.).

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Adeeab, *Mitti Ka Diya* (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 2012), 362-363; Mirza Adeeab in one of his interviews which was published in 1993 had described it as extension of Syed Ahmad Khan’s Aligarh movement, and asserted that “ I believed and still have firm conviction that it is the extension of Syed Ahmad Khan’s Aligarh movement” . Thus in this sense it cannot be labelled as “badesi or alien or non-indigenous”, Mirza Adeeab, Interview by Munnawwar Ali Malik, in *Pas-e-Tehrir*, ed. and comp. Munawwar Ali Malik, (Lahore: Book Mark, 1993), 68.

<sup>7</sup> Qateel Shafai, Interview by Ayub Nadeem, *Hauey Ham Kalam: Namwar Adbi Shakhshiyat kay Interview (ma Halat-e-Zindagi)*, ed. and com. Ayub Nadeem (Lahore: Dar-ul-Shuur, 2013), 72—73.

<sup>8</sup> A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, 115. Hameed Akhtar’s article, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore’, in *Taraqqi Pasand Adab, Pachas-sala Safar*, eds., Qamar Rais 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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, Iqbal Legari, ‘The Socialist Movement in Pakistan: An Historical Survey’ (Ph.D. diss., Laval University, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> 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 Beg, Mushtaq Ahmed, ‘Anjuman-Tarraqqi-Pasand- Musanniffin Punjab Mein’ (Ph.D. diss., G.C. University, n.d.), 60.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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, 412–420, cited in Talat Ahmed, ‘Writers and Generals: Intellectuals and the First Pakistan Coup’:132.

<sup>13</sup> Mushtaq Ahmed Beg, ‘Anjuman Taraqqi Pasand Musannifeen Punjab Men’, 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.*, 65.

<sup>14</sup> 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’, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Interview by G.H. Azhar, *Ru-ba-ru* in ed. G.H. Azhar (MirPur:Veri Nag Publishers, 1991) 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 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.

<sup>15</sup> Intizar Hussain, *Ciraghaun ka Dhuan*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2013), 58.

<sup>16</sup> *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, *Ciraghaun ka Dhuan*, 45.

<sup>17</sup> Hameed Akhtar, Interview by M.A. Beg, cited in M.A. Beg, ‘Anjuman Taraqqi Pasand Musannifeen’, 60.

<sup>18</sup> Intizar Hussain, Interview by Altaf Ahmed Qureshi, in *Adabi Mukalmay*, ed. A.A.Qureshi (Lahore, Maktaba-e Aliya, 1986), 121.

<sup>19</sup> Safdar Mir, ‘Report on PWA, Karachi, non-official (Lahore, 1952), cited in *The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action*, Vol.1, 160–161 and 165 comp. M. Anwer Ali.

<sup>20</sup> CPP Central Committee, ‘Letter, [providing Instructions] from the Central Committee to the DOC Karachi’, July 1948, *Ibid*, p.33.

<sup>21</sup> Intizar Hussain, *Ciraghaun ka Dhuan*, 23 and 25.

<sup>22</sup> PWA, ‘Report of the Progressive Writers Association,’ September 24, 1948.

<sup>23</sup> Attique Ahmed, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Karachi,’ in *Taraqqi Pasand Adab Pachas Sala Safar*, ed. Qamar Rais and Ashoor Kazmi (Delhi: Naya Safar Publication, 1987), 312,314 and 317.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*,322.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix-II

<sup>27</sup> 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, *Ciraghaun ka Dhuun*, 3rd edn (Lahore: Sange-Meel Publishers, 2013), 23 and 44.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Abdullah Malik, (ed.M.R.Shahid), “Yeh Lahore He : Das Sal Pahle, Ek Anar sad Bimar, Adab ki Dunya”, In *Yeh Lahore Hay: Lahore ki Ilmi, Adabi, Saqafati, Siyasi, Samaji Tarikh aur Waqeat*, (Lahore: Dar-ul-Shuur, 2010), 74.

<sup>30</sup> Table 2 provides a synoptic view of the conferences. The subsequent text provides the details

Table 3: The Literary Conferences that the Progressive Writers Organized between December 1947 and July 1952

The Nomenclature of the Conference	Venue	Month and Year of holding the Conference
National Conference	Lahore	December 1947
First National Conference	Lahore	February 1949
The Second All Pakistan Progressive Writers' Conference	Lahore	November 1949
The Third All-Pakistan Conference	Karachi	July 1952

<sup>31</sup> 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*, 59.

<sup>32</sup> Safdar Mir, ‘The Punjab PWA in 1949,’ non-official (Lahore, March 1, 1949).Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.1, 291–297.

<sup>33</sup> The section III of the piece provides more details about the strategy of the PWA.

<sup>34</sup> A. Salim, *Hameed Akhtar*, 116.

<sup>35</sup> 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), 387–424.

<sup>36</sup> A.N. Qasmi and S. Ludhianvi, ‘Pakistan kay Fannkaron ka Ijtima’, *Sawera*, (Issue 3–4) 1948, 239.

<sup>37</sup> At that time, the progressive writers were following the ‘United Front Line’, which meant that the PWA 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, 387–424.

<sup>38</sup> 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*, 355.

<sup>39</sup> 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, Taraqqi Pasand Tanqid... Paun Sadi Ka Qissa*, 387–424.

<sup>40</sup> 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*, 56.

<sup>41</sup> *Taraqqi Pasand Adab Dastawaizat Taraqqi Pasand Adab ...1936–1986*. , 'Elan Nama, Jo... Kul Hind Taraqqi Pasand Musannifeen ki Conference munaqida Behmeri (Bambai) Men Manzoor hua', Taraqqi Pasand Adbi(Golden Jubilee) Conference Karachi , undated, 108–115 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, *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*, 56 . Rakshanda Jalil's work also provides us brief but helpful insights but into the theme. R. Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change*, 239–240.

<sup>42</sup> Qamar Rais, Interview by M.A. Siddiqui et al., in *Guftgu*, comp. Mazhar Jameel , 142. Its declaration provides further details, for the complete text of the policy see, *Taraqqi Pasand Adab Dastawaizat* , 'Elan Nama, 108–115 .

<sup>43</sup> Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He* ',43.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 30–39.

<sup>45</sup> Sajjad Zaheer's message for the conference that F.D.Mansur read, cited in, *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 57–58.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 58. He drew the attention of the participants towards the establishment of the United Front, which had brought the intellectuals and peasants on a single platform. My reading of Sajjad Zaheer's message .... encapsulated the essence of Marxist concept of "Alienation" without the use of jargons. He tried to raise consciousness of the proletariat and intellectuals about their exploitation by the propertied classes. He impressed upon the proletariat that the propertied classes and the military-bureaucratic establishment had acquired control over the material, intellectual and spiritual basis of power [figurative]. Sajjad Zaheer tried to arouse the consciousness of the labourers that how "they were being deprived of their hard-earned wealth, which they had created through their "*quawwat-e amal*"(the power of action). He urged the labourers to become "sovereigns" of their wealth. The eventuality could not come to pass unless they did not rid of themselves of the dominance of capital. Suggesting the strategy, he emphasized that 'peoples' organization', 'peoples' struggle' and 'socialism'" could provide the way out. He advised intellectuals to "use their art and literature... for carrying on the struggle of a successful democratic revolution". Only the successful accomplishment of the struggle would "enable them to realize their true potential. They could do so by making use of their "artistic abilities, creative faculties", and this could lead to the fulfillment of their intellectual and spiritual desires", Ibid.,57—58.

<sup>48</sup> Safdar Mir, while presenting the convening committee's report, labelled them 'opportunist', Ibid., 53. Abdullah Malik, in his account of the proceedings, lists the names of 12 distinguished writers, Ibid., 60.

<sup>49</sup> 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. 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*, 155.

<sup>50</sup> Abdullah Malik's report provides details of the manifesto, Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, Ibid., 70–86.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 79–80.

<sup>53</sup> A M.Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Tahrey Ajnabee* (Lahore: The Classic, 2004),

<sup>54</sup> Hasan Zaheer, *The Times and Trials of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy 1951 The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan*, 1 Ed edition (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998); Irfan Waheed Usmani and Tahir Jamil, 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy and the Leftist Movement ', *The Historian* 15, no. Summer (2017): 1–74.; 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, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001946460704500104>.

<sup>55</sup> Hameed Akhtar, 'Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore', 348.

<sup>56</sup> 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, Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Attique Ahmed, 'Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Aur Karachi',324.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> 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, 240. Rafique Chaudhry. *Meri Dunya: Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik kay Mutaalliq Yadastain*,(Karachi: Punjab Rang Publications,1987), 99.

<sup>60</sup> 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, 99–100.

<sup>61</sup> The other important item on conference agenda was holding of election of the office bearers and the executive council. The elections were held under the new manifesto on 12 July. The first session of the second day of conference was devoted to the presentation of papers. Mujtaba Hussain, Hassan Manzar and Saleem Ahmed read papers on the theme of “The Responsibility of Literary Writers” in the first session of the second day of the conference, Attique Ahmed, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Aur Karachi’, 324.

<sup>62</sup> A. Salim, *Sawaneh Umri, Hameed Akhtar*, 115--122. Hameed Akhtar, ‘Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore,’ in *Taraqqi Pasand Adab, Pachas-sala Safar*, ed. Qamar Rais and Ashoor Kazmi (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aalia, 1994), 336–337.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Instructions from the Central Committee from the District Organizing Committee (DOC) Karachi,’ July 1948.

<sup>64</sup> Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, 30—39.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Pakistan Amn Conference’, ‘Manshur’ (Manifesto) *Sewara*, and Issue 7-8, (1950):24–31 and 288–291. 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), 288–291.

<sup>67</sup> The unpublished thesis of the author of the article shows that the progressive journalists also adopted similar stance on the issue of provincial autonomy, Irfan Waheed Usmani, ‘Print Culture And Left-Wing Radicalism In Lahore, Pakistan, c.1947-1971’ (Unpublished, Singapore, National University of Singapore, 2016).

## Chapter 2

<sup>68</sup> Aftab Ahmed, *Ba-Yaad-e Subhat-e Nazuk Khayalan*, (Islamabad: Dost Publishers, 2005), 82.

<sup>69</sup> 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, 159.

<sup>70</sup> Safdar Mir, ‘The Punjab PWA in 1949,’ non-official (Lahore, March 1, 1949), in, Ali, *The Communist Party of West Pakistan*, Vol.I, 297.

<sup>71</sup> Abdullah Malik, *Mustaqbil Hamara He*, p.35--36.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.,82—83.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.,93.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> 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 make certain conjunctures as vantage point of debate. Moreover, personal factors or motive acquire greater significance in their analysis. However, I agree with Asdar Ali on this point that while conducting the affairs of the CPP’s leadership due to its different socio-cultural background was less sensitive to the peculiarities of the local situation, which in certain ways became a constraining factor in terms of party leadership’s control over the CPP.

<sup>80</sup> Z. Kashmiri, ‘Editorial: Baat Cheet’, *Sawera*, Issues 7–8, pp. 67.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Qamar Rais, Interview by M.A. Siddiqui et al., in *Guftgu:Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik kay Nazri Masail, Asrat aur Mukhalifeen kay Etirazat par Mashahirerain-e-Adab say Batcit*, comp. Mazhar Jameel (Karachi: Maktaba-e-Danyal, 1986), 142–143

<sup>83</sup> M.Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Thiray Ajnabi* , 103; Ann Lowry Weir, ‘Socialist Realism and South Asian Literature’, *Journal of South Asian Literature* 27, no. 2 Perspectives on Socialist Realism in Asian Literature (Summer,Fall 1992): 135--148.

<sup>84</sup> M.Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Thiray Ajnabi* , 104.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 103

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 104

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Mirza Adeeb, Interview by Ghulam Hussain Azhar, in Rubaru, ed. Ghulam Hussain Azhar (Mirpur: Veri Nag Publishers,1991),

<sup>89</sup> Mirza Adeeb, *Mitti Ka Diya*, 362-363.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 362—363.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 476.

<sup>93</sup> Intizar Hussain, *Ciragaun Ka Dhuan*, 61--62.

<sup>94</sup> Anwar Sadeed, A.A.Naz’s Interview with A.Sadeed in A.A.Naz (ed.), *Muklamat*, 14 August 1999, 239.

<sup>95</sup> M.Anwer Ali, ‘The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action, Vol.II.( Comp.)’, Official (published) (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press , Punjab, 1952), 411.

<sup>96</sup> 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*, 123.

<sup>97</sup> M.Anwer Ali, 'The Communist Party of West Pakistan in Action, Vol.I (comp.),' Official (published) (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Press, Punjab, 1952), 251.

<sup>98</sup> He labelled the PWA an ancillary organisation of the AIPWA, ignoring the fact that the former comprised a diverse group of writers and publishers holding opposing ideas. The inferences that Ali drew from the "anonymous letter" addressed to Sajjad Zaheer were based on speculation with the aim of casting doubts on the loyalty of the Leftists towards their country. Similarly, by highlighting personal differences within the leaders, he sought to foment internal dissensions within the Left. Since the report was confidential, it did not have a direct bearing on Left politics in the 1950s, but the tone of the report betrays a strong bias against the Left. Later, when a number of progressive writers were arrested by the regime of General Ayub Khan, official interrogators of the police force deliberately tried to create dissension among them. The memoirs and writings of Hameed Akhtar, Abdullah Malik, Faiz Ahmed Faiz corroborate this view.

<sup>99</sup> 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 and Dominant Narratives: Communists and the Pakistani State in the Early 1950s': 520–37.

<sup>100</sup> 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>.

<sup>101</sup> Iqbal Leghari, *The Socialist Movement in Pakistan: An Historical Survey, 1940-1974* (Université Laval, 1979), 56.

<sup>102</sup> Hameed Akhtar, 'Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik aur Lahore', 348.

<sup>103</sup> Shugufta Hussain, 'Mahnama Adab-e Latif ki Khidmat ka Tahqiqi aur Tanqidi Jaiza', 43.

<sup>104</sup> 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), 23.

<sup>105</sup> Zia-ur-Rehman, 'Farig Bokhari, Ahwal-o-Asar', (Ph.D. thesis, Jamia Peshawar, 2005), 296

<sup>106</sup> Editorial Note, 'Anjuman Adabi Rasail Pakistan ki Ek Qrardad', *Sawera*, October 1953, p.6

<sup>107</sup> The bureaucratic-military establishment banned the organisation on 24 July 1954. Hameed Akhtar, "Taraqqi pasand Tehrik aur Lahore" in *Taraqqi Pasand Adab Pachas Sala Safar*, ed.Qamar Rais and Ashur Kazmi (Lahore: Maktaba-e Aalia,1994),348.

<sup>108</sup> M.Ayub Mirza, *Hum Keh Thiray Ajnabee*, 104.; Faiz has used the word "meraj" metaphorically. In Islamic theology refers to the ladder upon which the prophet of Islam, Mohammad is related to have ascended from Jerusalem to Heaven.

<sup>109</sup> Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Jaiza Secretary General', in, Rafiq Chaudhari, *Meri Dunya Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Say Mutaalliq Yaddashtain*, pp.113–114.

<sup>110</sup> Intizar Hussain, *Ciragaun ka Dhuan*, pp.61–62.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Sibte Hasan, 'Letter by Sibte Hasan to Intizar Hussain,' non-official, (September 7, 1982) in I. Hussain, *Chiraghon ka Dhuan*, 62–63.

<sup>113</sup> The redeeming feature of Ayub Mizra's work is that though it is biography but author has written it in autobiographical vein as it is based on extensive interviews of Faiz and his family, Ayub Mirza, *Hum Kay Theyr Ajnabee*, pp.103—104.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid..... I have briefly alluded the point in the section III.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.,103.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 104

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Qamar Rais, M.A. Siddiqui et al., interview with Q. Rais, in *Guftagoo*, ed. M. Jameel, n.d., pp.142–143.

<sup>120</sup> 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.,192.