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AN OVERVIEW OF HABIB JALIB CONTRIBUTION IN THE POLITICS OF PAKISTAN UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF KHAN ABDUL WALI KHAN

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Abstract:

Habib Jalib, a renowned revolutionary poet, who always supported political and democratic movements in Pakistan. A diehard political figure who challenged the might and majesty of tyrant dictators and alleged democratic usurpers when they were in power. Habib Jalib joined National Awami Party (NAP) in 1956 and remain loyal to his party all his life. Jalib as a political activist worked under the leadership of Khan Abdul Wali Khan. Both personalitiesstruggled together for many years in the restoration of true democracyand getting equal rights for supressed ethnic nations in Pakistan. Unlike their contemporary politicians and poets, wali Khan and Jalib never compromised to their ideals which they recommended for themselves. This study will highlight the role of Habib Jalib in Pakistan's politics and also point out hisassociation with Wali Khan for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

Keywords: Poet, Revolutionary, leadership, Democracy, Dictatorship.

Introduction:The political history of Pakistan have nurtured a rich political literary tradition. This tradition has its deep rooted origin from the day this country got independence. In fact, the student of politics science can probably reiterate the whole political history of Pakistan only by reading the poems of these writers. Among those literary stalwarts who addressed politics by their rebellious and far-reaching effects oriented poems, the name of Habib Jalib will remain distinguish from the rest. The name of Habib Jalib will always be at the apex of those devotees of true democracy who rendertheirlife and work to see the better political and democratic conditions in Pakistan.

Habib Jalib, a renowned socio-political activist and a revolutionary poet had innate capacity of bravery and courage, was basically a Mohmand Pashtun (Tahir Asgar.2009) from Miyani- Afghana village of India (Nasir Jalib.2013). Jalib was among those exceptions who stand out from the rest and became a beacon light of change and hope for the downtrodden have-nots class; rather for the whole Nation. Habib Jalib raised his voice against overwhelming odds of military cum civilian

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rulers and struggled for more than three decades as a political activist for restoring democratic ideals and give life blood to the masses rights. He remained a stanch advocate of masses rights all his life, inspired by Economic & Political system of Communism.

His political career was attached with National Awami Party (NAP) under the charismatic leadership of Khan Abdul Wali Khan. Jalib joined the party in 1956 and became the first literary figure of Pakistan who was member of the central executive committee (CEC) of a political Party (Mujahid Barelvi.2011). He suffered hard time all his life and spent most of the time in Jails, where He continued his struggle without any barrier. According to Dr. Mubarak Ali, He never imposed on himself any self-exile situation and continued his struggle while living in Pakistan (Saeed Pervez.1996).

Habib Jalib was much inspired by the personality of Khan Abdul Wali Khan which further strengthen his belief to struggle against dictatorship. In fact, his association withKhan Abdul Wali khan made Jalib not merely anobserver, but an active and progressive individual of political struggle. Khan Abdul Wali KhanStruggle for dominatedand supressed nations of countrycreated a sense of political consciousness in Habib Jalib. All this made Habib Jalib a true representative of the oppressed masses. Jalib, paid a glowing tribute to his mentor Khan abdulwali Khan in these words:

جونہ مٹ سکے وطن پر میر اہمسفر نہیں ہے مرے کارواں میں شامل کوئی کم نظر نہیں ہے کوئی ایساداغ سجدہ مرے نام پر نہیں ہے در غیریر ہمیشہ تمہیں سرجھائے دیکھا کسی سنگدل کے در پر مر اسر نہ جھک سکے گا مر اسر نہیں ہے گامجھے اس کاڈر نہیں ہے

(Kulyat e Habib Jalib 2005)

(There is no one in my camp whose creed is bigotry. No such person travels with me who can't make a sacrifice for the motherland. You always bowed your head on adversary floor. No such stigma in prostration is attached with my name. My head will not bow on the floor of a ruthless. I have no fear even I lost my head.)

Habib Jalib as a political activist, used his poems as a mean to struggle against social and political ills. His poetic works when noticedmutually seem like a political history of Pakistan. His struggle for growing the capacity building of masses was in his own individual style, a style that was based on simple cognizance and mobilization messages in the form of poetry.

Both these Pashtun icons not only raised voice against military rulers but also against so-called democrats. Habib Jalib trademark poem 'Dastoor' (constitution) became slogan throughout Pakistan and created awareness among people about the falsehood of the so-called constitution of 1962. The work mentioned above not only created spark in that era but remained a milestone in today's political and rights based campaigns.

Similarly, there were few voices against military action of East Pakistan launched by Gen. Yaya Khan, among them Wali Khan and Habib Jalib werethose scarce languages of truth who condemn and negated this action. Likewise, Jalib Was first devotee and a supporter of Z.A. Bhutto, but later raised up his voice when he felt that Bhutto government was not executing the way it should. In Z.A Bhutto era Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib were arrested in Hyderabad conspiracy case and spend time in Hyderabad Jail.In Zia era, Jalib was detained three times for raising voice against martial Law. In the same way, Benazir Bhutto government's policies and actions were also criticized by Jalib that were not in favour of the common people, for he believed in equality and empowerment of the common people. He did not spare Nawaz Sharif either.

To keep thehonesty with their cause and to avoid any conflict of interest, they never got any favour from any government. They spent their lives to spread awareness among common citizen of their political rights and had strong belief in the voice and empowerment of masses through continuous struggle. A struggle that was against the unjust system of tyranny as well as for the betterment and good of common citizen. This made Jalib a true political and human rights activist as well as a leader and a representative of the common people.

Taking all this into account, research is needed to explore Jalib's political dogma as well as his association with Khan Abdul Wali Khan for restoring democracy in Pakistan. This paper will highlight the salient features of Habib Jalib political participation in the politics of Pakistan under the leadership of Wali Khan.

Habib Jalib and Khan Abdul Wali Khan struggle in Gen Ayub Khan era:

The first formal martial law which was imposed by Gen Ayub Khan in1958 was renounce byKhan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib. It was again Habib Jalib, who negated and rejected the second constitution of Pakistan (1962) and his poem "Dastoor" became the sign of a resistance anthem (Nand Kishore Vikram.1994).Manzur Qadir, famous jurist and Ayub Khan Government foreign Minister, the creator of 1962 constitution himself acknowledged that in our government renunciation "mother millat" Fatima Jinnah had 60 percent share and 40 percent share was of Habib Jalib (Saeed pervaz.1996). Ayub KhanEra was marked with heinous and draconian policies of dictatorship. Every segment of society was victim of unlawful sanctions, imposed by anautocrat tyrant. Both these personalities came forward and shaken the political conscience of people and make them aware of their democratic rights.

The name of democracy was skilfully used by Gen Ayub Khan as basic democracy system (BDS) but all 80,000 representative were, in fact, not people's representatives rather all were president men. It was in these grim conditions whenKhan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib raised their voices as a beacon light and struggled to savefragile democracy in Pakistan. The public processions of presidential candidateMohterma Fatima Jinnah were charmed by the thought provoking speeches and poems of Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib respectively. But unfortunately, the 1964 presidential elections were won by Gen. Ayub Khan and MulanaBhashni, the president of NAP was held responsible for

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supporting a dictator. Thus, finally Khan Abdul Wali Khan became the president of National Awami Party in 1968.

Their struggle in Gen Yaya Khan era:

The second Martial Law of Gen Yaya Khan also blackened the political history of Pakistan. Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib came forward with a vivacious spirit and enlighten the torch of democracy for the masses in the blur and dismal era of dictatorship(Ayesha Jalal.2014). Habib Jalib openly negated the de facto regime by saying that:

تم سے پہلے وہ اک شخص یہاں تخت نشین تھا اس کو بھی اپنے خدا ہونے پہ اتنا ہی یقین تھا کوئی ٹھہر اہو جولو گوں کے مقابل توبتاو وہ کہاں ہیں کہ جنہیں ناز بہت اپنے تیکن تھا (ibid)

(Before you, there was also a person in power. He had a firm belief that he is god. But now he is history, similarly, no other usurper can stand against the wrath of masses.)

In 1970 general election, NAP got clear victory in Baluchistan and NWFP. Wali Khan won both seats of provincial and national assembly from his home constituency of Charsadda. On the contrary, Habib Jalib lost his election of provincial assembly seat from GariShahouconstituency Lahore and got only 750 votes (Tahir Asgar.2009).

The elections after effects soon shaped in to horrific nightmares in East Pakistan. Khan Abdul Wali Khan along with Habib Jalib and other NAP leadership wanted that by peaceful means this issue and disputes be settled with Shaikh Mujeebur Rahman. But military oppression worsen the rampant situation which finally proved lethal in the form of disintegration of Pakistan. Jalib showed his antagonism against military oppression in these words:

محبت گولیوں سے بور ہے ہو	وطن کا چہرہ خوں سے دھور ہے ہو
یقیں مجھ کو کہ منزل کھورہے ہو(ibid)	گمان تم کو کہ رستہ کٹ رہاہے وہ مدید مدید میں معام معام معام

(You plant love with bullet-lead .You wash the land with blood you feel that a solution is ahead but I know that the dream is dead.)

Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Jalib politics in Bhutto Government:

Then came Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in power, who first started reconciliation policies with NAP and other parties. Bhutto first removed the ban which was imposed by Gen. Yaya Khan on NAPin his first address to the nation. Khan Abdul Wali Khan welcomed Bhutto's address and offered unconditional support of his party.Further, in making of 3rd constitution of 1973 Wali Khan fully supported this process although he had majority in two provinces i.e., NWFP and Baluchistan. As a matter of fact, it was the leadership of Khan Abdul Wali Khan who was being libelled as 'traitor' but prepared the Pashtun and Baloch leaders to sign the draft of 1973 constitution.

On the other hand, Habib Jalib had love-hate relations with Z.A Bhutto.Basically, Habib Jalib was a pure democracy lover, he appreciated the slogan of "roti, kapra, makan" given by Bhutto for the common men, but at the same time he negated those policies of Bhutto which were confronting the masses or democracy.

For the purpose, he was offered a lot by Bhutto to join Pakistan People's Party but Jalib rejected the offer by saying that "have you ever seen seas falling into river"(Tahir Asgar.2009). Almost all top leaders of NAP in Punjab joined PPP including Miyan Mehmood Ali Qasoori.

Later on, few undemocratic steps taken by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto widen the gulf between him and Jalib. Similarly, PPP-NAP friendship had proved to be very shortlived. First, the Liyaqat Bagh incidence of 1973 in which government fired on the public procession of NAP and killed twenty five Pashtuns. Khan Abdul Wali Khan again played a very positive and patient role after this tragedy. Second, in his biography 'Jalib Beti' Habib Jalib says that "Peoples Party government started plotting against the democratic Baluchistan government, whereas, our struggle was for the survival of democracy. In the mien time, the central committee of our party NAP passed a resolution of solidarity for Baluchistan provincial and constitutional government. This resolution was declared sedition and further our party was declared traitor and banned. From Punjab, Police and FIA arrested Col.Lateef,KasoorGardezi and I. When I was arrested it was the third day of my deceased 12 years son Tahir Abbas (Ibid). Notorious Hyderabad conspiracy case was launched against NAP, Wali Khan along with fifty two persons were arrested.

Their struggle against Zia ul Haq dictatorship:

When the third Martial law of Zia ul Haq was imposed, Zia held several rounds of talks with Wali Khan in Hyderabad jail and finally released him and all others of the charges levelled against them. After the release from prison, Khan Abdul Wali Khan again became vigorous in the political arena and served the newly founded National Democratic Party (NDP)which replaced NAP as its president. Khan Abdul wali Khan and Habib Jalib started their struggle for restoring democracy in unique style. Zia ulHaq after the false promise of conducting election in 90 days said that 'first accountability then election'. Khan Abdul Wali Khan accepted this new theory while Habib Jalib opted the second option of election because Jalib believed that elections are the sole source of moving forward the democratic process. Jalib raised the banner of democracy in full swing by making 'people's democratic alliance'. In Zia era Habib Jalib was imprisoned many times and his book 'Gounbad e Bedar was banned(Amnesty International Report Pakistan. 1981), his first book 'Sar e Maktal' was banned in Ayub khan era. . Habib Jalib openly condemn the dictatorship regime of Zia ulHaq. When Karachi Press Club (KPC) awarded life time honorary membership for Habib Jalib; it was here when he recited his famous poem 'zulmatkozia' in which he resemble ziaulhaq with darkness and after reading this poem he was arrested and send to Mianwali jail.

(How I can write dark night to dawn, toxic fumes to morning breeze and refer human as God. Calamity stricken in every home and suffocation in the air is at every home because of the misdeeds of an individual.)

One day, Chaudhry ZahoorElahi came to meat Jalib in prison and convey the message of Gen.ZiaulHaq that he will issue the orders of your release if you remove the words 'zulmatkozia' from your poem; to which Jalib replied that when I say a

poem it becomes a trust of masses(Mujahed Baralvi.2011). In jail government offered conditional release from the prison but with a letter of clemency. In reply, Jalib wrote his famous poem 'MashrotRehai'.

(O friends do not ask for disgrace, ask death but do not ask for release. Whole life you will bow your head and with shame you will lower your eyes.)In February 1981 a political alliance called 'Movement for the Restoration of Democracy' (MRD) was formed against the zia government. Khan Abdul Wali khan was appointed its first convener. In 1985, National Democratic Party under the president ship of Wali khan boycott the 1985 non-parties general elections with MRD.In July 1986, khan Abdul Wali Khan and other members of NDP formed the Awami National Party (ANP). Khan Abdul Wali Khan was elected its first President. On the other hand Habib Jalib was condemning every act of Zia ul Haq. Jalib believed that his every plan and every action is drama. Against Zia bogus referendum Jalib recited his poem 'Referendum' in Karachi press club. This poem made mockery of Zia bogus Referendum.

(The city was in the state of desolate. Was it a jinn or was it a referendum? People are sealed in their homes, and there was deadly quietness outside. A few bearded faces walked around as the death of faith was mourned.)

In a same manner, when Benazir Bhutto came to Pakistan in 1986, Habib Jalib welcomed her arrival in Pakistan because she was a sign of democracy against the barbaric and tyrant dictator.

asgir) (These weapon holders are frightened of an unarmed girl, and the rays of courage are spreading by an unarmed girl. They are afraid, and dead and in the state of shake. Saint, merchant and generals from unarmed girl.)

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, ANP form a coalition government with AftabSherpao of PPP,brother of former NWFP governor Khayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao in NWFP. But ANP under the leadership of Wali Khan parted from coalition government but he assert that his party will support the PPP in the provincial government.Habib Jalib was also not impressed with the so-called democratic government of Benazir Bhutto therefore, played the rule of true opposition in

criticizing the policies of Benazir government. In one of his poem Habib Jalib rightly point out the flaws of the Benazir government.

(Same are the conditions of baggers, good time is changed only for ministers. Every Bilawal of country is indebted and every Benazir of country is bear footed.)

Habib jalib parted his ways with Khan Abdul Wali Khan and ANP when they became coalition partner of Islami Jamhori Itehad (IJI) government in 1990. Nevertheless, Habib Jalib always paid due reverence to his political and democratic mentor Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

Conclusion:The name of Wali Khan and Habib Jalib will always be at the apex of those advocates of true democracy who render their lives for the noble cause of making Pakistan a real democratic state. All their life, they supported those parties and individuals who were tagged with democratic ideals.Both personalities spend extensive part of his life in several jails. Whatever the directions rulers expected from them to get in imprisonment, they never learnt them. Every jail term enhanced their trust on democracy and make them opposed of dictatorship. They always came out from jail as brave, spirited and more rebellious against all unjust orders. With each passing dictator, their voices grew louder in denunciation.

In fact, from this article we assert that Wali Khan and Habib Jalib role in the politics of Pakistan and theirinput for democracy and masses are honest and apparent. This new approach to present Habib Jalib struggle along with Wali Khan requires further exploration. This is for the first time that political aspect of Habib Jalib life with Khan Abdul Wali Khanwill came forth on academia level. Though it is first effort yet their struggle deserve many researches which can carryeloquent results for countries politics in general and for department and students of political science particular.

As a matter of fact,Khan Abdul wali Khan and Habib Jalibgive real lessons of valourwhich is a chiefexcellence if exist in a Nations and truth which is the dire need of this society which in modern time is so scarce. It is resolute fact that human beings in society have different level of understanding but, there are always some people who take agony for humanity and what they see incorrect they cannot stop saying something and such persons in the society are God gifted resources. On the other hand, our society presentsuch pictures where all domains of state have been distorted either take judiciary, executive, legislative etc.

Now it is high time to integrate Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Habib Jalib views with the new develop paradigm in Pakistan politics. If one ponder one finds that few ridicule forces are playing and exploiting the fortune of masses and even those who are with a motto of change. In such a sorry state of affairs, the only lessonone can get from these political dwarf and orphans of our ageis to follow the brave, courageous and truthful ways which were used by these two noble Pashtun figures.

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