

Socio-Economic Formation and Emergence of Peasant Movement of North Hashtnagar (District Charsadda); Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 1963 To 1979: An Analysis

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Abstract : This research article aims to briefly ascertain socio-economic formation of North Hashtnagar of District Charsadda, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that led to emerge a peasant movement from 1963 to 1979 under the banner of Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP, henceforth). This research article is qualitative in nature, wherein, snow-ball technique has been used to collect data through personal in-depth interviews and focused group discussions. However, secondary sources are also used to corroborate the central argument.

Keywords: socio-economic formation, topography, relations of production, productive forces, peasant movement

INTRODUCTION

Human being can not survive without basic amenities of life such as food, shelter and clothing and, however, these can not be provided ready-made by nature. Labour is thus the basis of social life, a natural necessity for human beings. No human life is, evidently, possible without labour and human productive activity. Hence, production of material wealth is mainly the determinative factor of social development. The mode of production i.e., instrument of production and productive forces, is the material and economic

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basis of a formation, whereas, abstract thought is characterized by the superstructure. So, the components of any socio-economic formation comprises of production, basis and superstructure.

Socio-economic formation is also marked by some other social features such as mode of life; specific historical human communities; language; natural sciences; family and marriage; and scientific, technical and sports' organizations. In general, the above-noted features are the components of all formations and, however, these are subject to deep change in the course of transition from one formation to another. A social phenomenon, encompassing socio-economic formation, is organically knit together influencing each other in one way or another so that a formation is a complex and composite leading to develop the social organism. A social phenomenon is inviolably united with the prevalent concrete historical conditions. Moreover, every society posses its specific intrinsic productive forces and relations of production, for instance, socio-economic formation of North Hashtnagar manifests its unique material historical conditions. The central argument of the article is that productive forces give birth to and constitute definite relations of production, whereas, these relations of production do not remain passive influencing and accelerating the productive forces instead and, as a result a progressive and new relations of production emerge corresponding to the nature of productive forces.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION | PRODUCTIVE FORCES

The socio-economic formation (productive forces, relations of production and basis) of North Hashtnagar comprised of 5% of big landlords occupying approximately thousands of acres of land from the total area, whereas, 95 % were the non-owners of land. These included: 10% of lease-holding peasants, 40% of middle peasants and 50% of poor peasants in the socio-economic formation of North Hashtnagar. However, rural proletariat comprised of half of the 95% of the non-owners and, moreover, no factory in the area was existed at the beginning of the peasant movement in North Hashtnagar (Circular, 1974, p. 3).

According to Amin, the British preferred Mohammadzai tribe to be worthy of their favour and granted them large tracts of land in North Hashtnagar and, on the other, poor vulnerable and helpless peasants were mostly comprised of Mohmand, Shahdad Khel subsection of Utman Khel and Mohammadzai tribes (Amin, 2007). According to interview from Sher Ali, who had been ex-Girdawar of Charsadda from 1975 to 2010, some other small groups, such as *Behram Dheriwal*, *Ghandheriwal*, *Khattak* and *Gigiani*, were also existed that too fell victims to their oppression just as peasants of Tehsil Mardan had fallen victim to oppression of Nawab of Toru (Sher, 2007).

According to Mohammad, the acts of oppression comprise of taking *baigar* (unpaid forced labour), presenting two chickens to khan before sowing and after reaping harvest, women-peasants' folk carried out *baigar* at residence of khans, forced extraction of *Tip* (5% from wheat and 10% from maize crop in kind), *Ser Mani* (taken as share of 1/40th from every 40 kg of wheat), *Babat-e-Barnaqi* {a share taken from wheat crop, maize crop and *gur* (raw sugar) without any reason}, *Qula* (a kind of share from heap of wheat), *Pashgi* {an advance payment to khans as a security at time of agreement between peasant and khan for land given on lease or *Nisfe-Batai* (half and half in share of crop)}, a lamb presented to khan at occasion of marriage in khans' family, *Tora* (a matrimonial tax taken on the occasion of marriage in peasant family), trees standing on land were property of khan (Mohammad, 2007), beating, harassments, and eviction of peasants from the land, wearing of clean and neat cloths were not allowed to peasants and so on (Circular, 1974, p. 8).

TOPOGRAPHY OF NORTH HASHTNAGAR

Hashtnagar meaning eight villages, consists of a large portion in district Charsadda, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP, henceforth), Pakistan. A strip of country widening 10 miles eastward from the Swat River, and extending from hills on the north to the Kabul River on the south encompassing eight villages such as Prang, Charsadda, Razar, Uthmanzai, Umerzai, Turangzai, Sherpao and Tangi (presently Tangi is a Tehsil of district Charsadda) (Syed, 2006; Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 11). These villages have further expanded into various sub localities over the passage of time. The first seven villages together form the area of the South Hashtnagar while the area of Tangi including its *Maira* (high plain) is called North Hashtnagar. The total land area of North Hashtnagar is 86266 acres, 7 kanal and 4 Marlas, consisting of twenty five circles and fifty three villages (mauzas) (Office of the Tehsildar, 2012). The total land for arable cultivation is 67621 acre, 7 kanal and 10 Marlas in which 50768 acre, 3 kanal and 7 Marlas land is irrigated while 16853 acre, 4 kanal and 3 Marlas is un-irrigated (Office of the Tehsildar, 2012).

The area of North Hashtnagar is stretched about twelve to fourteen miles long and eight to ten mile wide. It is a well irrigated and fertile area growing major crops such as Sugarcane, Virginia Tobacco, Corn and Sugar Beet. Wheat is mostly grown in its un-irrigated areas. It is a densely populated area and notable villages are Tangi, Harichand, Dhaki, Mandani, Behram Dheri and Shakoor etc (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 11). According to Mohammad Amin, a small landowner of North hashtnagar, North Hashtnagar is divided into two sections: Proper Tangi and Tangi *Maira*. Both of these areas are separated from one another by the Lower Swat irrigation canal (Imperial Gazetteer of India, 2002, p. 162). The total area of Tangi *Maira* is about 65423 acre, 5 Kanal and 6 Marlas that is irrigated by upper Swat canal while lower Swat canal irrigates Tangi Proper which is about 9420 acre, 5 Kanal and 12 Marlas in area. The rest of the area of North Hashtnagar is *Sholgira* that measures about 11423 acre, 4 Kanal and 6 Marlas (Syed, 2012).

North Hashtnagar occupies northern corner of district Peshawar beyond which lies the tribal territory. Towards North east lies Malakand Agency and towards North West are tribal territories of the UthmanKhel, Safi and Mohmand tribes. District Dir lies short of tribal areas and to the West is Afghanistan (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 11).

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

According to interview from Noor-ul-Zafar, who had been land record clerk from 1965 to 1993, the Proper Tangi lies 29 miles north of Peshawar and it is divided into two sections (*Kandis*), called Barazai and Nasratzai. There is a police station of the first class. The inhabitants are mostly Mohammadzai Pathan (Noor, 2007). According to interview from Haider Ali Khan, younger son of Usman Ali Khan (alias Wawa Khan), there lived big (six to eight) and small landowners (twenty to thirty) (Haider, 2007). The big landowners acquired landownership as well as *Panjotra* (5 % of the land tax) from the British in lieu of services to them such as collecting *Abiana* (water tax) and *Malia* (land tax) both in proper Tangi as well as in *Maira* Tangi. These included: Khan Behadur Mir Alam Khan⁴ (owning jareeb 18000 equivalent to 9000 acres), Faqir Khan (jareeb 4000=2000 acres) of Barazai and Mohammad Ali Khan⁵ (jareeb 30000=15000 acres), Abdul Akbar Khan⁶ (jareeb 16000=8000 acres), Ghulam Ahmad Jan Khan⁷ (jareeb 4000=2000 acres)

⁴He was appointed as a Numbardar for Barazai, Tangi, on September 20, 1942. Register Dakhil-wa- Kharij Numberdaran Bamujib Ahkam-e-Sahib Barai Dehat, Tehsil Tangi, District Charsadda, 1926-27.

⁵He was appointed as a Numbardar for Nasratzai, Tangi, on May 09, 1932. Register Dakhil-wa-Kharij, 1926-27.

⁶He was appointed as a Numbardar for Nasratzai, Tangi, on February 26, 1959. Register Dakhil-wa-Kharij, 1926-27.

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of Nasratzai and some others. Each landowner had about sixty to a hundred mud- houses for his servants, who lived without paying any rent, known as *Faqirano* or *Hamsaya Koruna* or *Faqir Nama*. According to interview from Mohammad Amin, these *hamsayas* comprised mostly of peasants (50%) and other included professionals such as *chamyar* (cobbler), *lohar* (blacksmith), *nai* (barber) shopkeepers, merchants and others. They used to provide unpaid services to their landowners (Amin, 2007).

Maira Tangi, the property of Khans, comprised *Mahaals* (subsection of Tehsil) such as *Mahaal Shakoor* of Mohammad Ali Khan (including villages like Shakoor, Mandani, Behram Dheri etc.), *Mahaal Gandheri* of Faqir Khan and Amjid Khan (Janiko, Gandheri etc.), *Mahaal Chel* of Saifullah Khan and Tori Khan (Chel, Sur Qamar etc), *Mahaal Hisara Payan* of Iqbal Khan (Hisara etc.), *Mahaal Rai* of Abdul Akbar Khan (Rai, Daud Khan Killy etc.), *Mahaal Shodag* (Shodag etc.), and *Mahaal Dobande* (Dobande etc.) (Noor, 2007). According to interviews from Amin, small landowners had also acquired land in different areas of North Hashtnagar such as Muslim Khan (450 acres in Shakoor and Gandheri), Khan Shireen Khan (300 acres in Gandheri), Jamil Khan (300 acres in Mandani), Aurangzeb Khan (250 acres in Pirano killy), Niaz Mohammad Khan (250 acres in Gandheri), Abdus Samad Khan (150 acres in Harichand), Yar Mohammad Khan (65 acres in Doab), and Siddiquillah (49 acres in Janiko) and so on (Amin, 2007).

EMERGENCE OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

According to a personal interview from Chaudary Fateh Mohammad, who had been General Secretary of MKP (Punjab) during peasant movement and close friend of Major Ishaque, Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani of the NAP {a Maoist peasant leader from East Pakistan and leader of *Krishik Smkiti* (peasant committee)} convened a convention of peasants at Khanewal (Punjab) on April 27-28, 1963 (Chaudary, 2007; MKP, 1977, p. 10), and decided to form Peasant Committees all over the West Pakistan both at Tehsil and district levels (Ishaq, 1964, p. 2). When the peasant committee was formed in 1963 at Khanewal (The Editor, Daily Afaaq, 1965), Major (R) Mohammad Ishaq was elected as its Convener (Circular, 1975, p. 1). It aimed at resolving problems of lease-holding peasants, agriculture workers, landless peasants and small landowners through constitutional means (Ishaq, 1964, p. 12).

According to Salar Ahmad Ali, who had been leader of youth organizations and militant wings at North hashtnagar during peasant movement, these dedicated efforts of Maulana Bhashani and other peasant leaders to organize the peasants into peasant committees inspired many old and new revolutionary peasants and workers to jump into the arena of active politics once again (Salar, 2006). According to Mian Aimal Shah, whose father Mian Shaheen Shah had been in central command of *Sarhad* Peasant Committee during the course of North Hashtnagar peasant movement, these revolutionary workers included: Ziarat Gul, Mian Shaheen Shah, Abdul Sattar, Sher Ali Bacha (Mian, 2007) and many others, who formed *Sarhad* Peasant Committee. Whereas, Mohammad Afzal Bangash, advocate, played an important role in fighting to protect the legal rights of the peasants. According to interview from Mohammad Siraj, son of Abad Khan, these workers worked conscientiously, secretly, untiringly and uninterruptedly for five years under the leadership of Afzal Bangash, Ishaq Mohammad and Sher Ali Bacha at North Hashtnagar for organizing peasants into Peasant Committees (Siraj, 2005).

According to interview from Mohammad Ali, whose father Kaptan Sarfraz of Amirabad of Umarzai was the pioneer amongst others of North Hashtnagar peasant movement, Major (R) Ishaq Mohammad,

⁷He was appointed as a Numbardar for Nasratzai, Tangi, on September 15, 1948. Register Dakhil-wa-Kharij, 1926-27.

Afzal Bangash, Abdus Sattar, Kaptan Sarfraz and Ziarat Gul visited North Hashtnagar in the autumn of 1963-64 and established contacts with local peasants, such as Master Amber and Master Sultan, and convinced them to be organized into peasant committees for the achievement of their rights (Khan, ND, p. 45). According to interview from Master Ambar, who was amongst the local pioneers of peasant movement at North Hashtnagar during 1963-1970, initially it was seemed fairy tale to go against the influential and mighty Khans and become the owners of land, however, Afzal Bangash and Sher Ali Bacha succeeded in convincing us towards the end. They further told us that they needed support of the peasants to bring radical change in their lives by providing them a better socio-economic and political environment for their offspring. Hence, they succeeded to form first peasant committee in 1963 at *Chel Mahaal*, in the *Yaar Jaan Kalli* of Harichand, North Hashtnagar. Subsequently, they, along with the help of local peasants, also visited other villages of North Hashtnagar and formed some more peasant committees over there (Amber, 2006).

According to interview from Ziarat Gul, who was central vice president of MKP during 1968-80, these peasant committees included: the peasant committee of *Yar Jan Killi* with Syed Ahmad Lala as president, Abdul Ahmad as vice president, Maulana Gul Rehman as secretary and Wahab Siddin as propaganda secretary (Ziarat, 2006). According to interview from Babu Lal Rehman, who was president of chairman/peasant committee at Saadullah Jaan Killy of North Hashnagar, some other peasant committees were also formed such as peasant committee of *Saadullah Jan Killi* of Harichand comprising Babu Lal Rehman as chairman, Gul Mehmood as president, Habib Rehman as vice president No.1 and Sams Rehman as vice president No.2, Said Rehman as propaganda secretary, Aziz Rehman as treasurer and Mohammad a young militant, the peasant committee of *Qikar Banda* with Shehzada as president, Roz Mohammad as vice president, Muzzafar Khan as general secretary, Mohammad Shah as propaganda secretary, Haji Zahir Shah as treasurer and Niaz Mohammad Khan as *Salar* (Babu, 2010). According to interview from Mohammad Ishaque, who had been General Secretary of peasant committee at Arhat of Shakoore Killy, the peasant committee of *Arhat* of *Shakoore* was also formed comprising Adam Khan as chairman, Haji Ibrahim Shah as president, Sher Ali Baba of *Rai Mahal* as vice president and Mohammad Ishaq as general secretary (Ishaq, 2006).

According to Mohammad, this network of peasant committees, following the principle of democratic centralism, rapidly flourished and evolved in North Hashtnagar till the formation of MKP in 1968. A five to seven member village Peasant Committee served as the basic unit of the organization. Then came the Central Committee that comprised of three to six villages Peasant Committees. These Central Committees worked under the Tehsil Committee which in turn worked under the District committee. These, in turn, worked under final authority of the Provincial Committee (Mohammad, 2007).

According to interview from Master Sultan, who was a local peasant leader at North Hashtnagar during 1964-1979, ideological leanings and study circles were provided by different comrades at different peasant committees such as Ziarat Gul, Sher Ali Bacha (Sultan, 2006; Naveed, Daily Wahdat, 1999) of Mardan, and Kaptan Sarfraz of Amirabad at the house of Wahab Siddeen of *Yaar Jaan Kalli* (Amber, 2006). According to Justice Shahjehan, who was student of Afzal Bangash and political activist of student affairs during peasant movement of North Hashtnagar, he himself, Sher Ali Bacha, Fareedullah, Advocate of Khesghi (Nowshera) (Shahjehan, 2006) and Sayyadullah conducted study circles and diffused the Bolshevik radical and progressive thought amongst the peasants at various areas including *Spalmai*, Singapur, *Behram Khan Dheri* and other (Shahjehan, 2006). According to interview from Master Nisar and Master Tahir, who had been affiliated dealing with student affairs during peasant movement, a variety of

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subjects and topics were debated and discussed in these study circles including feudal mode of production, forces of productions, demands of *Sarhad* Peasant Committee, ways and means of peasant committee to achieve the demands, acquisition of justice for poor peasants, class conflict and class struggle, peoples' democracy and strategy and methods to achieve goals etc (Nisar, 2006). According to interview from Inayatuallah Yasir, who had been Deputy Joint Secretary of MKP during 1978-1986, some members of Peasant Committees were also introduced later on to local political leaders such as Sher Ali Bacha of Mardan, Ghulam Nabi Kalu of Faisalabad (Punjab), Major Ishaq of Faisalabad (Punjab), and Mohammad Afzal Bangash of Kohat. This peasant leadership was well equipped with the ideologies of Marxism, Russian Bolshevism and Chinese Maoism (Yasir, 2006). So, the differences in approach and action, between supporters of peasants' class on one hand and feudal class on the other, became very much understandable.

Hence, according to Siraj, it was because of their differences over strategy, tactics and agrarian/peasant programme that Ajmal Khattak tabled a resolution at the behest of Wali Khan during the Provincial Council (*Jirga*) of the Frontier National Awami Party (NAP) on March 17, 1968, which banned the inclusion of such revolutionary peasant workers into the party (Siraj, 2005). The resolution was endorsed by Sayyed Almas Bacha, Khan Behadur Khan and Khan Abdul Wali Khan, whereas, it was opposed by Sayyed Mohammad Bacha, Fazal Hadi Khan, Mian Rizwanullah and Sher Ali Bacha (Bacha, 1968, p. 3). However, after the decision of the Provincial Council, the peasant leaders, such as Mohammad Afzal Bangash, Ziarat Gul, and Abdul Sattar, changed the name of the *Sarhad* Peasant Committee into the Mazdoor Kissan Party, on May 17, 1968 (Circular, ND, p. 1). Hence, it became the responsibility of the peasant leadership to guide and direct peasants' trends from trade unionism (opportunism) to political struggle for the achievement of peasant movements' fundamental objectives. One of the fundamental objectives was to establish Peoples' Democratic rule at North Hashtnagar under the supervision of MKP (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 1).

According to Master Ambar, MKP had a stronghold in North Hashtnagar, however, it also widened its network by forming some other similar organizations in South Hashtnagar of Tehsil Charsadda, Warsak of Peshawar, *Takht Bhai*, *Lund Khwar* in district Mardan and *Skhakot* in Malakand Agency (Amber, 2006).

According to Mohammad, there was hierarchical formation of peasant committees and also peasant committee played a vital role in peasant movement at North Hashtnagar. For instance, the village peasant committee was a basic unit or cell in the organizational structure of peasant movement in North Hashtnagar. The greatest importance was attached to village peasant committees; next in importance was the center and so on (The Editorial Board, 1972, p. 17). At the top there was a Provincial Peasant Committee followed by district committees, a *Shamila* (Tehsil Committee) (a kind of legislative-executive and judicial body), Central Committees and then village Peasant Committees (Mohammad, 2007). According to Dr. Iqbal, the Provincial Peasant Committee included: Ziarat Gul of Zarifi Bande, Mardan as its president, Afzal Khan Bangash of Kohat as vice president and Abdul Sattar of Khadi Killi, Mardan as its general secretary (Safi, 2008; SBR, 1975-83, p. 2). According to Master Sultan, the District peasant committee included: Adam Khan of village *Shakoor* as its president, Ali Jan of village *Harichand* as vice president, Mohammad Ishaq of village *Shakoor* as general secretary. The tehsil committee included: Yar Khan Kaka of *Sur Qamar*, Momin Khan of *Kudi Killi*, Haji Noroz Khan of *Marghan*, Mohammad Ullah of *Hisara Nehri*, Mohammada Gul of *Marghan*, Mohammad Hussain of *Arhato* (*Zego*), Jaffar of *Mandani*, Ajab of *Mandani*, Babu Lal Rehman of *Saadullah Jan Killi*, Aslam Gigiani of *Shodag*, Abdul Hassan of *KhanMir Killi* and Habib Noor of *Qaroon Dheri* and others (Sultan, 2006).

According to Mohammad, the area of North Hashtnagar was divided into various joint committees, covering three to six villages, called the Center, headed by presidents and vice presidents (The Editorial Board, 1972, p. 17). These included: *Shodag* Center No.1, with Jango Baba as president and Haider as vice president, *Shodag* Center No.2, with Haji Abdul Rehman as president and Khan pur as vice president, *Behram Dher* Center, with Saadullah as president and Hakim Gul as vice president, *Harichand* Center, with Shahbaz Khan as president and Musafar as vice president, *Kudi Killi* Center, with Ghulam Kaka as president, *Hisara Bala* Center, with Mohammad Hussain as president, *Hisara Payan* Center with Qadeem as president, *Hisara Nehri* Center, with Mohammad Ullah a president, *Gandheri* Center, with Ahmad Gul Mullah as president and Mian Khan as vice president, *Gandheri Bala*, with Akbar Khan as president and Sultanai of *Lora Shah* as vice president, *Tal Shah* Center, with Zarrawar as president, *Amirabad* Center, with Sher Behadur as president and so on. Each center had four to five peasant committees comprising of eight to ten peasants (Mohammad, 2006).

According to FGDs conducted with Masood Shah (son of Abdul Hanan-former peasant committee at Dhakki), Syed Nazeef, Jehangir (both were student activists during North Hashtnagar peasant movement and others) and others, the peasant committees were often made up of people having differing political ideologies. Despite having a considerable number of peasants as members, it also included a large number of well-to-do peasants (Circular, 1974, p. 2) such as Mohammad Shah Ali of *Mandani* (a rich peasant lessee of 25 acre of land of Usaman Ali Khan alias Wawa Khan), Dama Khan of *Shodag* (an old red shirt (Weekly Sanober, 1970, p. 9) and a rich peasant and lessee of 25 acre of land of Wawa Khan), Arab Gull Kaka of *Spalmai* (a lessee of 15 acre of land of Tori Khan and Saifullah Khan), Jango Baba of *Shodag* (a lessee of 25 acre of land of Wawa Khan), Mohammad Afzal Gigiani of *Behram Dheri* (a share cropper of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the crop of Khan Behadur Mir Alam Khan), Ahmad Gul Khattak Mulla of *Gandheri* (a lessee of 60 acre of land of Faqir Khan), Mian Khan Kaka Khattak of *Gandheri* (a lessee of 13 acre of land of Wawa Khan), and Jaffar Kaka of *Mandani* (a lessee of 25 acre of land of Yaqub alias Chacha Khan and Ajmal Khan) (FGD, 2006).

According to Mohammad, the Peasant Committees also included: Malik Sultan of *Gandheri* (a lessee of 3 acre of land, the small landowners Ata Mohammad and Ghulam Mohammad Khan), Aziz Noor of *Gandheri* (a lessee of 13 acre of land, the small owner Kareem Dad Khan and others), Lal Khan inger of *Kandharo* (a lessee of 13 acre of land, the small owner Fazal Rehman and others), Malik Ajab Khan Mohammadzai of Tangi *Barazai* (a supervisor of the land of Wawa Khan), Ghulam Kaka of *Kodo* (a lessee of 20 acre of land of Amin Jan Khan), Imad of *Khanjari* (a peasant of Ahmad Ali Khan), Adam Khan of *Shakoor* (a lessee of 2 acre of land of Usman Ali KhanKhan), Haji Ibrahim Shah (a peasant of Abdul Akbar Khan) Babu Lal Rehman of *Saadullah Khan Killy* (a lessee of 20 acre of land of Chacha Khan), Sher Ali Baba (a peasant of Wawa Khan), Mohammad Gulab of *Behram Khan Dheri* (a peasant of Wawa Khan), Madad Khan of *Sewan* (a peasant of Mir Alam Khan), Nouroz Khan of *Marghan* (a peasant of Ahmad Jan Khan) and Sher Ali of *Marghan* (a peasant of Ahmad Jan Khan) (Mohammad, 2007). According to Mohammad Amin (see Annexure I), some others, such as Ata Khan of *Marghan* a peasant of Ahmad Jan Khan, Mohammad Amin Utmankhel of *Qazi Serai Gandheri* (a lessee of 3 acre of the small owners Ata Mohammad and Ghulam Mohammad), Said Karam Kaka Utmankhel of *Dhando Killy of Gandheri* (a peasant of Tori and Saifullah Khan), and Ali Jan of *Kocheke* (a lessee of 15 acre of Sahibzadgan Tangi), also included in peasant committees (Amin, 2006).

According to Gul Noor Kaka, an rural proletariat who had also been involved in peasant movement

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of North Hashtnagar during 1968-1979, agriculture workers were not included in the Peasant Committees and, therefore, their demands were also not raised at any forum owing to simple reason that its leadership comprised mostly small lease-land holders or *kulaks* (rich peasants). They were reluctant to let the rural proletariat get organized or raise their demands due to their own vested interests (Gul, 2007). But despite these shortcomings, even the disorganized and often incomplete work of the peasant workers was enough to startle the feudal minded leadership of the NAP in KP. They became strictly opposed to the formation of such class-based organization as the Peasant Committee (Circular, 1974, p. 2).

MKP leadership selected the best and the most advanced segment of the rich (*kulaks*) peasants for leading the movement in order to replace the feudal production relations. According to interview from Professor Anwaarul Haqq, who had been an active member of MKP and adherent to Bangash group during 1970-1980, apart from formation of peasant committees, the peasant leadership also held numerous public meetings, conferences, processions and national congresses to keep the peasants involved in political struggle on one hand, and keep the peasants away from creating trends of trade unionism or opportunism amongst them on the other during the course of peasant struggle at different parts of the Province. These tactics were used to gain and mobilize support for the achievement of peasants' ultimate goals. For instance, peasant leaders, such as Afzal Bangash and Sher Ali Bacha, drew attention of participants at a public meeting in *Turlandi* (Mardan) on April 21, 1968 towards the plight of peasants and excesses of big landowners and denounced NAP, calling it a party of Khans, which had failed to pay any attention to the sufferings of peasants (Anwaar, 2007).

Similarly, they urged advising peasants, in another meeting, to stand united under the flag of MKP, at residence of Gul Ahmad of *Khawaja Rashaka*, Mardan on January 11, 1969. Moreover, they also condemned Abdul Sattar Mohammad, the then Member Provincial Assembly, for allegedly victimizing poor peasants. They reiterated that the main cause of launching peasant movement was to establish an equitable socio-economic and political system for all, irrespective of colour, cast and status. In a meeting held at *Rustam*, Mardan on January 12, 1969, Afzal Bangash urged peasants to keep united over the common platform of MKP and concluded his speech by chanting the slogan long live peasant revolution "*Kisan Inqilab zindabad*" (SBP, ND, p. 19).

According to Chaudary Fateh, a peasant conference was subsequently held on March 23, 1970 at Toba Tek Sing (Bashar, 1970, pp. 25-30), Punjab, under the leadership of Maulana Bhashani (NAP Bhashani group) (Zaigham, ND, p. 5). Ziarat Gul, President Sarhad MKP, participated in the conference to represent MKP from KP (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, pp. 1-12). In his address, Maulana Bhashani urged the adoption of the path of revolution and armed struggle instead of reforms and election (Circular, ND, p. 2) and, hence, he announced on April 19 as a day of peasants' protest and demands (Zaigham, ND, p. 5). It seems that peasant leadership had decided to change the path of peasant struggle from non-violent to armed struggle of achieving the objectives of the movement. Subsequently, the peasant movement of North Hashtnagar began on April 13, 1970 from village *Khanjari* (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 11). The peasant leaders of the surrounding areas decided to hold a day of protest and demands at Mandani on April 19, 1970 up till the acceptance of their demands (Mohammad, ND, p. 30). They decided to observe a complete peasant strike, hold meetings and a big peasants' gathering (Weekly Sanobar, 1970, p. 6).

According to Iqbal, on eventual return of his father from the peasant convention, Ziarat Gul met peasant leadership of MKP and conveyed the message of Maulana Bhashani. From that onward, the peasant leadership took some grave steps and thus considered armed struggle alone the vehicle of change in the

prevalent socio-economic conditions of North Hashtnagar. On the other, they considered that non-violent, peaceful resistance or reformative means had been proved ineffective in the achievement of democratic rights of peasants. It used to be effective during anti-imperialist and nationalist movements in the pre-independence era. Similarly, the overwhelming majority of peasants had also decided to discard the non-violent way of resistance and thus the peasant movement resorted to more direct and concentrated action in the form of armed struggle.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Since a basic conflict existed between big landowners and lease-holding peasants, sharecroppers and rural proletariat, the *Sarhad* peasant committee strengthened alliance of lease-holding peasants, sharecroppers and rural proletariat. Lack of urban workers and limited number of rural proletariat in North Hashtnagar drove peasants to form an alliance with small landowners too. It aimed at neutralizing small landowners to prevent their siding with the big landowners. The *Sarhad* peasant committee declared all those small landowners allies who were not involved in forced eviction of peasants, avoided unpaid forced labour, unjust taxes and paid proper amount of land rent and share in the yield to peasants.

However, the main findings of this new socio-economic formation of the North Hashtnagar peasant movement were included:

- To bring big landowners and their system to its knees and forced them to accept some of peasants' objectives;
- To unify the peasants into a force to be reckoned with, though, it failed to root out feudal landlordism completely,;
- To force big landowners to make conciliatory agreements with peasants in terms of land sale deeds and, as a result, feudal lords lost power and influence considerably;
- To obtain material gains through peasant movement such as improved financial conditions of peasants;
- To enable peasants to provide better health care and education to their offspring;&
- To earn professional qualifications in medicine and engineering.

The analysis of the research study is that new progressive relations of production corresponded with the nature of productive forces and, therefore, it increased money-commodity relation that led to agrarian capitalism in terms of mechanized farming and use of fertilizers, better seeds and pesticides. In short, it transformed production relations, their mode of survival, gave shape to a better society and proved to be a determinative factor for social development.

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Personal Interview with Babu Lal Rehman (age 75) of Saadullah Jan Kalli, Harichand, Tangi on February 12, 2010. He had been president of peasant committee at Saadullah Jan Killi during 1970 to 1986
Personal interview with Chaudary Fateh Mohammad (age 99) conducted at his residence in Toba Tek Sing, Punjab on October 05, 2007; Workers Group., *Mazdoor Kisan Party Mein Nazriyati Ikhtilaf*. Punjab Mazdoor Kisan Party, Lahore 1977
Personal interview with Gul Noor Kaka (age 82) at his residence in Kizaar Banda of Harichand, North Hashtnagar on October 28, 2007. He was involved as agrarian worker in peasant movement during 1968-1979.
Personal interview with Haider Ali Khan (age 60) at his residence of Berlin House at North Hashtnagar on March 19, 2007. He is younger son of Usman Ali Khan of Tangi
Personal Interview with Inayatullah Khan Yasir (age 62) of Kala Killy, Swat on March 28, 2006. He worked as a Deputy Joint Secretary of MKP during 1978 to 1986.
Personal interview with Justic Shahjehan (age 62) at his official residence on the back of Sharqi Thana on March 03, 2006. He was student of Afzal Bangash and activist of student affairs during the North Hashtnagar peasant movement.
Personal interview with Master Amber (age 80) of Sur Qamar in Harichand of Tangi at his residence on February 20, 2006. He had been a local peasant leader of Sur Kamar, North Hashnagar.
Personal interview with Master Nisar (age 60) and Master Tahir (age 55) of Nadir Mian Kalli, Harichand on February 13, 2006. They worked as members of Sarhad Student Organization, an affiliate to Kisan Committee in North Hashtnagar
Personal interview with Master Sultan (age 78) at his residence of Chel, Harichand of North Hashtnagar on February 12, 2006. He was a local peasant leader at North Hashtnagar from 1964 to 1979. Naveed, B. N., "Sher Ali Bacha" in *The Daily Wahdat*. Peshawar July 07, 1999.
Personal interview with Mian Aimal Shah (age 58) of Jarra, Turangzai of Charssadda at his residence on October 07, 2007: Nashar-wa-Ishaat Committee,
Personal Interview with Mohammad Ishaq (age 80) of Shakoore Kalli, Tangi on January 17, 2006. He had been the General Secretary of MKP during 1968-71.
Personal interview with Mohammad Siraj (age 66) of Miskeen Khel of Pir Pai, Nowshera at his residence on December 03, 2005. He had been an social and political activist during peasant movement and adherent to Sher Ali Bacha's group later on
Personal interview with Noor-ul-Zafar (age 78) of Nasratzai, Tangi at his residence on March 02, 2007. He had been land record clerk from 1965 to 1993.
Personal interview with Professor Anwaarul Haqq (age 56) at his residence in Mardan near railway station on June 23, 2007. He had been an active member of MKP and adherent to Bangash group during 1970-1980.
Personal interview with Salar Ahmad Ali (age 64) of Shiekhan, Charsadda on March 25, 2006. He had been incharge of Youth Militant Wing in MKP during 1970 to 78.
Personal interview with Sher Ali Khan (age 72) of Gandheri on October 29, 2007. He served as an Ex Girdawar at Charsadda, during 1975 to 2010.
Personal interview with Syed Fazal Dayan (age 56) of Tehsil Tangi on December 02, 2006. He works as supervisor of land record clercks at Tehsil Tangi. *Weekly Sanobar*, October 23, 1970
Personal interview with Ziarat Gul (age 80) of Esa Khel at Mohalla Topchyan of Larrama, Peshawar on April 20, 2006.