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Research Article

The Politics of Identity and Ideology: Pakhtun Nationalism and Socialism in Pakistan

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Abstract. The article elaborates the politics of nationalism and socialism among the Pakhtuns, particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Analyse the Pakhtun left political organizations and Movements as well as the Pakhtunistan issues, and Hashnagar pesaeants uprising. The paper led us to the banning of all left political organization including Communist Party of Pakistan, Khudai Khedmatgar and other regional nationalist and socialist organization during Cold War. The Cold War re-shaped the political dynamics in Pakistan particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. Both were the Front line Provinces in the great game between the United States and the Soviet Union. When Pakistan joined the United State-led West-bloc, the SEATO and SENTO pact was signed against the Communism. Therefore, the Pakistan state took action against the left political organization in Pakistan, due to the Pakhtun socialists activated in a new mask of socialism and strongly opposed the ruling elite of Pakistan. While the nationalist cleared their stance to work for a progressive Pakistan. Both were organized and engaged with Pakistani leftists against the Pakistani ruling elite and finally they organized anti one unit front known as United Front and merged their organization and formed a national level left party, the National Awami Party. The National Awami Party was a genuine left political party all the left banned organization including nationalist and socialist joined it with the

manifestation of socialism in Pakistan. However, the ideological split in the International communist movement influence the politics of National Awami Party and its leadership in Pakistan. Meanwhile the National Awami Party split into two factions Pro-Moscow and Pro-China, among the Pakhtuns the pro-China faction were eliminated by the pro-Moscow Wali Khan group from his Party. Consequently, the pro-China faction formed a new left political organization called the Mazdoor Kisan Party in 1967. However, during the 1970 election the Maoist pro China Mazdoor Kisan Party did not participated in general election and mobilized the Hashnagar peasant uprising against the landlords but many landlords were the candidate of different political parties. This article analysis the unification and split in the left political wing in Pakistan and particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and overview the historical developments and events which shaped and re-shaped the nationalist and socialist tendencies among the Pakhtuns.

Keywords: Nationalism, Socialism, Pakhtun, Politics, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

During the partition in February 1947, the Muslim League initiated a civil disobedience movement in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa against the congress ministry. Demanded the resignation and dismissal of the two-third majority congress ministry in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly. However, Dr. Khan Sahib as chief minister refused to step down. The only possible course of action appeared to be the undemocratic dismissal of Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry. While the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten opposed this undemocratic approach. On August 13, 1947, Dr. Khan Sahib met with Cunningham, the newly appointed Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and guaranteed him that he would neither declare Pakhtunistan nor pose a threat to the Pakistani government (Marwat, 2015, p.54). Pakistan emerged on 14 August 1947, the flag-hoisting ceremony performed on August 15 in Peshawar was not attended by Dr. Khan Sahib and his colleagues. The sole justification was to avoid (Ghazi) Muslim League volunteers from acting violently or inappropriately. Dr. Khan Sahib and his colleagues were accused of insulting the Pakistani government by skipping the flag-hoisting ceremony, which became the cause of the removal of the Congress ministry. On August 21, Jinnah gave Cunningham the go-ahead to dissolve Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry, which he duly did. The same afternoon, Cunningham extended an invitation to Qayyum to establish Muslim League ministry in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Shah, 2015, p.231).

During the autumn of 1947, the Frontier Congress made an unsuccessful effort to bypass the provincial Muslim League and instead negotiate an agreement with the High Command. In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the situation quickly worsened. When the Muslim League ministry came into power, they initiated a campaign of harassment against the Khudai Khidmatgars, which escalated into outright persecution. On 3 and 4 September 1947 a meeting was held in which the Congress parliamentary party, FPCC, Zalmai Pakhtun and the Khudai Khidmatgars the following resolutions were passed:

- a) The Khudai Khidmatgars consider Pakistan their homeland and commit to diligently fortify and protect its interests, making whatever necessary sacrifices for this cause.

- b) The removal of Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry through Abdul Qaiyum's ministry is undemocratic; nonetheless, given the important juncture our country is experiencing, the Khudai Khidmatgars will refrain from actions that could impede the central or provincial government.
- c) Following the partition of the country, the Khudai Khidmatgars terminated their affiliation with the All-India National Congress (Jansson, 1981, p.231).

The Pakhtun nationalist leaders cleared their stance on the creation of Pakistan during the meeting and became a strong opposition party against the Muslim League ruling elite. They formed a new political party named the Pakistan People Party with others regional nationalist including Pakistani socialist.

Pakistan People Party

During the first session of the Constitution Assembly of Pakistan, which was held in Karachi on 23 February 1948. Bacha Khan participated in the assembly session. There he took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan and cleared his stance in the following words.

I confess that I was against the division of India. It was my selfless opinion that India should not be divided. But, now, when it has occurred, our differences and disputes have also vanished. Now all the energies of my friends and mine will only be devoted to the service of our country. I want to make it clear to everyone that we want Pakistan to be a truly perfect Islamic state (Marwat, 2015, p.55).

Liaqat Ali Khan raised a question about Bacha Khan's vision of Pakhtunistan, to which Bacha Khan clarified that his intention was merely to rename his province as Pakhtunistan and provincial autonomy. He expressed disappointment over the British Government's assignment of a geographical name to the province and argued that the genuine demand of the Pakhtuns to rename their province should be considered (Himayatullah, 2015, p.56-57). During the inaugural session of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly in Pakistan, seven former members of the Congress party aligned with the Muslim League, so granting Abdul Qayyum's government a majority. Dr. Khan Sahib assumed the role of opposition leader and, along with his members, took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan alongside the Muslim League MLAs. Bacha Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgar had now fully expressed their support for Pakistan, but they chose not to merge their organization with the Muslim League. Meanwhile, they strongly criticized the direction in which Pakistan was heading under the leadership of the Muslim League (Jansson, 1981, p.232). Due to Khudai Khidmatgar emerged as a first opposition party toward Muslim League in the politics of Pakistan. On 23 March 1948, Bacha Khan stated in his speeches that Pakistan should be an Independence state not under a particular community, individual or institution. It should be for the entire community living here, enjoy equally. The government of Pakistan should be in the hand of its people not in the hand of exploiters.

During Bacha Khan's stay in Karachi, he organized a gathering of progressive politicians on May 8, 1948, at Majid Hall in Muslim Colony. It was from this gathering that the Pakistan People's Party was established. Attendees included delegates from every region in West Pakistan, including prominent leaders like G. M. Syed, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Bacha Khan, and Abdus Samad Achakzai. Bacha Khan was selected as

the party's president during the conference, and G. M. Syed was chosen as general secretary. Members of every community were invited to join the gathering, irrespective of their religious background (Himayatullah, 2015, p.57). The party's primary objectives were to maintain Pakistan's status as a "Union of the Socialist Republics," with the people's free will serving as the foundation for legitimacy and authority. Their objectives were to ensure complete autonomy for every ethnic group and provinces and promote cultural exchanges with nearby nations (Jansson, 1981, p.232). A committee composed of 60 members, with 10 representatives from each province and 10 nominees appointed by the president, was established. During his speech, Bacha Khan evaluated the political developments that occurred post-independence and explained the People's Party's willingness to provide any kind of support to the ruling party for the sake of society. The Pakistan People's Party aimed to promote constructive political trends in the country, going beyond mere opposition to the Muslim League. It sought to offer valuable guidelines to the rulers for effectively governing the state administration. Furthermore, there was a demand for the government to engage in an agreement with the Indian Government to ensure a smooth rehabilitation process for the refugees (Himayatullah, 2015, p.57-58).

The Pakistan People Party was organized by the leftists to oppose the Muslim League elite culture of politics and their policies. When Bacha Khan returned from Karachi to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, he organized the Khudai Khidmatgar within the new party, the Pakistan People Party and started touring the provinces to introduce the party program to the people (Afzal, 2017, p.140). He announced that Khudai Khidmatgar would be the military wing of the Pakistan People Party and its flag would be red. He criticized the ruling Muslim league and its behaviour toward the opposition parties. On June 15, 1948, Bacha Khan was arrested with his followers including Qazi Attaullah, Amir Muhammad Khan, Wali Khan and Ubaidullah Khan (Himayatullah, 2015, p.58). During his visit to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Bacha Khan stated in his speeches, that the Muhajirs had taken the control of power in Pakistan. He also claimed that Jinnah was appointed as Governor General of Pakistan by the British. Consequently, as a nominee of the British, he was not accountable to the nation, and the British still held authority in Pakistan through him. Bacha Khan noted that the Pakistani government had rehired British officers who had been dismissed by the Indian Union government. Due to a summary trial by the District Kohat Magistrate, Bacha Khan was charged with sedition and sentenced to three years imprisonment (Afzal, 2017, p.140-141).

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was declared illegal on July 4 by the province government and arrested the Khudai Khidmatgar and its leadership. One of the darkest events happened in Babra, on August 12, 1948, when protesters were demonstrating against the widespread detention of Khudai Khidmatgars and the police opened fire without warning (Himayatullah, 2015, p.58). During the incident, the police engaged in firing killed about six hundred, enforced heavy fines on them and arrested in large numbers. The arrested Khudai Khidmatgars and their leaders, along with the subsequent ban on their party, eliminated the main opposition force from the political landscape, allowing Abdul Qayyum Khan to strengthen his position

both within and outside the legislative body of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Marwat, 2015, p.58).

Pakhtun Socialism and Hashtnagar Peasant Uprising

The socialists' leaders including Pakhtuns supported the partition and the creation of Pakistan. but after the partition in Pakistan, there was no space for any political party instead of the Muslim League. The Pakhtun socialist joined and organized the Communist Party of Pakistan. Historically, feudal system of Peshawar Valley and Pakistan was established by the British. Before their arrival, there was no such system, and agricultural land had been unlawfully transferred to landlords. These landlords were granted authority over the police, the courts, and the ability to maintain their private militias. As a result, the peasants who were the true owners of the land, gradually became landless. The landlords would exploit the peasants by imposing forced labour, including tasks like cleaning raw wheat, washing clothes, and serving during Eid. The peasants were also burdened with private taxes such as Tora and Tip (Nawab & Jalil & Hussain, 2021, p. 1881). According to Dr. Iqbal Safi, the son of Ziarat Gul who was the leader of the peasant movement in Hashtnagar, the foundation for the peasant movement had already been laid in North Hashtnagar. An illustrative example of this was a dispute that arose between a landowner and peasants in Tangi, North Hashtnagar in 1948. The conflict revolved around the recurring issue of peasants' eviction and the unjust increase in land lease rent. Ziarat Gul, a notable figure in the peasant movement, was an active member of the Communist Party of Pakistan, a wealthy peasant from Mardan, and a progressive nationalist (Mughal, 2017, p.201).

During the Communist Party of India Calcutta Conference, which took place from February 28 to March 6, 1948, the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was founded. Bhavani Sen, an Indian communist member, gave a special report on Pakistan that summarized the communists' general position on the Muslim League and the Pakistani government. Sajjad Zahir, a communist intellectual, assumed the position of General Secretary of the CPP. Upon his return to Pakistan, he organized the CPP and formed its central committee, Ziarat Gul, Muhammad Afzal Bangash was a prominent member of CPP representing Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Himayatullah, 2015, p.52-53). Meanwhile, a conflict among peasants and feudal lords broke out in 1948 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. When Hashtnagar's land lease rent was increased from 40 to 70 rupees per jareeb. Hashtnagar's peasants strongly opposed the rent increase. This peasant rebellion was effectively suppressed by the police under the orders of Abdul Qayyum Khan (Nawab & Jalil & Hussain, 2021, p.1881. However, Ziarat Gul and Abdul Sattar from Mardan arrived in Tangi, where they made contact with local peasants and established Tangi as the hub of their political activities. They focused their efforts on the impoverished peasants actively and engaged with the peasant to motivating them. Eventually, they successfully formed the Ittehad-i-Mohmand Jirga (United Mohmand Association), also known as the Peasant Committee, Ziarat Gul became its president.

The primary objective of creating this committee was to inspire and convince the peasants to initiate a struggle against their forced displacement from their lands.

They worked with several approaches to fight for the rights of the peasants, such as organizing meetings and coordinating public protests and processions. Throughout 1948, they held numerous meetings and passed multiple resolutions, aiming to bring about reforms that would improve the lives of the underprivileged peasants. Their efforts gained momentum as they continued to protest against the traditional tactics of influential landowners. Their activity extended to the North Hashtnagar and Mardan districts, where they held protests and made their voices heard against the unfair practices of the powerful landowners. Many socialists, wealthy peasants and Khudai Khidmatgars also supported the Peasant Movement (Mughal, 2017, p.201-202). But the clash at Tangi probably held particular significance for the communists, as they probably perceived these armed confrontations as a crucial catalyst for initiating a larger uprising upheaval. According to a police report on Ziarat Gul, the communists intended to orchestrate such a "scheme" that The Kisan should resist vacating the leased plots and engage in confrontation with the landlords. The inhabitants of Tribal Territories residing in areas like Mahmands in Charsada and Mardan ought to relocate to the Tribal Territory and seek the tribesmen's support in orchestrating incursions into settled districts. The conflicts between landlords and tenants emerged in the Charsadda Sub-Division; nevertheless, timely governmental intervention prevented the scheme's success (Ali, 2019, p.74-75).

The significance attributed to the communists' actions during the clash at Tangi might be debated, but later, members of the Mazdoor Kisan Party confirmed that CPP secretary Sajjad Zaheer had indeed attempted to steer the Frontier peasant movement towards armed struggle. As a result of these armed confrontations, the growing militancy among the peasants, fueled by the emerging Communist Party of Pakistan, posed a significant challenge to the newly formed Muslim League government. The government responded by implementing strict law enforcement measures, aligning with a broader campaign to suppress its political opponents. As early as May 1948, the Kisan Jirga reported that more than 200 tenants in Charsadda had been arrested for their refusal to pay rent (Ali 2019, p.75-77). Meanwhile, Ziarat Gul and Abdul Sattar with other Pakhtun communists went underground to avoid arrest and the advancement of the peasant struggle experienced a setback (Mughal, 2017, p.203).

Following the ban of the Communist Party in 1954, its top and secondary leaders were arrested, while those who managed to avoid arrest went underground. The underground party leadership decided to continue their communist activities by integrating themselves into other prominent political parties (Ayaz & Islam, 2022, p.198). According to Akbar, several peasant leaders, including Mohammad Afzal Bangash, Sher Ali Bacha, Ziarat Gul, Abdul Sattar, Ishaq Mohammad, and others, joined the National Awami Party (NAP) in 1957, considering it a left organization. They actively engaged as members of the NAP peasant committee, aiming to advocate for reforms that would benefit poor peasants. However, it should be noted that the demands put forward by the NAP peasant committees were relatively modest and had a reformist nature, focusing on bringing improvements to the lives of the peasants (Mughal, 2017, p.204).

National Awami Party

Eighty members of the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan chosen by indirect election held by the provincial assemblies on May 28, 1955. With this, Ghulam Muhammad stepped down as governor general and Iskandar Mirza took over the head of state. Securing approval of the One Unit Bill through the new parliament was the main goal of the Sikandar Mirza. The Establishment of West Pakistan Bill was finally passed on October 3, 1955, and implemented on October 14 of the same year. The implementation of the One Unit Bill rises up strong opposition and resentment among the smaller provinces of Pakistan. The regionalist leaders primarily blamed the ruling elite of the Punjab for this decision. Protests and demonstrations were held across West Pakistan, from Karachi to Peshawar, to express their condemnation of the One Unit Bill (Himayatullah, 2015, p.70). As a result of these protests, various regional, ethno-nationalists, and socialists were able to unite on a national level. They first established a loosely organized coalition known as the anti-One Unit Front, whose basic components included the banned Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, the Awami League's Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa branch, the Sindh Hari Committee, Wror Pakhtun, Ustaman Gul, the Sindh Awami Mahaz, and the Azad Pakistan Party. However, the adoption of Pakistan's first constitution on March 23, 1956, served as a signal to politicians about the upcoming general and provincial elections, which led to the decision to organize for a worker's convention in Lahore from November 30 to December 2, 1956. The convention was attended by various anti-one-unit political groups, and after extensive discussions decided to designate a party as the Pakistan National Party, officially inaugurated on December 2, 1956. The party's program was finalized, and a central working committee was established to oversee the establishment of branches in different provinces. Bacha Khan was elected the president of this party and Mahmud Ali Qasuri was its general secretary (Himayatullah, 2015, p.71-72).

The primary goal of the party was to advocate for the dissolution of the One Unit scheme in West Pakistan (WP). The movement against the One Unit originated solely in West Pakistan but it extended and reached to the East Pakistan (EP) (Marwat, 2015, p.66-67). When the Bashani faction of the Awami League and the Gantantri Dal of East Pakistan joined hands with the Pakistan National Party, consequently it named was changed to National Awami Party. The decision was taken during the Democratic Worker Convention held in Dhaka on 25 July 1957. A committee of forty members, led by Bashani, was established to organize the party. The objectives of the party included the replacement of the One-Unit scheme, implementation of land reforms, promotion of regional autonomy, abrogation of military pacts, and the adoption of an independent foreign policy (Afzal, 2017, p.334). The formation of the NAP sparked a debate regarding its potential as a transformative party in a politically delicate nation. The conversation primarily focused on the significant presence of communists actively participating in the party's activities. The political composition of the party exposed sharp ideological differences and diverse political mindsets of the socialists and ethnic nationalists, landlords. However, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the leadership of the Party was in the hands of Bacha Khan with the support of landlords, like Arbabs and Nawabs in Peshawar and Mardan.

There were a large number of communists and socialists, but their position was too weak in the party as compared to the Nationalists (Himayatullah, 2015, p.88). However, the situation was out of control by the ruling elite to counter the leftist in their emergence in the politics of Pakistan. Sikandar Mirza declared martial law on October 7, 1945, Ayub Khan assumed the office of Chief Martial Law Administrator and political activities in the country were abruptly ended and the upcoming general election to be held in 1959 was postponed indefinitely (Himayatullah, 2015, p.122-131).

During the period of detention and prosecution, NAP faced hardships, Ayub Khan was displeased with its disruptive role in supporting various ministries, leading to the dismissal of consecutive ministries within a short period from 1957 to 1958. Ayub Khan also disapproved of NAP's agitation tactics and its demands for the dissolution of One Unit, regional autonomy, an independent foreign policy, and radical economic reforms. As a result, NAP was banned until August 31, 1963, and many of its leaders were arrested and charged with subversive and anti-state activities. The exact number of detained NAP workers are not available, but it was estimated to be around one thousand in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Earlier October 1957, Bacha Khan, a prominent NAP leader was arrested along with his son, Abdul Wali Khan (Marwat, 2015, p.73-74).

After the end of martial law, the National Awami Party (NAP) emerged as the single political party opposing the atrocities committed by Ayub's regime. A grand council (Loya Jirga) of party leaders and newly released party members was held in Peshawar on December 1963. Anti-Ayub meetings were reported in Mansehra, Haripur, Abbottabad, Bannu, Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi, Nowshera, and other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. During the council, participants demanded the release of political prisoners, criticized United States involvement in Pakistan's internal affairs, condemned the imposition of Section 144 of the Pakistan Penal Code, and protested against the ban on NAP leaderships and their entering to the south district of Bannu (Himayatullah, 2015, p.139). However, the Kisan Committee operating under the umbrella of the National Awami Party, underwent reorganization in 1963. Sher Ali Bacha was chosen to serve as the convener of District Mardan, and Muhammad Afzal Bangash was elected as the convener of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. To organized study circles and teach to the peasants about Marxist-Leninist theory and advance the objective of establishing a socialist state and society in Pakistan. Many members of this committee drew inspiration from Maoist ideology and advocated for Mao's revolutionary methods, considering them to be the most suitable and effective (Ayaz & Islam, 2022, p.199).

Ideological Split in National Awami Party

During the early 1960s, the Left-wing groups began to experience the consequences of the Sino-Soviet split within the international socialist movement. This ideological split in the world socialism movement and its interpretation had impact on the leadership of NAP in Pakistan, where it manifested through factional rivalries and debates on the nature of the martial law regime. A shift in the Ayub foreign policy toward China during the Sino-Indian war in 1962. Consequently, the pro-China Left elements became more restrained in their criticism of the government.

For instance, Ayub's martial law in 1960 introduced basic democrat system that involved the selection of 80,000 individuals. These individuals would work at the local level in municipalities and also serve as an electoral college to elect the President of Pakistan (Ali, 2015, p.162-163).

The Pro-Communist China inclination within Ayub Khan's foreign policy at the national level had a significant impact on the perspectives of several top leaders of the National Awami Party. This influence even reached the party's president, Maulana Bhashani, causing him to moderate his opposition towards Ayub Khan's regime (Marwat, 2015, p.86). In August 1963, Maulana Bhashani had a meeting with Ayub Khan and subsequently led a semi-official delegation to China, where he had the opportunity to meet Chairman Mao Tse-tung (Afzal, 2013, p.176). Therefore, it can be argued that the leadership of the National Awami Party was divided into two distinct factions regarding their approach towards Ayub Khan's government. One faction, known as the "pro-Moscow" Wali Khan Group, consistently opposed Ayub Khan from the beginning. another faction, the "pro-Beijing" was Bashani group, consisting of former communists who ended up supporting Ayub Khan (Himayatullah, 2015, p.175).

Wali Khan and other pro-Moscow party politicians criticized Pakistan for partnering with China in the 1962 Sino-Indian War. Because of India's non-alignment during the Cold War between the capitalist and communist blocs, the United States sided with India. The U.S. government expected Pakistan to adopt a similar stance that would not upset India. Consequently, they exerted pressure on Pakistan to take a more aggressive position against China, considering it a common enemy of both countries due to its communist ideology. Some pro-Moscow NAP politicians alleged that Bashani withdrew support for Fatima Jinnah during the presidential elections because he was allegedly bribed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who acted as Ayub Khan's representative at the time. It was claimed that Bashani received 500,000 rupees and, in return, withdrew his support for the Combine Opposition Party candidate. Later, Bashani confessed to accepting money from Ayub Khan as a donation to support his madrassas. This alliance between Bashani and Ayub Khan created differences and disagreements among party members (Himayatullah, 2015, p.177).

However, the conflict within the leadership of NAP emerged on the surface in 1966, coinciding with the split of the international communist movement into two camps. This division was characterized by ideological differences, and the pro-Moscow faction held numerous grievances against Bashani and his pro-Beijing supporters. Criticisms on his decision to call off the civil disobedience movement, his excessive focus on foreign policy, his involvement in the 1965 presidential election, his lenient approach towards the Ayub Khan Government, and his opposition to a settlement with the Awami League based on its six points The formal split occurred in December 1967 when the pro-Moscow faction established a separate NAP in East Pakistan, led by Professor Muzaffar Ahmad. In April 1968, during a national-level meeting, Abdul Wali Khan was elected as the All-Pakistan NAP President. The NAP in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan joined this newly formed party collectively. The pro-Moscow NAP downplayed socialist slogans and instead emphasized demands for autonomy, restoration of democracy, and an independent foreign policy.

It supported the PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement) and later aligned itself with this alliance. It actively participated in the movement against Ayub Khan and subsequently joined the Democratic Action Committee (DAC) in the Round Table Conference. On the other hand, the pro-Beijing faction of the NAP underwent its own reorganization. In February 1968, Maulana Bhashani was elected as its All-Pakistan President. This faction chose to stay away from the opposition alliance and pursued an independent campaign (Afzal, 2013, p.184-185).

Ideological Split in NAP Pakhtuns Leadership

In the autumn of 1963-64, Major (R) Ishaq Mohammad, Afzal Bangash, Abdus Sattar, Kaptan Sarfraz, and Ziarat Gul visited North Hashtnagar and initiated contact with local peasants, including Master Amber and Master Sultan. Their objective was to organize the peasants into committees to fight for their rights. Initially, the idea of challenging the powerful feudal lords and becoming landowners seemed like a fairy tale to the locals, but Afzal Bangash and Sher Ali Bacha managed to convince them by citing examples of peasant movements in Bolshevik Russia and China. To illustrate their point, they referred to Lenin's anti-feudal program in Russia in 1917, which involved the abolition of illegal taxes and the suspension of laws that restricted peasants from buying and selling land.

They emphasized how the Russian peasants had supported Lenin and his party in leading and organizing the peasant movement. The goal was to gain the support of the local peasants to bring about significant changes in their lives, providing a better socio-economic and political environment for future generations. Their efforts resulted in the formation of the peasant committee (Kisan Committee) in every district of Peshawar Valley (Mughal, 2017, p.212-213). The membership of the Kisan Committee dramatically rose in district, tehsil, and union council levels, because of the efforts of communist activity. As a result of Ayub Khan's harsh land reforms, which affected peasants and landless Labourers in the Peshawar Valley, the Kisan Committee continued to grow. More than 60 local Kisan Committees were set up, each with its executive committee.

However, the ideological split accurs among the leadership of NAP between the Pro-Moscow and Pro-Peking camps. This ideological split was more open in West Pakistan and particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which caused rift in the NAP. The ideological differences between the leftists were not only limited to Bhashani and Wali. Among the Pakhtuns the Sarhad Kisan Committee of NAP soon faced internal conflicts and divisions, causing concern for Wali Khan. His political, ideological, and personal inclinations toward the USSR led him to strongly oppose the pro-Maoist Bhashani group within NAP. He began discussions to expel the Kisan Committee from inside his NAP faction. The Kisan Committees were removed from the NAP in different regions; nevertheless, the expelled members reorganized under new titles, including Punjab-NAP (Mazdoor-Kisan) and Karachi-NAP (Mazdoor-Kisan Party).

Similar in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where the NAP met on March 3, 1967, at Amir Zada Khan's house in Mardan. Presenting a resolution, Ajmal Khattak said that each NAP member would have to decide whether to continue as a member of the NAP Wali or join the Kisan Committee (Ayaz & Islam, 2022, p.199-200). The party

resolution, which banned the inclusion of revolutionary peasant workers, received support from Sayyed Almas Bacha, Khan Bahadur Khan, and Abdul Wali Khan. However, Sayyed Mohammad Bacha, Fazal Hadi Khan, Mian Rizwan Ullah, and Sher Ali Bacha opposed the resolution. Following the decision of the Provincial Council, peasant leaders such as Mohammad Afzal Bangash, Ziarat Gul, and Abdul Sattar decided to rename the Sarhad Peasant Committee as the Sarhad Mazdoor Kissan Party on May 17, 1968. This split mirrored the division between the Russian Bolshevik and Russian Menshevik faction of the RSDLP (Mughal, 2017, p.216-217).

The Sarhad Mazdoor Kissan Party, Karachi-NAP (Mazdoor-Kisan), and Punjab-NAP (Mazdoor-Kisan) convened a joint meeting in Faisalabad on May 16-17, 1968, and subsequently merged to form a single party of NAP (Mazdoor-Kisan). In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, they choose to go by the name "Mazdoor-Kisan Party" and exclude the "NAP" from it. When these three groups came together as NAP-Mazdoor-Kisan in March 1970 and chose to eliminate the "NAP" from their name, eventually renaming themselves the Pakistan Mazdoor-Kisan Party, further progress was made (Ayaz & Islam, 2022, p.200). Motivated by the Chinese Revolution of 1949, the Mazdoor Kisan Party embraced the doctrines of Mao Tse Tung and resolved to launch a militant campaign against the agrarian elite in Pakistan. The party gained popularity in certain regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. It was considered the largest and most militant party within Marxist doctrine in Pakistan. The party rejected the idea of democratic struggle as a concept favoured by the bourgeoisie, asserting that it would not improve the conditions of labourers and peasants. The Mazdoor Kissan Party did not participate in the 1970, general election but contributed in the mobilization of the Hashtnagar Peasants Uprising in the same year (Rahman, 2020, p.126-127).

CONCLUSION

The Pakhtun nationalists and socialists leadership was against the partition of British India with Congress, but when the Congress accepted the partition plan. The socialist leadership supported the creation of Pakistan in Muslim-majority provinces. While the nationalists opposed the partition and demanded the option of Pakhtunistan, instead of India in referendum. Therefore, the Pakhtun nationalists were pushed toward Pakistan through the referendum and dissolved the two-third majority government of the Khudai Khidmatgar by the Muslim League. After the partition, the nationalist leaders clear their stance on the partition and Pakhtunistan issue in the first constitutional Assembly of Pakistan. Bacha Khan's started effort to organized a strong opposition against the Muslim League and finally formed the Pakistan People Party with the Pakistani leftist. But the Pakhtun socialists aligned themselves with the newly established Communist Party of Pakistan. Very soon the Communist Party of Pakistan was banned with others regional nationalist organizations including Pakistan People Party. When Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO against communism with capitalism. During the Cold War, the Pakistani nationalist and socialist leaders were under the survival because of the Pakistani ruling elite supported the Capitalist intervention against communism and their activities.

When the one-unit plan was imposed by Governor General Sikander Mirza, the regional nationalist leaders started the anti-one unit campaign and a united front was formed in West Pakistan. Consequently, the anti-one-unit front was organized to form the Pakistan National Party (PNP) in West Pakistan. When East Pakistan Abdul Hamid Bashani joined PNP, its name was changed to the National Awami Party (NAP). The NAP was the only genuine leftist, progressive party which was joined by the socialist leaders including Pakhtuns, its manifesto was based on socialism. The Pakhtun socialist and nationalist forces once again united against the Muslim League elite culture of politics. However, ideological split in the international socialist movement between the Soviet Union and China in 1960, it influenced the socialism in Pakistan, particularly in NAP. The ideological split in NAP leadership based on the principle of socialism divided the party into different groups. The pro-Soviet group, NAP Wali and the pro-China group NAP Bashani. Among the Pakhtuns, the Sarhad Kisan Committee of NAP became the Mazdoor Kisan Party. When NAP Wali eliminated the pro-China peasant committee from NAP Wali in a meeting at Mardan. These Pakhtun socialist pro-China leadership including Afzal Bangash, Sher Ali Bacha, Zariat Gul, and Abdul Sattar, formed a new political party named as Mazdoor Kisan Party.

During the 1970 election, the MKP did not participate in the general election and continued their militancy approach toward the peasant issue. The Hashtnagar peasant uprising or movement of the MKP based on militant approach toward socialism against the landlords. While the NAP Wali was the second largest party in the 1970 election, and got a majority particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, with the alliance of JUI they formed ministries in both provinces. Meanwhile, Wali Khan became the opposition leader to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and criticized Bhutto authoritative behavior and government. The Bhutto central government dismissed the NAP-JUI government in Baluchistan, while the NAP-JUI government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa resigned as a protest. The Bhutto imposed governor raj in both provinces, and Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao became the Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. After the incident of the killing of Governor Sherpao in a bomb blast in Peshawar, the Bhutto blame on Wali Khan for killing of Sherpao. The Bhutto government arrested the NAP Wali leadership including Wali Khan and his family and banned the NAP with the allegation of anti-state in 1975. The banning of the NAP aims to distract the leftist nationalist politics, a turning point in the history of Pakistan. The Bhutto democratic regime arrested Wali Khan while released by the Martial law government of Zia-ul-Haq, whom arrested and hanged Bhutto.

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