

The Proletariat Pashto Poetry: An Analysis of Socialist Themes in the Poetry of Master Sultan Mohammad Khalakyar

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ABSTRACT

This paper engages in its discourse selected proletariat poetry of Master Sultan Mohammad Khalakyar (1942-2007), with special reference to its symbolism with poetry developed in post-October Bolshevik revolution in Russia, which brought about radical changes in the literary world. Vladimir Lenin promoted the development of working-class literature, by initiating in May 1917, the establishment of a Society of the Proletarian Arts, according to which art and literature should be imbued with the real spirit of class struggle waged by proletariat. The selected poems of Khalakyar, reproduced in this paper with English translation, clearly depict class struggle, and Marxist approach in its form and content. The themes and purposes of these selected poem offer a symbolism with the earlier works of Soviet proletariat poet Vladimir Mayakovski. It is therefore interesting to explore the socialist themes in the poetry of Khalakyar.

Keywords: Proletariat poetry, Marxist Leninist, Soviet literature, Socialist Realism, Progressive.

INTRODUCTION

The origin of proletariat literature is linked with Bolshevik revolution and the foundation of Society of the Proletarian Arts in May 1917, (Brown, 1963) which stressed for depiction of real social issues in art, painting, and literature. Vlad Mayakovski is recognized as pioneering proletariat poet (Murphy, 1991), whos' works

Kakaji Sanubar Hussain Mohmand, who is considered pioneer proletariat poet of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, had employed socialist realism in his literary works. Kakaji after the creation of Pakistan, laid the foundation of

had prominent impacts on the development of progressive poetry in NWFP (present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The poetry developed during the period 1940s upto 70s in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was also influenced by the peasant uprising and class struggle in Hashtnagar valley. Many of the workers (poets, and writers), contributed in their literary work for the rights and demands of the working class.

Olasi Adabi Jirga (OAJ) in order to provide a platform for the literary figures. The poets and writers under OAJ, developed socialist realism in their poetry and prose work For example, the poetry works of Qalandar Mohmand, Syed Sher

Ali Bacha, Master Sultan Khalakyar, Syed ul Abrar Ghar, Salim Raz, etc., attest the symbolism in form and contents with proletariat poetry (Ayaz et al., 2023).

This research paper seeks to explore socialist themes in the poetry works of Khalakyar, as he is considered a leading proletariat poet of Hashtnagar Peasant Movement of 1970s, alongside Syed ul Abrar Ghar (Ghar, 1973) and Syed Sher Ali Bacha (Bacha, 2017). In order to create Symbolism in the selected poems of Khalakyar with the forms and contents of poetry, earlier developed in USSR, therefore necessitate this research work.

Sultan Mohammad Khalakyar (1942-2007)

Hometown: Village Cheel, North Hashtnagar, District Charsadda.

Biography:

Sultan Mohammad was born in colonial Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in a village named Cheel Serai (Charsadda) in 1942 in a religious peasant's family. He used Khalakyar and Ulfat as his pen names in his literary works, but he was popularly known as Master Sultan in social, political, and literary circles (Khalakyar, 1974). His father Ghazi Mohammad, originally a Tajik's descendant, had migrated from Dir in 1920s and settled in this village (now renamed as Master Sultan Kaley¹) in connection with agricultural labor. Khalakyar received his early education from his father in his village mosque school. His grandfather was also a religious person, who received education from Deoband. Therefore, Khalakyar received substantial Islamic education in his childhood.

Khalakyar completed his primary education from Government High School Hari Chand before proceeding to Government High School Tangi from where he passed his matriculation (10th Grade) in 1958. He was sent to Lyallpur (Faisal Abad) to receive technical

and workshop education. He was awarded a Diploma in technical education 1961 and was soon appointed as Workshop Instructor (WI) at Government High School, Mohammad Kaley (Landi Kotal).

Khalakyar was influenced by Marxist thinking during his stay at Faisalabad, where he met underground leaders of the CPP from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Around the same the land reforms under the military Government of General Ayub Khan had consequently deteriorated the social and political conditions of his hometown. Even it had become more challenging as many of his fellow villagers lost their farmland and houses because of retaliated eviction campaign launched by the landed elites (Ali, 2019). Thus, Khalakyar joined the literary section of Kisan Committee (KC), which was functional under the National Awami Party NAP, in those days. Here he met Comrades, like Abdul Sattar Lala, Sher Ali Bacha, Afzal Bangash, and other peasant leaders in various meetings organized by KC (Ayaz & Ali, Fayyaz Noorul, 2023). After the political split in NAP, when Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP) came into existence on May 01, 1968, Khalakyar decided to side with leaders of KC. Thus, he is one of the pioneer proletariat poet of MKP.

Literary Contributions

Influenced by Marxist-Leninist thinking, Khalakyar had personally participated in the various activities and events of Hashtnagar Peasant struggle of 1970s. He was very close to Abdul Sattar Lala in public gatherings of KC and later on of MKP, where he would read his proletariat poetry. He wrote extensively to support his party and contributed dozen of poems explaining his Party's manifesto to the public. He deployed Misra a Dastan style for narrating the various aspects of peasant' struggle. Some of the publishing houses of MKP had published some of his work.

¹ Bashir Tajik, the son of Khalakyar disclosed this history of family background in his interview with the researcher (Ayaz, 2022)

He also wrote poems for his fellow peasants, the working class around the globe. It may be noted that his knowledge about internationalized and global ideologies of Marxism, Capitalism etc in his proletariat poetry depict the influence of socialist realism on his work. A collection of his proletariat poems was published 1974, with the following two couplets on the title of the book, *Da Wenny Rang*, (The Color of Blood);

The color of blood and a white shroud
seems like Hina

Emerging dawn from that east seems like
tomorrow

The blood of the martyrs of Chicago is visible
in this

It is red with the blood of workers, and it is the
flag of peasants too

In an interview with his son, it was disclosed that seven different manuscripts (unpublished) were buried in the yard of his house, because of an expected police raid, on account of the ongoing peasant struggle in Hashtnagar valley. In many interviews with notable Marxists and peasant's leaders, it has observed that the party's circulars, minutes of its meetings, and socialist literature were to be either buried or be burnt to evade potential arrest (Ahmad, 2009).

Selected proletariat poetry with translation

The selected poems and themes of his book *The Color of Blood* revolve around Marxist-Leninist ideology. Several of poems had narrated the war in Vietnam in a story style poetry, the other sets of poems appreciate the success of socialist China, and the next poem then lament on miserable conditions of peasants around the globe. Liberty, freedom, and dignity are very often the subject of his poetry. But at the same time express a celebrating support for militant struggle to defeat colonial system, and

imperialist rule. Exploring his class-centric proletariat poems, which he has read in many political programs of MKP throughout early 1970s, were published by MKP in 1974. By translating and analyzing his socialist poems, Khalakyar can rightfully be called as a proletariat poet of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Like Mayakovski, who wrote poems during 1905-17 war in favor of socialist revolution in Tzar Russia (Jangfeldt, 2021), Khalakyar penned more than hundred poems in support of Hashtnagar peasant struggle, which erupted in 1971. For example, he wrote a story-style account of the events took place at various uprisings. Thus, he applied a realist approach of dastan (story) style of poetry writing. He deployed Misra (a special genre) in order to pay tribute to the heroes and martyrs of *Da Nasafai Jang* (war of Nasafai²) that took place on July 03, 1971 (Khalakyar, 1974). Every martyr is remembered by name along with his cavalry in a separate individual Misra, highlighting a minute observation of every moment. By way of illustrating how the historical context of this uprising have been discussed in his folk-popular style, a short selection is reproduced here with translation;

غور په کيږده عجيبه اوږه بيان
رنگا رنگ ظلمونه کيږي په کسان
چه په حال د کسانانو شي خيږ
دوزخ شوي ورته بنکلي هشتنغر
هشتنغر يوازي نه دي ټول وطن دے
قيضه کرے مريدانو د نکسن دے
اخته شوے په غمونوهر غريب دے
چه ملا ورته وويلے بد نصيب دے
قيضه کرے يو څو تنو ظالمانو
گران دے ځکه پکيني عمر د خوارانو
وواني ربه ستا په کرو دے ځمونږ صبر
انسانان دے په مونږځله کو جبر
دولتمندو شروع کرے ظلم زور دے
هر غريب ئي رنځولے کور په کور دے
څوک ئي مر کره چاله ئي سوي دي کورونه

Government's authorities and peasants took place.

² Nasafai is place located Hashtnagar (Charsadda) where militant skirmish between

خايے په خائ ئي لگولي دي اورونه
 ډير دي داسے چه په سپو ئي دي خورلي
 څوك ئي بي گناه جيلونو كښي ترلي
 څو څو مري يئ ويستلي اډيرو نه
 دولت مند كله ويريري ده خيرو نه
 چه يو زخم لتومه بل خوريري
 په ظلمونو ئي لا ظلمونه تازه كيږي
 هر يو ظلم ئي د يو بل نه سيوا دے
 غريب ځكه په په غمونو مبتلا دے
 په هر ظلم كښي شريك دے حكومت
 بے حسابۍ افسران اخلي رشوت
 خان چه درومي حكومت دے ورسره
 كړي كورونه د غريبو غر غره

Trans:

“Listen carefully to this strange story; A variety of cruelties are inflicted on peasants
 Get informed of the plight of peasants;
 The beautiful Hashtnagar turned to hell for them
 Not only Hashtnagar but the whole country; Is occupied by the cronies of Nixon³
 Every poor person is struck by sorrows;
 He whom the Mullah has judged ill-fated
 Occupied by a few tyrants; That’s why life of poor is difficult
 Oh lord, we’re grateful for whatever you destined; Then why are we coerced by humans
 Capitalists have started tyranny and coercion; every poor man is suffering in each home
 Many were killed and others’ homes were burnt; Every nook and corner were torched
 And lot of them were bitten by vicious dogs; And some were falsely imprisoned

Several deceased were dug out of graveyards; The wealthy are unafraid of their curses

Countless atrocities happened everyday; I wonder which one ordeal I should write?

When trying to locate a wound, the other aches; Their tyrannies beget more tyrannies

Every atrocity is crueler than the previous; That’s why the poor is engulfed by sorrows

The government is an accomplice in every atrocity; Countless officers take bribes
 For Khan, ‘the money makes the mayor go’; They wrecked the homes of the poor”

Khalakyar, through his poetry popularized the anti-colonial and anti-imperialists sentiments among his readers and urged them for militant confrontation with the government. Elsewhere in un-divided India the peasant’s struggle had similar nature of anti-imperialist narrative (Singh, 1992). While condemning the involvement of the then Government of military rule Gen. Yahya Khan, he pointed toward the President of United States of America for supporting the Khan (landed elites) and bourgeois interests in Pakistan. Again, in the following selection from Da Nasafai Jang, Drem Mai, 1970 (The War of Nasafai, May 3, 1970), Khalakyar exposed the landed elites and their cruelties, along with the plight of other ethnicities lived in Pakistan, especially Bengalis, who faced the wrath of military rule Gen. Yahya Khan. He lamented all the tyrannies in the following words, by pointing to bad governance with capitalist system.

³ He addressed here President Nixon of US, while challenging the oppression of landed elites.

په غريب سرے لمبے بليري
 په پاکستان د جهنم گمان کوينه
 دريم تاريخ د جولائي سن يو اويو وؤ
 حکومت په دغه وحت کبني د يحي وؤ
 په بنگال کبني شروع شوے قتل عام وؤ
 ورور د ورور وينے ته ترے د اسلام وؤ
 د دولت او اقتدار دپاره جنگ وؤ
 هلته دلته په غريبو جهان تنگ وؤ
 دبنمنان دي په شريکه د غريب
 که يحي وؤ، که اندرا ده، که مجيب
 بنگال پريرده چه پرے سرے لمبے بليري
 انگولا د نا صافي مي نه هيرييري
 تحصيلدار په دغه ورخ وختي سحر
 نا صافي کلي ته اوليگو خبر
 بے دخلي به ستا سو کيري دا زمان
 نور مو نه پريردي دا حکم دے د خان
 کسانان چه شو د دے نه خبردار
 لکه اوشي چه په چا د بم گزار
 هغه دم شولو راجمع مشران
 تحصيلدا په سے ورخي کوي پرسان
 افسران هم وؤ د خان سره موجود
 راغوبنتلے په سازش دغه نمرود وؤ
 مشينونه لکيدلے دي چا پيره
 نا صافي ده دا پوليس په مينخ کبني گيره
 آئي جي شفيع الله کمان افسر وؤ
 قتل عام له د غريبو مقرر وؤ
 قيل عام پسے راغله د کسان دے
 چه پخپله هم د دغه سيمے خان دے
 دلته جمع د سرحد واره خانان هم
 ورسره وؤ په زرگونو غونده گان هم
 اے سي هم وؤ، ورسره افسر مال
 په رشوت وؤ ماره کري، خان دجال
 تقسيم شوي وؤ، په ټولو دولتونه
 ماتيدل به د شرابو بوتلونه
 کسانان ورته کوي زاري منت
 خدائي دپاره غوارو خو ورخے مهلت
 سمدستي به گرزو چرته در په در
 ماشومان بچي خمونر به شي نهر
 خوک مو نه پريردي که لار شو بل وطن ته
 دي راوري مو سرونه ستا لمن ته
 بل ده سر سورے مو نشته دے جهان کبني
 يو مو تاسو نه پريردي په پاکستان کبني
 ادا منت کوؤ لالا سيف الرحمان
 په غصه ورته راپورته شو خانان

Trans.

The poor are burning in red hot flames;
 Pakistan is as a hell for them

The 3rd of July 1971 was the date; At the
 time Yahya governed the state
 Ruthless atrocities began in Bengal;
 Muslims were thirsty for brothers'

blood
 The infighting was for rule and wealth;
 Everywhere the world shrank for the

poor
 All enemies have conspired against the
 poor; Whether Yahya, Indira or Mujeeb
 Leave Bengal, burning in red flames;
 unforgettable too is the mourning of

Nasafai
 Early that morning the tehsildar: Sent a
 message to the village of Nasafai

This time you will face eviction; They
 won't let you be; this is the order of the

khan
 When the peasants received this; It felt

like a bomb had exploded on them
 The elders gathered immediately; Thy
 proceed towards Tehsildar to question

him
 All officers were present with the Khan;
 They were called by this Nimrud to

conspire
 Machine guns were installed around the
 premises; Nasafai was besieged by

policemen
 I. G. Shafiullah was commanding
 officer; Was brought to kill the poor

mercilessly
 He came to shoot them with no second
 thought; He himself was a Khan of the

region
 All Khans of Sarhad were gathered there;
 They had thousands of goons with them
 A. C. was present alongside the revenue
 officer; Both lavishly bribed by Dajjal's

Khan
 The riches were distributed amongst
 them; The wine bottles were uncorked
 Peasants were on their knees, pleading;
 For God's sake grant an extension for

few days
 Where will we be, wandering without
 homes; Our young children will starve

No one will let us relocate in another land; We have bowed our heads at your feet

There is no other shelter for us in this world; And you don't let us live in Pakistan

This was also pleaded by Lala Saif-ur Rehman. (Salim, 1980)

The political instability in East Pakistan (Bengal), which resulted into the disintegration of Pakistan has been reflected in the above poem. The leftist political parties in East Pakistan, were already in conflict with the then military government in center (Ruud, 1994). The military operation of 1971 followed by a full-scale war between India and Pakistan, is equated with the eviction war at Hashtnagar (Charsadda) in a poetic expression. Khalakyar therefore described the situation of peasants during the war of Nasafai in another poem, which is reproduced with translation;

ستا دظلمونو حساب نشته
د حده ډير دي زه به كوم كوم يادومه
خومره سوي دي كورونه په شاهي كښه
كربلا ده جوړه شوي ناصافي كښه
ناصافي د كلي نوم د هشتنغر كښه
مند ني سره نژدي راځي نظر كښه
دهغه كله د پيرو نه دي اباد
د زرو زرو سپين گيرو نشي ياد
په دي ملك چه قبضه اوكره فيرنگانو
پالشونه به كول ورله خانانو
خان كوله د وطن څه غداري
انگريز وركړله انعام خان بهادري
د انگريز سره ملگري شو تو ډيان
پس له هغه شو د زمكو مالكان
په باقي اولس يي او ترو قلنگ
ملا تر به ورسره وو د فيرننگ
د ټول ملك په رنگه اوشوه هشتنغر كښه
زموږ اوختله خان پسې څادر كښه
شمالي هشتنغر هم په دغه رنگ
په تنگي كښه دلا لانو د فيرننگ
خان پسې يي كړله زمكه انتقال
سازشي وو فيرنكي افسر مال
ناصافي شوله د خان غلام خيدر
چه ئي خوري خان عبدالاكبر
د انگريز څادر شو پاته مسلمان ته

وراثت كښه حواله شو پاکستان ته
پاکستان جوړ شو په وينو د غريب
خوشالي ئي پكښه نه شوله نصيب
چا چي كرو د پاکستان مخالفت
نن هغه دي واكدار د حكومت
ټول وطن دے د يوئې طبقه په لاس
د غريب ژړا كڼله شي بكواس
يووي خان بل وي منصف په عدالت كښه
كمانډر وي بل وزير وي حكومت كښه
داسه حال كښه چا سره كيږي انصاف
د غريب چغه قانون نه ده خلاف

Trans:

Your atrocities are countless
It has crossed boundaries; which one should
I remember
So many homes had burnt in Shahi
It is a state of Karbala in Nasafi
Nasafi is the name of a village in Hashtnagar
It is adjacent to Mandani in view
The village is inhabited for generations
Even White bearded Old men do not
remember
At times when British captured this country
The Khans would flatter them
These Khans were mutinous (traitor)
towards the homeland
And the British bestowed upon the title of
Khan-Bahadur
The flatterers became friends with the
British
So, they became the land owner
So, they coerced taxes on the masses
While they were supported by the British
In all the country the same has happened as
it does in Hashtnagar
And the lands were transferred to Khan in
cotton latta (patwar map)
The North-Hashtnagar met the same fate
Like the agents of British in Tangi
They transferred land into their names
The British revenue officer was a
conspirator
Nasafi was granted to Ghulam Haider
And today is consumed by Khan Abdul
Akbar
The British latta (patwar map) was left to the
Muslims

Handed over to Pakistan as an heirloom
(inheritance)
On the blood of the poor, Pakistan came into
being
And they were not destined to prosper
Those who opposed Pakistan...
They reign the government today
The whole county is in the hands of a single
class
The hues and cries of the poor are
considered nonsense
One is the Khan and the other is the Judge in
the courtroom
One is commander and the other is the
Minister in the Government
In such a state who can expect justice to be
done
Is the yearn of the poor stands against the
law?

The above poem is an example of proletarian poetry, which had described class struggle in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In line with Marxist ideology, Khalakyar dubbed modern state system as a tool of exploitation where state institutions support bourgeois class in their conflict with working class. In order to destabilize the capitalist system, Khalakyar propelled the idea of socialist transformation of state and society in Pakistan (Bangash, 1972). He wrote another poem Inqilab (Revolution) to provoke the peasants of Hashtnagar as well as the working classes across the country. Couplets from this poem are reproduced with translation;

غريبه پاسه په وطن کښي انقلاب راوله
تاريخ بدل کره په تاريخ کښي نوے باب راله
طبقاتي فرق امتياز نه معاشره پاکه کره
خا تمه ملک کښي د غريب او خان نواب راوله
چه درے ورے شي مانري د عيش پرستود عيش
په عيش کدو ورله د سرو وینو سيلاب راوله
يوم الخشر ته ئے پرے نه برده انتقام ترے واخله
په ظالمانو په دنيا يوم الحساب راوله

تر څو به عمر تيروني د قصا بانوپه کور
د سامراجانو شپې په غولي د قصاب راوله
تر څو به اوچے شونډے گرزي غم زپلے جسه
په ځان ځواني په ځان بهار په ځان شباب راوله
ستا د طاقت مقابله هيڅوک کولے نه شي
د انقلاب په چغه پاسه انقلاب راوله

Trans:

Rise up and bring revolution to the
country, Oh poor ones!
Change history by bringing a new
chapter in it
Cleanse society of class
discrimination and inequalities
Eliminate poverty, Khans, and
nawabs from the country
Let the palaces of the decadents and
lavish life be crushed
Take your revenge and don't leave it
to the day of judgment
Impose the day of judgment on the
oppressors today
For how long will you survive in the
butcher's den
At night bring your own butchers to
the face of the imperialists
For how long will you wander with
dried lips and grief ridden bodies
Bring youth, spring, and exuberance
in yourself
Nobody can compete with your
power
Rise with the cry of revolution and bring
revolution"

Khalakyar was very upset to notice the covert and overt support of religious institution in Pakistan for United States of America against the spreading of socialist movement. Therefore, he urged the working class for a bloody revolution to take revenge from Khans (landed elites) in this world⁴.

⁴ The Islamists in Pakistan were trying to convince the poor peasants that rich and poor classes were created by God and that HE will punish the landed elites in life hereinafter. These religious leaders

who were under the influence of propaganda campaign of US, were justifying in their sermons, the existing social and economic inequalities, and un-lawful distribution of wealth as God's will.

Thus, Khalakyar devoted a full poem to explain that the cause of their poverty is not a matter of fate or any fixed religious rules but rather the oppressive tools of exploitation and social injustice committed by the landed elites and wealthy class of Pakistan. According to vision, the elite class backed by religious institutions, were causing hurdles in the way of socialist revolution. Therefore, he targeted these capitalist classes along with US President, Nixon in his poem, 'To Nixon,' which is reproduced here for illustration. It also shows an eagerness to link peasant struggles in Pakistan to the struggles not only of those affected by the US's war in Vietnam but also to its suppression of black socialist activists in the US, another part of what Sohail Daulatzai has called the socialist 'Muslim International' tied together in critique of US imperialism (Johnson, 2013):

سپينه ما نري په خپلو وينو رنگينه وينه
د وايټ هائوس واشنگټن نکسنه تا ته وائم
ناست په مانري کبني د نري تقدير په لاس کڼري
لاس به دي غوڅ شي بدچلن نکسنه تا ته وائم
تا چه کوم اوور دے لگولے د ويټ نام په زمکه
لمبه پرے وينه خپل وطن نکسنه تا ته وائم
نور د ويټ نام په مظلومانو خپل غاښ مه اوباسه
شکست خورده، مختورن نکسنه تاته وائم
د لوتهر کنگ د قتل داغ دي په تندي بنکاريږي
د عالمي امن دشمن نکسنه تا ته وائم
سپن پوستو تا سو په تور پوستو چه ظلمونه کوي
زرونه مو تور دي سپين نکسنه تا ته وائم
يوه وعده اوبنايه تا چه پرے وفا کڼري وي
وعده خلاف وعده شکن نکسنه تاته وائم
دشمن د امن بي؛ په خله نعرے د امن وهي
اے منافق او دروغزن نکسنه تا ته وائم

Trans:

See soon the White House, painted
with your blood
Oh! Nixon of the White House and
Washington, I am telling you

Sitting in the White House, you
assumed the whole world was in
your hand
Your hands will be amputated, you
characterless Nixon, I am telling
you
The fire you have started in the land
of Vietnam
Will make you see your country in
flames, Oh Nixon I am telling you
Don't bare your teeth anymore at
the oppressed of Vietnam
Defeated and disgraced Nixon, I am telling
you
The stain of Martin Luther King's murder
shows on your face
Oh! The enemy of world's peace, I am
telling you
Oh! You white skinned masters, when you
oppress the black skinned
Your hearts are black (dark) in white bodies,
Oh! Nixon I am telling you
Recall even one promise that you have
fulfilled
Oh! Promise breacher Nixon, I am telling you
You are an enemy of peace, while you
yourself speak for peace
Oh! Liar and hypocrite Nixon, I am telling
you

Khalakyar had targeted in his poetry Khan (landed elite of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Wadeera (Landlord in Sindh) and Chaudhry (in Punjab) as the main culprits, who suck the blood of working class. They were equally held responsible for all filth and bad governance in Pakistan. He, therefore, wrote 'Da Khwarikah Ulas Tarana' (The anthem of the nation of hard workers), in order to wake up the peasants and workers;

جوړ ځمونږ په وينو دے
دا نه دے د خان وطن
دا دے د مزدور وطن

دا دے د کسان وطن
 مونږ وژلے ځان پکښي
 نه منمه خان پکښي
 د غه دشمنان پکښي
 نه دي وي طبقے پکښي
 دا دے د انسان وطن
 مونږه ازادي غوارو
 دلته ابادي غوارو
 هرچا له بنا دي غوارو
 راج کښي د مزدور کسان
 شي به گلستان وطن
 شي دي اولس راج پکښي
 نه غوارو سامراج پکښي
 نه دا بد سماج پکښي
 نن موقع راغله ده
 غواري انقلاب وطن
 نن وطن جواب غواري
 ستا نه انقلاب غواري
 ختم خان نواب غواري
 لوت ته م نور مه پريرده
 دا لري ارمان وطن
 دا دے د برگر وطن
 دا د حسن ناصر وطن
 دا د صنوبر وطن

Trans:

Built on our blood; This is not the khan's
 homeland
 This is the worker's homeland; This is the
 peasant's homeland
 For it, we've sacrificed our lives; We do not
 recognize khans in it; nor these enemies
 No classes should exist in it; This is the
 homeland of humans
 We want freedom; we want prosperity here;
 We wish happiness for everyone
 In the reins of workers and peasants; This
 homeland will turn into gardens
 Let it be ruled by the proletariat; we don't
 want imperialist, perverted society here

Today the opportunity has arisen; and the
 country demands a test of loyalty

The homeland seeks answer today;
 demanding revolution; and to destroy Khan-
 Nawab

Don't let me be plundered anymore; this is
 what the homeland yearns

This is farmer's homeland; homeland of Hassan
 Nasir; This is Sanubar's homeland

What sort of state system did
 Khalakyar wish to see? Pakistan is a multi-
 cultural and multi-lingual country with a
 parliamentary form of government up until
 1970, but any federal character was missing in
 its constitutions. Khalakyar was not satisfied
 with the prevailing idea under the PPP of weak
 federated units and demanded a federal form of
 governance after socialist revolution for the
 protection of the rights and interests of weak
 ethnicities and provinces. The protection of
 regions would only be secured when their
 workers banded together in class solidarity.
 Therefore he penned a poem on the theme
 Tabaqati Shaoar (Class-Consciousness),
 several couplets of which are reproduced here:

نه يم پنجابې، سندھے، بلوچ او نه افغان يمہ
 زه مزدور کسان يمہ زه مزدور کسان يمہ
 څومره خواري کښ چه دي
 ژبه د محنت څمونږ
 خپله ورورولي کوو
 نسل اخوت څمونږ
 دؤ د چا په لمسه به
 يو بل نه نفرت څمونږ
 هميشه لوتلی وديره، چوهدري او خان يمہ
 زه مزدور کسان يمہ زه مزدور کسان يمہ
 يو خوا د پښتون په نوم
 خان صاحب لوتلي يو
 بل خوا پنجابي چوهدري
 ټول عمر خوړلي يو
 سندھ کښې وديره ظالم ظلم ته ترلي يو
 هلته بلوچي سردار وژلے هر زمان يمہ
 زه مزدور کسان يمہ زه مزدور کسان يمہ
 وينم دشمنان د سردعوه د ورور ولي کوي
 څوک د سټيچ دپاسه شي
 دانسونه قوالی کوي
 کلب کښي د غريب په سر

يو خائے شي بولئ کوي
 خکه پوهيدلے د دے ٽولو په ايمان بيمه
 زه مزدور کسان بيمه زه مزدور کسان بيمه
 مونر سره دھوکه کوي
 خي خپلے طبقے پسے
 خان گرخي موٽرو کبني
 مونره يو قلبے پسے
 خوک د پولاوونه خوري
 خوک گوٽي شومبلے پسے
 دا که د انسان دے ربه زه د هم انسان بيمه
 زه مزدور کسان بيمه زه مزدور کسان بيمه
 نورے د سامراج ورخے
 ختم په دنيا کبني دي
 هلته امريکه يورپ
 دلته په ايشيا کبني دي
 خنگه وو، ويت نام پرون
 نن په کمبوديا کبني دي
 ماته انقلاب اوئے تاله در روان بيمه
 زه مزدور کسان بيمه زه مزدور کسان بيمه

Trans.

I am neither Punjabi, Sindhi, nor Baluch and
 neither am I an Afghan
 I am worker and peasant; I am worker and
 peasant
 All of us are hard workers, we have the
 language of hard work
 We are adhering to brotherhood; unity is our
 race
 They, on the instigation of others; are
 spreading hate among each other of us
 I am always pillaged by feudals, landlords
 and Khans

On one side, the so-called Pashtun Khan
 sahib has plundered us
 On the other side, the Punjabi Chaudhry has
 consumed us our whole lives
 In Sindh the tyrant Wadera; enslaved us
 through oppression
 Over there, the Baluch Sardar has murdered
 us continually
 I see the enemies of my life claim the values
 of brotherhood

Some get up on the stage and dance
 with Qawalli
 They gather in their clubs and place
 wagers on the heads of the poor
 That's how I have understood the
 faithfulness of all of them

They deceive us and follow their
 own class

The khan travels in cars, while we
 plough with bulls

Some feast on lavish furnishings;
 while others can only drink
 buttermilk

While they are your humans, oh
 lord Well I am your human too

Your chants are false; I have
 understood its meaning

Your became an imperialist race; we
 will become one clan

We will stick in your throat just like
 the thorn of a fish

I adore the poor and there is
 thunderstorm in the sky for the
 Khan

The days of imperialism; are over in
 all the world

There in America and Europe; Here
 in Asia too

How it was Vietnam yesterday; and
 today in Cambodia

Khalakyar in this poem explained his
 party line on the question of nationalities in
 Pakistan as MKP envisioned struggle for
 working class, irrespective of language, race, or
 ethnicities. Rather he has specifically rejected
 the notion of division on the basis language, and
 ethnicities. This is how he mobilized the
 working class by his proletariat poetry by
 making them believe that their struggle will end
 the long years of imperial and colonial rule in
 Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

Analyzing the selected proletariat poetry of Master Sultan Mohammad Khalakyar, with reference to socialist realism, and relevance with proletariat poets of Soviet Russia, it can be concluded that the form and content of Pashtu poetry was highly impacted by the literature developed in post-October Bolshevik revolution in Russia. These selected proletariat poems depict socialist realism in its discourse. Khalakyar himself, was member of MKP and he carried forward the mission of his party with outmost sincerity. Although according to constitution of the MKP (Ishaq, 1971), his major works were in line with party policy and its manifesto for bringing a people' revolution; while others iterated the more

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- Ayaz, M., & Ali, Fayyaz Noorul, A. (2023). Exploring Syed Sher Ali Bacha ' s Impact on Politics and Progressive Literature as Marxist Leader , Writer , and Poet in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. VFAST radical Maoist tendency of targeted violence as a way of offsetting this agency onto the mass. However, it is also clear from the study so far that Syed Sher Ali Bacha, Secretary General of MKP, who himself was a poet and progressive literary figure (Salim Raz), laid the foundation of proletariat poetry in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The proletariat poetry of Khalakyar, Syed ul Abrar Ghar, and others progressive poets of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, are the continuation of Sher Ali efforts. These contributions show the effects of the MKP organization's channeling of peasant discontent into, at the same time, specific internationalized vocabularies and violent local tactics. Whether this was driven more by peasant initiative or by party policy is unclear and it is likely to remain so, considering the sensitivity of such questions even now.
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