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### From Radical Resistance to Political Institutionalization: the Evolution of the Mazdoor Kissan Movement in Hashtnagar

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**Abstract:** This research explores the evolution, socio-economic factors, and institutionalization of peasant movements in Pakistan, with a specific focus on the Mazdoor Kissan Movement (MKM) in the Hashtnagar region of Charsadda. Drawing on historical analysis, the sources presented describes the transition of the peasantry from a marginalized, submissive class into an organized political movement through the Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP), established in 1968 after it splintered from the National Awami Party (NAP). The study explains the roots of systemic exploitation in the British colonial land tenure systems, such as the Zamindari and Ryotwari, which established a middle man role that oppressed the "Ryots" (tenants). Central to this analysis is the role of modernization—that includes the introduction of canal irrigation system and mechanization of agriculture—intensifying landlord-tenant conflicts and leading to an "indelible era of oppression". By synthesizing theoretical perspectives on peasant resistance, the research argues that addressing agrarian grievances is essential for ensuring national food security and impeding the infiltration of radical ideologies in rural areas.

### Introduction

Pakistan is inherently an agricultural country, where socio-political stability is linked to the welfare of the rural population. Consequently, resistance within the agricultural sector possess a trans-regional character, as evidenced by recent protests in regions of Okara in Punjab and few hamlets in Sindh and Balochistan. This research analyses the triad of social actors defining the agrarian landscape: peasants, agricultural laborers, and landlords.

A fundamental distinction exists between radical and institutionalized movements: a radical peasant movement is a large, unofficial organization aimed at improving social conditions, while an institutionalized movement builds formal structures that guarantee long-term social reforms. Historically, peasants have been portrayed with contradictory identities—ranging from conservative and dependent to innovative and self-aware. Despite being at the lower strata of the society, peasantry has launched resistance movements to flourish as a distinct political identity, creating a venue for collective resistance against the dominancy of the landed aristocracy.

The contemporary grievances of Pakistani peasants are rooted in British colonialism, which restructured land ownership for tax collection. However, by encouraging, Zamindari (feudalism) and Ryotwari (non-landowner), the British created a class of middlemen who were able to exploit tenants at will which intensified by Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, who implemented revenue schemes that drained local resources and incentivized short-term profit over long-term agricultural stability. In regions such as Hashtnagar, the legacy of oppression evolved into a struggle against the feudal domination.

### **Conceptualizing three Groups: Peasants, Agricultural Laborers, and the Landlords**

Peasant movements differ significantly from communal movements in important ways (Dhanagare, 1983). A radical peasant movement is a sizable, unofficial organization whose primary goal is to improve the lives and social standing of peasants. As opposed to this, an "institutionalized peasant movement" is one in which a recognized body establishes a formal institution to guarantee a long-lasting shift in the preferred institutional course of action of society. Since the dawn of time, scholars have observed that peasant movements have not caused enormous commotions; nonetheless, one movement may gradually grow into a larger one through the process of transition. The process of these movements' growth and institutionalization from radical to institutional has an impact on their overall identity and the community (Singh Roy, 2004). Peasants have been noted to have contradictory social identities throughout history. They have been described as being extremely conventional or conservative, recalcitrant, or reliant on the upper class, on the one hand. On the other side, they have also been positively portrayed by claiming to be innovative, forward-thinking, and even self-aware in nature. Indeed, the economic structures and sociopolitical shifts that mold the societies of these peasants are to blame for the emergence of these contradictions. Scholars have aggressively drawn attention to the underdog, ignored, and submissive status of peasants in human civilization despite these discrepancies. Due to their status as those who are at the bottom of the social and economic ladder as well as their marginal status in the political arena of society, peasants have always been able to accept the harsh kinds of oppression and degradation that are practiced in society. In the Indian context, the peasantry represents the socially disadvantaged, including lower social castes, women, landless farmworkers, unskilled craftspeople, and even tiny farmers. In India, some peasants are seeking to change their social position quickly, but their economic and social oppression persists, thus they have been steadfastly working to build resistance to that oppression. Their involvement in peasant movements has been one of the characteristics of this struggle. The peasants are now flourished the political identity and a venue for coordinating collective resistance against oppression and tyranny by the superior thanks to peasant movements (Shah, 2004). The distinction between rural and urban areas has become less distinct as non-agricultural economic activity has grown there. Similar to this, the rural peasantry has seen significant changes in both composition and class. Those who still rely on agriculture can be distinguished based on their connection to landownership. These people are referred to as "Kisan" or "Kheduts" in the regional language. For convenience, the term "kisan" is frequently rendered as "peasant" in scholarly writing. Various authors, or the same author in various studies, use the term "peasant" in different ways. Additionally, term is used for homogenous agriculturalists who have small estates run primarily by family labor. On the other side, it includes people who are dependent on the land, such as laborers who are not owned by anybody and managerial agriculturists. In India today, an agricultural laborer is often no longer beholden to the same master. As they were in pre-capitalist agriculture throughout the colonial and pre-colonial centuries. The great majority of workers in capitalist agriculture are not bonded or connected. Agriculture workers have become progressively proletarianized over the past few decades, becoming more dependent on wage labor while losing the

non-economic relationships with their employers that governed the conditions of their work and life (Kannan, 1998). The affluent nobility was primarily what the term "Zamindar" meant, but over the nineteenth century, it came to imply something else. It stood for the middlemen who helped the British collect taxes for which they were compensated handsomely. As a result, they were also known as "middlemen." The East India Company was forced to rely significantly on native agents who had close ties to the populace at large immediately following the conquest. As a result, the need for establishing a cadre of zamindars arose. The scheme enabled the British to retain some of the deceased poligars, killadars, and powerful chieftains in their administration and to reward the obedient workers under the zamindary or permanent revenue settlement. While the amount to be collected as tax from the roots was not predetermined, the zamindar's payment to the government treasury was. As a result, the Zamindars took advantage of the Ryots at will and without cause (Parameswari, 2016).

The British created the zamindari (feudal lord) and ryotwari lands assessment systems when they invaded and occupied sections during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in India (non-landowner). Land rights and taxes were given to landlords in the zamindari districts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, focus region, and some parts of Madras. In these areas, non-native landowners frequently asserted their ownership of various towns and established extensive bureaucratic organizations to supervise and employ native villagers to produce the land under sharecropping or wage agreements. In contrast, taxes on land and property rights were granted to certain villages in Assam, Bombay, and Madras or an entire town under the Mahalwari framework in some portions of Punjab in the ryotwari regions. Local landowners in these areas either farmed their specific plots of land or employed people from low castes through sharecropping or salary agreements (Spence, Annez & Buckley, 2009). Many political innovators and academics dedicated themselves to improving working-class circumstances in the 20th century. The peasants' struggles were championed by Satyagraha and N. G. Ranga. The goal of N.G. Ranga's life was to destroy the zamindari system, therefore he implanted anti-zamindari feelings in the minds of peasants through his speeches, compositions, and other activities. He started the peasants' foundations in different areas of Tamil Nadu to instruct people. He directed the actions of many peasants, which led to countless arrests. In several regions of the country, peasants organized walks during which they demanded that the zamindari structure be abolished (Parameswari, 2016). After the mid-1970s, significant research on 19 peasants' movements was conducted. Western political sociologists and anthropologists began studying peasants' movements in response to the Chinese rebellion and the pattern of agrarian changes in Latin American nations (Wolf, 1966). Such clever provocation and the Naxalite Movement in the late 1960s both contributed to India's inspiration for researchers to look into various peasants' movements. The peasants and the business elite were responsible for the capitalist revolutions in England and France. Similar to how failed capitalist revolutions resulted in one-party dictatorship in Germany and Italy, socialist revolutions were brought about by the peasants in Russia and China. However, the peasant movement in India did not result in any appreciable societal change (Moore, 1993). The British Empire in India enacted a number of political and economic reforms, but they left the land revenue system alone in order to easily administer the nation. They marketed non-cultivators as intermediaries or agents (Aghion, 2008; Baden-Powell, 1894). It is widely known that under Clive's direction, British exploitation of Indian farmers increased significantly. He indecently started to drain Indian resources like money, property, and agricultural output (Chandra, 1966). Hastings, the governor-general of India, played a key role in the growth of British mediation in that country (1773-85). By putting in place a framework and system of organized, codified criminal and civil courts, he strengthened British power. For 20 peasants, Hastings established a

new land revenue scheme (Blyn, 1966). For a period of less than six years, the highest bidders were granted the right to profit from the land. Hastings' vision, however, has been criticized for being conventional and unsatisfactory. Famous physiocrat Phillip Francis argued that leasing agricultural property for a brief time reduces agricultural output and also causes local residents to live in poverty. Francis believed that because ranchers sought revenue rights for a specific period of time, they lacked the strongest incentives to contribute to long-term agricultural planning. Governor-general Cornwallis (1786–1793) was influenced by Francis' ideas, and he established the zamindari structure for the collection of land income. Francis and Cornwallis assigned tax collection and property to the zamindars because they believed that only they had the knowledge, resources, and motives necessary to establish Indian farming (Bowen et al, 2002; Baden-powell, 1972; Banerjee et al, 2005; Crook, 1933). The International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP), a global association of agriculturalists, hosted a symposium on strategic investigation in Moons, Belgium in 1993 that brought together agricultural pioneers from all over the world. The summit led to the creation of the global peasant movement, La Via Campesina. The emergence of a global Farmers league led by peasants was considerably different from the traditional alliances, which were often run by NGO's. The "La Via Campesina" includes national organizations made up of people from various socioeconomic backgrounds. The Moon's Declaration proclaimed three rights: the right to receive nutritious food, the right of nations to determine their agricultural policy, and the right of small farmers to live comfortably in the countryside (Edelman, 2013). Fortunately, as a result of the movement, small farmers can now settle in the hamlets without restriction, enjoy a healthy diet, and create their own unique agrarian policies (Desmarais 2007). How to describe peasants has a complicated history. Henry Bernstein, arguing from a Marxist perspective, claimed that the term "peasants" was only useful when referring to pre-industrial societies made up of small-scale family farmers (Henry, 2010). Anthony Leeds, an anthropologist, criticized academics who used the term "peasant," saying it was "a folk phrase imported into sociology" and lacked "any precision at all." He claimed that the idea mixed together "persons" and "roles." Furthermore, he observed that peasants frequently changed between a variety of jobs, including wage laborers, squatters, job contractors, and urban service workers. While remaining consistent with the word "peasant," other academics remarked that the rural poor engaged in "occupational multiplicity" (Comitas, 1973). The peasantry was not given any radical figures by Karl Marx. Lenin gave the peasants certain bold tasks to complete, but Mao Tse-tung made use of their skills throughout the Chinese Revolution. Eric R. Wolf studied the peasants' conflicts in Russia, China, and Mexico and concluded that the societal change brought about by the peasants was highly valuable. In his study of peasants' movements in Asia, Donald S. Sagona makes the assumption that factors such as high profitability, land scarcity, crops that need hard labor, inexpensive labor, and population growth provided a wonderful feeding environment for peasants' desire towards revolution (Kulidip, 2015). The findings of Wolf are supported by James C. Scott's examination of peasant uprisings in Indo-China and Burma. Additionally, he advised peasants to become radical because landlords showed no interest in modernizing agriculture. The relationship between peasants and landowners affects Jeffrey M. Page's understanding of the peasants' movements. The peasants will rebel if the agricultural yield is low and the landlords have a harsh attitude (Scott 2013). According to K.C. Alexander, the following factors contribute to peasant movements: 1. The expansions of the peasants are brought on by their worsening financial circumstances. 2. Provocation from a radical group. 3. Upon realizing that the current system of landlord exploitation of peasants is illegitimate (Alexander, 1981). Peasant uprisings are grouped by Kathleen Gouch according to their goals, underlying assumptions, and methods of association. She mentioned that there were five

different types of peasant uprisings: 1. Revolutions to expel the British and reinstate previous leaders and social norms 2. Activities aimed at bringing a particular faith back to life in a given location. 3. Social wrongdoing 4. Terrorism with a predetermined goal 5. Popular uprisings to end injustice and exploitation (Gough and Sharma, 1973). This categorization is primarily based on the revolt's goals, although the peasants' strategies are disregarded. Ranjit Guha examines the rebellion of the peasants following their ethnic consciousness. He illustrates communication, cohesiveness, and other concepts. According to Hamza Alvi, Compared to other working classes, the middle class is more financially emancipated and equipped to take a radical stance. They are dependent on landlords, he claims, because, poor farmers are initially the least aggressive class. According to Hamza Alvi, under certain conditions, when animosity toward landlords grows, the peasants' self-confidence increases, and they become rationally and materially organized to engage in a decisive conflict (Ghulam and Anwaar, 2014).

#### **Historical background of Mazdoor Kissan Movement**

The British imperialism strengthened and organized the feudal system to strengthen its rule on the land of the subcontinent. Those who were loyal to the British and enemies of the interests of their people, it was easy for them to buy their loyalties. Large estates continue to be acquired. After the division of the subcontinent, the landlords took big estates and different titles and started settling the poor, helpless and helpless people on them for the purpose of farming. By working hard on these estates, they used to earn 2 meals a day for their children. The mood of the people who worked at the tables of the British had also become like theirs. These feudal lords forced the poor and destitute people into slavery for the lure of labor.

Farmers' movement in North Hashtnagar of Charsadda district is considered to be the voice of humanity against the feudal system. It used to be about 120,000 kanals. It was not enough for these landlords and nobles to handle such large estates, so they called the poor and needy people to work in the nearby areas for the purpose of farming. In the beginning, these needy people were treated a little better, but gradually these feudal lords started to show their true nature and disguised themselves as wolf-like human beings hiding in the clothes of nobility and broke mountains of cruelty and barbarity on these farmers. The practice of inhumane treatment became common. Men were confined to the fields and started taking work from their women and children in the houses and the talk stopped on the dignity of the farmers. The evil eyes of these feudal lords created by the British started to focus on the women of the farmers and even the women of Hashtnagar did not refrain from touching the women of the farmers. Instead, the practice of working continuously for 12 to 18 hours was common. The children of landlords and nobles continued to study in big schools and colleges, while the children of farmers were forced to do hard work. The doors of education were closed on these children so that no child would start sitting on with them after getting education. Therefore, these farmers who were bound in the chains of slavery were forced to live a life of slavery and were always unable to break the chains of slavery. Those who worked on a feudal land were only given grain for food and drink, while most of it was delivered to the warehouses of these women. If the Farmer demanded justice from Khan, his eviction was certain, and other farmers were given the opportunity to work in his place, because the British had distributed most of the land to them in exchange for espionage and information among the Jagirdars, Vaders and Khawaneen (landlords/feudal lords). They inherited oppression and brutality from their masters. And in this way, these agents of the British made life difficult for the poor farmers and treated them in such a way that it made humanity cringe to see them. This series has remained the same since then. Tools of this struggle consist of:

- i) Violence means taking extreme steps to get your point across at any cost.
- ii) Condemn: Means to consider an action as bad Resistance Taking measures to protect oneself from one's opponent for self-defense. If there is a threat of life or threat of finance from the opponent and there is a possibility of being attacked, then taking a defensive position for protection. If seen from a political point of view, the right Going out on the streets, going on strike, protesting.
- iii) Armed struggle: means fighting and fighting for one's right by taking the path of two-sided war.

### **1-The Genesis of Kissan Movement in Hashtnagar (Tehsil Tangi)**

Thousands of acres of land in Charsadda and its adjoining areas were barren and desolate. Growing crops on these lands was not only a very difficult task, but bringing them under cultivation was considered the most difficult task. There was more dependence on rain, but despite this, cultivation was not possible on most of the lands. The situation was that if the owner of the land found someone to cultivate those lands, his relatives and friends used to come to congratulate him. Khan's house used to have a feast like Eid. This makes one thing clear that due to the large number of lands, it was difficult for the owners to manage them. And it was impossible for the Khans to settle them, so most of the areas were deserted.

Times and circumstances changed. With the arrival of canal water, the destiny of these areas started to change. With the arrival of water, new crops began to grow. The people who had more land, they themselves adopted the path of feudalism and achieved good development. As a result, these people (Mohamand, Malizi and Afridi) bought lands from the Khawaneen (landlords). Instead of cultivating the land themselves, these people started cultivating it with farm laborers.

With the advent of tractors and other agricultural implements, the situation changed completely, now the Khawaneen started cultivating their own land or giving it to farmers at high prices. As progress came and people's living conditions changed, quarrels and evictions began to take place, thus starting an indelible era of oppression and persecution. Started which was not possible for farmers. In 1948, circumstances forced the peasants to take the path of rebellion, refusing to give their share to the Khans. The Khan was stubborn and the peasants were fed up with their helplessness and constraints. These disputes took the form of a movement. The movement was badly crushed by the Khans with their cruelty and brutality as well as with the help of the government. The scope of this movement was specific to a limited area and its effects on the nearby areas, was not significant, but even if it raised its head to some extent Among the leading people of this movement were Ziarat Gul Lala, Abdul Sattar Safi, Faridullah, Aulis Mir and Yakub Kaka and many other colleagues. The farmers were defeated in this movement and thus the endless series of evictions began.

After crushing the movement and defeating the farmers and evictions, the Khwaneen (landlords) took the help of the farm laborers to cultivate the land themselves and thus the movement gave birth to the farm labor class as a result of this movement, the farm laborers emerged. They used to give labor from crop to crop. The Khawaneen (landlords) continued to persecute them and demanded advance money and other concessions from them. The farmers, laborers and shopkeepers had no associations or organizations of their own and they did not dare to speak before the Khan. They considered Khan to be a person revealed by Allah. They lacked awareness due to lack of education. Due to poverty and helplessness, the laborer himself became the enemy of his labor brother and he was ready to do anything to get the land. The beginning of the peasant movement against oppression and brutality came into existence due to the emergence of these conditions.

The conditions in the world changed rapidly and revolutions took place by opening the paths of education and awareness and its effects were seen here as well. By adopting a new form, it opened the way for organization. The hope of fighting for their rights was awakened among the farmers. Besides evicting the farmers, the Khawaneen (landlords) started setting fire to their houses and other properties. In response, the farmers started burning their tractors and other properties. It was not possible to crush the movements anymore and it was enough to settle the matter by sitting together.

## **2-Formation of Mazdoor Kissan Movement**

After the Communist Party of Pakistan was banned, most of the members founded the National Awami Party (NAP) to avoid disintegration and fragmentation. Nationalist forces in the country were also facing various problems and they were also not able to do politics openly. The politics of the left wing was already under criticism. Still, under the leadership of Maulana Bhashani, the ideological politics continued to be defended and the political struggle continued. In the party, nationalists and communists were fighting together. The nationalists were working at their own level in the four provinces. There was no organized voice. However, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Khair Bakhsh Marri, GM Syed, Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, Mahmudul Haq Usmani Sindh, Haider Bakhsh Jatoi, Buzanjo, Attaullah Mengal, Leghari and Bacha Khan from Punjab were working as nationalists under the banner of the National Party.

Khan Abdul Wali Khan at that time was mainly working in the Anjuman as the Supreme Patron of the Anjuman Tahafuz Zamindaran. In this association there were Nawabs and Khawaneen who gathered on a platform to protect their lands. On the one hand, they used to oppress the farmers and force them to live like slaves, on the other hand, they asked the government to forgive them or other government officials. They used this association to grab privileges. From the platform of this association, Wali Khan and his long-time colleagues started their political career by stepping into the National Awami Party. Thus, all the nationalists and communists of Pakistan united and laid the foundation of the National Awami Party. Along with the formation of the Awami Party, the party's district organization Mazdoor Party and Kissan Committees were also formed.

The stories of persecution of peasants by Khawaneen were common. In the war between the oppressor and the oppressed, the ideological members always supported the oppressed and the Kissan Committee was working as a village organization in the party devoted to this spirit. Along with this, the trade union. And to solve the problems of the workers, the Mazdoor movement was also engaged in solving the problems of the workers as a wing. Differences arise between Wali Khan and Maulana Bhashani and end up dividing the party into two parts. And this division limited Bhashani to East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and Wali Khan to continue his political activities in his own National Awami Party in West Pakistan. As such, his inclination was also more towards the protection of women. However, the voice of the workers (Mill Mazdoor) and farmers was also quite strong in his party. Afzal Bangash and his colleagues were considered the voice of the oppressed within NAP, while having contrast with Wali Khan interest with landlords, and this became the basis of the differences between Wali Khan and his progressive colleagues and led to the formation of Mazdoor Kissan Movement. But Khawaneen was on the side of the National Awami Party, the example of the thinking of Anjuman Takhuz Zamindaran and Kisan Committee was like a railway track, which were running side by side, but it was not possible for them to be united in any way, so finally it happened in March 1968, the workers and peasants started their quest to be free from the slavery of Khawaneen forever and finally decided to form their own party.

On May 1, 1968, the Mazdoor Kissan Movement came into existence, and with its existence this movement and its workers created such eternal stories with their sacrifices and struggles in a very short period of time awarded this movement a high position in the whole world.

Even before the creation of Pakistan, the stories of farmers' struggle and oppression of women were common. Even then, sympathetic organizations of farmers existed in one form or another to help and defend the poor farmers. The province consisted of plains. Cultivation was possible in the districts, but in some districts of Swat and Hazara, such as Swat, Dir, Malakand, Haripur Mansehra, Abbottabad, Charsadda, Mardan, Nowshera and Swabi, there were fights and wars between the farmers and the local Khawaneen. In the 1960s, the Kissan movement appeared in full and organized form. In the same period organization paved the way for resolving the Farmers problems by forming Kissan Committees and the system of Kissan Jirgas was introduced to end the problems and conflicts of the farmers. Mazdoor Party and Kissan Committee existed in NAP, so after separation, Mazdoor Kissan Party was founded in 1968 by using their names.

Since the strength of Kissan movement was more in Hashtnagar, its organization was built on more and organized lines and spread to other adjacent areas. Since people were organized against Khawaneen in these areas, the movement became stronger with the involvement of people. The bravery with which the people living in the land of Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP) resisted the oppression of the British, Sikhs and Mughals had an impact on the minds of these farmers, gave them a lot of help and encouraged them to straighten their sides and wage armed struggle against these Khawaneen. That's why they blocked the way of every oppression that was imposed on them in every age.

People like Haji Sahab Tarangzai, Kakaji Sanobar Hussain, Bacha Khan had struggled against the Ferangis (British) in this area, so in the light of these movements, the experiences that the local people had gained in the light of these experiences, the oppression and persecution in different periods crushed by the armed struggle. Here the experiences and feelings came in handy in such movements.

Progressive and left-wing thought played a key role in transforming the anti-imperialist movements into anti-feudal movements, which helped to highlight the status of the peasant movements by organizing them into political struggle. The workers of Mazdoor Kissan Party (movement) sacrificed 108 lives from 1972 to 1977 to intensify the struggle and now the involvement and sympathies of the people increased continuously.

### **3-The origin of Kissan Jirga and Kissan Committee**

Kisan Jirga was before 1968. Jirga is basically the name of solving problems by sitting together with mutual consent and understanding. When the farmers were being oppressed, they usually used their interests and held Jirgas on them for the support of the Khawaneen and resolved their problems, but this was not a permanent solution to any problem, the land became narrow for them due to the support. When the work did not work, the farmers started to unite and thus the farmers' committees were formed to fight the oppression of the Khawaneen in the form of an organized thought and movement so the farmers started to organize and their problems started to be solved to some extent, but the Khawaneen also changed their ways over time and with the help of the police and other institutions of the state, they took the matter to the point of imprisonment and market ties. The committees took the form of a resistance movement and forced the Khawaneen to kneel. This movement took the form of a regular organized organization and gained a new strength by including farm laborers in the ranks of the farmers. Time passed and this movement developed its own in order to strengthen and consolidate the thought, they took a political turn and eventually started a political struggle in the form of Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan movement.

Over time, it was sometimes named Mazdoor Kisan Party of Pakistan and sometimes Mazdoor Kisan Party. This movement gained worldwide fame and thanks to its struggle, the world has come to look at it with respect and honor.

Peasant Committees existed since the time of the National Awami Party, but since there were problems with the farmers in other provinces as well, the problems of leaders and leaders were going on, so the formation of these committees in the rest of the provinces was made as a result of the local objective conditions there. The clear and one policy was to protect the rights of farmers or cultivators.

Kissan Committees were started in 1963 with the name of Khaniwal Kissan Conference but they were not organized enough, and when the problems of farmers were not resolved they formed Kisan Jirga which lasted almost till 1968 then the importance of Jirga started to decrease because Khawaneen considered it as the weakness of the farmers and instead of solving the problems, the farmers started to be harassed by creating new ways of oppression. Therefore, instead of Jirgas, the farmers started organizing and forming farmer committees. After all these experiences, the question began to gain momentum that unless a revolutionary political struggle starts in the form of a party, the problems of farmers cannot be solved. In other words, in order to reach the front that was jointly occupied by the landlords and the landlords in politics, now the farmers have formally started political alignments and made a principled decision to transform the farmers movement into a new political party. that journey was a new addition in the field of politics, which took the form of Kisan Tehreek and finally transformed into Mazdoor Kisan Party, which continued to set its goals dedicated to the thought of revolution. Since the experience of the farmers in the National Awami Party was bitter and they realized that the landlords and khans in the NAP were their enemies and were looking for excuses to remove them and expel them from the party, then they came up with the idea of forming their own separate party and the light of the experiences gained from the NAP. Mazdoor Kisan Party came into being. As the party had organized and experienced revolutionary comrades in the form of workers, it did not face any particular difficulty in forming and running a political party. By gaining trust, the party became stronger.

#### **4-The first meeting in North Hashtnagar**

On April 12, 1970, the leaders and farmers of the area gathered at Khanjiri and discussed the next course of action and it was decided that a large procession of farmers should be taken out at Mandani to commemorate the strike on April 19 in favor of accepting their demands. Ishaq and Abdul Sattar together with their other leaders and colleagues led and gave speeches. The Khawaneen of Hashtnagar got scared and started organizing. On June 18, 1970, at the behind of the local Khan, the rest of the Khawaneen retaliated and waved weapons and tried to take wheat from the farmers' fields. Realizing the intention of the Khawaneen, the farmers started their alignment and thwarted their intentions and stopped them from growing. The Khawaneen, using their tactics, surrounded the area and filed illegal cases, forcing the police and the government to impose Section 144. Later, all the registered cases were forced to be withdrawn.

#### **Conclusion**

The Mazdoor Kissan Movement marks a transition from localized, radical resistance to a structured and institutionalized political force. The data used in the research reveal that this movement was born out from the failure of existing political system to reconcile the conflicting interests of the landed elite and peasants. The formation of the Mazdoor Kisan Party marked the beginning of a formal political struggle that drew on the ideological influence of left-wing politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The MKM organizational evolution characterized by the transition from traditional Kissan Jirgas, often co-opted by landlords, to a more violent and organized Kissan Committees. These committees encouraged the peasantry to challenge Landlords through political alignment and, whenever they found it necessary, direct resistance against forceful evictions and seizures of crops.

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