

- ¹. Dr. Zaffar Iqbal Junejo
- ². Dr. Rashid Ali Khuhro

The Subaltern Themes and Perspectives: A Portrayal of Sindhi Peasant in Selected Poems 1939–1975

Abstract:

This article examines selected Sindhi poetry published in text books, magazines, author-published books, weekly newspapers and other printing forms. The time-span of the article is thirty-six years. However, its subjectivity has determined the poetry. The article exposes the selected themes, with subaltern focussed on peasants' routine activities such as sowing, cultivating, and husing. In addition to that it also highlights peasants socio-cultural and economic position in rural set ups. Presently, parallel media, alternative media, poetry and fiction are newly emerged sources regarding the subaltern history. Therefore, the present article portrays peasants sociology, alongwith idealistic cultural and other aspirations in Sindhi society.

Key words: Peasant, Hari, Sindh, Poetry, Landlord, Zamindar, Batai

Introduction:

The concept of 'other' or 'subaltern' has become an academically interesting study for historians, social scientists, even writers. Most common fields of the study are history, politics, orientalism, cultural studies and post-colonialism. However, theorists and practitioners have different perspectives about it. Although historically subaltern term's roots are found in the medieval English language, the term is applied to peasants and vassals (Rommens, 2006). Around 1700, it was associated with the low ranked military men, who were from the peasantry. By 1800 and onwards authors in the broader perspective created literary works about the military and political campaigns in America and Third World with a specific image of a subaltern (Ludden, 2002). Afterward, in decades of the 1920s and 1930s, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) applied the term subaltern in a wider political perspective (Green, 2011). In a specific sense, he applied it to identify the groups of people who are not the part or representative of any established political structure. The Gramscian school of thought uses the term subaltern for peasants, women, slaves, religious groups, and different socio-cultural and ethnic groups who are at the brim of the history

-
1. Assistant Professor, Sohail University Karachi
 2. Assistant Professor, Center for Rural Development Communication,
University of Sindh, Jamshoro

or form the minority of the society. Around the 1970s, translation of Gramsci's books, *The Modern Prince* (1957) and *Prison Notebooks* (1966) made his ideas popular in the English speaking world. Gramsci's concept inspired the English and Indian history to collaborate. The group published volumes entitled *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (1982-1987). These works deal primarily on subaltern themes rooted in Indian society. In the 1990s, this group was known as Subaltern Studies Group (Guha, 1997). The lead scholars of the group were Ranajit Guha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Partha Chatterjee.

Research Questions:

The poor people apart from their crafts and professions are pushed back. Generally, in a society these particular sets of people are isolated from the mainstream or upper strata of the society. Therefore, an individual or a group of people who are below the set standards labelled as 'subalterns.' The subalterns are ignored, their voices are shunned on the basis of class, gender, race and caste. Therefore, subalterns express their frustrations and agonies through poetry and other artistic expression. They and their representatives chose poetry as a tool, to express their objective and subjective feelings. Considering this aspect in mind this article explores these questions/themes:

1. Portrayal of peasants in Sindhi textbooks' poems.
2. Peasants' aspirations in author-published anthologies/poetry books.
3. Peasants' vignette illustration in poetry published in peasant focused weeklies and monthlies.

These questions would be dealt through expositions and explorations. In doing so, first the context would be set, and then narratives related to above questions would be discussed.

Literature Review:

One of the lead Indian theorists of the group, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak gathered concepts of feminism, deconstruction, post-modernism, Marxism, and subaltern studies in her works. She pointed out numerous issues related to the British Empire and the subaltern segments of society. She believes that in British history and culture, colonization has a central place, and it is twisted, disfigured, portrayed as 'others' – who are dependent, needed master or remain submissive. She argues that the Third World is not a separate phenomenon, it is connected and part of the metropolitan world. Later, she advances the argument of Gramsci's about subaltern, however, sharpens her own model and pinpoints that true subaltern voice is lacked, even a subaltern group or its associates when speak for themselves, each one has a different point of view about the same issue. Therefore, it is really difficult for outside group members to know what and how the subaltern thinks, reacts and raise the voice (Spivak

& Said, 1988). The literature created by European authors tells a lot about the imperialism and help the reader to feel the world of the so-called Third World (Spivak, 1988).

The systematic documentation of upper classes' successes, landmarks and achievements are called- history from above (Masselos, 1992). However, the history from below which has responded the traditional forms of history is known as subaltern history or peoples' history (Vulli). It is concerned about the aspirations and actions of the marginalized sections that are pushed back or neglected by the traditional historians (Chatterjee, 1983).

Like other folk literature, Sindhi folk poetry is packed with the aspirations and struggles of the peasants and laborers. The folk poetry shows the peasants' experiential world and immediate environment (Webber, 1997). On the other hand, it is well accepted that the poetry located in a specific time and locations is a reliable source in understanding the phenomena (Kalra & Butt, 2019). In addition to that while, the Sindhi language became the official language in 1848, and in 1857 Sir Bartle Frere passed an order to use it as an official language in the treasury, revenue, education judiciary, and general communication. The decision pushed the policymakers to prepare and publish textbooks, general book, and other accounts. The published books fall into two categories one to address the needs of education or schooling related textbooks including dictionaries. Another set of books were for general readers. Therefore, writers and translators were engaged to write and translate the books, initially stories were translated from Hindi into the Sindhi language. On the other hand, individuals and private persons also started to publish books.

Methodology

The authors have chosen purpose-oriented approach. It has allowed them to select the time period of the study, identify the themes, shortlist the specific sources and identify the appropriate themes. The methodology in its academic spirit has offered more liberty to authors for being subjective or judgemental in selection of the matter. In addition to that considering the methodological space and limits. The present study has adapted these three parameters:

- 1) *Time-Boundary*: The specific time period in the history of Sindh.
- 2) *Themes-Contents-Specification*: The themes and contents are selected which revolve around the daily lives of peasants.
- 3) *Genre-Language-Limits*: The peasant focused poetry in Sindhi language was chosen, with socio-historical contents.

The methodological approach in broader academic perspective has allowed to be more interpretative regarding context setting of the poetry. In this study

peasants images are emerged with a representatives portrayals as well as subalterantive themes of their dialy lives.

Scope and Limitations:

The present article's addresses selected theme – Sindhi poetry – published in textbooks, author-published books, and peasants' weekly newspapers. Therefore, technically its scope is selective and subjective. However, it has never exluded peasants aspirations about their immediate issues, distant problems and routine life challenges. However, like any other academic work it have certain limitations. These are chosen genre, and time-boundary. Although these limitation never diminish importance or application of the article.

Discussion:

The discussion fall into three area: Portrayl of peasants in Sindhi textbooks' poems, peasnats' aspirations in author-published anthologies/poetry books and peasants' vignette illustration in poetry published in peasant focused weeklies.

Portrayl of peasants in Sindhi textbooks' poems:

Sir Bartle's decision paved a way for the Sindhi language's development (Khuhro, 1978). Consequently, the initial step was to publish books. Therefore, in 1851, the book publishing in Sindh was started (Mallah, 2017). Through this initiative, Sindhi society encountered new themes in its printed world. Obviously, poetry was not excluded, it also got new ideas. However, British Empires' inducted themes into textbooks were aligned with its overall colonial policies (Foster, 2005). The British Empire's textbooks first introduced the cash crops, portrayed the peasants' characters in the lessons. Generally, these textbooks were commissioned, however, these were published by Public Instruction Department, Government of Sindh.



Figure 1: First Sindhi Reading Book

The initial contributors, who wrote the peasants' characters were Dewan Udham, Akund Hismuddin, Dewan Pirbhdas Anandram, Dewan Pirbhdas, and Dewan Chhuhrrmal (Mallah, 2017). Finally, the peasant's routine chores became part of textbooks. The starter in this regard was the First Sindhi Textbook, it was prepared by the Sindh Government, and it was made available in 1939. Its lesson number 26 is a poem (*Sindhi First Book 1939*) about *Labaro* (Harvesting). It reads:

IjhoAso Jo Maheno Ayo
Labari Jo AheSaeyo
The Month of Aso is nearer
Preparation of harvest is ready
.....
DesoKurrmi Keen AchiTho
Khushi Mancha'an So Keen Nache Tho Look how Peasant is coming
How he dances with happiness
.....
Hath Me SandasDattoAhe
Sang TehsanPioLahe
He has sickle in his hand
Cuts the heads of Wheat

There are 15 stanzas, and poet narrates the story of the harvest, while doing so he tells about the seasons of the harvest, and also talks about the tools which are used. The last stanza is that after finishing the task and looking at the grains, he thanks the god. Likewise, Sindhi Second Book for Class Two's lesson is a poem about the farmer, it describes the routine life Hari and routine hardships, which he faces on a daily basis.

Peasants' aspirations in author-published anthologies/poetry books:

The article examines some of anthologies, which were published in the specified time period, which present covers i.e., 1939–19753. One of the earlier anthology was *Inqlabi Dando*.

***Inqlabi Dando*¹ Revolutionary Stick:**

Abu Shoukat published his poetry in the form of an anthology. Its title was *Inqlabi Dando*. It was the first booklet, where peasants' sufferings were portrayed. It contained these themes: the morality of peasants, atrocities of landlords, English officers *Darbar*², *Cherr*³, vote politics, and escalated toll taxes. He writes in the preface that, nowadays Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League have the peasants' welfare program. However, somehow people are against both (Shoukat, 1939).

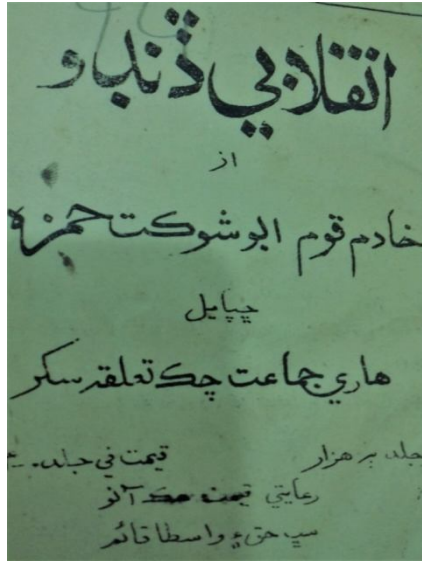


Figure 2: Hari Dando

He believes that till the implementation of their programs, it is important to liberate peasants from landlords' cruelties and money lenders exploitation. He believes it could be done through the forced revolution (Shoukat, 1939). The anthology is published by *Hari Jamait*, (Hari Association) a small town Chak located in Sindh, Pakistan. One of the famous poems was *Wadero Jo Naqul* (Shoukat, 1939) (Simulation of Landlord). It reads:

*Gulo Nale Hirkro Zamindar Ho
Luchhan Badmashn Jo Sardar Ho
Bhangorro Randi Baz be Ilim Ho
Ghariban Te Sadha Un Jo Zulim Ho
There was a landlord named Gulo
Bad character, leader of criminals
Drunkard and philanderer
Brutal to the poor*

The poem was recited in various gatherings of *Hari* in northern Sindh. Abu Shoukat became very popular in small towns of northern Sindh. On the other hand, the induction of *Hari* lessons in the textbooks popularized the peasants' character. Consequently, readers became sympathetic to sufferings of the peasants, one poem entitled *Hari* ("*Hari*", October 1941) was published in Mulla Schools' magazine reads:

*Kulha Un Tha Kan, Keeho'n Madami
Kari Daho'n Tho Bacherriwal Hari
Shoulders of his (Hari) cry in pain,
Peasant, a man of small kids, always cries*

Sheeren Shair (Soothing Poems) by Kishanchand 'Bewas'

Kishachand's 'Bewas' poetry book entitled, *Sheeren Shair's* format was simple, however, he remained connected with a wider perspective and kept live the peasants' aspiration.⁴ One of his poem entitled *Kurrmi LaeAas* ('Bewas', 2006) (Hope for Peasant) portrayed that how peasant aspires. He has set the context that cooperative movement has taken roots, agrarian societies' are being formed, the English government has fixed the rates of the grain. And Cooperative Banks are replacing the traditional money lenders(Wolcott). Thus, he assured the peasant that a new era is taking place. He through is simple, meaningful and communicative poetry highlighted the peasant's struggle and aspiration. One of his poem *Kurrmi Ji A'as* (Hope for Peasant). It reads:

Tuhenji Dardan Ji He'ar Aa Pujjani, Kurrmi
Tuhenji Suran Ji Achi Vel Wehanni, Kurrmi
Now it is a time of the ending your pains, Peasant
Now your sufferings' end moment arrives, Peasant

....

Jald Poro Thee Jadhan Weendo Kroorren Jo Baraj
Deendo Khetan Khe Sajo Sal So Panni, Kurremi
When Barrage cost in Crores, soon will be completed
It will irrigate the fields for the whole year, Peasant

The Kishandchand'Bewas' was a trend settler of modern Sindhi poetry. The major portion of his poetry was about nature, common people and common events. The above-mentioned poem describes a hope for thepeasant. Its central idea is associated with the completion of LylodBarrage, which was being constructed over the Indus River, located at Sukkur, Sindh, Pakistan. The Barrage was one of the largest irrigation projects of the colonial Sindh. Thus, the poet assures the peasants that after its completion, there will be prosperous days, due to the availability of the irrigation water for the whole year.⁵

Azadi -e- Qoumby Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi

Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi published his *Mukhammas*⁶, entitled *Azadi-e-Qoum*. It reads:

Sindh Ja Sah Aen Sardar Aen Dilbar Hari
Thuhenji Ahsan Hait Aa Bashar Har Hari
Sindh's soul and leader and Beloved, Peasant
Every living being is indebted of you, Peasant

...

Pahenji Taqat Aeen Halat Te Nazar Kar Hari
Aj Zamano Aen Zameen Thuhenja Athae, Par Hari
Watch your own strength and condition, Peasant
Today time is yours, the land is yours, but the peasant

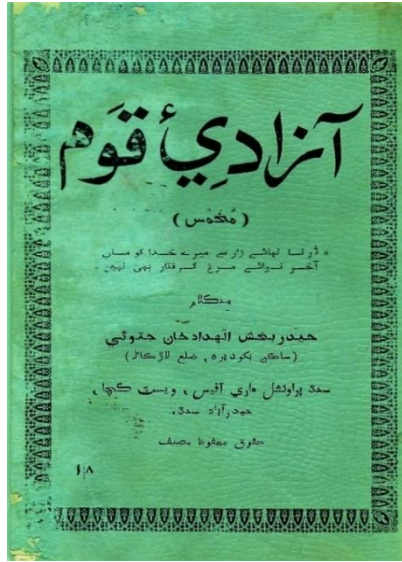


Figure 3: Azadi-e-Qoum

Hyder Bakhsh Jat's other poem *Hari Jo Zamano* (Peasants Era) was published in *Hari Geet*. (Peasants' Songs). There are 12 cinquains, it is written in pentameter style. It reads:

Tukhe Angrez The Phurio Aen Zamindar The Lutio
Viaj Khuran The Phurio, Aen Tukhe Amldar Lutio
Tukhe Piran The Phurio, Aen Qoum Ji Sardarn Lutio
Tukhe Bedardiasan Her hik Nimakhar Lutio
Landlords snatched you, English exploited
Moneylenders stole, officials exploited
Pirs7 cheated, national leaders exploited
Leches cold-heartedly exploited you

However, some of the lead factors creating subaltern themes in Sindhi poetry were the disillusionment of Sindhi artists and writers from the Pakistan Government, taking away of Karachi by Central Governments, migrants' settlement policy, Karachi University's decision to exclude Sindhi language as a medium of answer, imposition of one uni (Ansari, 1994), Ayub's Martial law and the Muslim Leagues' narrow political agenda. These factors conditioned the poets to channelize their anger through subaltern themes.

Peasants' vignette illustration in poetry published in peasant focused weeklies:

Authors have discussed two weeklies. Both papers' major clientele was peasant, and interestingly both were founded and issued by the peasant

leaders. One was published from Hyderabad, and other was published from Karachi.

Weekly Hari Haqdar set the path⁸:

Sindh Hari Committee's established *HariIsha't Ghar* (Peasants' Publication House) inspired poets to create the poetry on the peasants' issues, peasants and landlords' tense relationship, the government officials' injustice in the land settlement policies and agriculture issues. The first poem, *Mazloom Ji Pukar* ("Mazloom Ji Pukar", 1947) (Cry of oppressed) was published in *Hari Haqdar*. Later, some poems published into *Weekly Haqdar* were collected and published into an anthology, entitled *Hari Geet* (Peasants Songs). These poems were created in Sindhi, Urdu and Seraiki languages. The poems exposed the suffering of laborers, peasants, and women. Another category was to inspire the peasant and laborer to bring change into society. However, Sindhi Adabi Sangat also continued its progressive role and supported the peasants and laborers cause (Soomro, 2007).



Figure 4: HariHaqdar

The anthology contains the poems of ShaikhAyaz, Sayyid Akhtar Hussein Rizvi, (Kaifi Azmi), Abdul Karim Gadai, Abdul Hayee (Sahir Ludhianvi), Niaz Hamauni, Rashid Ahmed Lashari, Hari Dilgir, Taigh Allahabadi, KhialdasValiramBegwani 'Fani', Shaikh Abdul Razaq 'Raz', Atta Muhammad Hami, 'Khairpuri', Shahnawaz Arif, Hakim Muhammad Sadiq 'Talib'.⁹ Other poets of the anthology are Hafiz Zia-ul-Haq 'Aslam', from Yaro Dero, Z. H, Lutfi Rizwani and Syed Kawish Rizvi. *Hari Geet* set a trend, where Hari and his problems were distinctively expressed. The publication served three purposes 1) the poems published in *Weekly Hari Haqdar* were preserved and their shelf lives extended 2) the anthology created a citation and reference opportunity, and 3) the trend encouraged the other publishers to come up with the similar titles. The *Weekly Sindhi*

Hurriyet followed the trend and printed an anthology. Most of these poems were already published in *Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet*.

Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet¹⁰ followed the trend

Sindh Hari Committee was a group of various ideological peoples. However, one group has some religious lineage, one of its leaders Mr. Allauddin Samo. He issued another newspaper, *Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet* from Karachi. The themes carried out by the paper were the same as of *Weekly Hari Haqdar*. However, the titles were twisted according to the policy of the paper. It is also encouraged poets to write the poems about the peasant and landlords' contradiction and problems of rural Sindh.

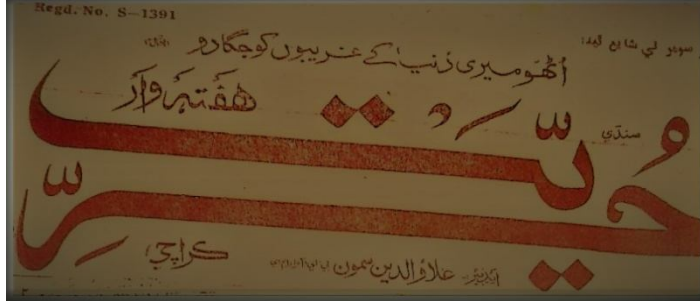


Figure 5: Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet

The poems published in *Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet* covered these themes: Hari's sufferings, Anti-Waderashahi, American Aid, Critic on the Sindh Government, and Peoples' Rights (1950), and Appeal to Sindhi (1950). The people who contributed in *Hurriyet* were Shamshad Junejo¹¹, Nooruddin 'Noor'¹², Atta Muhammad Khan Mahesar¹³, Khair Muhammad Buriro¹⁴, Syed Sarwar Ali Shah 'Sarwar'¹⁵, Parwano Bhatti¹⁶ and Wasif Ali 'Wasif'¹⁷. However, Molvi Nazeer Hussain Jatoi was one of the poets who were regularly published. Jatoi's one of the poems entitled, *Zamindaran Ji Zulman Ji Shikayat Penn Baghawat Aa* (A complaint of landlord's Atrocities is also Rebellion) became famous. It reads:

*Asa'n Ji Mulk Jo Hari Aja'n Heran Chho A'he
Sandas Halt Saqemi Khan Watan Weeran Chho A'he
Baghawat Munheji Fitrat Aa, Ma'n Baghi Thee Guzarendus
Why peasant of our land is bewildered
His poverty has given the country a look of the desert
Rebellion is my nature, I live like rebellion*

The same newspaper also published an anthology entitled, *Hari Inqilab - Nazam Maen* (Peasants' Revolution – in poems) its themes were Hari, Landlord, Injustice, and Inspiration. Allauddin Samo was the editor and compiler of the anthology.

Mehranand Naien Zindgi Magazines–didn't blowout the peasant's agenda

Quarterly Mehran Magazine (in Sindhi) was issued under the supervision of the Central Advisory Board for Sindhi Literature in 1946. It was a bimonthly literary magazine and in 1948 it was made a quarterly magazine (Butt, 1981). The partition of India affected the whole region in different ways. However, Sindh witnessed the migration of its middle class - writers, poets, and scholars – who migrated to India. The literature, along with other cultural fronts were deserted. However, *Quarterly Mehran* filled the gap. It played an important role in laying the foundation of progressive ideas. It is also encouraged the poets to continue the peasants' themes in their writings. One poem entitled *Hari* (Peasant), reads:

*Masoomiat Jo Putlo Hari
Dil Jo Ahero Ojhal, Ojhal
Har Dea Dhariji KheEen
Taran Khe Jann Pokhi Frishto
Peasant is a statue of innocence
He has clean and crystal heart
He tills the land
Like angle cultivates stars (into the sky)*

At that time Sindhi writers and political activists were struggling against One Unit (Khalid, 2013) and Bengali and Sindhis were rejecting Sharif Commission's recommendations (Rahman, 1997). The Federal Government's policies towards the development of Sindh language were dismal. Meanwhile, Sindh's literacy movement was influenced by progressive ideas. In fact, there were three ideological camps a) Moscow influence, b) Beijing influence and 3) nationalist influence. However, a common thread among all groups was class consciousness and cultural consciousness. The literary group inclined towards Moscow has supported the ideas of labor and labor movement. On the other hand, Beijing influenced literary group, as well as the political group, was highlighting peasants' issues in their writings and literary works. On the other hand, the nationalist were upholding issues of national identity. However, among all groups, a vague common thread was cultural consciousness.

The imposition of One Unit Scheme halted Sindh's development including its cultural and literacy advancement also suffered (Rahman, 1995). On the contrary, it is considered one of the radical periods of Sindhi literature. Sindhi poetry onwards 1955 took a new form and it became the poetry of resistance. The aspiration was Anti-One Unit Movement, Restoration Sindhi language, and influence of the then USSR literature and political struggles of the nationalist and progressive parties.

Naien Zindagi magazine was issued in October 1948 by Pakistan Publication. Later, it was made monthly, and its matter was supported by illustration and photographs (Butt, 1981). The contribution of *Naien Zindagi* in promotion of Sindhi literature is most important (Schimmel, 1974). Its regularity created an opportunity for the poets to contribute punctually. There was also a good number of poets who highlighted the peasants' struggle, appreciated their contribution or warned them against the conspiracies of the landlords and election politics. One of the poems authored by Ali Nawaz 'Sabir' Nazamini entitled, *Ann Ji Pokh Wadhayo* (Raise the cultivation of grains) states:

Mardan Khe Thee Ghurji Mehnant, Kurrmi Khub Kamayo
Qom Ji Kario Qurabo'n Khidmat, Ann Ji Pokh Wadhayo
 Men Need Labor, Peasant do hard labor
 Sever the nation with love, cultivate more grains

However, Abdul Karim 'Gadai' was one of the poets who regularly contributed into the *Naien Zindagi* magazine, his themes were Haris, atrocities of landlords, elections and reforms. One of his poems *Ajoki Hari Khe Khitab (Gadai, 1960)* (Address to Today's Peasant) became famous. It reads:

Jahalat Jo'n Parron Patti Chhad Sarasar,
Kare Ilim Hasil, Qabele Jo Har Ghar
 Root out the roots of ignorance,

Each family of the community must acquire education Muhammad Siddique 'Musafir' also keep up the peasant agenda through his poetry. One of the famous became the However, Meanwhile, General Ayoub Khan announced the land reforms, it was well received by peasants (Rashid, 1985). However, prior to partition, Pakistan Muslim League countering the reform program of Indian National Congress has talked about the welfare of peasants. Therefore, the announcement was also welcomed by poets. One of them was Abdul Karim 'Gadi', who was already a pro-people poet. The common themes of his poetry were Haris' suffering, the cruelty of landlords, and vote politics (Kubar, 2018). One of his popular poems was *Bhutar Nikari Pia*¹⁸ (Chiefs are Out for Election). It reads:

Wari Aee Election Zardar Nikri Pia
Chhadi Tarah Kulan Te Turh Qom Ja Sardar Nikata
 Election Again arrived and Wealthy are Out

Left turban's tails over shoulders Nations Chiefs are Out
 Gadai's most popular themes were land reforms, exploitation of landlords and support *Hari* cause. One his poem entitled, *Zarae Sudharan Jo Ailan (Gadai, 1965)* (Declaration of Land Reforms) congratulates the peasants. It reads:

Mubarak, Jo Aj Theo Aalan Zarae Sudharan Jo
Mubarak, Khatmo Bel-khair Theo Jagirdaran Jo
 Congratulation, for today's' announcement of land reform
 Congratulations, good omen *Jagirdari* is abolished.

Soon Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started struggled against Ayub Khan and launched Pakistan People Party. It entered into elections with one of the radical manifesto sand it contained the land reforms. The land reform of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government land reform (Herring, 1979) also encouraged the poets to high light peasants agenda. It also inspired some of the poets, and later their songs were aired on by Pakistan Broadcasting House, Hyderabad. The frequently played songs in those times were of Syed Manzoor Naqvi and Murtaza Dadai (Mirza, 2014). These opening stanzas of their songs:

Hari Aseen Watan Ja
(*We the Peasants of land*)

.....
Hari Ahe'n Des Sanda
(*We are the Peasant of Country*),

.....
Panhenje Watan Ja Hari
(*Haris of ones' own country*)

.....
Fasul Tiar The Wayo
(*Crop is ready*)

Later, themes of Sindhi poetry shifted towards the issues of national politics. The dominant themes of those times were the crisis of urban lives, urbanization, individuals' identity and its selective associations.

Conclusion:

The political hegemony and dominating socio-political structures influence the society. Resultantly, in such cornered society numerous subaltern groups emerge with a historical background and diversified experiences. These subalterns groups avail different forms of expression/ resistance, and poetry is one of them. On the other hand, powerful groups attempt to exclude the expression subaltern groups, and consciously reduce their role making history making process. Gayatri Spivak's viewpoints go in harmony with Gramsci's as she asserts that the only case where subaltern can speak is when the elite express their opinions. Almost in all dominant societies voice of subaltern groups representing views of poor people and women is suppressed or undermined.

The peasant as a character was introduced in the colonial Sindh's textbooks. These books were printed by Public Instruction Department Bombay and Karachi. In these textbooks, the peasant was portrayed as an aloof and totally disconnected from society. The propagated images categorize him just as cultivators and producers of the grains. He was pictured as the hardworker and he has unbound love for the poverty and hardship of life. However, due to the political program of Indian National

Congress and All India Muslim Leagues' peasants' programs and activism of Sindh Hari Committee portrayed the peasants to emerge as a distinct group in Sindh's politics. In 1947, the partition occurred and it left the permanent scars on the lives of people of the subcontinent. The migration and its consequences appeared as the most tragic aspect of communal politics. The consequences of partition and taking of Karachi by the new government of Pakistan set a new challenge for the progressive parties. However, the Sindh Hari Committee continued its struggle for the peasants' rights, the lead areas of its engagement were to influence the land grant policies and secure the peasants' tenancy rights. Sindh Hari Committee's struggle and the Russian Revolution inspired the writers and poets to uphold the peasants' rights through their writings.

Consequently, the poets appreciated the contribution of the peasants, highlighted their sufferings and exposed the atrocities of landlords. The first anthology to focus on peasants' issues was Abu Shoukat Hamza's *Inqalabi Dando*, where he mingled the peasants' contribution and exposed the criminality of the landlords, and he also established the English officers' role to cover the injustices of the landlords. Meanwhile, Kishanchand 'Bewas' appeared with a new voice, his poetry was simple, expressive and connected to the immediate environment. Most of his poems were about nature and their message was inspiring. Bewas's poems also spotlighted the British Empire's programs and designs. He also kept alive the peasant agenda through his poetry. In 1946, *Quarterly Merhan Magazine* started to publish, it served two purposes a) filled the void which was occurred due to migration of Sindhi writers from Sindh to India and 2) published new writers. However, other conditioning factors which inspired the poets were the left's politics and Sindh Hari Committees' struggle.

On the other hand, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi also addressed peasants' problems in his anthology *Azad-e-Qoum*, where through a pentameter technique he highlighted the sufferings of the peasants. Jatoi's poetry was composed in a traditional form, however, it talked about the modern topics and Indian politics. However, peasants and their suffering remained the regular features in Sindhi print world.

The *Weekly Hari Haqdar* played the lead role where poems of prominent as well as amateur poets were published. Later, these poems were collected and published into an anthology entitled *Hari Geet* (Peasants' Songs), where *Hari* was portrayed as an active part of the society, and his contribution was highlighted. Resultantly, a new style and expression came out, thus *Hari*, landlord, and injustice remained the themes of the later generation. Soon, *Naen Zindagi* published started to publish the poems about

the peasant's themes, it encouraged the poets to carry out the peasants' agenda. In 1950s Sindh Hari Committee's one of the factions established its own weekly newspaper known as *Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet*. It also published the poems about the suffering of the peasants, their struggle, exposed the injustices of landlords and atrocities of government officials. Later, *Weekly Sindhi Hurriyet* also published the anthology with the title, *Hari Inqilab – Nazam Ma'in* (Peasant's Revolution – in poems) Later, the Indo-Pak War of 1965, Anti-Ayub Movement shadowed the Hari agenda. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Government's land reform again inspired the poets to highlight the peasants' agenda. However, gradually other themes such as contradiction of urban life, the labor movement, and class-politics greyed the representation of the *Haris* issues in Sindhi literature. The selected poems reveal that how subaltern themes set the peasant and peasant struggle in a particular context. The context as well contains analysis communicates that peasant lives and struggles as a distinctive group. However, in most of the cases, peasants struggle and aspirations are selectively suppressed. Although, poetry is one of the reliable forms to look at the subaltern themes in a relevant perspective.

However, in Pakistan Sindhi language till now is considered 'regional language or vernacular language.' This type of hegemonic label gives a sense of 'otherness.' On the other hand, this situation limits Sindhi language's presence in various forms of representation. Therefore, Haris, women and poor classes are discouraged to express their aspirations. Furthermore, we suggest that deep studies should be undertaken to explore the specific challenges of subaltern forms in various genres of Sindhi language. In addition to that translating of Haris, poor classes and women's literature – poetry and other texts should be translated into Urdu, Punjabi, Balochi, Pashto, and English and appropriate form of the dissemination should be created. It would engage Haris and other subjugated sections of Sindhi society to have dialogue with the people of Pakistan, and the world. This article has analysed the poems that have represented Haris and have explored their multiple aspirations that roam around their routine life. It exposed the subaltern themes and their perspectives focusing on Sindhi peasant in selected poems (1939–1975) to diversified groups of readers: a) Global reader, b) Sindhi readers, and c) Pakistani reader. However, language, genre and time-boundary has limited article to fully express the themes and their different form of the expressions.

Notes:

1. *Dandais* a large thick stick used as a weapon by policeman or guard to protect or force people towards certain direction. However, in pastoral and rural societies it is used as tool to herd the cattles.
2. *Darbar* in colonial India it was annual feature of English officers to hold gathering, while they were in tour. It was usually arranged in winter.
3. *Cherr* is unpaid and forced labor by landlord or revenue department
4. Kishanchad ‘Bewas’ in poem *Kurrmi Je A’as* (hope peasant) refer to construction of Lyold Barrage, later it was named as Sukkur Barrage. He reminds the peasants that soon Sukkur Barrage will be completed, and your situation will be changed. Although, it is one of the costly irrigation projects of Bombay Presidency, India.
5. In colonial Sindh, before the construction of Lyold Barrage. The irrigation was done through Persian Wheels and inundation of flood water in summer. Therefore, in most part of Sindh there was one crop in year.
6. *Mukhammassis* Persian style of verse, it is composed in pentameter technique, where five lines are in each stanza.
7. *Pir* word is used for the spiritual leader in Sindh. It is common tradition across Sindh to have a Pir. It is rare in Sindh that a person might be without Pir or Murshid – spiritual leader.
8. *Weekly Hari Haqdar*, Hyderabad (Registered No. S-999). Hyder Bakhsh Allahdad Khan Jatoi was its editor. Its masthead area shows that it is fearless representative of 30 lacspeasats’ newspaper of Sindh Hari Committee.
9. Hakim Muhammad Sadiq ‘Talib’ was the president of Sindh Hari Committee, TalukaKhairpur Nathan Shah, District Dadu, Sindh. He was supporter of cultural activities, and regular participants of the literary as well political gatherings.
10. *Weekly Sinhdi Hurriyat* (Registration No. S-1391), it was issued on every Monday from Karachi. Mr. Allauddin Samo BA (Honors), MA was its editor. The masthead area shows a line of AllamIqbal’s poem, it reads: UthoMeriDuniyaKeGhareebonKoJaga Do (Get up wake the poor people of my world).
11. Shamsad Junejo was one the emerging writer of Sindhi language. He was from Dadu, Sindh Pakistan. Mr. Junejo’s works were published in Monthly Magazine NaeenZindagi (Sindhi) and Quarterly Magazine Mehran (Sindhi), in 1950s.
12. Nooruddin ‘Noor’ was from Larkana, Sindh Pakistan. He was supporter of Hari cause. He was regularly published in literary magazines in 1950s.

13. Atta Muhammad Khan Mahesar was from Mehar town, Sindh Pakistan. Mr. Mahesar was landlords, but he was promoter of peasants' cause. He was also promoter of cultural activities.
14. Khair Muhammad Buriro was resident of Qambar, it is small town of northern Sindh. But it remained hub of lefts politics from 1950-1980.
15. Syed Sarwar Ali Shah 'Sarwar' was from Piryalo, a small town of KhairpurMirs, Sindh. He was fond of cultural activities, and regular participant of literary gatherings of 1950s.
16. ParwanoBhatti was famous poets of Sindhi language. He was Tando Muhammad Khan, small town of Southern Sindh. He practices in various forms of Sindhi poetry. He was famous for diction and style of reciting the poetry.
17. Wasif Ali 'Wasif' was from a small town of Sindh named Tharo Shah. He was regular contributor of Hurriyat and HariHaqdar newspapers.
18. Abdul KarimGadai wrote this poem in the context of 1946's election. Later, it was included into his anthology, which was published in 1965.

References:

- Sindhi Hurriyet. (December 4, 1950).
- 'Bewas', K. C. (2006). *Sheeren Shair* (Second ed.). Hyderabad Gulshan Publication.
- Ansari, S. (1994). The Movement of Indian Muslims to West Pakistan after 1947: Partition-Related Migration and Its Consequences for the Pakistani Province of Sind. In *Migration: The Asian Experience* (pp. 149-168): Springer.
- Butt, A. R. (1981). *Sindhi Risalan Ji Tarekh: 1890-1980* (First ed.). Hyderabad Sindh Publishers
- Chatterjee, P. (1983). Peasants, politics and historiography: a response. *Social Scientist*, 58-65.
- Foster, S. (2005). The British Empire and Commonwealth in World War II: selection and omission in English history textbooks. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 5(2), 1-19.
- Gadai, A. K. (1960, December). Ajoke Hari Khe Khitab. *Naien Zindagi* 8.
- Gadai, A. K. (1965). *Saneh Ja Soor* (First ed.). Jacobabad

- Green, M. E. (2011). Rethinking the subaltern and the question of censorship in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks. *Postcolonial Studies*, 14(4), 387-404.
- Guha, R. (1997). *A subaltern studies reader, 1986-1995*: U of Minnesota Press.
- Hari (1941 (October)). *Mullan School Makhzan*, 26.
- Herring, R. J. (1979). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the “eradication of feudalism” in Pakistan. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21(4), 519-557.
- KALRA, V. S., & Butt, W. (2019). ‘If I Speak, They Will Kill Me, to Remain Silent Is to Die’: Poetry of resistance in General Zia's Pakistan (1977–88). *Modern Asian Studies*, 1-28.
- Khalid, I. (2013). Politics of Federalism in Pakistan: Problems and Prospects. *South Asian Studies*, 28(1), 199.
- Khuhro, H. (1978). *The Making of Modern Sind: British policy and Social change in the Nineteenth century*: Indus Publications.
- Kubar, I. A. (2018). Abdul Karim Gadai And His Poetic Work. *Grassroots*, 48(2).
- Ludden, D. (2002). *Reading subaltern studies: Critical history, contested meaning and the globalization of South Asia*: Anthem Press.
- Mallah, M. A. (2017). *The Development of Sindhi Language and Script Under Early English Administration*. Hyderabad Sindhi Language Authority
- Masselos, J. (1992). The dis/appearance of subalterns: a reading of a decade of subaltern studies. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 15(1), 105-125.
- . Mazloom Ji Pukar (1947, 19 December). *Hari Haqdar*
- Mirza, N. (2014). *Radio Hyderabad Catalogue* (1st Edition ed.). Hyderabad Amerta Publication Dosti Publication
- Rahman, T. (1995). Language and politics in a Pakistan province: The Sindhi language movement. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), 1005-1016.
- Rahman, T. (1997). The medium of instruction controversy in Pakistan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18(2), 145-154.

- Rashid, S. M. (1985). Land Reforms in Pakistan. *Social Scientist*, 44-52.
- Rommens, A. (2006). In other words: Subaltern epistemologies or how to eat humble pie. *Image [&] Narrative: Online Magazine of the Visual Narrative*, 14.
- Schimmel, A. (1974). *Sindhi literature* (Vol. 9): Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Shoukat, A. (1939). *Inqlabi Dando* (Frist ed.). Sukkur Hari Jamait
- *Sindhi First Book* (1939). Karachi Government of Sindh
- Soomro, D. A. (2007). *Dr. Tanveer Abbasi: Shakhisiat Aeen Fan* (First ed.). Islamabad Academy of Letters.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? *Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea*, 21-78.
- Spivak, R. G. G. C., & Said, E. W. (1988). *Selected subaltern studies*: Oxford University Press.
- Vulli, D. Making Peoples History in Telangana Movement: Remembering Voyya Raja Ram.
- Webber, S. J. (1997). Middle East Studies & Subaltern Studies. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 31(1), 11-16.
- Wolcott, S. (2007) *Microfinance in Colonial India*. Binghamton University Binghamton, New York.