

## **Saur Revolution/Coupd'etet and its impacts on Pashtun Society**

**Prof. Dr. Nasrullah Wazir<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract:**

*The scintillation which took place in Afghanistan on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1978. That has been named by some segments of society as Saur Revolution and others depict it only as Saur takeover. Both internal and externally multifarious contradictory views have come into the limelight after the revolution. However, the revolutionists or devotees of revolution have declared it the wistful aspiration of the masses; but the opposition proclaims it the takeover or Coupd'etet of some military Generals. In a net shell, this change has brought multifaceted miseries, displacements and migration, mass level killings of innocent civilians, destruction of the institutions of the state and the obliteration of the scholastic and literary sources and spaces. This paper unveils the causes and effects of the revolution. The research paper constructs its argument in light of diverse perspectives including Politicians, Experts, Ulema, Historians and those who were directly or indirectly the part of the uprising.*

### **Revolution OR Coupd'etet.**

All members of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) acknowledged real aims of their political endeavors, to bring likeminded system in Afghanistan which they imported from the foreign; while bringing it into practical life. They first intended to lay down foundation of political party and kept struggling through political ways. The foundation of a Leftist Political Party was laid down in January, 1965 of which the basic objectives were political, social and reformatory. The changes which the (PDPA) intended to introduce in Afghanistan through

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<sup>1</sup> Dr Nasurullah Jan Wazeer is Professor at Department of Pashto University of Balochsitan Quetta

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political and literary ways were deemed as essential tools of their struggle. Prosperity of masses, development and advancement were the core objectives of their manifesto and they within a short span of time carried the day. The innocent Muslims of country neither pay prime onus towards this direction nor were they appraised of the consequences of the revolution. Because the state was trapped in abyss of troubles and the malnutrition, poverty, unemployment, economic and social problems were unbelievable spreading across the country. The general thoughts of the innocent Muslims regarding were not that much clear because the increasing connections of revolutionists with the USSR (Soviet Union) smelled a rat at large. So, the secret links of (PDPA) with the Russians have been unveiled by searching the Afghan historical facts very undoubtedly and the foremost onus of (PDPA) was to pave ways for Russians interference in Afghanistan.

Henner S. Bradsher in this regard says:

“Moscow reacted publicly as if this were just another military Coupd’etet in some third world country of only moderate interest. For three days, Tars called a coupd’etet and said the armed forces’ council had seized power, without indicating any involvement by political parties for the general public.”<sup>1</sup>

Hence, in the coming debate it would be brought into light the incentive of Soviet Union against British policy in Afghanistan and although KGB was achieving their goals through (PDPA) in Afghanistan. However the remarks of Henner S Bradsher are an eye opener about the Saur Revolution that it was not a Revolution rather than takeover or coupd’etet.

“Daud’s order for the arrest of PDPA leaders ended an era in Afghanistan and began a tumultuous, destructive period culminating in a Soviet invasion. The order led to what the communist called ‘The Great Saur Revolution’, for a month in the Afghan calendar, but was actually a coupd’etet. The country came under the control of narrowly based, sharply divided communist movement that was utterly unprepared and generally incompetent for responsibility attained unexpectedly, even accidentally.”<sup>2</sup>

The progressive writer Ahmad Shuja Pasha was also of the same views:

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“No acknowledgement about the revolutionists was having any ground among the world and their becoming politically hand and glove with others was enigma for the rest of world. Prior to this revolution, there was no indication of existence of communist party in Afghanistan amongst the published books of Europe. Consequently the perception of worldly countries concerning to the innocent Muslims of backward Afghanistan that they could never become communists. So, randomly after the uprising this debate caught fire in America that the revolutionists were in fact nationalists and enlightenments and not communists.”<sup>3</sup>

Although, the geo-strategic significance, the study of expansionist incentives of Soviet Union and the Forward Policy will unveil in a better way that the revolution was not an accident but was the unending fire of Cold War which inflamed in the semblance of revolution. As a matter of fact, both were struggling to bear the palm and smash other inside the decorated ground Afghan land. Means, the Saur revolution was the ending trap of cold war which was happening in Afghanistan. So for as the Americans and its Allies objectives were concerned they chalked out their strategies to entrap Soviet Union inside Afghanistan and Asian countries. So, the Russians struggle to prevent American imperialists and British seizers from their borders. Here, the political experts can take comprehend between the fire exchanges of Braznef and Sardar Daud Khan in a meeting at Moscow.

Whenever the revolution took place in Afghanistan, except the PDPA, the establishment, some moderates and although the rigidity and adherence of revolutionist over their struggles and unparallel revolution which succeeded by the massive support of country-men. History never forget itself, they were rejected bitterly with the exploitation of hidden history of Afghanistan of which they never admitted.

“To legitimize the military coup, the leadership justified it as a bonafide revolution that was based on the principle of socialist revolution”.<sup>4</sup>

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Above these witnesses, there are some instances of eternal writers who also ascribed it a takeover rather than a revolution Habibullah Rafi (a prominent Pashtun writer and analyst) says in this perspective:

“After the takeover of April 1978 the communist party was used against their own people and country for the serving of Soviet Union”.<sup>5</sup>

The seasoned mujahid and the writer Lalahand is too ready to admit the shift upheaval as a social revolution in spite of declaring it a merely communist takeover.

“It is an existed fact that the Muslims never welcomed the Communist takeover in 1357 (A) in Afghanistan and they practically initiated the holy war against them”.<sup>6</sup>

Seasoned and veteran Journalist Dr. Abdul Ali Arghandavi too has likeminded point of views about the revolution.

“The uprising having been named by some members of government and PDPA members as a Saur Revolution but the spell of unrest incidents portrayed that the takeover was an abortive step but succeeded with massive Soviet support. The revolutionists, nevertheless, who beard the palm, were being acquainted by the Soviet recognition”.<sup>7</sup>

In the same way a well-known poet and member of Parchum central committee Sulaman Laiq denounced it saying,

“A systematic creation occurred in our time and ascribed by some of our leaders and different ways in which Hafeezullah Ameen declared it “a new experiment” at that time I individually never admitted it a new experiment although it was a military coup but change in nature of the previous military coups. In this military takeover power was handed over to a political party despite assigning to generals. The issue is yet unexposed in this perspective”.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed it was a planned dramatic change in the begging which commenced by undisciplined and inapt rulers for a military coup which was no more than a mud was slinging in order to pave way for the fulfillment of hidden objectives of Soviet Union.

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Nevertheless, the revolution fulfilled all the conditions in its 14 years period which are deemed an essential for successful revolution. Meaning thereby to root out the seeds of kingship, strengthening of political and as well as democratic norms, nomination of parliamentarians, restoration of authoritarian Jirga and political social psychological educational changes were all beholden to Saur Revolution. However, the revolution or takeover was totally a futile effort of the time but it did give new social political economical benefits to Afghans.

### **Causes of Revolution:**

There might be myriad caused in the guise of the episode of 1978 Revolution but the emergence of PDPA and its interference in state affairs was one of the prominent reasons. Was not less than the other reasons which set fire to country with cold comfort. As for as PDPA's politics was concerned, Its policies were not pro-masses but youth occupying magnificent place within the party, who got education in Soviet Union while sent during the period of Shah Mahmood in 1949. It caused imported ideology; of communism, enlightenment and liberal thoughts in them upon completion of their education in 1952, led the upheaval which neither welcomed nor assisted by the innocent Muslims. The difference between the mindset level of the revolutionists and ignorant masses pushed Afghanistan into blind alley whereas merely introducing scientific and political reformation inside the least developed people widened the already existing gulf between the two unlike mindsets within one state. Here it is worth mentioning to expose the presence of gigantic strength of leaders who favored communism during the uprising. As *Noor Muhammad Taraki* a renowned leader of PDPA was one of them. *Taraki* was the guiding torch bearer of the socialist movement and gathered a huge strength of workers around him, When PDPA was about to proclaim in 1965 the political mileage of PDPA was neither that much serene in the initial days nor concentrated over this direction which confused workers to some extent.

“Since the first day PDPA confronted with two contradictory views, *Taraki* on one side backed enthusiastically socialist trends instead of supporting national democratic revolution and on other

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side pro-Moscow faction of Babrak Karmal singing a song of national democratic revolution.”<sup>9</sup>

Though, conflicts over communist ideology and personalities were in full swing inside PDPA which in a very short span of time (1967) divided the party into two fractions; one led by Taraki and other by Babrak karmal. The party segregated not by the ideological contradiction but due to personalities, party discipline and to somehow over the ethnic and racial issues.

“When PDPA came into being, animosity was raised over the leadership among three leaders (Taraki, Babrak Karmal and Tahir Badkhshi). Basically, the internal jealousies of high rank leaders divided party into two groups. Taraki strictly raised fingers over the political loyalty of Babrak Karmal and rejected to work with him; which provided materials for PDPA division into Khalqi and Parchami groups.

These clouds of disloyalty disfigure the PDPA in April, 1967 into two groups Khalqi and Parchami”.<sup>10</sup>

The foundation of PDPA was laid down for which purposes and targets seemed less magnificent for the Afghans than that of the Soviet Union for the reason that the scuffle of Cold War between communist and capitalist factions for one century, finally invited both into Afghanistan for wrestling. The credit went to PDPA for hosting the episode of Cold War countries at Afghan land because the PDPA establishment offered myriad opportunities for their plans which were being constituted by them.

Veteran war lord and president of Hezbe-Islami Gulbadin Hekmatyar as also of the view about the revolution:

“Animosity across the world sustained with full swings at three stages: conflict between West and Communism, Islam and Communism”.<sup>11</sup>

As the dethronement of Sardar Dawood Khan in 1978 by the PDPA conveyed a message to the former king was repeated similarly about them in following days because the uprising never catered the requirements which a successful revolution needed; so it

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proved exclusively against the interests of the people. As a matter of fact, colossal obsessions portrayed the abortive efforts of the PDPA which were afoot and mostly beard the palm by the energetic support of the Soviet Union; otherwise the revolutionists never braced themselves for such gigantic movement. It would be no worth-less to say that the revolutionists who were educated in Soviet countries and misguided partly had nothing with the grievances of the downtrodden masses of the country. Therefore, their liberal upbringing and misguidance in Soviet Countries of some PDPA leaders turned their faces toward Utopian Scheme whereas the ground realities of social, cultural, religious and national norms were something else and it never depicted the disposition of the people. What the devastation came to light after the repercussions of revolution, the credit went to PDPA but what the opposite did, they left no stone unturned to fascinate mayhem in order to disfigure the movement not for the cause of masses interests but for their masters interests. The consequences of the uprising or takeover of Cold War flamed such crucial fire which has been sustaining through gigantic human bodies, destruction and mass exodus since the day, had been gifted to Afghan people by serving foreigners.

Whenever, a prominent member of the Parchami Party, Mir Akbar Khyber, was assassinated by unknowns on 17 April 1978 which had proved a corner stone of the coming unending internal war in Afghanistan and the hidden characters came to light. The killing of Mir Akbar Khyber gave opportunity to PDPA that charged the government itself was responsible and protested against the government in order to attain their aims, strikes were observed every where at last Dawood Khan arrested most of PDPA leaders which intensified the circumstances thereafter, when Taraki and Babrak Karmal were brought into the gallows; instead of these two prominent leaders, Hafeezullah Ameen (a loyal pupil of Taraki) escaped. Meantime, Taraki feared that Dawood was planning to exterminate them all he handed a message over to his pupil to convey it to like minded countries in order to rage their sentiments against Sardar Dawood Khan; in this way Ameen acted upon the instructions of his leader (Taraki) and agitated massive unrest for purpose to overthrow the government which at last beard the palm on 27 April 1978. The revolutionist leaders were conscious to

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topple the government and seized power by going the shortest way instead of adopting the classic way of revolution.

“The leadership had realized that it would take along time to follow the classic way of wrestling the political power by working class as this called toppling the government simultaneously with the crushing of Afghan army, creating a new revolutionary one---[It] was even impossible for many years to come finally, the leadership of PDPA and with the participation of the officer who were party members---the Afghan version of proletarian revolution started at a nine in the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Saur (April 27<sup>th</sup>) and ended at seven in the evening the same day”. 12

As the Revolutionists believed in that “the Saur revolution occurred through the wistful desire and psychological coordination of the people; because the dethroned rulers were not acceptable for the masses any more; as revolution was historical need for the state and ensured their existence in world”. 13

### **A view of Saur Revolution/Coupd'etat of April 1978**

Afghanistan was already lagging behind the world especially in the domains of educations, social development, economic and political developments. This situation itself demanded a drastic radical shift so that the people need society in general could be emancipated.

“To overcome the prevalent ignorance and poverty, a true revolution was indispensable. Who were the followers of this revolution? What the objectives of this uprising had? There was the soul prosperity of the Afghan masses behind the revolution or only a game which had been played to throw Afghanistan into the lap of Soviet Union. The worldly politicians were taken aback over the random revolution but were observed silence”. 14

The Saur Revolution or April takeover was not merely a random uprising on the land of Afghans or the power seized by the PDPA, Khalq or Parcham, but the upheaval was the repercussion of Cold War. What to say about, the decorating stage of wrestling which decorated on Afghan's land for Cold War contests.

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Whenever the Balshovek Revolution or Socialist Revolution beard the palm in 1917 in the neighbor of Afghanistan having the world divided into two rival camps and provided materials for coming up unending Cold War. But unfortunately, the ground for wrestling of Cold War Theater countries was decorated inside the already backward and ignorant Afghanistan which has not yet quenched the thirst of so-called war, taking life of millions of people during the show.

In the wake of the World War II, the seeds of Cold War spread widely intensifying the gulf among the two rival groups when taking advantages over one another through atomic experiments. In these grave circumstances of the globe recognized Afghanistan as a bone of contention between the Communism and capitalism and on one side the Forward Policy of the British folding its traps and on other side Soviet Union was leaving no stone unturned to carry out its expansionist policies hurriedly in order to size strong fortifications inside neighbor countries. The Cold War, and the occurrence of distinct incidents inside Afghanistan shocked the world pathetically, in which the third Anglo Afghan War in 1919, Foreign Policy, steps towards Soviet friendship and especially the stentorian voice for sliced land isolated through so-called accords of Ghandamak and Durand Line were worth mentioning; which trapped the Americans and the British into abyss of troubles.

Dethronement of Amanullah Khan's regime (1919-1929), and coming of Nader Shah into power instead, establishment of Wesh Zalmiyan (Awakened Youth), foundation of PDPA in 1965 and the creation of Akhwaniyan were bracing circumstances for upheaval in Afghanistan, because the rivalry of communism and capitalism pushed Afghanistan to live between the devil and the deep sea. In this dismal state of affairs the economic and as well as the social status of the country have no credibility to oppose the happening of Cold War wrestling inside Afghanistan which was about to display in no time. However, these compulsions, pathetic condition of the masses impelled country-men to lay down weapons and admitting the interference of foreigners in state affairs. The panacea of the green wounds of the masses was lacking with the rulers and these added fuel to the fire when sky-rocketing inflation, unemployment and fragile economy surged above expectations. The masses got fed

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up by the traditionally old ruling system in which existed their grievances.

While, overcoming these problems and the intentions of taking backward Afghans into the circle of developed nations were all indebted to these unresolved problems; which had been hailed enthusiastically by some political and religious parties to provide all essential life amenities at the door steps of masses indiscriminately and standardize their living style. Manifestos constituted according to the needs and desires of masses considered to be their basic rights, but regrettably the real forces of wrestling were never sincere with the demands of masses behind the scene.

The overthrowment of Shah by Sardar Dawood in 1973 with the help of PDPA and foreign agencies offered an opportunity on one side to PDPA within the state affairs and on the other end found a probability to impose their policies over the oppositions strictly. Resultantly, the mud slinging remained hidden behind the scene impossible and came to light. In the dethronement of Shah, it was deemed a political mistake of Sardar Dawood Khan being assisted by foreigners against Shah: which put the country between the devil and deep sea. The sagacity and foresightedness of Dawood was worth of mentioning to exploring every avenue in order to iron out prevalent difficulties but caught country between Scylla and Charybdis. At whatever time, failed to bring proxies of communist block and capitalist block hand and glove with one another within the country, gave birth to fluid situation owing to which Afghanistan maimed bitterly. In fact the grave men of these miseries were the expansion policy of Russians and the forward policy of Britain.

### **Pashtun Society:**

If glimpse over the geo-strategic structure of Pakhtoonkhwa, environment and the dwellers of this land. Therefore, the Afghan land has remained cradle of heart-taking incidents and revolutionists. Although, if individually look over the disposition of the Pashtun which is deemed not less than a silent revolutionists itself.

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More than a few instances portray that Pashtun society has passed through the ups and downs of all civilized norms which exposed their flexibility as a nature: some times they followed Jurga system enthusiastically and some time craft strong system of state and taught well organized government system to the world. But having too preserved history of nomadic life; they, the Pashtun, some time preferred in their daily-life dealings to Pashtunwali norms as like Jurga system but efforts sometimes to craft the edifice of advanced system of government like that of the prevailing day of Europe. So, the instances of Pashtun civilization have been portrayed before the Islamic period clearly; the Alexander period, the archaeology of Zartoosht religion, Hons, Koshyan period, Buddha Period, the Ghazni Ruins, the Baghlan, the Waziristran, Swat, Tahat Bahai archaeologies in Pakhtoonkhwa have been eye opener witnesses of Pashtun society's rich-ness.

In the modern history of Pashtun, a number of veteran and seasoned leaders confer a message of heroism, symbol of bravery and sagacity to the world: in which Bayazid Roshan, Khushal Baba, Aymal Khan Muhmand, Darya Khan and most well-known leader of twenty century Bacha Khan to the world. They were the outstanding figures who raised nationalism, freedom and love for country among the Pashtun society collectively. So it can be inferred through the above mentioned logics that Pashtun dwelt in the past a civilized nation and having hi-fi position in the current history of the world.

No doubt, the Pakhtoonkhwa land remained a civilized and advanced territory in that time whenever the mostly world nations were scuffling with each other. So, as that Ghandhara Civilization and rule of Afghan leaders over the Hind of Sub-Continent are worthy of mentioning instances; which reveals that Pashtun nation is one of the hard-working, courageous and loyal nations of the world. In addition, Pashtun are freedom lovers, democratic and cosmopolitan and know the significance of the politics, democracy and self-rule. Nevertheless, history is full of such instances and if the sixteen century attacks of Mughals and British are viewed over Pashtun land will unveil the reality that these attacks devastated the heritage of Pakhtoonkhwa civilization pathetically. The dismal story does not end here. They chopped Afghan territory in several parts with a view to strike Pashtun society, psychologically and

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territorially in order to diminish the strong picture of freedom and self-rule.

It is fact that a Pashtun nation is naturally a hard-working, mild, constructive, credible and adjustable with the time; religiously emotional, violence, antipathy, animosity and cruelty have no business with the Pashtun but never compromise over its rights. Despite some traitors, there might not be any instance of turncoats in the history of Afghan people.

Since that time when Pashtunistan had been maimed in several divisions, internally the systems which give momentum to the smooth running of any state appears, devastated crucially unity went of Afghans with a sliced of its adjacent lands. The centers of civilization and traders were converted into military cantonments instead of making industrial zones there. Seeds of hatred were sown among the different branches of Pashtun society; historically rich cities of past civilization assets (accept Peshawar) smashed through extremist activities in order to remove their assets of past civilization. Despite these gloomy circumstances “each ruler of Afghanistan strived to work for forlorn humanity, to take advantages of it, befriended them, save his position and his aims of reformation bring into order and they did this frequently”. 15

Whenever, the Pashtun land was sliced into several parts so as the communication ways were reduced to a great extent which generated multiple problems for the Pashtun unity. Like Pashtun were segregated and their national unity was doomed. Despite of erecting industries in cultural and business markets of Pakhtoonkhwa, military cantonments were crafted for defense purposes and intensified the circumstances over tribal issues in order to consume tribal conflicts among sub-branches of Pashtun at high level. Government befriended those who abided by the instructions of government directed to them against heroes of Pashtun and they were awarded by different kind of gifts. In addition, Peshawar is the only renowned city of Pakhtoonkhwa that remained inflexible and preserved its educational and civilization signs to a greater strength. The area of predominant Pashtun which is called autonomous tribal merely by name; but if we look at the eternal circumstances of FATA, the indigents so strictly by the law of state which reveals the fact like a mighty animal can be freed in the forest. And what prevailed in present days are not the

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consequences of those hidden forces who contested Cold War on Afghan land although the native Pashtun had nor have any role in this contest. In the same way, a part of North Pakhtoonkhwa (South Pakhtoonkhwa) is lagging behind the education in this scientific era and the diminished civilization and other parts of Pakhtoonkhwa as nothing but ruined houses.

As that Pashtun society is rich and having distinguishing features on the basis of civilization competition, means Behloul and Sher shah are well known personalities after Gheljies. In addition, Shah Mahmud and Ahmed Shah are recognized as icons of bravery. So in twenty century Pashtun land gave birth to such personality who is known as symbol of non-violence world-wide. Ghandi, a seer and soldier of non-violence has been acknowledgment throughout the world by non-violence who have taken back the role of Bacha Khan in such society where violence is order of the day. But on the other side, if Pashtun society is viewed, in which ignorance, emotions, egotism downtrodden life of masses and deprived living standard of masses, than it is suitable to say that

“It is an existed fact that religious effects are so deep in afghan society where I have seen in Kabul while walking on roads that men and women dressed in west clothes kiss the shrines having made on astride of roads with respect passing through. It is unflinching truth in rural areas where ignorance and capitalism were in grave forms. Masses were so conservatives just because of backwardness owing to which Afghan society experienced system of imperialism, tribalism and capitalism with full collaboration of Mullah”. (16)

### **Saur Revolution and Pashtun Society:**

If economically, socially and geo-strategic position of a society become pathetically Burdon over their masses and whereas, they having no capability to avert foreign attacks; obviously the dream of suitable state bringing into reality will be remained merely fantasy. Here, since long ago, Pashtun country is having such instances of disunity, the inventions, destructions and mass killings of people are order of the day. So, it is smelled a rat how democratic revolution can be succeeded when ever multifarious dimensional problems are being faced by society. Above all there are no doubt,

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moments of nations' freedom catching for as well in such circumstances which prevailed in Afghan society.

The Pashtun nation or Pashtun society, if glimpsed in this context, deems as a complete nation; as Geo-strategic position is serene. However, it is lagging behind so far the unity, solidarity, psychological attachment as a whole nation. The brunt of miseries has altered deeply the temper and as well as psycho of Pashtun nation; which Ghani Khan has pictured fantastically in his poetry.

Oh! Pashtun thy heart bleed  
 My heart hurt from thy  
 Having no logic but nefarious heart  
 Your habits of slaves  
 Pride more than king  
 Tired hands but sagacious mouth  
 Sikh attacks over thy  
 And Mughals becomes thy master  
 Thy history heart-taking  
 Away not from incidents  
 Bloody enemy of relatives  
 Back to strongest ones  
 Thy story nothing, having no nationality  
 Thy pricks Khushal disfigure, Jamal  
 Mess up Amen away from country  
 Having no skill, but despise of brethren proficiency  
 Thy have no divine mission, your respect reckless.  
 Oh! Pashtun thy heart, my heart hurt from thy bleed. 17

Means, before the Saur Revolution Pashtun society never braced itself for such mega event their for they neither welcomed the uprising nor were ready to give up traditionally old system of their forefathers for new one; which did not have any connections with the Afghan feelings Revolution is a name giving to continue struggles for rights whether that is political, social and national where majority of people strive against minority through their political maturity and at last attain their objectives.

In this perspective if the Saur Revolution is viewed between the lines than it might expose serene consequences to the readers in Afghanistan, circumstances never prepared for uprising. Basically, Afghans were never politically, educationally and socially that

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much mature to wipe out the oldest system of kingship which had been prevailing for centuries inside the country. So, for the Revolution is concerned it was totally opposite to the political, psychological and religious mind set of the country-men.

A seasoned Pashto poet and writer Saleem Raz express the same point of views

“The Saur Revolution can be compared with a complicated birth of a child when operation is felt weakness and necessity because circumstances were neither in fever of revolution nor PDPA braced itself for it, although they a good job another opinion about the revolution is that the revolution was succeeded and handled by the foreign agencies and not by the PDPA.”<sup>18</sup>

The point of views of the renowned poet is up to the mark but what to say of the time when hailing songs were being sung by most of the writers and now time has proved the abortive uprising of PDPA. So they found opportunity to denounce them.

### **In the Nut shell:**

The ups and downs of a society pave way for revolution: problems whether collective or individual give rise to a movement in unstable society. Consequently, revolution is not an external action but an internal one which catch fire according to the response of society grievances indiscriminately. Several instances can be viewed in this context to comprehend how an uprising takes places in society: like in Russian Revolution, French Democratic Revolution and the Political and Industrial Revolutions of British and America. In the history of revolutions, these revolutions are worth mentioning revolutions which were initiated by majorities against minorities and carried the day successfully. For the uprising of a movement, there must be deep rooted grievances and deprivations among the masses at large; which led them towards agitation against these prevailing injustices. For instance, the Proletariat Movement had all the requirements which were felt indispensable for an uprising against imperialists and exploiters. The French and American Revolutions were having similar backgrounds which after a long struggles beard the palm.

The Saur Revolution or Saur overthrow is if viewed in the light of above examples; it is to be cleared that general masses had neither sympathy with the revolution nor any support by the

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majority of people was with revolutionists. Although, the Saur Revolution had an axe to grind for a particular faction; therefore, declaring it a successful revolution will be injustice with those that rose for the cause of masses and thrived with the massive support of their people.

The over all circumstances of the Afghanistan were not in favor of any revolution because political awakening, high rate literacy ratio, unity and the coordination of people are being considered magnificent for any prodigious movement, which were bitterly missing in Afghan society. Hence, if the Saur Revolution or Saur Takeover is analyzed meticulously in the above mentioned revolutions will struck the reader of history while knowing facts about the revolution which neither hailed by majority of people nor any sympathy was expressed by the masses in favor of change. Nevertheless, a particular segment had its axe to grind. So, it can not be named a revolution which had risen by majority of people against minority of people.

The disposition of individuals follows the particular circumstances of that society blindly but rage is inevitable if any hindrance is developed which led them toward violence for and wide into society. Thus deterioration of circumstances is having recognition with the title of revolutionary way and its achievement is called revolution. So far as the Revolution of Russia is concerned the situation of society favored it and so on the French, China, British and American Revolutions; whereas no avenue of escape had been available except revolution.

Nevertheless, in which circumstances the Saur Revolution took place or the system which was about to introduce after the revolution was neither deemed panacea of the prevailing problems of masses nor the revolution had been hailed by general segment of masses. On the contrary Afghanistan had not unified system for agriculture and industry and by all means sky-rocketing poverty, fragile education, lacking of political and democratic maturity, unstable institution less army completely dependence on others and flagrant violation of boundaries or constant fear of foreign attacks had never let the state to flourish smoothly. Here a question is arises, how a prodigious revolution beard the palm successfully where the state confronted with such potent difficulties. By the way, the Saur Revolution is concerned

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bringing a political and systematic change in such pathetic and unstable society without masses support can be named nothing more than a blunder which handled by PDPA in Afghanistan the price of which has not been paid while chewing millions of people and impelling the country men on mass exodus.

As a matter of fact, under the dark Cold War, what happened in Afghanistan remained not an enigma for the world; means for the world the revolution was not led to make prosper the Afghan masses but the objectives of those hidden forces were behind the scene that had been scuffling for long ago. On the contrary, if the prodigious revolutions of the world are viewed than it would be brought into light that movement reached the destination after the massive support of masses and response to the deprivation of their people and majority of people led these revolutions against minority to attain their exploited rights. A revolutionist expert says:

“Revolution is the responsibility of all masses. It is not a personal problem of some people. For a successful revolution widely organizations of proletariat class, farmers and deprived segment are indispensable along with unity for revolution----- farmers are not only called but also invited for struggles to those patriotic class of bourseave.”<sup>19</sup>

By the way, the happening of any revolution around the world is not necessary to cater the conditions of other overt revolution; as the reason is that territorial, psychological and above all the cultural differences of societies make it diverse. Each society every society strives to get rid of diverse problems whether that is political, economical, territorial, national and so on. So Pashtun has an astonishing political, cultural, economical and religious psycho and (it is serene that Pashtun respect their religion and can not tolerate any profane inside religious rituals). Their unrestricted life in the shadow of bravery has also fostered in them the spirit of freedom and individualism; the love of freedom has never made them to accept the domination of others.

Regretfully the Saur Revolution proved merely an apple of discord for the hidden forces to find ways to surge their nefarious ends but declaring Saur takeover a pro-masses revolution will not be more than self-deception and mudslinging.

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Like a prominent Journalist and Pashto writer Dr. Abdul Ali Arghandavi says;

“De facto the communists invited the wresting of Cold War countries at Afghan land and regretfully having named it the Saur Revolution. It is an open secret that the revolution without politics can not bear fruits; so how the said takeover beard the palm but it is sure that successful dethronement reached the pinnacle throughout the barrel of foreigners’ gun and vice versa the country men never braced themselves for it”. 20

However the period of Revolution commenced from dawn to dusk and folded at the martyrdom of Sardar Dawood Khan and his family members discriminately. The revolution deemed sporadic war but the far-flung areas people were unaware of the new trends and happening occurrence in Kabul. The struggles for the grabbing of powers were the foremost priority of the PDPA. So, suspicion arises, if the PDPA takeover is deemed a revolution, than regretfully every military coupd, etet would have to be admitted a revolution.

Revolution or change is always initiates by majority of the people against minority and it can be peaceful or angrily violent; however, the following one is most expected one while bringing change. The Saur Revolution by all means unveiled the abortiveness of revolutionists and revealed that PDPA had a political program and struggling for political ameliorations in the country. Basically, race for seizing power and paving way for the threshold of Soviet Union were the prime onus of the PDPA which they named revolution. By the way that was the hoax idea of the revolutionists like a prominent leftist writer Mujahid Baralavi says:

“Afghan Revolution never passed through these classic ways which happened in Russia, China, Asia and Africa. Because there was neither existence of trade unions, farmers movements in the tribal and half capitalist society nor any class bass support of any party had with them. Elements of enlightenment or change whether that were students, experts, writers, officials and a band of military youth had gruesome grievances against imperialist Nadar and his exploitation.”21

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Though, the pillars of Pashtun society like Mulas, Pirs, Khans and Malaks, without whom change would have been regarded unfeasible, and PDPA brought revolution without these pillars. But some meritorious reforms introduced by PDPA were unprecedented like stoppage of early child marriage, opposition of interest, education obligatory upon male and female, Land reforms and respect of women rights.

In a nut shell, it can be said that the Saur Revolution was a takeover which came to light at the martyrdom of Sardar Dawood Khan and within a day reached to the pinnacle. Nevertheless, this scintillated such fire which has been taking millions of Afghans lives and yet demanding, ‘do more’. Country has been converted into ruined houses, sordid life, tears, wounds, filibuster, orphans, widows and becoming belligerent nation and what not has happened in the gloomy clouds of revolution.



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