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**AN ANALYSIS OF THE THEMES OF IDENTITY AND SENSE OF  
BELONGING IN THE PASHTO LITERARY WORKS OF AFGHAN  
REFUGEES FROM 1979 TO 1989**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This study has made an analysis of the Afghan refugees' literature during the period of one decade from 1979 to 1989, the time of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The period of that one decade, when there was the tumult and crisis of war, millions of Afghans were forced to flee away from their homeland to other lands, including Iran, Europe, USA, Germany and Pakistan. The larger number of Afghan refugees came for shelter to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan, which included different classes of the Afghan society. There were poets, writers, intellectuals, researchers and university teachers amongst those almost three million refugees, who continued with their writings and different literary activities, mostly in Peshawar. The study covers the writings of Peshawar-based Afghan refugees, with dominant Diasporic elements, as the tragedy was not an ordinary one, over which writers continue to write even today and will continue to write in future. Diaspora is a significant phenomenon in the history of many nations, which always leave a profound impact on the thinking and outlook of its ordinary masses and also on its writers and poets. The tragedy of homeless people is beyond measure as homelessness is followed by numerous issues with refugees everywhere in the world. The Afghan refugees were also confronted with the universal Diasporic issues, which is clearly perceptible in the writings of Afghan Diasporic poets and writers. The Afghan Diaspora had another important aspect as well. The refugees in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were either pro-communism or anti-communism. The refugees, who were anti-communism, were larger in number, so, during the Afghan Jihad against communism, the anti-communists promoted Jihadi propaganda, thus producing Jihadi literature. The study covers the analysis of the poetry, prose and jihadi literature of the Afghan Diaspora during the decade of 1979 to 1989.*

**Key Words:** *Refugees' literature, Pashto literature, Diaspora literature, Pak-Afghan Border, Afghanistan, Pashtuns.*

**INTRODUCTION**

For the current study it is quite significant to define the term 'refugee,' as there are different related terms used in the same context in the modern age. According to Merriam Webster dictionary, the term 'refugee' is used for a person, who flees away from his own country to a foreign country, in order to avoid the danger of persecution or the threat to life. The history of leaving one's native land and migrating to a foreign land is as old as human society.

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Large scale migrations have taken place in history for different causes, which can be social, political, religious and also cultural. There has been the example of the migration of the Holy Prophet of Islam from Makkah to Madinah for a holy cause, which was purely for the cause of religion and faith, above all worldly and material reasons. Material reasons more often refers to poverty or any other unfavorable conditions, which compel people to leave their motherland in search of livelihood. People, who leave their land in sheer helplessness go to other lands of opportunities, as their sole objective in leaving their land is always to earn for their family. Pashto folk poetry expresses the feeling of such type of migrants in a tappa:

څوک په رضا د ملکه نه ځي  
يا ډېر غريب شي يا د يار د غمه ځينه

Translation: No one will leave one's motherland out of free will. The reasons for migration can be poverty or the grief of the beloved.

There are so many other instances in the recent and ancient history about migration and the settlement of refugees away from their native land. There is another term 'Diaspora,' the dictionary meaning of which is also migration, or scattering away of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland. The term 'Diaspora' like so many other words has its origin from the Greek language, used in the meaning of 'dispersed,' 'scattered' around or 'dispersed.'

The word refers to those people who leave their native land and live in another country or countries and in this way get scattered at different places. People who leave the land of their origin and go to other countries can be due to various reasons; the reasons can be war, famine, poverty and any other economic or political pressure (Ramatjanovna, 2019; 69). One other point about Diaspora is that those people who have left their homeland due to one of these reasons but they are still bent to retain their link and connection with their own country. The literature which they compose is known Diaspora literature. Like migration Diaspora has also existed at every stage of the human society. In history, there have been examples of Jewish and African Diasporas and in the current there are instances of modern ones, including the Afghan Diaspora (Pir, 2023; 448). In the modern age, all the terms, which relate to the people, who leave their original native homeland and go to another land to live there for survival are refugees, diaspora, displaced, migrated, exiled and expatriates. These terms are synonymous in the sense of people, who leave their country and live or settle in another country with a slight difference in meaning in the case of some words. For instance, an expatriate is a person, who leaves his homeland by consent. An exile is a person, who is forced to leave his homeland or it can be voluntary. In other words exile can be voluntary or involuntary.

The term Muhajir (migrant) and Jalla Watan (exile) are often confused with each another. The fact is that both the terms have similarities but still the difference between them cannot be overlooked. Aryana Dairatul Ma'arif (2009) says that exile is mostly leaving one's land by force, while migration is voluntary but due to the disharmony in one's land, the reasons for which can be various, including foreign invasion. According to Denise Helly (2006) and as has been cited by Ramatjanovna (2019, 69-70), the term refugee which is closely connected with the term Diaspora is about a large number of people living outside their homeland. The current study is about the literature of Afghan refugees in Pashto, who were specifically based in Peshawar during the decade of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan from 1979-1989. Zalmay

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Hewadmal, in his book *Da Saur pa Trajedee ke Farhang*, (1993), writes that when Russian Communism gained its influence in Afghanistan, all those intellectuals, poets, writers, critics and scholars preferred to leave their homeland, realized that their faith was under threat in the land of communism. The ones, who were left behind faced sufferings and persecution at the hands of the communists. They were forced by the communists to leave their land. So many of them were executed or imprisoned.

### **RELATED TERMS IN PASHTO AND DARRI LANGUAGES FOR DIASPORA LITERATURE**

If looked at in the historical context (Khudayar, 2008, pp. 27-44), different people who leave their land and settle in another country due to various reasons are termed as 'Muhajir (migrants). In the current history, most of the large scale migrations have taken place due to wars. As a consequence of war, millions of people are displaced from their homes and are forced to take shelter in other foreign and mostly near lands. Due to the large scale migrations poets, writers, artists and intellectuals also migrate from their native lands. The literature, which the migrants create in foreign lands is known as *Da Muhajirat Adbiyat* (The Literature of Migration). There have been varied terms for the Diaspora literature in Pashto and Dari languages. As has already been mentioned that Diaspora literature is the term, given to the literature created by the people, who are displaced from their homeland due to different reasons. The reasons for the migration of the displaced people can be voluntary or involuntary but the literature, which they create is termed as Diaspora literature. There are some features of Diaspora literature, which are also common to Afghan Diaspora of the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the decade, extending from 1979-1989, due to the Soviet invasion. As the Afghan outflow from their homeland, which started in 1979, soon after the Soviet invasion, was about their disturbed state of mind. The Afghan refugees fled away to the neighboring lands but the largest number of them came to Pakistan. These Afghan expatriates faced many problems, like that of adjustment in a foreign land. The Afghan refugees have also faced a threat to their own culture and their cultural identity (Pir, 2023; 448). Refugees away from their own country feel a sense of belonging with their own land and a threat to their cultural identity. Identity crisis is also a very serious issue, which refugees face, when away from their homeland. Writers are the most sensitive people of any section of society and their literary creations strongly depict the feelings through which the larger number of people undergo.

The Afghan Pashto Diasporic literature which has been created by the refugees, living in Pakistan portray some of the dominant features of the Diaspora literature in other parts of the world. There are different terms for the Diaspora literature in Pashto and Dari languages. The first term for the Diaspora literature in Pashto language is, *Da Kadwalai Adbiyat*, which means literature created by those who have left their homeland with their bag and baggage. Leaving a place with bag and baggage signifies going to another place for a longer period of time or settling over there. Another Pashto term for Diasporic literature is *Jalla Watana Adbiyat*, which simply means literature created by the exiled ones. The exiled leave their country by force or they can leave it by choice also but the exiled live away from their own land in a foreign land most of the time haunted by nostalgic feelings. The literature created by the exiled is termed in Pashto as *Jalla Watana Adbiyat*, meaning literature written by those, who live in exile.

During the period when the Russian troops had invaded Afghanistan, on the one hand thousands of Afghans were killed and on the other, the Mujahideen fought against them, so as to free their land from the illegal foreign invasions. The jihadi movement and spirit remained

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at the height during the decade of 1979-1989. The literature of that decade has also been influence by the jihadi spirit. Therefore, for the Diaspora literature the term *Jihadi Adbiyat* is also used. *Jihadi Adbiyat* refers to that religious literature about the Islamic holy war (Jihad), produced during the Soviet invasion period. This literature sheds light on the significance of Jihad in Islam or fighting for a holy cause. Another term used for Diasporic literature in local language is *Da Muqawamat Adbiyat*. The word *Muqawamat* in Pashto means resistance. In simple words this literature can be termed as literature about resistance or such type of feelings reflected in the literature of resistance. Resistance can be about the foreign rule in one's land or about resisting foreign culture so as to preserve the identity of one's own distinct culture and language. Another term in use for Diasporic literature in Pashto language is *Da Muhajirat Adbiyat*. *Muhajirat* is a word used in Pashto language for migration. So, the *Muhajirat Adbiyat* stand for the creative writings of the refugees during their migration. Here, specifically the term refers to the literature produced by the Afghan refugees, who had to flee their native land due to the Soviet invasion. The last term in this regard is *Da bekora shawi khalaq leek*. *Bekora shawey khalaq* are the people who lose their home due to so many reasons, one of which is the foreign invasion of one's homeland. The term signifies the literary writings of those who have been made homeless. In short, it may be concluded that all these terms refer to the Diasporic literature. It also speaks about the universality of the phenomenon of refugees and the creative literature created by them. The term Diasporic literature, which has evolved and is used for the literature, written by the refugees or the displaced people, is indicative of the fact that thematically it has some difference, compared to that literature written during normal conditions. All the terms, which have evolved in the local languages for diasporic literature speak a lot about the subjects, themes and also about the mental disturbance and mental turmoil of those who are forced to leave their motherland.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The Afghan land has been frequently invaded by foreign powers throughout at different periods in history. It would be correct to say that this land, due to its geographic location, has remained the center of conflicts between the colonizers. Besides the foreign conquests of Afghanistan, of which the one very important instance is the three invasions by the British imperialists, there is one other strong reality about this land, it comprises of different ethnic groups and a struggle for power goes on between them. It is a unanimous fact that the Afghan invasion by the Soviets in the recent history has affected this land more than at any other point in history. The Russians invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and during 1979-1989, there remained a state of turmoil. It proved a calamity to the land and also to its inhabitants. Over more than a million Afghans lost life and millions were forced to flee their country to the neighboring states of Pakistan, Iran and to other parts of the world, including USA, UK, Canada, Germany and also India. The refugees, who live outside their native land suffer many problems, physical and also mental dilemmas.

The literature created by refugees in the alien land is termed as 'Diaspora Literature.' The Iranian scholar Raza Farrukh Faal says that the literature of migration and exile is often used under the same term. The difference between them is still clear, which is 'Diasporic literature' for both the literature of 'exile' and also 'migration.' There is one other factor also about 'Diasporic literature.' Literature written by writers, which is of quality and towards which critics and intellectual are attracted can be termed as 'Diasporic Literature.' Diaspora literature attracts literary critics for reviews and analysis. Diasporic literature, besides themes

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of migration has also universal themes and is read by readers alike. The novels of Khalid Hosseini, a US based Afghan writer, fall into that category, which have doubtlessly won international renown. Theme is also very important to Diaspora Literature, whichever the language. Most of the Diaspora Literature conveys different messages about the sufferings of the homeless people in alien lands and fulfill the requirement of this specific category by bringing themes about the issues with which refugees are confronted. Sadat (2012, 1-8), in his research study on the six short stories of Afghan Dari language refugee writer Sultanzadeh, believes that Sultanzadeh has focused the social, political and economic problems, which the war torn Afghanistan is facing. Sultanzadeh has also touched upon all taboos, like psychological issues due to forced migration, suicide and crimes which result from extreme poverty and war, rape, other psychological issues related with religious fundamentalism and a variety of other sufferings. The writer's profound understanding of all these issues and how societies suffer due to imposed war traumas on them is marvelous. Sultanzadeh has generated the discussion about the plight of Afghans in order to find out a remedy for the distress of his fellow country-men. Sultanzadeh has written his stories during the period when free views were forbidden in the post-war times. Creative writers were either killed or imprisoned as they had to pay a price for the free expression of their feelings. His stories have nameless characters and have unfinished endings and so much is left to the reader for interpretation. Ramatjanovna (2019, 69-81) has made an analysis of "Diaspora's features in Khalid Hosseini's novels." In the analysis he discusses three novels of Khalid Hosseini, an American based Afghan writer. He is amongst those writers of Afghan Diaspora, who have created works in English language. According to Ramatjanovna, Diaspora writers, who have created their literary works in English are characterized by three main characteristics. The conflict of language and the alien culture is dominant in their works along with the autobiographical style of writing and the very firm correlation of time and space. Nostalgia is also a prominent subject of Hosseini's works besides the terrors of war, poverty, forced childhood marriages due to lack of education and awareness and the general tragic conditions brought about by the devastations of war.

Avinash Kumar (2022, 12-14) in "Relevance of Diasporic Literature in the Globalised World: A Study" is of the view that Diasporic literature affects the cultural, political, social, economic and literary trends and issues of the world. This literature reflects the feelings of those, who are living in another country and realize that the new land has claims to their sincerity but at the same time they possess strong sense of belonging to their own original land. They also feel bound to their own land and identity. The refugees through their creative literature express their strong need for the preservation of their identity in alien cultures. It reflects the psyche, behavior, emotional problems and adjustments of the refugees. According to Ahmadzai (p. 1), refugees give vent to their innermost feelings through pen. Their common feelings are at the deep anguish at being away from homeland. Moreover, the intensity of feelings about the preservation of their linguistic and cultural identity is amongst the dominant themes of Diaspora literature. Refugees everywhere in the world lament the loss of their original homeland and have the longing of going back there when conditions get favorable, which is also a theme frequently found in Diaspora literature, whether prose or poetry. The migrants also affect the culture and literature of the lands where they settle down. Kumar (2022) poses a question about Diasporic literature as a separate genre to which he himself does not provide an answer.

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## **NUMBER OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN**

As of December 2022, Pakistan hosts 3.7 million Afghans comprising 1.32 million Proof of Registration (POR) holders (entitled to stay in Pakistan), 840,000 Afghan Citizenship Card Holders, besides undocumented Afghans. About three quarters of registered Afghan refugees are concentrated in two areas, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (52.5%) and Balochistan (24.2%) (UNHCR, 2023). These numbers fluctuate based on inflows, outflows, and circular flows. A new flow of refugees to Pakistan followed the Taliban takeover in 2021. However, the Pakistan Government has refused to create new camps to accommodate new arrivals, estimated at 600,000. UNHCR issued these persons' certificates, identifying them as asylum seekers, and is negotiating with the Pakistani government over their status, since Pakistan is not a state signatory to the 1951 Rome Convention or the 1967 Protocol governing refugees, and has no domestic asylum laws (Joles, 2021). In the month of October 2023, Pakistan started deportation of undocumented Afghan refugees.

## **LINGUISTIC IMPACT OF THE PASHTUN MIGRATION OF THE EARLIER 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO AFGHANISTAN**

It was in the earlier part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Pashtuns migrated to Afghanistan, before partition, from the North West Frontier Province of the then India. The Pashtuns migrated to Afghanistan under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, commonly known as Bacha Khan. It was the period when Amir Amanullah Khan was the king of Afghanistan. Amir Amanullah won sovereign status for Afghanistan and also freed Afghan foreign policy from foreign influence in 1919. Bacha Khan, while he was in Afghanistan during the Hijrat Movement of Pashtuns to Afghanistan, talked to Amir Amanullah about the due status of Pashto language as despite the language of the majority, it had been given a secondary and inferior status. With the talk of Bacha Khan with Amir Amanullah about the due status of this language and it was from there that efforts were made for the promotion of Pashto language at official level. Bacha Khan, in his autobiography, *Zama Jzwand Aw Jaddojehad (My Life and Struggle)* has written that once he was sitting with Amir Amanullah Khan and making discussion with him on several matters, he told the Afghan king that he knew Persian, Turkish and other languages but as Pashtun did not know Pashto language. Amir Amanullah Khan was greatly impressed by the words of Bacha Khan and promised with him that he will learn Pashto. Bacha Khan further writes in his book that when Amanullah Khan was in exile in Bombay, he went there to meet him and the exiled king talked to him in Pashto. Bacha Khan further writes that when he was in Kabul, he was on good terms with the family of Nadir Khan. Nadir Khan himself was the minister of defense for Afghanistan and his brother Sardar Abdul Aziz Khan was also the state minister. One day they invited me to visit the Habibiya college and when I asked the students questions in Persian, they would answer them but they did not understand Pashto. Bacha Khan told the students that how could they call themselves Afghans when they did not understand the language of the majority, which was Pashto (Khan, 1983: 176).

Bacha Khan writes in his book in the same regard (p.177) that he was having the company of Mahmood Tarzi, the foreign minister of Afghanistan and a very talented man. Mahmood Tarzi had arranged a feast for the refugees. During the discussion on languages, a man told that Pashto was not spoken at the official level. On hearing this Mahmood Tarzi said that Persian was also the language of Afghanistan. Bacha Khan on hearing these words, told Mahmood

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Tarzi that Pashto is the language of majority and the language of the majority should be the official language and also the language, in which people receive education (Khan, 1983, 176-177).

It was in 1936 that Pashto was declared as the official language of Afghanistan through a royal decree. It can be undoubtedly claimed that in restoring Pashto Language to its due and legal status and role in Afghanistan, the contribution of Bacha Khan is tremendous. Bacha Khan motivated the rulers in rendering Pashto language the status of the second official language of Afghanistan.

#### **BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN**

The land of Afghanistan has remained the center of power tussle for the great external powers since very long. The geographic location of the land has played an immense role in making it a power base for the colonizers. There is another strong element, due to which the Afghan land has always remained in a disturbed state is the multi-ethnic state of the society, which has kept them at internal strife throughout. The Afghans have fought three wars against the British, two in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the last one in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The British invasions took place in the years 1839, 1878 and the third Anglo-Afghan war was fought in 1919. It was the time when Amir Amanullah Khan was ruling over Afghanistan. After the three Anglo-Afghan wars, Afghans joined the Russian bloc. It was in 1979 that with the support of Afghan Marxist political party, the Russians invaded Afghanistan, with more or less, the same imperialist designs, for which the British had invaded the land thrice. As it was the time of cold war between the former Soviet Union and the US. The cold war period was basically the period of conflict between the capitalist and the communist world. As it is well-known that one bloc was led by the US and its allies and the second one by the former Soviet Union and its allies.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan of 1979 was like a catastrophe for the ordinary public of the land. It continued for a period of one decade, during which Afghanistan was in a state of perpetual war. The Afghan mujahideen backed by US, Saudia Arabia, Pakistan and others fought against the Soviet troops, resulting in human and material loss for the Afghans. The Soviet president Mikhael Gorbachev decided the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1986 and finally under the Geneva Accord, in February, 1989, the process of withdrawal started. Before the retreat of the Soviet troops from Pakistan, over three million Afghan refugees had migrated to Pakistan, living in different areas, specially the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.

#### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The current study is based on interpretive qualitative research. In order to carry out this interpretive qualitative study, the tools of inductive and deductive thematic analysis will be applied to it. The study is about the Diaspora literature, created in the present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan and particularly in Peshawar by the Afghan refugees, during the Soviet invasion. According to Ahmadzai (p.5), the most important point about the literature of refugees or migrants is that it expresses nostalgic feelings with intensity, when they themselves are caught in the plight and miseries of an alien land. More than that the migrants go through poverty, separation, longing for the love of the loved-ones, identity of their culture and language and a deep sense of belonging to their culture. As the study is about themes of identity and sense of belonging in the literary works of Afghan refugees, which has been written during the period of 1979-1989. The themes of identity and sense of belonging

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are the very common themes with displaced people as it is quite natural with humans that they lament the loss of their contact with their homeland and also want to retain the identity of the culture in which they have grown up. According to Safran and Cohen and as has been cited by Raina (2017, 6471-72), when people's connection with their original land is lost, this state gives rise to a number of issues for them.

The issues with which the dislocated people are faced are of social, economic, political and psychological nature. When they become homeless, they come across multiple issues, like poverty and a variety of other issues related with poverty. Poverty also gives rise to psychological issues as in foreign lands refugees feel the indignity and ignominy of being beggars. The migrated people also profoundly feel the problems of their fellow-migrants to the state of empathy. With refugees, association and sense of belonging with the original homeland remains a dominant feeling in their unconscious, which haunts it every now and then. Due to the social and psychological issues with the displaced persons, themes of fear, disgust, horror, agitation, repugnance, nostalgia, isolation, alienation, identity, blend of two or more cultures are the recurring themes with Diasporic literature. Raina (2017, 6471-72) believes that the concept of identity has always remained a debatable subject as it is not constant but keeps forming and evolving. It is because of the same fact that Diasporic literature is mostly autobiographical in nature, where the authors are involved in a quest for the self, which reveals their identity. Raina further says that the formation of a writer's identity takes place in the culture where he resides. It includes the collection of cultural and social beliefs, norms and values. The adaptation of all these cultural norms, which deal with an individual's cultural identity, according to Raina, begins with the womb of one's mother and continues till the womb of grave. According to literary theorists, cultural identity is not static but can change with more self-exploration. According to the social theorist, Stuart Hall, cultural identity is a complex term. He, in his book *Questions of Cultural Identity*, elaborates upon as to how and why the question of cultural identity is pressing and demands so much attention. He is of the view that it is a very sensitive question. The question of identity has at its background a common origin or common features with people or whole communities. Identity is also about unity of goals and objectives with certain ideals. Along with identity, another central theme of the literary writings of the migrated people is alienation (Raina, 2017, 6473). Alienation signifies refugees' distance from their homeland and their dissatisfaction about it. Their dissatisfaction about being away from their native land and sense of belonging with their own land and people, make one of the most dominant themes of the literature, produced by the migrated. It is quite natural that people suffer from isolation and alienation in foreign and remote lands and they are always haunted by the memories of the time spent in their homeland.

### **PROMINENT AFGHAN DIASPORA POETS AND WRITERS IN PESHAWAR DURING 1979-1989**

It is important to mention the names of those poets and writers, who during the Soviet invasion from 1979 to 1989 were settled in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Quetta or other parts of Pakistan and contributed their share to Jihadi literature. These name include:

Ajruddin Iqbal, Ajmal Aund, Ahmad Arshad Irshad, Ahmad Zia Rahimzai, Asadullah Hanafi, Asadullah Ghazanfar, Amanullah Nasrat, Baz Muhammad Abid, Barat Muhammad Soda, Barkatullah Kameen, Burhanuddin Rabbani (Ustaad), Pir Muhammad Karwan, Toryaley Zaiyee, Janbaz Sarfarz (Maulwi), Habibullah Raffi (researcher), Hakeem Tarnewaal,



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Khalilullah Khalilee, Dur Muhammad Afghanyar, Zabihullah Sharar, Rashid Saljoqi (Ustaad), Rasul Amin (professor), Zahidi Ahmazai (Maulwi), Zakriyal Mlatar (researcher), Zamrak Abid, Sakhidad Fayiz (Maulwi), Samiullah Taza, Syed Ishaq Diljo Hussaini, Syed Hakim Kamal Shinwari, Syed Umer Azami, Syed Fazal Akbar, Syed Gulab Sabawon, Syed Bahauddin Majrooh (professor and doctor), Syed Shamsuddin Majrooh, Syed Mahmood Shakoh, Syed Mohiuddin Hashmi (university teacher), Shah Muhammad Patang, Sharar Saapi, Shamsuddin Shams, Shohrat Nangyal, Sher Shah Yousafzai Shahab (doctor), Abdul Ahad Tarshi, Abdul Ahad Ishrati, Abdul Bari Ghairat, Abdul Jaleel Sartor, Abdul Jaleel Wajdi, Abdul Hakeem Tabibi (doctor), Abdul Haiye Shaida, Abdul Haiye Warshan, Abdul Rahman Pazwak, Abdul Fattah Jawad, Abdul Qayyum Malakzad, Abdul Kareem Khurram, Abdul Kareem Mohib, Abdullah Ghamkhor, Abdul Mateen Taskeen, Abdul Manan Dardmand, Abdul Wakeel Sadaqat, Abdul Rasool Siyaf (ustaad), Azizur Rahman Ulfat, Ismat Qaney, Imaduddin Waseeq, Inayatullah Khalil, Ghulam Farooq Chishti, Ghulam Nabi Zarmati (Maulwi), Fida Muhammad Fayiz, Fareedon Afriyabi, Fazlur Rahman Fazil, Fazal Ghani Ghani Kamawal, Fazal Wali Nagaar, Faqeer Muhammad Khanjari, Farooq Azam (doctor), Qiyamuddin Kashaaf Kamawal, Fawal Wali Nagaar, Gul Agha Bairang, Gul Badeen Hekmatyaar (engineer), Gul Zadak Zadraan, Gohari, Mohibur Rahman Hosa, Muhammada Jan Haqpal, Muhammadullah Zarmati (doctor), Muhamadullah Naqid, Muhammad Asif Ikram (engineer), Muhammad Asif Sameem, Muhammad Akbar Akbar (doctor), Muhammad Ayub Aseel (General), Muhammad Jan Ahmadzai (ustaad), Muhammad Muzamil Wulasmal, Muhammad Hanif Hanif Balkhi (maulana), Muhammad Hanif Hairaan (doctor), Muhammad Daud Wafa, Muhammad Zubair Shafiqi, Muhammad Zaman Muzamil, Muhammad Sharif Paigham, Muhammad Sidiq Pasarley, Muhammad Zahir Sidiq (doctor), Muhammad Arif Gharwal, Muhammad , Humayun Jarir, Muhammad Kazim Sharqi, Muhammad Muzamil Islami, Muhammad Maroof Farogh Ghar, Muhammad Nazir Basharat, Muhammad Naseem Staneezi, Muhammad Naseem Faqiri, Muhammad Humayun Jarir, Muhammad Yousaf Ilmi (university teacher, doctor), Muhammad Younas Khalis (Maulwi), Mahmood Draswal (Maulwi), Mustafa Salik, Mir Ahmad Shah Zaigham, Mir Awais Sartor, Najeeb Amir, Nusratul Haam, Naimatullah Shahrani (university teacher), Noorul Habib Nisar, Waseeq (Maulana), Waheed Muzda, Wali Muhammad Wali, Yaqoob Sharafat, Yousaf Ayeena Aw Noor are the prominent writers who contributed to Jihadi literature during the Soviet invasion.

Prominent writers of the early period after the Soviet invasion, who settled in Peshawar, were Zalmay Hewadmal, Habibullah Rafi, Asif Samim, Sadiqullah Rishtin, who was a writer and an intellectual. Rishtin had been the director of Pashto Academy, Kabul. Other distinguished figures of the early period are Rasul Amin and Sulaiman Laiq. Besides their own writings, the writers of the first phase who came as refugees to Peshawar, tried their level best for the promotion of Pashto language and literature.

Habibullah Rafi is also a distinguished Afghan writer, whose writings and literary contribution cover the period of 1979-1989. Habibullah Rafi, according to Anbareen (2016, 1) has a highly creative mind and has been blessed with fertile imagination and versatile talents. He has written more than hundred books in Pashto and Dari languages on different subjects. His works comprise prose, poetry and also translations. Habibullah Rafi was the editor of Aman Publications but when the Saur Revolution broke out, he left away with his services for these publications. He published his books under his own supervision. Durings the decade from 1979-1989, Raffi remained a regular contributor for the two journals, one was titled as "Da

Afghanistan Da Jihad Saqafati Shora” and the second one was “Afghan Jihad” (Haleem, nd.; p. 72). In Peshawar, Habibullah Raffi continued with his struggle in favor of the Afghan Jihad against Communism and he brought his pen into use for the holy purpose along with his friends. In 1986, in Pakistan, he became a member of the “Qalam” magazine and in 1989 started working for the journal “Afghanistan” and other literary groups, the sole aim of which was the welfare of the Afghans (Anbareen, 2016; 17).

### **ANALYSIS OF SELECTED LITERARY WORKS OF THE AFGHAN DIASPORA FROM 1979-1989**

Afghan refugees fled to different countries after the Soviet invasion. The refugees took shelter in different countries but the larger number of them came to the nearer border country, Pakistan. Most of them were accommodated around the refugee camps near Peshawar and others made private arrangement for themselves. According to certain critics as mentioned by Lar aw Bar Web Panrra, the outflow of Afghan refugees to Peshawar added to the ugliness of the city. Critics are of the view that only the negative aspect of the refugee influx to Peshawar should not be highlighted. It has a positive aspect as well and that is the promotion of Pashto literature. There is a saying that great literature is produced in times of crises. According to Lar aw Bar Web Panrra, after the Afghan refugees came to Pakistan, the majority of a whole generation got themselves involved in writing. Even those who had the urge for creative writing but could not get time or even think of writing there started writing in Pakistan. They also wrote about their personal plight and the whole tragedy, the way they perceived and looked at it. As a consequence, the literature which is usually produced in hundred years was produced in twenty years. The literature, produced by the Afghan refugees in Peshawar include poetry, articles for newspapers, short stories and novels etc.

When Afghan refugees migrated to other countries including Pakistan, it brought them into contact with other foreign cultures and different styles and genres of writings, of the writers of those lands. This contact definitely broadened their vision and outlook. A literature was produced which was of good quality and was also appreciated by readers. As a consequence, the quality of Pashto literature was improved and its quantity multiplied. The novelist and poet Amanullah Sahoo has said that the Afghans have produced the best literature in Peshawar as far as quality and quantity is concerned. He stresses the need for writing more literature about the tragedy of Afghanistan as the western writers are still writing about the World War. According to Sahoo, the Afghan invasion by the Soviets and their “muhajirat” is not an ordinary tragedy. All the Afghan refugees everywhere in different lands, in their writings have expressed their gloom and grief at the loss of their land and have contributed to Diaspora Literature.

Amna Raziq has published a book in 2012 under the title *Jalawatana Pashto Shaeri* (Pashto Poetry written in exile) in which she has written about Afghan Pashtun refugee poets, specifically living in Peshawar. The specimens of those poets’ poetry is provided here for the reader. Dr. Muhammadullah Zarmati, in his lines describes his love for the homeland in this manner:

دلته مي ټول وطن پر هر پر هر شه  
او نازنين وطن مي اور واخيسته  
نه د قاصد  
نه د ريبار شته پته

نه ماشومان  
نه د مرغانو اواز  
د دې چوپتيا د ترورمې په زړه كښي  
زه لا خوځېرم د اشنا په طرف  
ورته خمي زخمي گلان ټولوم (Raziq, 2012:6)

Translation: My land is bleeding and has been put on fire. Lovers do not receive any messages from homeland as there is utter anarchy. No children are seen and no chattering of birds. During this solitude of disturbance caused by war, I am still hopeful to meet my beloved. That is why I am collecting flowers for my beloved.

Karima Rasuli describes her sorrow and grief at being away from her motherland:

گله سبا له مې كېردى ته بوځه  
ما ته كېردى د خپل وطن ياديري (Raziq, 2012:8)

Translation: Please take me along with you tomorrow to see the tents of refugees of my land as I miss the tents, which were there once.

An academician and poet, Abdul Shakoor Rashad, in his poem has addressed the Afghan Diaspora, in the following lines, which was published in the Pashto magazine Jaras, published from Karachi, Pakistan:

آ تر ملك بهر افغانه! ز مونږ حالات خورا ترخه دي  
ځيگر سوځه مو بيان دے زړه ربيونكي مو خواله دي  
مرور دي پسرلي د افغانانو له وطنه  
ارولي په دې ملك كښي خزانو لا درانه دي (Raziq, 2012: 9)

Translation: Oh Afghans! Our conditions are bitter and the worst. Our words expressed through poetry scar the hearts of those who read them. Our general condition also makes one bleed. It seems as if spring will not return to this land again, as autumn has permanently settled in here.

All those refugees, who live outside their homeland, due to war or any other unfavorable conditions, mostly express their desire through their poetry to be buried in that soil. An Afghan poet Abdul Bari Jahani expresses similar feeling like this:

يو مې سوال ځواب د قبر په پښتو كښي  
يو لحد په كندهار درځخه غواړم  
چې يواځې جهاني درځي درشل ته  
د سگروټو په سر لار درځخه غواړم (Raziq, 2012: 10)

Translation: The poet wishes to be asked all questions in the grave in Pashto language. He also wishes to be buried in a grave in Qandahar. There he will be received by the angels alone and even if the path towards the everlasting life is the most difficult. He will face all the hurdles in that path like a brave fighter as he will be in his homeland.

Abdul Bari Jahani in another quatrain, says that:

ما ته مه ژاړه له تورو تورو ورځو  
ماته مه وايه چې سپيني د چا شپي دي  
زه پوهېرم چې وطن وطن شهيد دے  
ما ته مه وايه چې ډكي هديرې دي (Raziq, 2012: 11)

Translation: The poet says to his beloved that she should not be shedding tears from her black eyes. Do not tell me that the nights of others are bright. I can see martyrs at every door of my country and moreover, do not remind me that graveyards of the homeland are not vacant of the dead.

The Afghan Diaspora poets pay tribute to other refugee poets, for instance, Ajmal Aund, in his book *Sapo Ke Anzuruna*, pays tribute to another Diaspora poet, named Pir Muhammad Karwan. Ajmal Aund pays tribute to Karwan in the following couplet in an amazing style:

که حالاتو مي رباب له غېږې واخست  
خو نغمو ته يې کاروان راته راگرے (Raziq, 2012: 12)

Translation: There is no sweet music and songs in my life due to the harsh conditions but I have been blessed with a company, who can sing songs to me any time.

Ajmal Aund in his book "Wraka Meena," in a poem, which is titled as 'Ma Pukhta Naseema' writes:

مۀ پوښته نسيمه  
زما د غرونو څوکي مۀ پوښته  
تيرې يې درمني دي  
مۀ بنوروه ونې له کلبوتو څخه لري شه  
ځانگي يې خورمني دي  
ته به د گلاب و مچولو ته راغلي يې  
ته به د ارغوان و ښکلولو ته راغلي يې  
نه نه دا هغه وطن نه دے  
دا هغه گلشن نه دے  
دلته اهریمن راپر بوتلي دي

دلته لېونتوب توفاني شوے دے (Raziq, 2012: 12)

Translation: O cool breeze, do not ask me anything about the peaks of the high mountains of my homeland. Even the stones of this land are in deep anguish. Do not touch the branches of its trees as even these branches have deep scars. You might be thinking of the spring season in full bloom but here buds will die without blooming into flowers. This land is in anarchy and its storms are bent on bringing destruction.

The Afghan Diaspora poet Pir Muhammad Karwan, in his book *Chinar Khabare Kawee*, expresses a unique idea in a couplet about his beloved and how he used to write her name on Oriental Plane tree (Chinar) but now:

غوڅ يې کر تابوت يې کر ستا نوم به مي ليکه پري  
ستا په نامه خاورو ته چنار راسره راغے (Raziq, 2012: 15)

Translation: The Chinar tree on which I used to carve the name of my beloved has been cut down. My coffin has been made from the pieces of the same tree. I carried the same chinar tree to my grave with your name.

During the Russian invasion in 1979, so many poets migrated to different lands but the larger number migrated to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Mashad. Then there were others who were born abroad but due to the prolonged war in Afghanistan grew up abroad. These lines express the feelings of the second generation of Afghan poets:

وخت سره چي جنگ کرو خو بي وسه يو  
ډېر يې که په ننگ کرو خو بي وسه يو

څه رنگ به مو هېر شي هغه گل وطن  
اوس چي ورنه څنگ کړو خو بي وسه يو  
مونږه مسافرو سيورے و نه موند

لاندې سر نه سنگ کړو خو بي وسه يو (Raziq, 2012: 16)

Translation: We in our desperation have fought even with time and have fought to the best but still there is no hope. How can one forget one's dear homeland but still we have lost our hope as the conditions display a state of anarchy. We will remain refugees in alien lands, with no permanent shelter.

It is a natural phenomenon that poets and writers are influenced by the literary trends and literary genres of alien cultures and societies. It happens through the coming together of different cultures, societies and also literature. Different literary genres have been adopted by societies from others in the same manner, otherwise, societies would have remained restricted to their own literary trends and genres. In this connection, prominent Diaspora writer and analyst Muhammad Nabi Salahi writes (2017, 106) that during the Afghan war the number of writers and poets multiplied and they aspired to express their religious, nationalistic, and resistant feelings through poetry and also prose. The migrant Afghan poets through their efforts introduced Haikoo into Afghan Pashto poetry, which has covered various subjects.

The desire for identity, dignity and self-respect is a part of every individual and everyone has some longings and aspirations. People are worried about their future and desire for a better life in future. All these aspirations of people are connected with their motherland, and when all of a sudden due to some political, economic issues or foreign invasion, they are forced to leave their homeland and become homeless, all their plans and ideas are shattered. When they go to a foreign land, they are confronted with alienation. The feeling of alienation is in itself a serious issue. Such type of feelings have been (Hashmi, p.7) expressed by Toofani in a poem:

دلته پردے ہم څوک مي نه پيژني  
څوک مي سلام ته هم سلام نه وائي  
څوک مي له ځانه سره ځان نه گڼي  
څوک راته سيال د ننگ او نام نه وائي  
نه مي له چا سره خندا وېشلي  
نه مي له چا سره ژړا شريکه  
نه مي نورو سره مينه يو شان  
نه مي له نورو سره ساه شريکه  
لکه د وني جلا شوي پانه  
د زماني سيلی په سر اخستي  
لکه د شپي طوفان و هله مارغه  
سرو بادونو مي وزر اخسته

Translation: I am an alien in this land and nobody recognizes me. My greetings are not accepted by anybody and nor am I greeted. I do not feel a part of anyone, neither the land nor its people. I don't feel myself competent here, neither in fame nor in dignity. People here do not consider me worthy of their smiles nor a sharer of their sorrows. I am neither worthy of

their love, nor can I breathe like them. I am like that leaf which has been separated from the branch and is flying here and there in search of the same branch.

People, who live in foreign lands away from their own land, are always found making complaints. In Diasporic literature, which include both prose and poetry, one's homeland is mostly idealized and exaggeratedly praised, while its shortcomings are ignored but still some writers point towards the shortcomings of their own land. According to Toofani the west is advanced and the necessities and facilities of life are available there to all citizens without any distinction but the basic values which provide spiritual satisfaction to individuals have vanished from those societies. All those things, which are a source of spiritual satisfaction, fellow-feeling and warmth are not found in the advanced materialistic society of the west. That is why the Afghan Diaspora poets also long for their homeland and the feelings of oneness with the soil of their land (Toofani, 2002, p.122)

تورې خاورې به يې پورې کړم په سترگو  
که قسمت يو ځلي بيا وطن ته بوتلم  
تودي اوبنکي به يې پرڅه کړم د گلو  
که کوم باد هغه بڼايسته چمن ته بوتلم  
کلونه وشول چې له تا نه جدا شوه يمه  
کلونه وشول چې په تا مي سترگي نه خوريري  
کلونه وشول چې دنيا لکه زندان ده راته  
کلونه وشول چې د ساه وزر مي نه غوريري  
اوس مي ياديري هغه تللي هغه تېري شيبې  
هغه د گلو غوندي بڼکلي او رنگين وختونه  
هغه د ميني د رڼا په څپو مستې ورځې  
هغه ساده هغه سپيڅلي نازنين وختونه

Translation: I will blacken my eyes with the dust of my land if I ever get the chance to go there again. I will put my warm tears on the flowers if I ever go to the green fields there once more. It has been so long that I have been separated from you, o dear land and nothing else but union with you can quench the thirst of my eyes. It has been years now that I feel myself a prisoner in the world. Nostalgia has now become painful as every moment it takes me to the past, which had been in my own soil.

The Afghan Diasporic poets outside their homeland, during the period of Soviet invasion used to hold mushairas. They also used to arrange literary gatherings, seminars and conferences. The Diaspora writers and poets published their books away from their homeland in other lands, including Europe, USA, UK, Iran and Pakistan. Prominent Afghan Diaspora poets are Muhammad Sadiq Pasarley, Habibullah Rafi, Saduddin Shpun, Abdul Bari Jahani, Pir Muhammad Karwan (Chinar Khabare Kawi), Sulaiman Laiq, Syed Fakhruddin Hashmi, Shahsawar Sangarwal, Shafiullah Babarzi, Dr. Muhamadullah Zarmati, Karima Rasuli, Parveen Faiz Zada Malal, Mujawar Ahmad Ziyar, Baqi Baryal, Tariq Rashad, Ajmal Aund.

Among others, Pir Muhammad Karwan's book Chinar Khabare Kawi, Ajmal Aund's books Sapo ke Anzoruna and Wrake Mine and Aimal Pasarlay's recently published novel, Pradi, are significant works related to the subject under discussion.

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, when a large number of people migrated abroad, they included all classes, including teachers, intellectuals, engineers, skilled people, writers

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and poets. All these people left their land as they had to save their life as their country was in an unusual crisis. The state of war, which Afghanistan went through was for a decade from 1979 to 1989. The refugees, who migrated to Peshawar, were not faced with that much serious emotional, mental and identity crisis as their fellow-refugees were faced in other lands. There is a genuine reason for the above mentioned issue of the refugees; meaning those of them who came to Peshawar and were not faced with diaspora crisis, the reason for which is quite evident, as Pashtun belt of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has an obvious similarity with the cultural and social life and other norms and values of the Afghan Pashtuns. The undeniable fact still exists that a person who leaves one's original home and land has to go through emotional, mental and psychological crisis and especially when it is done not in normal circumstances. When refugees reach an alien country or land, they naturally go through an inferiority as they are faced with alienation and identity crisis. More than that they are deprived of sense of belonging, which one has on one's own soil.

The Afghan writer Toofani (2021, p.15) in his book *Marsiye da Chinaron*, writes that "it is human nature to love one's homeland and to live where one has been born and has spent the precious moments of life. Mental, emotional and psychological growth better takes place in the native soil. The wish to touch the soil of motherland and to be buried there is also inherent with individuals." These feelings are intense with those who are born in their homeland and have spent their childhood or sometime of their childhood there and have developed unconditional love for it. The feelings are even more intense if the homeland has been left during the war. Muhammad Akbar Kargar (2019, 563) writes: "I was four years old when I left my country. I remember the noise of big guns. Even now during the night, I hear the sound of those guns. I do not remember the wind of Kabul. I do not remember the rain of Kabul. I do not remember the color of the sky of my homeland. I only hear about it from people but still I have only a faded memory of Kabul. I only remember the grumbling sounds of the guns. The only other thing which is preserved in my memory is the sound of the cries of the little girl of the neighbors. Even now when I hear the cries of children, I am reminded of that little girl of the neighbors."

Kargar (2019) further says, "Yes I remember I was four years old. A few days back my fourth birthday had been celebrated and I do not even remember the gift which I had received or I had not received any gift. Had I worn new clothes on my birthday or not and if candles had been burnt or not? I do not remember my home. The only imprint on my memory is that of war. The sound of the fire of guns is fresh in my memory. I sometimes hear these sounds in my dreams. As a small child my parents would not allow me to go outside home. That is why I did not remember the color of the sky and I did not even know that the sky is full of stars. If I knew that there are stars in the sky, I would have counted the stars as I knew how to count till twenty. I had not seen the bright day sun of Kabul. I would have taken sun bath but I was never allowed to go outside.

The above mentioned lines from Kargar clearly reflect the disturbed memories of the past in homeland and the effect of war on human psyche. War leaves a deep impact on human memory and psyche, specially the memories of childhood. The memories are a part of the subconscious and haunt one's memories on different occasions. The passage reveals that memories of war even become a part of dreams. One cannot break link with the memories of leaving homeland in uncertain conditions and facing different conflicts and crises in foreign lands and are every now and then haunted by the memories of homeland and the time spent

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there. Such feelings are clearly observed in Diaspora writings. Diaspora feelings and conflicts are more often seen in poetry than prose.

Diaspora literature stands for not ordinary state of mind and soul as it speaks of the feelings of not a calm and ordinary thinking under normal conditions. Diasporas, especially during the state of war speaks of a high tragedy through which a whole nation undergoes. Moreover, in foreign lands they go through the strong feelings of being outsiders. The thinking and imaginative capacity of the Diasporic brain stands for multiple conflicts and extraordinary tumults. The Diasporic brain is faced with the unfavorable circumstances of the present, including inferiority complex, longing for the motherland, cultural crisis, and so on. All these feelings are mingled with the fresh and faded memory of the past, as in uncertain conditions the brain becomes overactive. This over activeness of the brain happens unconsciously and is not under human control. This is a significant aspect of Diaspora literature, especially in prose.

#### MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

Many newspapers and magazines were published during the early period of the Afghan refugee influx to Peshawar. The newspapers and magazines provided a platform to Afghan writers, through which they published their writings. The Pashto newspaper *Wahdat*, published from Peshawar, played significant role in this regard. The popular magazines of those times, which were regularly published from Peshawar were *Suphedei* and other journals and magazines under WUFA (Writer's Union of Free Afghanistan). WUFA had been founded by Rasul Amin and the union had been supported by the Asia Foundation (USA), Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany and by the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark (Dinakhel et al, 2020; 32). The magazines and journals published by the WUFA foundation, provided writers of the then times an opportunity for the publication of their writings. The magazines and newspapers increased the publication of poetry, short stories, articles on religious subjects. Novels were also being published in magazines and newspapers in episodic form.

#### JIHADI LITERATURE

As there were two dominant groups in the Afghan migrants to Pakistan; those who were the promoters of Communism and were also named as pro-Russian, the second was the religious group and the supporters and promoters of Jihad, also known as Jihadis. During the period from 1979-1989, the Jihadi literature was written and also promoted. During this decade two journals were published from Peshawar titled as "Da Afghanistan Da Jihad Saqafati Shora" and "Afghan Jihad." Habibullah Raffi was a regular writer for these journals and wrote Jihadi literature for them. During the decade from 1979-1989, Jihadi literature was promoted and for that matter, the anti-Communist propaganda was also promoted. In this connection, the novella of George Orwell, *The Animal Farm*, which was translated by Rasul Amin into Pashto as a strong tool for the purpose of propaganda. According to Dinakhel et al (2020, 31), that language in the English and also the Pashto version of the book has been manipulated by the writers with an intentional objective and that is, according to the translator, to expose the ugly face of Communism to the world. Specifically, during that period, Tafaseer of the Holy Quran and Sunnah from other languages like Persian and Arabic were translated into Pashto. According to Habibullah Raffi and as has been cited by Muhammad Arif Gharwal (2002, p.36), after the Saur Revolution, Communists not only inflicted bloodshed on the Afghan land but also utilized different types of writings for Communist propaganda. The Communist regime strongly discouraged religious writings and promoted communist ideology. As a reaction the



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refugees outside their land and specifically in Peshawar promoted, Jihadi literature through their writings. Zareen Anzoor, the prominent Diaspora critic, intellectual and writer, writes that (1990, 116) the Afghan Jihad with a display of weapons was connected with jihad through pen as well. It was a jihad based on weapons and pen. It was during the jihad that extensive literature was produced. Jihad of Diaspora writers through pen has been an immense job for a religious cause. According to the Afghan analyst Muhammad Nabi Salahi (2017, 106), literature is a medium for self-expression but during the times of war or any other emergency, it has been utilized for specific cause. Poets and writers have become active and have enthusiastically fought for the cause of nation through pen and mostly pen has proved powerful than gun. According to Salahi, the Afghan Jihadi literature, written during the Soviet invasion is an asset of the nation, over which the Afghan nation will take pride.

According to Ahmadzai (p. 10), it has been mentioned in Danish Nama, Persian Literature, that literature of resistance is all that writing or struggle through pen, which comes into existence when one confronts the foreign ways, different from one's own. It is also about the writings, written against the ones in control of everything, including the resources but the resources are monopolized by those in control. Resistance and Jihad, in this context is raising voice against cruelty, injustice and exploitation in writings. The resistance in these writings symbolize an ideological war, which portray an enigma and conflict in the poet's or writer's mind. The literature of resistance can be written when the internal environment in a state is dictatorial and silences the voice of those, who raise their voice. This type of literature may be written by those, who in the foreign invasion are forced to leave their homeland and go through plight and ignominy in foreign lands. The larger part of Diaspora literature is resistant and Jihadi as forced migration from one's homeland, living in alien lands, facing the humiliations and indignity there, is in itself resistance and jihad. Such type of Diaspora literature has a very dominant resistant element. Even ordinary individuals rebel against the existing conditions and poets and writers, the most sensitive section of society go through mental turmoil in such circumstances. A poet or writer, whose writings portray resistant bent may not have necessarily gone through practical experiences. For instance, the creator of Jihadi literature may not have remained an active jihadi but his writings will make a part of Jihadi Literature if he has sincerely depicted the spirit of Jihadis, and to add to it more, if he has an insight into the philosophy of Jihad.

#### CONCLUSION

As has been discussed throughout the study that Afghan refugees were forced to leave their homeland, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979 till the expatriation of Soviet troops, when started in February, 1989 under the Geneva Accord. During the period of that one decade, Afghan refugees went to different lands for shelter but almost three million of them stayed in Pakistan. The larger number of them in Pakistan stayed in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, specifically in Peshawar and its peripheries. The refugees included different sections of the Afghan society, writers, poets, intellectuals, teachers and researchers. The writers continued with their activities in Peshawar. The writings of writers and poets were affected by Diaspora feeling. The intellectuals, journalists and creative writers published newspapers and journals from Peshawar, which provided an opportunity to writers and poets for the publication of their different writings. Their stay outside Afghanistan during the migration period broadened the outlook of the Afghan writers. Afghan writers have produced the best literature in Peshawar. The writings and books produced in the last thirty years of

the 20th century are larger than had been produced during the first sixty years of the century. Translations from Arabic, Persian and English literature were also made into Pashto. Jihadi literature was promoted and was published in large numbers. Tafseer of the Holy Quran and Sunnah from other languages like Arabic and Persian were translated into Pashto.

All these attempts were made to promote Afghan Jihad and highlight its significance. The number of refugee writers who wrote and promoted Jihadi literature is larger than other writers. Dominant themes of Afghan Diaspora writings in poetry and prose reflect most of the universal themes like identity crisis, sense of alienation, isolation and sense of belonging with one's own native land. Poverty, political, economic and psychological problems also make themes of Diaspora writings. The feelings of oneness with one's culture and soil, and the longing to go back to the same soil and to be buried there is found in the poetry of Afghan poets of the period. One other significant aspect of the Afghan Diaspora from 1979 to 1989 is their impact on the language and culture of the Pashtuns of Pakistan. An awareness was created in the Pashtuns living in Pakistan about the Pashtun identity and Pashto language, which they lacked previously. Pure Pashto words were adopted by the Pashtuns in Pakistan from Afghani Pashto. The influence of Pashtuns of Pakistan on Afghans was lesser, compared to their influence on the culture and language of Pashtuns in Pakistan. Afghans adopted the genre of Pashto poetry Haikoo from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and expressed different feelings in it. The genre covers many subjects and it was utilized by the Afghan poets for the expression of various feelings. The writings on Afghan tragedy will continue to be written as it is not an ordinary tragedy.

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