

DIFFUSION OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK THOUGHTS IN N.W.F.P: A STUDY OF PEASANT MOVEMENT DURING EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract:

Rise of Bolshevism in Russia had far-reaching implications for neighbouring regions. One such case is that of diffusion of Russian Bolshevik thoughts into North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P), Pakistan, and the subsequent emergence of peasant movement in 1938 at Ghaladher, Mardan, N.W.F.P. This paper explores the causes of this successful diffusion of Bolshevik ideology as well as its transformation in the changing context of historical and cultural condition of N.W.F.P. It is argued that peasant uprising in Ghaladher was actually the outcome of the ideas diffused from former U.S.S.R. Qualitative and descriptive research methods with emphasis on predominantly primary sources have been utilized to substantiate the arguments.

Keywords: Bolshevism, diffusion, thoughts, ideology, peasants, movement.

INTRODUCTION

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 not only greatly transformed the socio-political and economic life in Russia but it also inspired many resistance movements in different colonies of the entire world. Example of Indian sub-continent, in general, and *North West Frontier Province* (N.W.F.P.), due to its geo-strategic location in particular, experienced the diffusion of Bolshevik thoughts and subsequent rise of various peasant movements can best be cited in this regard. Despite its significance in understanding the social history of the region this area failed to receive enough attention from the social science researchers. This article is an attempt to explore the implications of the rise of Bolshevism on resistance movements in N.W.F.P. The discussion in this article revolves around the central argument that various peasant movements in N.W.F.P, before and after the partition of India, were actually the outcome of diffusionism of Bolshevik thought in the region.

The focus of this article is to investigate the linkage between Russian Bolshevism and rise of peasant resistance of Ghaladher in N.W.F.P, as well as to answer such questions as to why young nationalists moved to Russia, how they were trained and exposed to Bolshevik thought and finally how they diffused Bolshevik thought among the peasantry in N.W.F.P consequent upon their return from the Moscow. For this purpose, this article is divided into two major sections. The first section includes a discussion on the theoretical context of the study, whereas, the second section engages this theoretical debate with empirical data.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Transmission of Bolshevik thought from Russia to Sub-Continent could best be understood in the context of the theory of diffusionism. This theory emerged to contradict the theory of evolution by addressing the questions of cultural differences such as cultural and artistic traits, ideology, music, language, beliefs, socio-economic and political organization during the twentieth century. There are

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three major diffusionist schools, the British School of Diffusionism; German or Austrian School of Diffusionism, and American Diffusionist School of thought. They believe that certain cultural traits were originated in either one or several parts of the world and later began to spread to other cultures through diffusionism. They also used the deductive approach and maintained that changes could be brought about as a result of cultural learning and borrowing (Birx, 2010, p. 192). Keeping in view the limitations of the British School of Diffusion as it mainly addresses the field of Egyptology, the insight for this article is taken from German-Austrian and American theories of Diffusion.

The founder of American School i.e., F. Boas asserts that “historically, the process of development varies from society to society, *which came to be known as historical particularism. He further substantiated his argument by referring cultural relativism that each society must be understood as a product of its own history, benefits, culture, practices, and values. No society is evolved higher than another but in terms of degree i.e., savagery, barbarity, and civility. He called the ethnocentric view of culture as derogatory. Through migration, People of one area of the world begin to learn and borrow some cultural traits and bring these traits along with them to their own society and then transform these traits according to their specific cultural context*” (Birx, 2010, pp. 192-193) .

There are three modes of diffusionism including direct, indirect, and forced. Direct diffusionism occurs when two cultures intermingle or wage war against one another. Indirect diffusionism refers to the transmission of ideas or culture through the agency of a third party. Whereas, forced diffusionism takes place when a nation is subjugated by another. The fundamental premises of diffusionism include: adoption of cultural traits are possible if these have a utilitarian value both socially and economically; diffusionism may occur and to be transformed according to a new environment; a process of diffusionism is transmitted from developed to underdeveloped culture, and process of diffusionism thus transforms the underdeveloped culture. However, lack of transport and communication facilities; oceans, rivers; mountains, and deserts may hamper the process of diffusionism (Wagone, 2014, pp. 136-138).

Franz Boas in his work entitled: “Race, Language, and Culture”, argued that numerous factors, such as culture-people interaction, are required to comprehend the construction of a societal structure. He argued in support of cultural relativism by asserting that one should not judge other cultures by one’s own cultural lens (Wagone, 2014, pp. 136-138). Similarly, he also discarded theories of hierarchy by arguing that societies may be different but none are better than any other. Despite differences, two societies may share their cultures either directly or through an agency for their mutual benefit (Wagone, 2014, pp. 137-138). By using cultural relativism, one can understand that numerous complex factors shape the transmission of cultural values and thought process in each society.

For the interest of this study, the Austro-German School of diffusionism also seems relevant as it is proved that the Bolshevik Russia played a vital role in diffusing Bolshevik interpretation of Marxism in all directions placing the slave race as a culture center in early decades of the twentieth century. This school of diffusionism urged for the significance of cultural elements, the culture centre of one country, which could facilitate to create certain changes in the receiving culture of

another country. Following establishing contacts with foreign culture, the people began to learn and borrow.

Culture-people interaction is established between or amongst various groups of people because of geographical contiguity, geographical area, similar socio-economic conditions, or environment (Boas, 1940, p. 352). Similarly, the circle of every cultural area is a culture centre associating with the most exceptional and favourable environment for accepting and adapting and then developing and diffusing the borrowed ideas and cultural traits to the rest of the areas or peripheries. Moreover, they believed that the receiving culture could adopt certain features or cultural traits of one culture and adapt to adjust those traits according to its cultural and historical context.

DIFFUSIONISM OF BOLSHEVIK THOUGHTS INTO N.W.F.P

This section engages a discussion on why and how this diffusion occurred and what was the agency for diffusionism of Russian thought from Moscow to N.W.F.P. The first interaction of young nationalists of N.W.F.P occurred with Bolsheviks when they migrated to the Bolshevik Russia via Afghanistan during migration movement. During this interaction, they learnt and borrowed certain features of peasant programmes of the Russian Bolsheviks. Thus, these young nationalists served as an agency to transmit the Bolshevik thought into N.W.F.P. Because, they came back, established a sub-cultural centre at the Ghaladher, organized peasants into peasant committees and thus developed peasant movement by mapping out peasant programmes for stoppage of peasants' eviction and the abolishment of illegal taxes at Ghaladher according to the cultural and historical context of the area in 1938. Two societies may have similarities due to numerous factors. These include culture, historical environment, economic conditions, and political economy. Various ideologies and political thoughts are diffused, comprehended, and adapted according to the cultural and historical realities of the respective society by various means including making contacts, receiving information, and reading literature. So, the process of ideological diffusionism transmits certain elements or traits of foreign ideology and political culture to the receiving society or country. This process can be dependent on various factors in the receiving country including acceptability, utility, and suitability as well as factors of establishing contacts of people and societies. Moreover, factors of marginal survival through changes and adaptations and originating from one centre to disseminate the influences in other areas at different momentum. As this paper establishes the diffusionism of Bolshevik thought as a primary factor giving birth to various peasant uprisings in N.W.F.P. and, therefore, the succeeding section investigates into the questions such as why and how this diffusion occurred and what was the agency for diffusionism of Russian thought from Moscow to N.W.F.P.

WHY DIFFUSION OF BOLSHEVIK THOUGHT OCCURRED?

As N.W.F.P adjoins with Russia through Afghanistan and Central Asia and, therefore, it provided an opportunity for rebellious youth to establish contacts with the Russian Bolsheviks. Moreover, private land ownership had already been established by the British Indian government by conferring titles to its favoured *Khans*, *Nawabs*, and *Maliks*, and thus oppressive rule of the landowners subsequently paved the way for inviting and interacting with progressive nationalists

and leadership of the Frontier Congress Socialist Party (henceforth, FCSP).³ This had prepared a fertile ground for the reception of the Bolshevik thought.

A close look at historical developments and ideological foundations of the peasant movement at Ghaladher is enough to validate the claim of this article that this movement was an outcome of diffusionism of the Bolshevik thought. Various factors contributed in converting embryonic political sentiments into anti-imperialist and nationalist revolutionary thought in N.W.F.P., including the spread of nationalist and progressive literature, anti-feudal sentiments and agitations against the Rowllat Act⁴ alongside anti-British propaganda fueled by progressive Afghan's King Amanullah Khan (1919-1929), and support of the Russian Bolsheviks for Right of Nations to Self-Determination. Firstly, nationalist and progressive literature had created political awareness for contributing to promote anti-imperialist sentiments amongst the youth of N.W.F.P. Secondly, a new system of private land ownership had changed the primitive egalitarian system of land ownership by creating a new class of feudal lords. The British awarded private and permanent land ownership to local *Khans*, *Maliks*, and *Pirs* (spiritual leaders) by evicting peasants from the land. To serve imperialist design, the British were required to support the class of big *Khans* (henceforth, big landowners) to strengthen their rule and patronize big landowners in the collection of different kinds of taxes and extract unpaid work from the class of poor peasantry (Marx, 1858). By discarding the primitive mode of production (Nichols, 2001, p. 8), the new class of big landowners had to deal with a different socio-economic situation. A new rival class of small landowners also emerged in this scenario leading to a potential conflict between big and small landowners. It further contributed to promoting anti-British and nationalist revolutionary sentiments, which eventually turned into contempt, opposition, and resistance against the big landowners (Khan A. , 2001, p. 118).

Meanwhile, small landowners appealed to the popular sentiments and thus succeeded in finding a quick response, especially from the downtrodden and the oppressed class of the poor peasants, who were already resentful of the heavy taxes. Moreover, they also succeeded in building alliances with traders, intellectuals, educated job seekers, and promotion seeking government employees, who were also dissatisfied with the influential role of the big landowners (Khan A., 2001, p. 118).

At the same time, the Bolshevik Russia was propagating peace (Baskakov, 1982, pp. 12-16), liberty, friendship (Stewart, 1973, pp. 76-77) and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination. When the British introduced the Rowllat Act (Riaz, 1987, pp. 78-79) on March 08, 1919 (Khan M. A., 2000, p. 21) by delegating unrestrained powers to the police to carry out national oppression as well as suppress any kind of anti-British protest of social and political nature, Ghandi (1869-1948) began opposing the Act and thus issued a call for holding a protest to denounce it (Shah, 2007, p. 91)

³ It was an offshoot of the Congress Socialist Party, established in 1934, carrying more radical reform agenda with regard to peasants. It included: elimination of landowners' land without compensation, reallocation of land to peasants and liquidation of debts owned by peasants.

⁴ It was an act, after name of the Committee under supervision of Rowllat, enacted in March 1919 to suppress political protest in India.

Meanwhile, the progressive Afghan ruler extended his support for young nationalists in N.W.F.P (Marwat, 1997, p. 64). He also began fueling anti-British propaganda by sending provocative material to N.W.F.P through his Afghan agents. The agents of King Amanullah, disguised as traders, used to smuggle revolutionary, provocative, and anti-imperialist leaflets and posters from Afghanistan to N.W.F.P (Yousafi, 1968, p. 188). The ascendancy of progressive King Amanullah to the throne (Emadi, 1990, p. 1) and the Great October Bolshevik⁵ Revolution in 1917 in Russia also influenced young nationalists of N.W.F.P (Naveed, 2007).

All these factors transformed anti-British, democratic, and nationalist sentiments of the youth into nationalist revolutionary thought (Bukhari, 1957, pp. 64-65). They took different paths to steer their movement for emancipation from the British yoke. All the aforementioned factors inspired various young nationalist revolutionaries to join the migration movement (*Hijrat*) to Afghanistan, during 1919-1920, and from thence onward to the Bolshevik Russia, for seeking assistance to emancipate India (Shah M. K., 2007). The nationalist movement seemed revolutionary in character because it aimed not only to undermine the British imperialism but also sought to find out ways and means to emancipate India from colonial oppression.

ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARIES WITH RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS

Upon declaration of war of independence by Afghan King Amanullah on the British and his persuasion through his agents to young nationalist revolutionaries in N.W.F.P the later decided to migrate to Afghanistan on May 04, 1919 (Ghani, 1980, pp. 95-96). Consequently, various young nationalist revolutionaries of N.W.F.P in 1920 migrated to Afghanistan and later to Tashkent, Russian-Controlled Turkistan. There were numerous reasons for this migration, for instance (Abbasi, 1986, p. 32), some ulema of N.W.F.P forced people into migration and declared that refusal to migrate was identical to the annulment of *Nikkah* (Muslim marriage contract) (Nagina, 2009, p. 45).

King Amanullah warmly welcomed and also provided political asylum to young migrants and nationalist revolutionaries. He offered them jobs and land for cultivation. Shortly afterward, the number of young nationalist revolutionaries exceeded 60,000 (Shah S. W., 2007, p. 93). The Afghan government shifted them to *Jabal-us-Siraj* (a district of Parwan Province of Afghanistan situating at the North of Kabul) (Shah M. K., 2007). Shah reports that young national revolutionaries stayed in Afghanistan, wherein, they began to develop quarrels over minor issues (Shah M. A., 1989, p. 82).

Similarly, Quraishi reports about the establishment of a *jirga* (council) of elders for resolving these issues. This *jirga* constituted a committee, named as Indian Emigration Committee (henceforth, IEC), in collaboration with Afghan officials, to oversee the affairs of young nationalist revolutionaries (Quraishi, Undated, p. 60). Shah further reports that shortly after the formation of IEC, its members met Russian ambassador at Kabul with the help of Abdul Rab Peshawari who had

⁵Bolshevik, from Russian meaning those in majority of Russian Social Democrat Labour Party which later on had been known as Communist Party of Soviet Union.

already established the Indian Revolutionary Association at Tashkent in 1919-20 (Persit, 1983, pp. 85-89). The Russian ambassador pledged to accommodate them in the Bolshevik Russia and to support them for their cause of Self-Determination (Khan A. A., Undated, pp. 108-109).

Shah further reports that IEC had also established a central fund to support young nationalist revolutionaries. These revolutionaries were also engaged in compulsory military training (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 82-84). The revolutionaries zealously took part in military training, whereas, sick and elderly were exempted from participation (Shah M. A., 1989, p. 85). Their stay at Kabul provided them with an opportunity to have access to arms and the Bolshevik money for proliferating anti-British propaganda from June 1919 to 1920 (Sareen, 1977, pp. 58-61).

Shortly afterward, upon the request of IEC the Afghan government stopped further emigration from India to Afghanistan on August 12, 1920. This request was made due to the hardships being faced by the revolutionaries during their stay at Kabul. Thus, it eventually put an end to the migration movement (Naveed, 2007). However, Shah noted that some of the educated revolutionaries lost their enthusiasm due to the increasingly cold attitude of Afghan King and his peace negotiation with the British (Shah M. A., 1989, p. 86).

Consequently, almost seventy-five percent of the disappointed revolutionaries started their back-home journey. A few stayed in Afghanistan, whereas, others, including prominent figures like Mian Akbar Shah and Mohammad Akbar Khan Quraishi, left for Tashkent and then to the Bolshevik Russia (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 91-132). Meanwhile, M.N. Roy, who was closely connected with the *Ghadar* Party in San Francisco (Puri, 1983, p. 3), advised the Russian Bolsheviks to accommodate the revolutionaries and to provide support in intensifying anti-British sentiments (Kamal, 2007). He was also successful in convincing the Bolsheviks to supply arms and money to the Tribal areas of N.W.F.P as well as to recruit some of the revolutionaries in Afghanistan (Ansari, 1990, p. 31). Ultimately, this became the first instance of diffusionism of Russian thought through direct intervention into areas of N.W.F.P.

While, the Indian Section was actively engaged to establish contacts with various Soviet bodies such as the Turkistan Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ARCEC) and, meanwhile, Mohammad Shafiq also issued a document advocating to eliminate the foreign rule, to overthrow the autocrats, big landowners, factory owners and to establish the Communist Republic of India. He also called for adopting communist principles and the establishment of the Indian Communist Party on April 20, 1920 (Persit, 1983, p. 89; Persit, 1989). He also published Weekly bi-lingual magazine 'the *Zamindar*' in Urdu and Persian from Tashkent on May 01, 1920. However, he failed to continue it after its inaugural issue. His Weekly *Zamindar* persuaded the young revolutionaries to spearhead the revolutionary movement in India on the similar lines of Bolshevik Russia (Sadhu, 2005, p. 38).

It was the same time when M. N. Roy invited young revolutionaries through a telegram to come and receive military training at Tashkent and get ready to start a war of National Liberation from the British (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 190-191). Revolutionaries accepted Roy's invitation and decided to visit Tashkent. On their way to Tashkent, they confronted numerous problems; for instance, they were captured by Turkomen at *Tirmiz*, during the latter's revolt against the Bolsheviks in July,

1920. The Turkomen refused to accept any explanation and branded the revolutionaries as *kafirs* (infidels). They were tortured during their captivity as well. Eventually, the Bolshevik Russian forces rescued and brought them safely to *Kirkee*. During this rescue operation, some revolutionaries also volunteered to fight against Turkomen under the command of Latif Tartar (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 191-197). Thirty-five revolutionaries were eventually escorted to safely enter Tashkent on October 22, 1920. He further reports that a total of seventy-three young nationalist revolutionaries entered Russian Turkestan, whereas, 37 out of the total were not allowed to enter into Tashkent on October 22, 1920 (Persit, 1983, p. 74). Out of the total entrants, six percent were from prosperous peasant families (Persit, 1983, p. 74), whereas, fifty-three percent were poor peasants and tradesmen (Directorate of Archives, 1922-23, pp. 5-7, 55) and three percent were workers (Directorate of Archives, 1922-23, p. 74) and numerous illiterates (Quraishi, Undated, pp. 68-69). Many of these revolutionaries were between the age group of 20 to 27 years and they represented the liberal progressive section of N.W.F.P. Further, they were determined to seek assistance from the Russian Bolshevism against the British imperialism (Persit, 1983, pp. 81-88).

During their stay, they closely observed the Bolshevik way of life and studied Russian Bolshevik ideology. They became more receptive to Bolshevism (Ansari, 1990, pp. 23-42). During this first planned and conscious contact of the young nationalist, M. N. Roy, Mohammad Shafiq, and Abdur Rab made conscious efforts to expand the horizon of their political thought. They conducted various discussions and arranged study circles to enable the revolutionaries to comprehend the fundamentals of the Russian Bolshevism (Ahmad, 1962, p. 30).

DIFFUSION OF BOLSHEVISM INTO YOUNG NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARIES OF N.W.F.P

As the question of Right of Nations to Self-Determination occupied a central position in the Russian Bolshevism, therefore, to address this question and to support liberation movements technically and financially, the Russian Bolsheviks held an International Conference of the Communists at Moscow, under the chairmanship of Lenin, from March 02 to March 04, 1919. It was known as the First Congress of Communist International (henceforth, CI). CI aimed to firstly, support the political struggle of the oppressed people for national liberation in their respective colonies (Adhikari, 2005, p. 39), secondly, to abolish the influence of rich over poor and, thirdly, to make an alliance of urban workers with peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial world. The Second Congress of CI was held in Moscow from July 19 to August 17, 1920. This congress was attended by several progressive elements from India.⁶ Resultantly, a programme of action was sorted out to accelerate the national struggle of the oppressed people and set up communist parties in the East. The central themes of this programme included: understanding concrete objective conditions of the colonial world, analyzing and evaluating character of the revolutionary struggle and role of national bourgeoisie

⁶The First Congress of the Peoples of the East set up a permanent Council for Propaganda and Action of the Peoples of the East in 1920. The Council sent Mohammad Shafiq to attend the Congress. It also aimed at organizing propaganda throughout the East, publishing a journal {*Narody Vostoka (The Peoples of the East)*} in three languages, organizing the publication of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., supporting and unifying the liberation movement throughout the East, organize a university of the social sciences for activists in the East, and so on.

and peasants as well as comprehending attitude of progressive elements in political parties of the East towards the struggle for national liberation (Adhikari, 2005, p. 39).

During the course of the Congress sessions, Lenin urged CI to identify and organize the most progressive and revolutionary elements of the liberation movements. He also committed to providing them firm support in their struggle to achieve their Right to Self-Determination by any means (Lenin, 1966, pp. 164, 603). Thereby, he, not only, discarded the traditional way of the liberation struggle and reinterpreted it broadly as right of the oppressed nations to completely become independent by means of secession (Stalin, 1953, p. 145). He also recognized the revolutionary capacity of the national struggle of the oppressed nations for their emancipation, to weaken and overthrow the British imperialism. He also urged urban workers of the developed countries for providing their resolute support to national liberation movements (Stalin, 1953, pp. 146-147, 150). Moreover, he also advocated for establishing an alliance of urban workers with the peasants (Lenin, 1966, pp. 333-335) as well as supporting and organizing peasant movements in rooting out feudalism in entirety (Lenin, 1966, p. 149) under the leadership of urban workers (Lenin, 1966, pp. 592-601).

CI took initiative to mobilize the most progressive and revolutionary elements of the movements of the East and, consequently, Executive Committee of CI (ECCI) set up a subcommittee of five members including Roy of India, known as the Small Bureau, a supreme policy-making body as well as an executive organ of the CI (Izvestia, 1920, p.2). This Bureau held a meeting and passed immediately two consecutive resolutions. These included: holding the first Congress of the oppressed people of the East at Baku and setting up a Central Asiatic Bureau of CI at Tashkent, which later became known as Turkistan Bureau under the chairmanship of Roy (Lenin, 1966, p. 271). Shah reported that the Bureau afterward organized the first Congress of the Oppressed Peoples of the East in Baku during September 1-8, 1920 (Quraishi, undated, p. 109). During the course of this Congress, Abdur Rab Barq Peshawari called upon the Congress for assisting Indians in their national struggle against British imperialism (Congress to the Peoples of the East, 1977).

After the conclusion of the Baku Congress, chairperson of the Turkistan Bureau, M. N. Roy, decided to establish Communist Party of India (henceforth, CPI) (Sarwar, 1972, p. 47) (henceforth, CPI) on October 17, 1920 (Javed, 1998, p. 225). A unanimous resolution was passed urging them to adopt the principles of the Third International. They also exchanged ideas to devise a plan of action for mobilizing the progressive and revolutionary elements of the Indian national struggle and persuading them to bring a socialist revolution (Persit, 1983, pp. 125-126). Shortly afterward, the membership of CPI expanded as some more revolutionaries got admission in it on a probation basis (Persit, 1983, p. 127). Hence, it can be argued that the formation of CPI, as well as the entry of revolutionaries of N.W.F.P, was the first success in the process of Bolshevik diffusionism.

Some active members of CPI from N.W.F.P started conducting various study-circles to debate socio-economic and political issues in the context of Bolshevik ideology (Quraishi, Undated, p. 316). Thus, these revolutionaries of N.W.F.P were exposed to the progressive thought and convinced them to sort out a way to launch a well-organized progressive struggle (Naveed, 2007) . They also learnt to disseminate nationalist progressive ideas amongst their fellow Indians at home (Roy, 1954, p. 466). The Bolsheviks also established a Tashkent Military School (henceforth, TMS) under the leadership

of Roy at Tashkent in October 1920. TMS aimed to train young nationalist revolutionaries by disseminating Russian thought as well as providing the necessary training in aviation and military. Shah reported that the school was managed by the Bolsheviks who provided the school with all essential items including teaching staff. They were taught advanced subjects including air navigation, the theory of air war, photography and topography, assembling, disassembling of weapons and aircraft machines in Aviation class (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 203-205). Their Military training also included espionage and propaganda training, to produce discontent and revolt inside the British Colonial Army (Persit, 1983, p. 127).

Shah reported that after the initial phase of basic training, the students were sent to Lenin's Academy where they received advanced military training (Persit, 1983, pp. 207-208). The TMS remained functional for less than seven months before its closure on April 27, 1921 owing to the refusal of the Afghan government to permit entry of progressive nationalists into Afghan territory and set up a revolutionary base in the tribal areas of the North-Western Frontier of British India (Ansari, 1990, p. 33). The TMS seemed to have played a very important role in the development and transformation of nationalist thoughts of the young nationalist revolutionaries into progressive nationalism.

Shah further reported that despite the closure of TMS, the Bolsheviks provided the progressive nationalists a better learning opportunity at Moscow in different institutions (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 225-228). The Bolsheviks decided to transmit political training before preparing them to fight against the British in the tribal areas of N.W.F.P. As a result, CI established the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (henceforth, CUTE,) at Moscow on April 21, 1921. CUTE was able to recruit 622 students by the end of 1921 including students from N.W.F.P (Persit, 1983, pp. 81-84).

An Indian Section/department was also established at the CUTE under the supervision of Roy (Sharma, 1984, p. 15) that allowed them to directly deal with progressive nationalists by organizing study circles for logical debates and discussions to transform their embryonic progressive nationalist thought. All this inspired the young nationalists so much that they ultimately decided to join progressive nationalist movements consequent upon their return to their native land (Persit, 1983, pp. 81-84). Moreover, CUTE also helped in sharpening the political consciousness of progressive nationalists and prepared them on how to fight the British imperialism (Directorate of Archives, 1922-23, p. 2). Courses and curriculum taught at the CUTE included: a history of Russian peasant movements, urban workers' movements, and their trade unionist activities with special reference to history of the urban workers' movement of European countries, a short history of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, the rise of Russian Bolshevism till the establishment of the dictatorship of the urban workers, tactics of allying with urban workers with peasants, origin and historical development of the First, Second and Third Communist International, the communist doctrine enunciated by Karl Marx's in his masterpiece "*Das Capital*" and development of capitalism into imperialism by Lenin (Aibak, 1990, p. 241).

CUTE urged them to propagate triumph of the Russian Bolshevism at their homeland. They were also assigned the task of establishing communist parties in their respective countries. It also taught them to give impetus to peasant movements in rooting out feudalism of their native land by

devising a strategy and applying different tactics such as arranging strikes, assisting progressive and revolutionary elements of national liberation movements (Lenin, 1966, p. 149). It also entrusted them with the task of replacing the government of the British in India with the republic of urban workers and finally merging it into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (Aibak, 1990, p. 241). Thus, it was considered a high-profile institute for progressive nationalists of the East (Qurban, 1923). Subsequently, the Bolsheviks closed the University as it had already signed a trade agreement with the British (Neilson, 2006, p. 25).

Both TMS and CUTE successfully played a pivotal role in diffusing the Bolshevik thought amongst the youth of N.W.F.P as well as propagating sentiments against the British in the Tribal areas of N.W.F.P, for instance, these revolutionaries set up a centre at *Chamarkand* in the tribal area of N.W.F.P (Vaid, 1946) under the guidance of progressive leadership (Directorate of Archives, 1922-23, pp. 37-41). Similarly, Shah contributed to establishing a sub-cultural centre at the Ghalla Dher, Mardan in 1938 as well.

The British had already shown concerns over their anti-British activities and the contacts they established with the Bolsheviks in Russia. This led to the institution of a series of so-called conspiracy cases against Moscow returnees in the early 1920s and eventually their conviction in plots to overthrow the British government in India (Directorate of Archives, 1922-23, p. 1).

Consequent upon their release, these progressive Tashkent-Moscow graduates began to serve as an agency to diffuse the Bolshevik thought in homeland. For instance, they began to propagate progressive literature and to disseminate the Bolshevik thought amongst the youth of N.W.F.P. They developed close coordination with one another and recruited new members into study-circles. Similarly, contacts with trade unionist leaders such as Lal Lajpat Roy and Dr. Chaman Lal (editor of the progressive newspaper 'the Nation) were also established (Josh, Undated, p. 47).

Akbar Quraishi established a printing press in the tribal areas of N.W.F.P and published progressive literature. He not only joined the *Khaksar* Movement (Police Department, December, 1939, p. 119) but also began to publish a weekly paper "*Naujawan Afghan*" at Haripur of district Hazara (Intelligence Bureau, July 1931, p. 85). In the meanwhile, Mohammad Shafiq was released in 1927 but kept his movements restricted. However, he left for Moscow at the beginning of September 1928 and attended the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (Ansari, 1990, pp. 273-274).

Moreover, Mian Akbar Shah and Abad Khan acting upon the instruction of the Second Congress of the CI of the Bolsheviks and along with other progressive comrades of Indian National Congress, firstly created class consciousness amongst poor peasants against illegal taxes such as *tora*,⁷ *malba*,⁸ and *baigar* (unpaid forced labour), secondly, encouraged the peasantry to stand united against the policy of eviction from the land by their feudal lords and lastly organized them into peasant committees for flaring up a class struggle in shape of the peasant movement in 1938. It seems that the Russian Bolshevism inspired the leadership of peasant movement. They became

⁷ A tax from bride and bridegroom on occasion of their marriage

⁸ Tax for animals of Khan

vocal for the rights of rural productive forces by establishing contacts with poor peasants and accelerating class struggle between the big landowners and the poor peasants by organizing them into peasant committees.

CONCLUSION

Rise of the Russian Bolshevism, the invitation of Afghan King and Nationalist revolutionaries in N.W.F.P on one hand and, atrocities and national oppression of the British Indian government on the other, were the main factors to cause migration of young nationalist revolutionaries to the Bolshevik Russia via Afghanistan. Their political and military training at TMS and CUTE proved instrumental in developing and transforming their nationalist thought into progressive nationalism. These institutions offered them an alternate, coherent, scientific and logical scheme of political thought and, similarly, some of them also found the FCSP proper platform and, from thence onward, they diffused progressive ideas of the Bolshevik thought amongst poor peasants according to the understanding of their socio-economic conditions and succeeded in accelerating class struggle by mounting Ghaladher peasant movement for the attainment of fundamental objectives of poor peasants, such as stoppage of evicting peasants etc, at Ghaladher in 1938, N.W.F.P. It is argued and substantiated with sufficient evidence that systematic and conscious efforts of early young migrants, first to the Russian-Controlled Turkistan and then to the Bolshevik Russia, contributed to diffuse ideologically the impact of Russian Bolshevism for creating class consciousness amongst poor peasants and developing peasant movement at Ghaladher in N.W.F.P in 1938.

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Personal interview/ communication with Major Naveed-ur-Rehman Quraishi (age 58) of Nowshera Cantonment at his official residence on June 01, 2007. He is the grandson of Akbar Khan Quraishi. Akbar Quraishi belonged to a landowning loyalist family of district Hazara, who visited Soviet Russia and came back in 1923 and was arrested. After release, he attempted to produce anti-British revolutionary literature in the Tribal areas of KP, established contacts with some of the workers' unions at Lahore, and edited *Naujawan Afghan* (Young Afghan) in the 1950s. Akbar Khan Quraishi also penned his travelogue entitled: *Russi Turkistan Ka Safar*.

Personal Interview with Mustafa Kamal Shah (age 60) of Mohalla Mian Khel of Badrashi, Nowshera at his residence on May 28, 2007. He is the son of Mia Akbar Shah, who also visited Soviet Russia via Afghanistan during the Hijrat Movement in 1919-1920. He came back and was arrested and, however, after release he began to work amongst poor peasants of Ghallah Dher in 1938 through the platform of Khudai Khidmatgars Movement (KKM). He thus succeeded in developing the Ghallah Dher peasant movement in 1938. He also penned his travelogue in Pashtu entitled: *Da Azada-e-Talash*.

Date of Publication	August 31, 2020
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