

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology
of Egypt / Egyptology

**ASSESSING IMPACT OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM AND FEUDAL
RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION OF KP IN TRANSFORMING YOUNG
NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT INTO PROGRESSIVE
NATIONALISM DURING EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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Rashid Hussain Mughal & Jamil Ahmad , Assessing Impact Of Russian Bolshevism And Feudal Relations Of Production Of Kp In Transforming Young National Revolutionaries' Movement Into Progressive Nationalism During Early Twentieth Century , Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 18(10), 2535-2551. ISSN 1567-214x.

Keywords: Bolshevik government, relations of production, character of the movement, contacts with Russian Bolsheviks, impact of Russian Bolshevism.

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to investigate the impact of Russian Bolshevism and feudal relations of production in transforming young national revolutionaries' movement of NWFP (currently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or KP) into progressive nationalism. Their struggle was the natural result of concrete historical socio-economic formation and cultural conditions during early twentieth century that had the definite prerequisites, wherein, rise of Russian Bolshevism opened new prospects for young national revolutionaries and persuaded them to migrate to Bolshevik Russia during their migration movement. They were given political training and ideological orientation as well as enabled to transform their early national revolutionary sentiments into progressive

nationalism against the imperialist domination of the British in KP. Consequently, they could not reconcile to the colonial oppression and stood united for their independence in the shape of a progressive nationalism in different layers of KP. Descriptive, qualitative and analytical methods, together with mostly primary sources, have been employed to corroborate the central argument. Russian Bolshevik thoughts, especially their strategy regarding colonial national question, spearheaded to give birth to national revolutionaries' movement that was subsequently transformed into progressive nationalism according to the socio-economic and cultural conditions.

INTRODUCTION

With the establishment of the Bolshevik¹ government in Russia in 1917, the class structure of the Bolshevik Russia had significantly been transformed, for instance, there abolished the private ownership of modes of production alongside the abolishment of all forms of exploitation forever. With the disappearance of all the exploitative classes in the country, as a result, there remained the urban workers and the collective-form peasantry alone. The urban workers and peasantry were no longer remained the exploitative and deprived classes under the Russian Bolsheviks, wherein, together with all other people, Russian working class now owned the modes of productions and were thus declared as true masters of the country. The socio-cultural, technical, educational and standards of political activity have significantly been arisen (Lenin, 1902, pp. 21-22). The working class, being the most revolutionary, well-disciplined, politically conscious, systematically organized and the main productive class of the society held the primary position in the entire system of Bolshevik's political structure and of social relation of productions and, as a result, it began to inspire numerous forms of national liberation struggle through slogan of right of self-determination of nations against imperialism and exploitative classes in various parts of the world including young national revolutionaries of KP (Surjeet, 2005, pp. 29-39). This article is an attempt to discover impact of Russian Bolshevism and feudal relations of production in transforming national revolutionaries' movement into progressive nationalism in KP during early twentieth century.

The central question of this article is to identify the impact of Russian Bolshevism and feudal relations of production in transformation of young national revolutionaries' movement together with that what impelled them to migrate to Bolshevik Russia?, what were the character and basic objectives of their migration movement? How they were exposed to the Russian Bolshevism before converting their movement into progressive nationalism? For the sake of understanding, this article is comprised of two major sections i.e., theoretical basis of relations of production, character of young national revolutionaries movement; and impact of Russian Bolshevism in transforming their movement into progressive nationalism the light of empirical data.

It was early twentieth century that some of the young national revolutionaries from amongst democratic intelligentsia, traders and college students, such as Mian Akbar Shah (1899-1980) of Nowshera, Mohammad Akbar Khan (1895-1972) of Haripur, Hazara (Naveed, 2007) and Gohar Rehman Darveshi (1897-1931) of Hazara, Sultan Mehmood (b. 1899), Sarfraz, Karam Elahi, Umar Bux of Peshawar, Shamsul Qamar of Mardan and Abdus Subhan of Swabi, and

¹Bolshevik, from Russian meaning those in majority of Russian Social Democrat Labour Party which later on had been known as Communist Party of Soviet Union.

Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of Umarzai (Yousafi, 1968, p. 183) were all under warrant due to their political agitations against the Rowlatt Act² and, hence, they wanted to evade arrest (DARSB, Box 117 Folder AM-6, p. 39-A). As a result, they migrated to Afghanistan and later to Tashkent, Russian-Controlled Turkistan (Shah, 1989, p. 82), wherein, they established contacts with the Russian Bolsheviks in 1919-1920s with the hope of bringing revolution home to set free their country from the British colonial oppression. On the other, the Bolsheviks were also found sympathetic in their national struggle for emancipation (Edemic, 1980, pp. 178-79).

Rise of Russian Bolsheviks in 1917 gave a tremendous revolutionary dimension that had opened new hope for young national revolutionaries of KP. It signified total abolishment of all sources of exploitation including national, imperialist and colonial domination (Lenin, 1965, pp. 52-57). It awakened and inspired them to rise and fight against the colonial oppression alongside the world revolutionary movement. Victory of the Bolshevism in Russia, emancipation of more than 100 nationalities from socio-colonial oppression, growth of working class revolutionary character, rising influence of communist parties and especially their slogan of right of self-determination of nations created a favourable atmosphere for the emergence of national revolutionary movements in all over the world (Afanasyev, 1980, p. 332) including KP. Under the slogan of right of self-determination, the Russian Bolsheviks demanded categorical and immediate emancipation of the colonies without compensation, wherein, they were also determined to support the more revolutionary elements of national revolutionaries' movements against the oppression of imperialism (Afanasyev, 1980, p. 336).

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN NWFP DURING EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The peasant question has been the most crucial issue in the imperialist colonies as peasants of the oppressed societies are practically related with abolishment of the ownership of their local feudal structure and attainment of benefits of their own manual labour by cultivating the land. Thus, the peasants, as numerically the biggest segment of agrarian society, have been the principal stirring element of emancipatory politics in the national liberation movements. People's relations with means of production, such as land, productive forces and so on, tends to form ownership and, in turn, this form of ownership depends upon the dominating or inferior arrangement of different social groups in the production, their relations in the process of production i.e., mutual exchange of their activity. In peasant-based society, the feudal lords owned means of production and thus relations of production are linked with domination, supremacy, subordination and exploitative in characteristics (Afanasyev, 1980, p. 198).

The socio-economic fabric of KP showed a distinctive economic basis in the beginning of the twentieth century, wherein, most of the rural population was engaged in agriculture i.e., it had a peasant-based economy. For instance, 76.6% persons out of every 1000 derived their livelihood from agriculture in Hazara, where it showed the highest proportion. Moreover, 68.7% persons were managed to survive through subsistence agriculture in Peshawar together with 57.9%, 50.1% and 53.9% in Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismael Khan respectively (Census, 1921, p. 266). Only 7% of the total population included non-Muslims mostly Hindus, who resided in towns (Census, 1921, p. 15). These Hindus preferred to concentrate to reside in towns and cities owing to their business of supplying foodstuffs and other essential items to armed forces in the

²It was an act of the British Indian government, after name of the Committee under supervision of Rowlatt, enacted in March 1919 to suppress political protest in India.

province. However, the composition of rest of the population included: self-employed craftsmen and artisan classes, for instance, Julagan (weavers), Tarkhans (carpenters), Lohars (blacksmiths), Kulal (potters), Chamyar (shoemakers and leather-workers), Nais (barbers), Mushkis or Dhobis (washer men) and Maytar (sweepers) (Rose, 2002, pp. 131-150). Moreover, people earned their income by utilizing natural resources such as pastoral work, fishing, hunting and cottage industries on a very small scale including: manufacturing of woolen fabrics, weaving blankets, carpet making and so on (Census, 1921, pp. 267-271).

During the reign of the British imperialism in KP, it began to dominate and colonize the economy and political affairs of KP and thus they replaced primitive, communal and egalitarian system of landownership with private landownership through widening the network of their revenue collection (Marx, 1969, pp. 494-499) and, in so doing, ahierarchically stratified feudal relations of production began to emerge in KP (Nichols, 2001, p. 57). For instance, they introduced system of joint village responsibility (Mahaalwari system) in KP by recognizing village as the fundamental component of agrarian administration (Gazdar, 2009, pp. 7-8) by replacing the old system of communal responsibility (GoP, 1989, p. 154). For this purpose, they entrusted powers to a number of lambardars (Maliks) to increasingly collect land revenue on five percent (panjotra) commission (Powell, 1882, pp. 285-741). They usually divided a village into Kandis (sections) and Kandis into Wands or Tals (subsections) (GoP, 1989, p. 148). Moreover, they were also declared families, who possessed land, as landowners on permanent basis and recorded their status as true owners owing to their joint ownership of the village. Similarly, they referred to joint possession as collective ownership, in the land settlement records, amongst all residents, who claimed to be landlords by declaring other residents of lower castes, ranks and classes subservient to the landowners (Gazdar, 2009, pp. 8-9).

This policy of the British imperialism created permanent and private landownership of land in KP, hence, numerous landowners had taken over 60% of arable land by acquiring the titles such as Malik, Sardar, Nawab and Khan Behadur (KB, hereafter) (Qasoori, ND, p. 40). The pro-British powerful and loyal big landowners, upon whom the British conferred titles (Yousafi, 1968, pp. 58 & 195) and gave state protection to them, included: Nawab Muhammad Shrif Khan (1895-1904) of Dir, Khawaja Mohammad Khan of Hoti (Gankovisky, 2001, pp. 195 & 210) (recipient of commemorative certificate in Jan 1, 1877 on the celebration of Victoria's proclamation as Empress of India), KB Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan (1898-1937), Nawab Mohammad Abdul Akbar Khan (1920-1935), of Hoti, Mardan (Shah, 1999, p. 7), Raja Haider Zaman (1925-1935) of Hazara (Gankovisky, 2001, pp. 195 & 210), KB Qadir Khan and Nawab Hameedullah Khan (1926-1940) (Das, ND, p. 672) of Toru, Mardan (Nagina, 1939, p. 1), Nawab Dost Mohammad Khan of Tehkal, Peshawar and KB Mir Alam Khan (1935-1970) of Tangi, Shumali Hashtnagar, Charsaddah (DARDC, Box 18, 1925-1927, pp. 2-67). These Khans possessed enormous wealth and wielded great influence over the rural population owing to their socio-economic and judicial status (Shah, 1999, p. 7).

Consequently, the British elevated big landowners on one side and marginalized all other rural classes on the other in KP. Moreover, agriculture workers, tenants and other non-cultivating classes, who usually used to assert for their share over the produce of land together with landowners, had now been completely dispossessed (Gazdar, 2009, p. 9) As a result, the primitive communal and socio-economic system of tribal ownership of land i.e., localized Wesh, tribal or communal-based distribution of land, had now been replaced by permanent-private landownership of land owing to its feasibility for the introduction of irrigation channels on large scale. Moreover, it also gave impetus to considerably enhance the agricultural production,

improve (Powell, 1968, p. 638) and grow revenue assessment, which acted as stimulus for increased efforts on the part of cultivators (Ewart, 2009, pp. 31-32). For instance, land revenues of Peshawar, Charsadda and Mardan tehsils grew to over Rs. 5, 00,000, Rs. 3, 00, 000 and Rs. 1, 76, 000 respectively in 1903-04 (Rose, 2002, pp. 158-160).

Thus, the British brought drastic reforms in agriculture to secure their colonial interest by also developing new irrigation system in KP. Their agrarian reforms aimed to increase crop yields by securing agricultural land and to draw optimum revenue for the state. It also extended their jurisdiction over settled population of tribesmen and created permanent stake in land through such irrigation schemes. Thereby, they designed irrigation schemes for protective irrigation in 1860 under the supervision of Punjab Chief Commissioner Sir Henry Lawrence. Subsequently, they identified the Yousafzai Valley for the construction of an irrigation canal system in 1860 for acquiring political benefits rather than higher revenue. They initiated a project in 1885 that aimed to provide irrigation to dry plains in North-East of Peshawar, situating between Swat, Kabul rivers and Kalpani rivers, wherein, the rainfall was scanty (Peshawar Gazetteer, 2002, pp. 348-49). This canal system succeeded in irrigating about 155,000 acres of land and increasing the irrigated area to about 531 square miles or 40 percent of the total area of Peshawar district in 1903-4. The irrigation channels included: 71 square miles from wells, 453 from canals and 7 square miles from streams and tanks through Swat, Kabul and Bara rivers' systems (Rose, 1989, pp. 120 & 152). The opening of Swat Canal had reduced scarcity of water, therefore, it transformed agrarian conditions in Hashtnagar and Mardan Maira (highlands) in 1885. It also enabled big landowners to derive large profits and attain considerable affluence (Peshawar Gazetteer, 2002, p. 301). The amount of irrigation water was fixed at 60 acre/ cusec for Kharif and 120 acre/ cusec for Rabi crops (Handcock, 1905, p. 45).

Following the allocation of full legal landownership to favour Khans, Maliks and Pirs (spiritual leader) (Anderson, 1978, pp. 167-83) and development of irrigation system, the British also developed a network of modern communication for stimulating infant agrarian capitalism and, thus, undermined fixed tenure collective ownership of land under Wesh system (Mukulika, 2000, p. 31). As a result, it helped to create a wealthy, educated class of local bourgeois and traders (merchants) (Gankovisky, 2001, pp. 195-96, 198). They also recruited them in the British army and enabled them to increase their capital and agricultural produce for market (Mukulika, 2000, p. 31). Besides, the building of rail road added more to their wealth by the end of nineteenth century (Mukulika, 2000, p. 31).

Consequently, the development of a market economy badly affected the class of artisans making them helpless before factory made items, and forced them to become the class of agriculture workers alongside landless peasants (Gankovisky, 2001, p. 195). Moreover, it also created a local bourgeoisie on one hand and it increased the number of poor professional classes, such as agriculture workers amongst rural population, on the other. These newly created socio-economic formations varied unevenly from settled to tribal territories of KP (Gankovisky, 2001, p. 195). However, it gave increase to commodity crops such as wheat, barley, tobacco, sugarcane, cotton and rice (Peshawar Gazetteer, 2002, p. 202), which fulfilled market demands, ranging from 643540 acres in 1855 to 886324 acres, in 1900-01. Moreover, the number of villages (Mauzas) or townships increased from 622 to 806 such as 216 in the Yousafzai tehsil during this period (Nichols, 2001, p. 254). Big landowners alone monopolized reaping of the fruits under new irrigational system and market relations (Nichols, 2001, pp. 192 & 254). Thus, system of new landownership of land transformed agrarian production relationships and also forced the small land-holding peasants by squeezing them to become landless owing to their failure to pay

exceedingly high taxes. The failure of peasants with small land-holdings to give exceedingly high taxes had resulted in their dispossession and landlessness, for instance, landownership of small peasants dropped from 72.5% to 42% during 1911-1931 periods (Gankovisky, 2000, p. 195).

The British not only created a class of loyal big landowners for establishing and strengthening their classical colonial and imperialist rule in KP but also they secured political control by empowering them with authorities of judicial, administrative and fiscal nature. Moreover, they designated these landowners as natural leaders of people by giving extensive privileges. As a result, it enabled them to own land of measuring of thousands of acres, and acquire substantial wealth and status by exerting great influence over the producing class of poor peasants in their domain (Shah, 1999, p. 7). However, they were also assisted operationally by thousands of *lambardars*, semi hereditary revenue and tax collectors. Empowered with police duties, numerous *lambardars* also acted as village headmen (local *Malik*) to collect land (*malia*) and water tax (*abyana*) (Mukulika, 2000, p. 31). It seems that self-sustaining village system and the provision of irrigation strengthened feudal system by breaking-up communal ownership of land and creating of antagonistic classes, such as big landowners on one hand, and small landowners, poor peasants and agriculture workers on the other in KP.

CHARACTER OF YOUNG NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES MOVEMENT

With the introduction of the British system of private landownership of land in KP, communal system of landownership was abolished and it thus created a new class of feudal lords and relations of production. Similarly, the British awarded private ownership of land to localized loyal feudal class and, on the other, they forced to eject peasants as well as deprived of small owners of land. They also authorized their trustworthy small feudal lords to patronize the process of revenue collection in shape of taxes and unpaid work from the peasantry (Marx, Daily Tribune NY, pp. 1-8). As a result of the abolishment of communal ownership of land, there emerged an opponent class of small landowners (Nichols, 1988, p. 8). It thus provided an objective and material basis for dividing the KP society into classes of big landowners and small landowners. As a consequence, it added further to bolster anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic sentiments, which ultimately turned into hatred, resistance and confrontation against the pro-imperialist big landowners (Khan, 2001, p. 118) and their hatred was now exposed in shaping into a national revolutionaries' movement, however, the chief objective of the movement was:

- To abolish politico-economic domination of the British imperialism.

It was, however, seemed impossible to abolish the British imperialism along with the survivals of colonial domination and feudal relations. As a result, young national revolutionaries' movement had acquired an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic in role and character. Notwithstanding, there were several other factors also led to motivate the movement in an organized manner for the accomplishment of their task.

Social consciousness reflects ideas, social feelings, habits and views of people living in a society. It could be of diverse forms including politico-legal ideas, art, morality and religion. At the same time, it is the direct produce of the objective and material realities. Literature of the society proved effective tool in transforming social consciousness into anti-imperialist sentiments amongst youth of KP. For instance, a weekly newspaper 'The Frontier Advocate' (Yousafi, 1968, p. 391) began its publications from Dera Ismael Khan having 200 to 500 copies

(Malik, 1980, pp. 42-43). However, its publications discontinued under Security Act 1 in 1910(Omar, ND, p. 104). Numerous other press organs, such as 'Khudai Kidmatgar' (Urdu), 'Frontier Mail (English)' (Yousafi, 1968, pp. 70-71), edited by Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal, and Daily 'Sarhad' (the Frontier) edited by Allah Bux Yousufi (Malik, 1980, pp. 55-56), spearheaded agitation against Rowlatt Act³ (Omar, ND, p. 150).

Similarly, 'The Afghan', edited by Syed Abdullah Shah and Syed Mehdi Ali Shah, was the first Weekly bi-lingual (Pashto, Urdu) of KP appeared from Peshawar in 1909. It criticized policies of the British Indian government, and published anti-British and pan-Islamic articles. Its circulation increased from 500 copies to 984 in 1913 (Baha, 1978, pp. 218-219). Maulana Fazal Wahid (alias Haji Sahib Turangzai) was instrumental in spreading some hand-written anti-British newspapers and important messages in the form of leaflets of the two of the most renowned journalists of Peshawar, such as Mr. Allah Baksh Yousufi, editor of a pamphlet 'Halat-e-Sarhad' (Frontier situation) (Yousafi, 1968, pp. 178, 380-381), and Mr. Ghulam Ghaus Sehrai. Yousafi managed to smuggle copies of his published material, which he handed over to Haji Sahib of Turangzi for distribution inside the Tribal Territory of KP. Similarly, Mr. Ghasus Sehrai, under directives of Haji Turangzai, remained active in Peshawar and Mardan areas for keeping him well-informed about political developments in KP (Omar, ND, p. 118).

Similarly, bi-monthly news paper of the Young Afghans' i.e. 'Sirajul Akhbar' (Najafi, 1989, pp. 95-96) was also edited by Mehmood Beg Tarzi from Kabul (Ghani, 1989, p. 607). The Siraj advocated at disseminating: both nationalist and progressive, ideas amongst Afghan youth regarding socio-political, economic, literary and educational issues (Gregorian, 1969, pp. 164-165). Moreover, it also published anti-British and nationalist ideas, and this paper was also smuggled and circulated by Young Afghans inside Peshawar (Malik, 1980, pp. 53-54)and the Tribal areas of KP (Baha, 1978, p. 221). Even though, the British Indian government banned the 'Sirajul Akhbar' in KP, however, Young Afghans continued to supply it manually from person to person in Peshawar (Baha, 1978, p. 221). Maulana Abdur Rahim Popalzai (1890-1944)was also involved in receiving and circulating similar literature, who belonged to a prosperous family and was a ringleader of initiating peasant movements at Ghalla Dher in 1938 and Hazara in 1939 respectively. Similarly, he also used to smuggle 'The Ghaddar' (Mutiny), a press organ of the Ghaddar party during 1914-18, and circulated it in KP via Afghanistan and beyond through the efforts of Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal, Pir Bux, and Maulvi Abdullah Jan (Yousafi, 1968, 73, 119-120).

During the course of national revolutionaries' movement, they swelled into ranks and become more organized by acquiring political experience. Their awareness was enhanced and their alliance with the oppressed class of landless peasantry and rural paupers was developed and strengthened. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspirations of national revolutionaries coincided with the interest of the traders and intellectuals who were also unhappy with the influence of the big landowners (Yousafi, 1968, 73, 119-120).

Meanwhile, national oppression of the British imperialism entered into a new phase, wherein, the British adopted the Rowlatt Act (Sayyed, 1987, pp. 78-79) on March 8, 1919 (Khan, 2000, p. 21)with view to suppress socio-political agitations against the British. Meanwhile, several Indian nationalist leaders, such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964),also showed displeasure on the policy of the British. Shortly afterwards, General Dyer opened fire on a

³It was an act, after name of the Committee under supervision of Rowllat, enacted in March 1919 to suppress political protest in India.

densely packed crowd protesting peacefully against the Rowlatt Act at Jalianwala Bagh (Sarwar, 1972, p. 80), Amritsar on April 13, 1919, which resulted in killing 379 and wounding at least 1200 innocent people (Tinker, 1997, p. 84). Thus, this Act accelerated anti-British and nationalist sentiments of youth in KP and, as a result, they began to oppose the Act by means of initiating a series of anti-Rowlatt Act protests (Mathur, 1983, p. 40) at various places of Peshawar such as Masjid Mohabbat Khan, Namak Mandi, and Chowk Yadgar (Bukhari, 1957, p. 49).

Meanwhile, the progressive Afghan ruler also began to condemn the British brutal action (Poullada, 1973, p. 43) and lost no opportunity to display public support for young nationalists in KP (Marwat, 1997, p. 64). Moreover, he also began to fuel anti-British propaganda by sending provocative material to KP through his Afghan agents such as Sardar Ghulam Haider (Poullada, 1973, p. 239) and Sardar Abdul Hakim during anti-Rowlatt Act agitation and, thereby, his efforts contributed to justify uprisings in KP against the British Indian government (Marwat, 1997, p. 64). However, the British police intercepted Afghan mails, containing copies of anti-British material, and arrested Afghan Postmaster (Poullada, 1973, p. 239) together with his associates such as Hakim Abdul Jalil, Sardar Milap Sing and Dr. Charo Chandar Ghosh (Baha, 1978, p. 102).

Furthermore, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 in Russia, which was organized in the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies (Woods, 2001, pp. 12-14) and its slogan for Right of Nations to Self-Determination also influenced young nationalists of KP. Alongside, the Bolsheviks' slogan of Right of Nations to Self-Determination also advocated for right to independence exclusively in political sense as well as they strongly supported national emancipatory struggle from the oppression of the British imperialism (Afanasyev, 1980, pp. 331-337). Moreover, the call of the Bolsheviks to support the nationalist cause of all the toilers of the east on August, 1920 was warmly acknowledged (Jukes, 1973, pp. 4-6).

Thus, these diverse factors began to transform anti-imperialist, democratic and nationalist sentiments of the youth into nationalist revolutionary sentiments (Ibrahim, 1976, p. 29). They started to think of taking different road to shake off chain of enslavement, putting end to colonial and national oppression for winning an emancipated and worthy life. These young nationalist revolutionaries included: Mian Akbar Shah, Akbar Khan Quraishi, Abad Khan, Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi of Peshawar (Yousafi, 1968, p. 183) Abdul Aziz Khushbash of Peshawar (an active member of the Naujawan Baharat Sabha (NBS, henceforth), who worked with peasant leader Maulana Popalzai later on, Hakim Mohammad Aslam Sanjari (Bukhari, 1957, pp. 22-23) of Peshawar (migrated to Afghanistan and then worked with peasant leader Mohammad Afzal Bangash later on in 1952) (DARSB, Box 117, Folder AM-6, p. 5), Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Ghaffar, 1983, p. 136) (son of a prosperous small landowner (Mukulika, 2000, p. XXI; Nichols, 2001, p. 259), Hakim Mehmood Sanjari, Sayyed Abdullah Shah, Mohammad Ashiq the fruit seller, Dr Charo Chandar Ghosh, Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal (the Editor of weekly the Frontier Advocate), Sardar Milap Sing (Malik, 1980, p. 71) (the Editor Daily 'Musawat') (Bukhari, 1957, p. 48) and so on.

National revolutionaries' movement was thus appeared as an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic in character and, as a result, these early national revolutionaries began to migrate Afghanistan and then to the Bolshevik Russia with their basic objectives to seek:

- Support for the emancipation of their country from the British yoke during 1919-1920; &

- Undermine the British imperialism and colonial oppression.

CONTACTS OF YOUNG NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES WITH RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS

Meanwhile, Mahindra Nath Roy (M.N. Roy) (1866-1954), an Indian revolutionary from Bengal, had already been at Moscow, advised the Russian Bolsheviks to adopt a positive and friendly gesture towards young national revolutionaries and to play their role rationally to intensify anti-British sentiments amongst young nationalist revolutionaries (Harish, 1954, p. 3). Later on, he succeeded to approve the plan to supply arms and money to the Tribal areas of KP and recruit some of the young nationalist revolutionaries into armed struggle against the British (Ansari, 199, p. 31). This was practically, the first direct intervention of the Russian Bolsheviks to disseminate its version of freedom movement amongst national revolutionaries of KP.

Consequently, the Turkistan Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ARCEC, henceforth) established an Indian Section of the Council for Soviet International Propaganda (Sovinterprop) at Tashkent on December 23, 1919 with the purpose to carry on spreading anti-British propaganda amongst the Eastern people. Shortly afterwards, the Executive Bureau Committee of Sovinterprop decided to put into effect the Indian Section on April 5, 1920 and to convert it into a Communist Organization under leadership of Mohammad Shafiq (1900-) (Anjum, 2013, pp. 159-177; Din, 2014, pp. 1-28),⁴ Mir Abdul Majid (1901-1980) and Abdul Fazil Khan of KP (Sadhu, 2005, p. 38).

The Indian Section remained active to establish contacts with the Bolshevik authorities including the Turkistan Commission of the ARCEC. Meanwhile, Mohammad Shafiq issued a document containing the material:

- To abolish the British rule by uprooting feudalism and capitalism;&
- To set up the Communist Republic of India.

Moreover, he also persuaded all members of the Indian Section for accepting Communist principles and setting up Communist Party of India on April 20, 1920 (Persit, 1983, p. 89). Though, his weekly bi-lingual (Urdu and Persian) 'the Zamindar' from Tashkent did not go beyond its inaugural issue, however, it contributed to muster support of Indian nationalist revolutionaries and to persuade them to go along the lines of the Russian Bolsheviks (Sadhu, 2005, p. 38).

Meanwhile, M. N. Roy contacted young nationalist revolutionaries, staying in Afghanistan, and invited them to Tashkent for receiving proper military training and getting organized to fight for their Right of Nations to Self-Determination against the British imperialism (Ansari, 1989, pp. 190-191; Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 185-189). After accepting Roy's invitation, some of the young nationalist revolutionaries, such as Mian Akbar Shah, Mohammad Akbar Khan, Sultan Mohammad, Gohar Rehman Darweshi and Sarfaraz Khan, decided to visit Tashkent (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 191-197). Though, they confronted numerous problems on their way to Tashkent, however, it is beyond the scope of this paper to mention their arduous journey

⁴Active member of Provisional Government of Independent India (PGII), was established at Kabul on December 1915 with the aim of seeking support and help from Afghanistan and Czarist Russia to overthrow the British Indian government on one side, and on the other, to constitute an independent government in India instead. It included: Mahendra Pratap as President, Maulana Barkatullah Bhopali as Prime Minister, Maulana Obaidullah as Home Minister, Maulvi Bashir as Defense Minister, Chaman Kreman Pillai as Foreign Minister, Shamsheer Singh alias Mathura Singh as Minister.

from Afghanistan to Tashkent.

The Bolshevik forces carried about thirty five young nationalists' revolutionaries, including Akbar Khan, Rafiq Ahmad (1899-) of Bhopal, Mir Abdul Majid, Firozuddin Mansur (1903-1959), Mian Akbar Shah, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Fida Ali Zahid, Ghulam Mohammad and Abdullah Safdar (1895-) of Peshawar and many others, for Tashkent. Eventually, they were entered Tashkent on October 22, 1920 and, upon reaching, they met Abdul Rab Peshawari, Iqbal Shaidai and Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, who were already residing at Induskii Duma (Indian House) (Quraishi, ND, pp. 303-304). Besides, they also remained in close contact with Mohammad Shafiq and M.N. Roy, who were also residing at Induskii Kurs, which was situated at a short distance from Induskii Duma (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 198-199). The seventy three young nationalist revolutionaries were allowed to enter Russian Turkestan, whereas, 37 out of the total were refused entry into Tashkent on October 22, 1920 (Persit, 1983, p. 69), however, eighty four students filled their entry forms upon arrival at Tashkent in 1920s. At their entry in Tashkent, some were identified as prosperous peasants, such as Mohammad Akbar Khan Quraishi, Mian Akbar Shah, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Sultan Mehmood and Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar (Persit, 1983, p. 74), while, numerous were poor peasants and tradesmen, such as Karam Elahi, Ubaidur Rehman, Taj Mohammad, and Sohan Lal, and few were illiterate workers such as Sher Ali, Abdus Subhan, Safdar Khan and Samad (Shah M. A., 1989, p. 49). Most of them belonged to the age group, ranging from 20 to 27. Nonetheless, they were seemed well-prepared to seek support and assistance from the Russian Bolshevism for overthrowing the British imperialism in India (Persit, 1983, pp. 81, 88).

Consequent upon their stay in Tashkent, they underwent through practical experience of the Bolshevik mode of life and ideological foundations of Russian Bolshevism that ultimately led to remove their misconceptions about the Russian Bolshevik ideology. They became more receptive and thus exposed to progressive nationalist thought (Ansari, 1990, pp. 23-42). During their initial contacts with the Bolsheviks, discussions and study-circles were conducted under the supervision of M. N. Roy with the intent to provide them coherent and more general laws of development and true scientific explanation of society, render invaluable services to all progressive elements in their struggle for better future and reveal the significance of socialist revolution in their country. As a result, these conscious efforts proved instrumental in transforming their national revolutionary thought into progressive nationalism (Mustafa, 2007; Ahmad, 1962, p. 30).

IMPACT OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM ON YOUNG NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT

Since, one of the central policies of the Bolsheviks was to liberate the colonies from the British oppression and thus the Bolsheviks adopted national question as their principal strategy in their course of action. On 04 March, 1919, the first congress of the Communist International (Comintern, hereafter) thus decided to provide ideological assistance to the oppressed people of the colonies in their political struggle to achieve complete freedom from the British imperialism (Adhikari, 2005, p. 39).

Similarly, Comintern held its Second Congress at Moscow during July 19-August 17, 1920. The aim of the Second Congress was to establish a permanent Council for Propaganda and Action of the People of the East; manage to organize propaganda throughout the East; publish a tri-lingual journal for people of the East; manage to organize publishing material; encourage and support national liberation movements of East; and set up a University of social sciences to

educate social and political activists of the East. Consequently, it sorted out a strategy to establish the Bolshevik-styled organizations in the colonies for strengthening their ideological and political basis. Following was the integrated strategy of the Bolsheviks for the colonies:

- To understand their material socio-economic formations,
- To critically analyze nature and of national progressive movements,
- To comprehend the role of national bourgeoisie leadership and peasants, attitude of progressive forces in political parties of the East for national self-determination (Adhikari, 2005, p. 39).

During the course of the Congress sessions, the Comintern was assigned to discover the most progressive forces of the movements and enable them to uproot the survivals of imperialist domination in their struggle to achieve freedom from colonial oppression (Lenin, 1968, pp. 164, 603). The Congress also advocated to support the struggle for Right of Nation to Self-Determination to overthrow colonial domination till the achievement of their complete independence (Stalin, 1953, pp. 145-147). The Congress also appealed working class of the developed countries to support to national liberation movements (Stalin, 1953, p. 146-147, 150). Moreover, they advocated that alliance of the urban workers with the peasants (Lenin, 1968, p. 603) led to organize peasant movements (Lenin, 1964, pp. 333-335) for wiping out feudalism in entirety (Lenin, 1966, p. 149) under the supervision of urban workers (Lenin, 1968, pp. 592-601).

As a result, the Executive Committee of Comintern (ECCI) established a Small Bureau, comprising of five members (Izvestia, 1920, p. 2; Persist, 1983, p. 124), which passed two resolutions highlighting to conduct a meeting with the representatives of the colonies in Azerbaijan, wherein, they thus set up a sub office of the Comintern aiming to deal with their issues (Lenin, 1965, p. 271).

Consequently, they organized to conduct their meeting with the representatives of the colonies in 1920 under Grigory Zinoviev (1883-1936), the old Bolshevik, revolutionary and close comrade of Lenin. Few delegates from KP, such as Mian Akbar Shah (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 213-217), Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Masaud Ali Shah (DAPCSJ, 1922-23, pp. 11-12), Fazli Qadir and Abdur Rab Barq Peshawari attended the meeting. Also, some other attended the meeting including: Umar Bux, Eshur and Said Amir Bacha (Naveed, 2007). During course of the Congress, Abdur Rab Barq Peshawari, on his turn, requested the chair of the meeting to assist Indians in their national struggle for overthrowing the British imperialism altogether (Pearce, 1920, pp. 1-174).

Following their successful sessions, it was decided to form Indian Communist Party (CPI) in 17 October, 1920 (Sarwar, 1972, p. 47; Javed, 1998, p. 82). Furthermore, during first meeting of CPI, members of the party unanimously elected Mohammad Shafiq as secretary of the Party (Ganguly, 2002, p. 63). Similarly, they also passed a unanimous resolution urging to follow the guidelines of the Comintern. Moreover, an integrated strategy was also designed to organize the enlightened section of liberation movements to improvise their struggle in accordance with their material socio-economic formations (Persist, 1983, pp. 125-26). Shortly afterwards, some other nationalist revolutionaries of KP, such as Abdur Qadir Sehrai, Mohammad Ali, Shah Kazi, Mian Akbar Shah (alias now Saleem) and Abdullah Safdar, were also given admission into CPI on probation basis on December 15, 1920 (Mustafa, 2007; Persist, 1983, pp. 125-26). Hence, the inspiration from the Bolshevik thought could be reflected on some of the members of national revolutionaries' movement of KP, wherein, membership of CPI was

awarded to them.

Some active members of CPI, such as Masaud Ali Shah, Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Shafiq of KP, also conducted various study-circles to debate socio-economic and political issues pertaining to expose inherent contradictions of imperialism with the help of ideology of the Russian Bolshevism at the Induskii Duma (Indian House) (Quraishi, ND, p. 316). Thus, nationalist revolutionaries of KP began to expose to the progressive nationalist thought and succeeded to find out the way to launch an organized and well-disciplined social movement, however, it was also included to properly propagate Bolsheviks' political and revolutionary insight in different layers of their native societies (Roy, 1954, p. 466). Shortly afterwards, the Bolsheviks set up a training centre in October, 1920 with a view to prepare young nationalist revolutionaries in different fields, such as politics, aviation and military. Alongside the provision of necessary stuff, they were also taught by Russian instructors and, thus, succeeded to train these young nationalists with necessary skills (Persit, 1983, p. 240). Their military training was divided into two phases first, infantry training such as handling arms and drilling (DAPCSJ, 1922-23, p. 1) and second, espionage and propaganda training, to produce stirrings inside of the British Colonial Army. They also equipped them with revolutionary skills to struggle for their right of independence by replacement of the British imperialism (Persit, 1983, p. 127).

Some of the young national revolutionaries from KP, such as Mian Akbar Shah, Mohammad Shafiq, Fazle Qadir, Abdul Qayum, Fida Ali Zahid, Abdul Karim, Master Sher Ali (DAPCSJ, 1922-23, p. 5), Fateh Mohammad, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Sultan, and Ghulam Ahmad, Taj Mohammad, Shamsul Qamar, Mohammad Khan, Mardan Shah, Misri Khan, Said Mir Bacha, Umar Bux, Zardad, and Masaud Ali Shah, Abdullah Jan, Mubarak Shah, Faqir Mohammad, Abdullah Shah and Mohammad Akbar Quraishi, were also enrolled to acquire advanced training and get organized to fight against the British imperialism. Later on, Mohammad Akbar Quraishi, Sultan Mehmood, Fida Ali Zahid, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, and Masaud Ali Shah also served in the Bolshevik Army and Navy at Tashkent (DARSB, Box 30, pp. 25-27, 125-127, 207-209).

The Bolshevik Russians provided ample food and dry fruits together with some Russian Rubles (the Russian currency) to every student during the course of their training. Abdur Rahim of Peshawar was appointed as commander of the students at the training centre (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 205-206). Akbar Shah further reports that after a month and half of the basic training, students were brought to Lenin's Academy for receiving proper military training. Hence, it became a regular routine of every student to get up early in the morning for doing parade under a Tartar officer, and to take classes with the Bolshevik teachers since January 1921 (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 207-208). The training centre, though, was shut down in 1921 (Ansari, 1990, p. 33; Ahmad, 1962, pp. 30, 32), however, despite being short lived, it proved successful in converting their thoughts towards the end.

Following the shutting down of the training centre, national revolutionaries were provided with the likelihood to continue their studies at one of the appropriate institutions of learning in Moscow (Shah M. A., 1989, pp. 225-228). The Bolsheviks also considered it essential to provide arms to their students and prepared them to launch a militant struggle for the elimination of imperialism. Subsequently, the Comintern set up a university, in April 1921, for recruiting them to learn how to begin political struggle for their national and democratic rights. By the end of 1921, it had recruited 622 students (Mustfa, 2007; Persit, 1983, p. 37) including students from KP such as Mian Akbar Shah, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Abdul Qayyum Khan, Mohammad Akbar Khan, Abdul Qadir Sehrai, Mohammad Shafiq, Sultan Mohammad, and Fida Ali Zahid and others

(Persit, 1983, pp. 229, 81-84; Naveed, 2007).

The Comintern also established an Indian office at the university (Mustafa, 2007) to establish direct contacts with progressive nationalists. The aim of their contact was to arrange study circles to promote logical debates and discussions to broaden their political consciousness. In due course, some of the progressive nationalists, such as Mian Akbar Shah, Mohammad Shafiq, Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Abdulah Safdar and Abdul Qadir Sehrai from KP, were so deeply inspired by the Russian Bolshevism and, as a result, they became determined to join progressive nationalist movements on their return to KP (Mustafa, 2007; Persit, 1983, pp. 81-84).

The course contents and overall curriculum of the university tremendously shaped and broadened political consciousness of progressive nationalists and, hence, they were ready to fight the British imperialism (DAPCSJ, 1922-23, p. 2). These courses included: rise and development of the Bolshevik tendency in Russia, class struggle, state, historical context of Russian peasant and urban workers' movements, urban workers' movements, dialectical materialism, laws of Marxist dialectics, modes of productions, national liberation movements, peasants-workers union and growth and evolution of Marxism through writings of Lenin etc (Naveed, 2007; Aibak 990, p. 241).

Moreover, the university also assigned them with the task to start working in peasants of their areas in order to bolster and organize peasants' movements for uprooting feudal relations of production. Their tactics and strategies must be organizing strikes, supporting progressive and revolutionary elements of national liberation movements (Lenin, 1966, p. 149). The university was, therefore, proved effective and instrumental institute in transforming national thought of young national revolutionaries into progressive nationalism (Ansari, 1990, pp. 28-29). Shortly afterwards, the Bolsheviks announced the closure of the University because it concluded a trade agreement with the British Indian government (Neilson, 2006, p. 25).

Both the training centre and the university were instrumental in diffusing Russian Bolshevik thought amongst youth of KP and also spreading anti-British propaganda in the Tribal areas of KP by various means. These included: firstly, these institutions nominated Mardan Shah, Misri Khan, Said Amir Bacha and Mohammad Akbar Quraishi (Naveed, 2007) to play a leading role and secondly, they provided them with guns, a large quantity of ammunition and funds to complete the task. As a result, these progressive nationalists set up their centre at Chamarkand in the tribal territory of KP and began working according to their leaders' instructions (Mustafa, 2007).

After becoming experimented with the publications, peasants' programmes and organizational structures and forms of the Russian Bolshevism, this small group of progressive nationalists began to express their transformed progressive thought into different layers of KP. Though, numerous were scattered and lacked interest to continue politics, however, few others, such as Gohar Rehman Darveshi, Mohammad Akbar Khan and Mian Akbar Shah, became distinguished exponents of progressive nationalism and began to actively engage in disseminating progressive ideas amongst their fellow countrymen. They remained closely connected with one another and continued working to recruit new members into study-circles together with spreading Kabul-sponsored progressive literature in the entire India under supervision of M. N. Roy. Similarly, Gohar Rehman and Abdul Majid were appointed members of action committee of the All India Trade Union Council and also assigned the task of organizing Kirti Kisan Party (worker-peasant party; KKP, henceforth) and NBS in Punjab (Ansari, 1990, p. 254). Moreover, he, along with Majid, also launched and edited Weekly Urdu 'Mehnat Kash (the toiler)' in 1926-27 at Lahore to diffuse and disseminate progressive ideas amongst

youth of India (Ansari, 1990, p. 82).

Similarly, Mohammad Akbar Khan Quraishi set up a printing press at the independent tribal area of KP and produced revolutionary literature and established contacts with some of the Workers' Unions including press workers' union at Lahore. Moreover, he also joined the Khaksar Movement (Naveed, 2007) and began publishing a Weekly paper "Naujawan Afghan" at Haripur of district Hazara. He also got in-touch with peasant leaders such as Haji Faqira Khan of Hazara, Gohar Rehman, and Mian Abar Shah (Navee, 2007; Ansari, 1990, p. 255). While Mohammad Shafiq found an opportunity to attend 6th congress of the Comintern in September 1928 (Ansari, 1990, pp. 273-274), similarly, Said Amir Bacha of Musazai, Ghulam Murtaza, Shehzada Khan of Peshawar also joined NBS (Sing, 1973, p. 49), whereas, Sultan Mohammad dropped out from politics (Quraishi, ND, p. 69).

While Mian Akbar Shah, after his return, completed his graduation from Islamia College, Peshawar and then obtained law degree from Aligarh University. During his studies at Aligarh, he established contacts with the progressive elements working in India. Afterward, he came back to KP and closely analyzed the socio-economic formations and material conditions and thus modified his ideological thought accordingly. At the time, the economy of KP was peasant-based with little or no industry at all which could provide him the leadership in the form of urban workers. However, large scale anti-British sentiments were quite visible in the society due to cruel policies of the British, feudal relations of production and the pro-British feudal lords.

Following guidelines of the Comintern, he alongside his school mate, Abad Khan⁵ joined Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement (KKM)⁶ to accelerate progressive nationalist struggle for the oppressed people according to the understanding of the prevailing socio-economic conditions in 1929. Moreover, both Akbar Shah and Abad Khan also established close association with NBS, KKP and revolutionary youth of Punjab, such as Ranbir, the editor of Daily Milap, who also acted as liaison between the progressive elements in Punjab. Abad Khan also used to supply weapons to revolutionary organizations in Punjab and he was introduced to these revolutionary cadres of Communist Party of India and KKP by Mirza Ghulam Mohammad.⁷ Mirza had very close association with the members of Ghadar Party⁸ and Nawjawana-ne-Sarhad (offshoot of Ghadar Party in KP) who believed in armed struggle. This Nawjawana-ne-Sarhad was supervised by Mufti Abdur Rahim and Sanobar Hussain Kakaji (Jalil, 2007).

On behest of Mirza Ghulam, Abad Khan used to convey confidential letters to Sanobar Hussain Kakaji in Swaal Kala in Bajuar agency. Sanobar Kakaji used to issue a cyclo-styled trilingual (Urdu, Pashto and English) magazine Shola (flame) and thus he published the material of these letters in his magazine. Moreover, this magazine was clandestinely conveyed to all parts of KP. Moreover, Mian Akbar Shah and Abad Khan also played a prominent role in disseminating progressive ideas amongst poor peasants of Ghalla Dher, Mardan in 1938. Keeping in view the socio-economic formation of Ghalla Dher, he first organized poor peasants

⁵ He was a revolutionary national worker belonging to Tehsil Nowshera. Both Akbar Shah and Abad Khan were school mates at Nowshera High School. They were deeply influenced by the anti-imperialist sentiments of their teacher, Nadir Ali of Cambelpur to the extent that both of the friends decided to join anti-British movement.

⁶ KKM was established in 1929 with the aim of reforming Pakhtun society.

⁷ Mirza Ghulam Mohammad was a famous immigrant of Sihala Rawalpindi who used to smuggle Russian literature and convey messages to KP and Punjab via Kabul.

⁸ It was established in 1913 by some immigrant Sikhs at San Francisco and its aim was to destroy the British imperialism through militant struggle in India.

by developing awareness amongst them as well as encouraging them to stand united against feudal relations of production.

Later, Mian Akbar Shah also joined the Forward Block of Indian National Congress under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose in 1939. Subsequently, he became president of its branch in KP. In 1941, at the behest of Ram Kishan National, Akbar Shah planned, along with Abad Khan, to bring Subash Chandra Bose to Peshawar and subsequently helped him to escape to Kabul from India via KP (Ansari, 1990. p. 275). Akbar Shah had already contacted Utam Chand Malhotra and informed him about Subash Chandra Bose escape. Utam Chand, was a resident of Mardan and had been secretary of NBS in 1930, had already been escaped to Kabul and started there a radio repair shop. He also performed the task of transmitting messages from the Bolshevik Russia and Germany to various parts of India including KP.

CONCLUSION

Feudal relations of production in KP, new socio-economic formation alongside the national repression of the British imperialists as well as the rise of Russian Bolshevism spurred to create national revolutionaries' movement. Under these material conditions, young national democratic and progressive elements of the society, such as students, traders and intelligentsia, played the leading role in national revolutionaries' movement and they thus stood at the head of the movement. Similarly, these conditions had ultimately become principal reasons of their migration to the Bolshevik Russia via Afghanistan, wherein, the Bolshevik academic institutions, such as the training centre and the university, was also very effective in converting thought of the national revolutionaries into a progressive nationalism. They found a scientifically articulated scheme of political struggle to organize and persuade poor peasants into a peasant struggle at Ghalla Dher in 1938 according to their socio-economic and cultural formation. Sufficient evidence was provided to substantiate the central argument that impact of Russian Bolshevism could be identified into their transformed thought of progressive nationalism.

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- ASSESSING IMPACT OF RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM AND FEUDAL RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION OF KP IN TRANSFORMING YOUNG NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES' MOVEMENT INTO PROGRESSIVE NATIONALISM DURING EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY PJAEE, 18(10) (2021)
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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 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 Tribalareas of KP, established contacts with some of the workers' unions at Lahore and edited *Naujawan Afghan (Young Afghan)* in 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 son of Mia Akbar Shah, who also visited Soviet Russia via Afghanistan during Hijrat Movememnt 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 platform of *Khudai Khidmatgars Movement (KKM)*. He thus succeeded in developing Ghallah Dher peasant movement in 1938. He also penned his travelogue in Pashtu entitled: *Da Azada-e-Talash*.

Personal interview with Dr. Abdul Jalil Popalzai (age 62) of Warsak Road, Peshawar at his residence on July 23, 2007. He is grand-son of Mufti Abdur Rahim Popalzai, the ring leader of peasant movements of Ghalla Dher in 1938 and Hazara in 1939 of KP.