



# Al-Azhār

Volume 8, Issue 1 (Jan-June, 2022)

ISSN (Print): 2519-6707



Issue: <http://www.al-azhaar.org/index.php/alazhar/issue/view/18>

URL: <http://www.al-azhaar.org/index.php/alazhar/article/view/324>

Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46896/alazhr.v8i01.324>

**Title** Diverse Approaches to Revolution: Mirroring Split in Pakistani Left Politics under the Shadow of Russian Social Democratic Labour Partys' Second Congress

**Author (s):** Noor Ul Amin

**Received on:** 26 June, 2021

**Accepted on:** 27 May, 2022

**Published on:** 25 June, 2022

**Citation:** Noor Ul Amin, "Construction: Diverse Approaches to Revolution: Mirroring Split in Pakistani Left Politics under the Shadow of Russian Social Democratic Labour Partys' Second Congress," Al-Azhār: 8 no, 1 (2022): 40-59

**Publisher:** The University of Agriculture Peshawar



[Click here for more](#)

---

---

# Diverse Approaches to Revolution: Mirroring Split in Pakistani Left Politics under the Shadow of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party's Second Congress

\*Noor Ul Amin

## *Abstract*

*The objectives of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), established in 1898, included: empowering Russian working classes, without a clearly determined Socialist Programme. In 1903, diverse approaches towards revolutionary change in Russia led to RSDLP's split into two factions: Bolshevik (Majority) and Menshevik (Minority). The divergence in approach surfaced during 2nd Congress of RSDLP held in Brussels-London 17th July - August 10th 1903. This research attempts to describe and distinguish both, Bolshevik and Menshevik approaches to revolution in Russia. It also compares approaches to revolutionary change in less developed countries, particularly Pakistan. It examines fragmentation and split of leftist political parties in Pakistan due to approaches towards revolution.*

*Keywords: Emancipation, Peasants Autonomy, Bolshevik, Menshevik, Revolutionary/ Reformist approach, Politics, Social Democratic Parties, leftist parties, Agrarian Program, C.P.S.U. (B.) CPI, CPP, Sino-Soviet split, MKP, NAP.*

---

\* Associate Professor, Department of Pak Studies, Islamia College University, Peshawar

---

## Introduction

End of serfdom in Russia, in 1861 by Czar Alexander-II (r.1855-81) led not only to emancipation<sup>1</sup> of peasant but also contributed towards assembling several elements opposed to reforms. Russian Czar's act of liberating peasants- reform from above, failed to change significantly economic and social conditions. Rampant poverty amongst peasants gave birth to several anti-reform movements such as: Decembrists; Narodnik (populist) movement<sup>2</sup>; and social democratic/socialist movements, eventually resulting into formation of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP).<sup>3</sup> The party in its first congress failed to articulate a precise programme of change.<sup>4</sup> In its Second Congress, RSDLP suffered a split over Programme.<sup>5</sup> Position advocated over issues, including: Dictatorship of the Proletariat/ Alliance of workers and peasants; Peasant Question/Agrarian Reforms; National Question/ Right to self determination of nations, resulted into emergence of two factions: Bolshevik (Majority) and Menshevik (Minority) in RSDLP.<sup>6</sup> Diverse approaches taken over these issues by various actors have been impacting revolutionary/left wing politics in less developed countries including Pakistan.

## Prelude

Russia has been predominantly an agrarian society with large number of peasants toiling the vast lands and fields, however, faced inflexible policies. Rigid rules under 1649 Code of Law,<sup>7</sup> confined peasants to the lands of their landowners: Leaving lands of landlord had become a criminal offence. The conditions were very harsh, peasants led a very poor life, not allowed to move out of landlord's land, even denied to marry on their choice. They didn't have their own life; were property of land lords under code of law, 1649.

Tsar Alexander II (1818-81) the liberator, launched, in 1861, 'Manifesto of Emancipating Peasants', to emancipate three million peasants.<sup>8</sup> This manifesto granted several rights to peasants including right: to marry by choice; to become free citizen; to own personal property. The right to own property was granted in return of paying redemption money to land lord in forty nine years. The lands granted to peasants were mostly unfertile and unapproachable. Following the manifesto of emancipation, in 1866, larger lands were granted to state owned serfs but household serfs were freed without granting lands to them, they only had to offer their services.<sup>9</sup>

Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918) realizing the situation of peasants, met Pavel Axelrod<sup>10</sup> and other revolutionaries who commenced Russian radical Narodnik (populist) movement. The populist movement aimed at formation of peasant commune, nationalization of land, organization of peasant revolutionary federation. The slogan which they raised was going to people, and they were aiming to spread awareness in peasants about exploitation by

their feudal/landlords.<sup>11</sup> This movement was named populist movement (Narodnik) in Russia.<sup>12</sup> Their programme advocated abolishing Tsardom and serfdom, by-passing capitalism and march towards socialism. These populists included: Peter the Great (1672-1725), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-76), Lavrov, Julius Martov (1873-1923), brother of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) and Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918). They attempted to assassinate Tsar Alexander II. Plekhanov did not support violent action though himself in exile in Geneva<sup>13</sup> at that time. He decided to shape a populist splitter named “black repartition” in 1877.<sup>14</sup> Plakhanov met with Friedrich Engels (1820-95) in Switzerland, studied and intensely understood the essence of Marxism. Pavel Axelrod (1850-1928) and Plakhanov, in 1883 established a group called “Emancipation of Labour”.<sup>15</sup> Plekhanov along with Vera Zasulich (1849-1919) and Axelrod (previously populist), translated Marx’s, *The Communist Manifesto*, *Wage-Labour and Capital*, *Socialism* in Russian to explain and clarify Marxist thought. Opposing aggressive populist theories, they viewed that Russian peasantry was not in the stage to bring the revolution. It seemed imperative that peasants be first made class conscious and acquainted with Marxism.<sup>16</sup> Plakhanov emphasized inadequacies in the programme of Narodnik, subsequently, in 1894, Lenin in “Friends of the People”<sup>17</sup> further clarified numerous issues laying down the foundation for future actions including: spread of Marxism in Russia and founding R.S.D.L.P.<sup>18</sup> Formation and First Congress of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP)

The First Congress was convened jointly in 1898 by three social democratic parties:<sup>19</sup> (I) *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*: Founded in 1897, Julius Martov (1873-1923) and Vladimir Lenin its members. (II) *General Jewish Labour Bund*: formed in 1897, graded as the largest socialist group in Tsarist Russia, sponsored the Congress. (III) *Socialist committee in Kiev*: formed in 1897, published Organ Robochaye Gazette, Workers’ Gazzete.<sup>20</sup>

The Objectives included:

To emancipate the Russian peasants from their feudal lords, R.S.D.L.P advocated collectivization of all means of production, working class grabbing all political power by forming revolutionary working class organization. Programme of this meeting proposed by Lenin was smuggled to Minsk. The proposed programme was for organizing a meeting to implement objectives and unifying all Russian socialist movements under one umbrella.<sup>21</sup>

For the first congress of R.S.D.L.P, in March 1898, the representative delegates of above mentioned socialist groups numbering nine (9) gathered in Minsk.<sup>22</sup> Extreme secrecy was followed to the extent that no minutes

were recorded. A total of six sessions were held discussing only major issues sans minutes. They decided to merge, also elected central committee. Leader of the Saint Petersburg League and Social Democrats, Stepan Radchenko (1869-1911), from Robochaye Gazette Boris Edelman and Alexander Kramer Jewish bund leader were part of Central committee.<sup>23</sup> The congress was inconclusive, as five out of nine members present in Minsk were arrested.<sup>24</sup>

### Iskra

First R.S.D.L.P meeting ended in arrest of five of its members and other four going abroad in exile. Lenin went on exile to Siberia. There with Postreov and Julius Martov, he build an alliance, for reestablishing a party. They decided to publish a Marxist newspaper and also to make an alliance with Plakhanov's 'Emancipation of Labour' group. Lenin developed personal contact with Plekhanov who was in exile in Europe. In 1900 he illegally came to St Petersburg. Lenin in Russia started developing contacts with influential and strong individuals of similar thought. Vera Zasulich ably assisted him in establishin such contacts. They published journals and visited European Russia to attract well to do and influential Russians. Lenin after completing the ground work for publishing Iskra went back to Siberia in 1900. However developed on the question of organization of Iskra and some other political issues differences with Plakhanov. To avoid further conflicts and disputes it was decided that Martov, Postresove, Vera Zasulich, Axelrod and Plakhanov will be part of editorial board of Iskra. This editorial board from 1900 started working on agenda and program for conducting second R.S.D.L.P Congress.<sup>25</sup>

Lenin in order to decide aims and objectives of second congress of R.S.D.L.P wrote a pamphlet "What is to be done".<sup>26</sup> This pamphlet had a complete outline of the congress. It not only laid organized framework for the meeting but also provided an ideology.<sup>27</sup>

### Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party

Second congress of RSDLP was held on 17<sup>th</sup> July - August 10<sup>th</sup> 1903 in Brussels. Congress began in Brussels, thirteen sessions were held, however, the police forced them to leave. Another twenty-four sessions were held after transferring venue to London. Twenty six organizations were represented including:

The Emancipation of Labour; the Russian Organization of *Iskra*; the St. Petersburg Committee; the St. Petersburg Workers' Organization; the Moscow Committee, the Kharkov Committee; the Kiev Committee; the Odessa Committee; the Nikolaev Committee; the Crimean Union; the Don Committee; the Union of Mining and Metallurgical Workers, the Ekaterinoslav Committee, the Saratov Committee, the Tiflis Committee, the League of Russian Revolutionary Social Democracy Abroad, the Baku

Committee, the Batumi Committee, the Tula Committee, the Ufa Committee, the Northern Workers' Union, the Siberian Union, the Union of Russian Social Democrats Abroad, the Bund Committee Abroad, the Central Committee of the Bund and the Southern Workers' Group. Forty three (43) delegates participated in the congress: 14 possessed advisory votes and 51 decisive votes. The congress commenced with an introductory speech by Georgi Plekhanov.<sup>28</sup>

Agenda of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress:

The agenda of 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress included:

(I) The constitution of the congress; Election of the Bureau; Establishing regulations and Agenda of the congress; Report of the Organizing Committee presented by V. N. Rozanov (Popov); Report of the committee on credentials and the determination of the composition of the congress by B. A. Ginzburg (Kol'tsov). (II) The place of the Bund in the RSDLP; speaker Liber (M. I. Goldman), co-speaker L. Martov (Iu. O. Tserdbaum). (III) The Party program. (IV) The Central Organ of the Party. (V) Reports of delegates. (VI) The organization of the Party (discussions on the organizational rules of the Party), speaker V. I. Lenin. (VII) Regional and national organizations, presented by speaker from the rules committee, V. A. Noskov (Glebov). (VIII) Separate Party groups, introductory speech by V. I. Lenin. (IX) The national question. (X) The economic struggle and the trade-union movement. (XI) The May Day celebration. (XI) The International Socialist Congress of 1904 in Amsterdam. (XIII) Demonstrations and uprisings. (XIV) Terrorism. (XV) Internal problems of Party work: (a) Organization of propaganda, (b) Organization of agitation, (c) Organization of Party literature, (d) Organization of work among the peasants, (e) Organization of work in the army, (f) Organization of work among students, and (g) Organization of work among members of sects. (XVI) The attitude of the RSDLP toward the Socialist Revolutionaries. (XVII) The attitude of the RSDLP towards the Russian liberal movements. (XVIII) Elections of the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ of the Party. (XIX) Election of the Party Council. (XX) Procedures for spreading the decisions and protocols of the congress as well as procedures for assuming the exercise of duties by elected officials and institutions. The question of Party rules was discussed under point 6 of the agenda."<sup>29</sup>

Emerging Conflicts

Second Congress in London was more argumentative and confrontational. Georgi Plekhanov chaired the congress. Heated discussions and arguments over every issue were forwarded. All issues were critically examined by the members and dissected views. These arguments and disagreements over issues led to the split of R.S.D.L.P into two factions: Bolsheviks (the

---

---

Majority) and Mensheviks (the Minority).<sup>30</sup>

### Theory of Spontaneity

Lenin was elected, as a Bureau of the congress chaired quite a few sessions of the congress. The 9th session discussed party program, Lenin corrected and edited this program presented by Plekhanov. Lenin argued that party programme shall include Marxist view on the matter of dictatorship of proletariat. Plekhanov did not agree and opposed Lenin, believing this might lead to the hegemony of proletariat, dictatorship over revolutionary struggle. Plekhanov was supported by Akimov, Pikker and Bundist on this point. Pikker and Akimov, both economists, attempted to edit and alter unsuccessfully, Lenin's programme "theory of spontaneity".<sup>31</sup> The theory concerned social consciousness of labour class to be attained by introducing social revolution.<sup>32</sup>

### On Editorial Board of Iskra

Lenin and Martov had a very heated debate over composition of the Editorial Board of "Iskra".<sup>33</sup> Martov was elected a member of editorial board of Iskra, however, he carried conflict with congress that they have failed in supporting and understanding his point of view on different matters with other members of editorial board. His objection had been inability of congress of understanding its members. Lenin's proposed programme of Iskra was to organizing socialist society, to lead socialist revolution and for the dictatorship of proletariat. An imperative to end the Czarist rule, providing equal rights to all nationalities and handing over lands to peasants.<sup>34</sup>

### On Matter of Party Membership

Lenin wanted to give party membership to those who not only agree with this party programme but also financially support any of the Party organization by participating in person. Martov disagreed with Lenin's view arguing that party membership shall be granted to those, supporting and recognizing the party programme by customary and personal involvement with any of the party directives. The conflict emerged in the twenty second session of congress, hence, put to vote: Martov got twenty eight (28) and Lenin twenty three (23) votes: however, seven (7) Bundist Jews protested walked out of the session. This resulted into decrease in Martov's votes turning it into a minority view.

### Jewish Labour Bund Party

Jewish Labour Bund Party in the congress demanded its recognition as the sole representative of Jews in Russia. They demanded also the right to use their language and to have essential federal structure of Bund as party. Not only Stalin, Lenin Martov but almost all the members opposed these demands. Consequently, Bundist withdrew from R.S.D.L.P.<sup>35</sup>

### Agrarian Programme

---

Agrarian programme was discussed in several sessions and numerous speeches were delivered. Congress stressed on communication between peasants and social democratic revolutionaries. This acquaintance will enhance class consciousness enlighten them further of their rights and liberties. The awareness will strengthen them in raising voice against oppressors, and lead to the abolition of serfdom. Disagreement over this programme existed too. Labour claimed that this programme has a strong influence and resemblance with demands of Liberals. Lenin, however, defended his position, stating his program gave complete mode of action to achieve the aim.<sup>36</sup>

### National Question

Congress declared that the equality of languages and provision of equal rights and representation to all in the party, irrespective of cast, religion and gender. Many nationalities like Armenian, Russian, Polish, Jewish, Georgian etc., need to be harmonized and treated equally. This task was considered very important for the success of proletariat of Russia. Bundist did not agree and wanted their own language for any kind of representation in party. This demand was rejected by Plekhanov and Lenin along with many other members. Bundist strongly reacted and objected over this matter.<sup>37</sup>

### The Split

The disagreements existed on several programmes of R.S.D.L.P, however, voting on the issue of party membership resulted into Lenin calling himself and his followers Bolshevik while Martov and followers Menshevik. Though both Lenin and Martov were Marxists and argued that Russia will pass Capitalist phase prior to become socialist, however, Martov viewed revolution will take longer since Russia was not developed enough to work for liberal revolution of middle class. Lenin believed in revolution which will lead workers recognize their true class interest.<sup>38</sup> Bolsheviks believed closed (underground) vanguard RSDLP of trained revolutionaries while Mensheviks argued for an open (broad based) party. They also had disagreement over other issues.<sup>39</sup>

The working-class movement sprang from Marxist circles/groups which imparted Socialist consciousness in Russia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Bolshevik (B) grew from first these Russian tiny Marxist circles/groups that appeared in the eighties of the 19th century. The revolutionary guiding ideology of CPSU(B) has always been the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In the era of imperialism, marred with imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, the teachings of Marx and Engels were developed to a new level. The Bolshevik grew and gained strength in a relentless struggle within the working-class movement against the middle class parties; the Socialist-Revolutionaries; the Narodnik, the Mensheviks,



---

Anarchists and big capitalists and all sorts of nationalists. Within their own Party they opposed opportunist trends; the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, nationalist deviators and anti-Leninist groups. They Party in its revolutionary struggle achieved victory over enemies of the working people including: landowners; capitalists; kulaks; wreckers; spies; and the agents of the neighbouring capitalist countries. It took pride her history of three revolutions: the unsuccessful revolution of 1905; the February 1917, bourgeois-democratic revolution of, and the Great October Socialist Revolution 1917.<sup>40</sup>

The working-class movement grew more in 1901-04, giving birth to the Marxist Social Democratic organizations in Russia. In opposition to "Economists," Lenin's revolutionary line propagated in *Iskra*<sup>41</sup> gained victory, clearing the ideological confusion and overcame "amateurish methods of work".<sup>42</sup> At the Second Congress differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks centered round questions of organization. The Mensheviks like "Economists" instead of militant revolutionary party of the new type, wanted a loose, unorganized, khvostist party. With Plekhanov's help, they seized *Iskra* its central editing Committee, and used these central organs to split the Party. Anticipating the Menshevik threat of a split, the Bolsheviks took steps to curb the splitters, mustering support of local organization to convene the Third Congress. They launched their own newspaper, *V Peryod* (March Forward).<sup>43</sup> Following the Russian defeat in the Russo Japanese war, on the eve of the first Russian revolution, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks acted as two separate political groups.

Do disagreements over such issues and approaches towards political change amongst left<sup>44</sup> parties prevalent in less developed countries such as Pakistan?

Marxism-Leninism has been guiding ideology behind Great Bolshevik October 1917 Russian Revolution. Twentieth century, especially its first half has been marred with wars, [un]successful revolutions and rise of Marxism and workers'/peasants' struggles in the entire world. Not only Russian communists but Marxists and communists in other parts of the globe considered Russian revolution, the first step, in breaking chain of capitalist yoke and prelude to revolutions in other countries.<sup>45</sup> Communist International (COMINTERN) transmitted, in 1919, a call for revolution across the globe on the Soviet model.<sup>46</sup> Subsequently, workers, educated social elements not only from the European continent but also from the Indian Sub-continent joined hands to form communist/workers organizations. In 1920, the Communist Party of Great Britain was founded. Soon British Indian Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954) steered Communist Movement in India. By middle of 1930s countless eminent Indian Muslim intellectuals including: Syed Sajjad Zaheer (1899-1973), Mahmudul Zafar,

---

Rasheeda Jehan (1905-52), Dr. K.M. Ashraf, Hajira Begum (1910-2003) joined this movement. The Progressive Writers Association (PWA) was formed, later becoming torch-bearer of progressive ideas, supporting communist political movement in the Indian Subcontinent.<sup>47</sup>

### Leftist Politics in British India

Younger generation in Pakistan is not much familiar with political terms: Leftist and Right wing; politics. The ideological groupings in politics: Left-wing politics is characterized by emphasizing ideas, such as: freedom, equality, rights, progress, reforms, social justice and internationalism. Right-wing politics is characterized by emphasizing Law and order, hierarchy, traditions, duty, reaction, and nationalism. Moreover, left refers to individuals/groups supporting reform and holding liberal/ progressive views, standing for social and economic equality of humans.

The far left, are dubbed as those holding extreme, radical views, such as Communism and National Socialism. Left-wing refers to people/ groups and the positions held, collectively. The term Right, in contrast, refers to individuals/ groups clinging to conservative positions, frequently defending existing conditions and institutions, favour tradition, oppose/ limit change. The political terms left and right originated due to the physical directions, the seating positions, in the 1789 French National Assembly. After the French Revolution, to the right of the speaker (Chair) of assembly, seated nobility and higher members of clergy, while Commoners and members of the lesser clergy used to sit on the right hand side (called *le cote droit*, in French). Hence, Right stood for more conservative/ pro nobility/aristocracy ideas and the left (*le cote gauche*) promoted radical/reformist pro people views.

The Communist Party of India was formally founded on 1st May 1927 in the Communist Conference held in Bombay. The most important communists of India including: S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, K. S. Iyengar, and S. V. Ghare (the elected General Secretary) participated in Bombay Conference.<sup>48</sup> Earlier, in October, 1920 Indian émigré in Russian Turkistan founded socialist/Communist group in Tashkent and Indian revolutionaries ran even a training school.<sup>49</sup>

The CPI aligned itself with the progressive section within Congress that consisted of people like Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945), and Jayprakash Narayan (1902–79) who, according to the CPI, were trying to lead Congress in a potentially revolutionary direction. The CPI collaborated with the Congress helping it reach out to trade unions and peasant organizations, in return used Congress's popularity to access Indian masses. Using a united front from below tactic, CPI members got elected to Congress Committees ranging from the grassroots to provincial and the all-India level. Both, the Communist Party and the

---

Indian National Congress, considered India a single nation, collectively engaged in the struggle for independence.<sup>50</sup> The Communist Party began to rethink the issue of Muslim separatism after The All-India Muslim League passed a resolution at annual session in March 1940 in Lahore, known as Pakistan Resolution.

The All-India Congress Committee (AICC) in August 1942 in Bombay under the leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad resolved to oppose the British government's war demanding immediate independence prior to extend India's support to Britain.<sup>51</sup> Though communist members of the AICC voted against the resolution, it was passed by an overwhelming majority.<sup>52</sup> On August 8, 1942 On Gandhi's call a nonviolent civil disobedience quit India movement began leading to strikes, ensued repression and the arrests of thousands of Congress workers by the British authorities. By 1942, after the invasion of the Soviet Union by German the CPI reversed its previous position on the Second World War. An 'Imperialist War' became a 'People's War',<sup>53</sup> associating herself with war against German fascism. The CPI-Congress alliance fell apart. A national front/ anti-fascist war, even cooperation with the British in war effort rather CPI launched national unity campaign to form fascist front. It also urged the Congress to accommodate the Muslim League and acknowledge it as a voice of Muslims of India.<sup>54</sup>

The communists eventually accepted Muslim separatism, Pakistan, reaching this position through a tortuous route involving constant contradiction of their arguments on the nationalities question.<sup>55</sup> The CPI, in 1946, had begun to change its position on the partition of British India yet it eventually accepted the division in 1948 in Calcutta Congress.<sup>56</sup> Despite deep reservations, the CPI accepted the division of the country as one (among many) viable option for the future of South Asia and divided itself into two constituent parties.

The Calcutta Party Congress held February 28 – March 6, 1948, 632 delegates assembled. A shift towards a more radical political line and a critique of the reformist politics of the Party leadership occurred.<sup>57</sup> Divided the Party into two constitutive parts: The Communist Party of India confined to the boundaries of the Indian Union and the post-August 1947 separated territories, Pakistan, formed a separate communist party.<sup>58</sup>

The Bolsheviks came up with the proposition of oppressor nationalism, in which category they put Tsarist Russia, and oppressed nationalities that were further divided into more advanced and less advanced nationalisms. For the Indian communists, the British were of course the major hindrance to national liberation, yet they needed a language to articulate the political and cultural rights of Muslims who were demanding, at least rhetorically in the early 1940s, a separate and autonomous state.<sup>59</sup>

---

---

The CPI, the slogan for Pakistan was understood as a call for self-determination and democracy for all nationalities. Clearly, the right of self-determination came with the right of sovereignty, equality, and the right to secession, as in the Soviet case. Yet on the one hand, the right to secede was acknowledged; while on the other, secession was deemed undesirable until a certain level of social development was achieved.<sup>60</sup> Like the Bolsheviks, the CPI did not want to divide the country so that different regions could be handed over to what they considered national bourgeoisie and feudal interests (the mullahs and the beys); rather, the Party would determine the decision of secession on a case-by-case basis.<sup>61</sup>

Following the CPI's emerging formulation on the nationalities question, Zaheer asserts that the League's call for Pakistan needed to be understood by the Indian National Congress as the affirmation of the right of each community to determine its own future.<sup>62</sup>

By August 1945, the CPI itself, following the Soviet line and contrary to P. C. Joshi's earlier mentioned position on adult franchise, was coming round to the Indian National Congress's insistence on a plebiscite in the provinces that the Muslim League was demanding should be part of a future Pakistan. As the Party's Secretary General, P. C. Joshi had earlier (in 1945) emphasized that a united front should be established between the Muslim League and the Congress to realize the common goal of independence from British rule. He also reiterated the right of Muslim nationalism to establish sovereign states in the Muslim homelands as proposed in the Lahore Resolution.<sup>63</sup>

By mid-1946, in the south, a peasant-based mass movement had started against landlords and the rule of the Nizam in the princely state of Hyderabad. The Telangana struggle gained rapid success and had liberated many zones in a few months. While these multiple events were progressing, the radicalized nature of the Indian polity was not in control or being directed by the CPI's central leadership, although there were local communist elements involved in all these struggles.

Part of the reason for the CPI's inability to control and direct these events was the party's fall in popularity among the nationalist elements (primarily Congress supporters) in Indian politics. Its unequivocal support of the war against the Axis powers, based on the thesis that the defeat of fascism and the defence of the Soviet Union would, in the post-war period, strengthen the revolutionary potential of communist parties and anti-colonial struggles internationally, had actually come to haunt the CPI after the war. During the war, the CPI had helped production efforts by restraining its trade unions from striking and promoted Grow More Food campaigns among its rural base at the cost of peasant rights. These and other such policies were severely criticized by the Congress and other socialist nationalist parties as

---

collaborationist in nature and resulted in a degree of popular hostility towards the CPI.

the CPI had by 1947 shunned its own proclamations of the mid 1940s and deemed Pakistan's creation non-progressive and hence reactionary.

During the Second Congress in February 1948, B. T. Ranadive, who, in the course of the Congress, would replace P. C. Joshi as the Secretary General of the CPI, spoke for four and a half hours to the assembled delegates. The speech was primarily a personal criticism of the Party's politics in the preceding few years. The brunt of the attack was on the reformist tendencies of the CPI's leadership, in particular on the figure of P. C. Joshi.

The Communist Party of India ended up supporting the Partition Plan. Ensuing religious riots compelled numerous progressive Political/trade union activists alongside ordinary Hindu and Sikh population to flee to India, from territories falling in Pakistan. Not only ordinary Muslim workers and peasants but many political/trade union activists, writers, poets and intellectuals including: Sajjad Zaheer, Josh Maleehabadi (1898-1982), Habib Jalib (1928-93), Hasrat Mohani (1873-1951)<sup>64</sup>, fled/migrated to Pakistan too.

### Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP)

Eminent poets and writers: Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84) Saadat Hasan Manto (1912-55), Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi (1916-2006), provided great leap forward to popularize progressive/leftist thought and strengthening of communist movement in Pakistan. The Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) soon after its establishment in 1948 had significant influence in the lower and educated middle classes of the society apart from railway and industrial workers.<sup>65</sup> However, persecution of communist's workers began soon after 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case' in 1951. General Secretary Sajjad Zaheer, eminent poet Faiz Ahmad Faiza along with numerous political workers and military officers such as Major Ishaq were arrested and served long prison sentences. The Communist Party Pakistan's cadre had to go underground suffering dislocation, loss of job/business/property even killing (Hasan Nasir).<sup>66</sup> The CPP reverted to 'United Front Politics' and working in secular, nationalist political organizations, such as National Awami Party (NAP). Its student wing Democratic Students Federation remained active but soon faced ban too and revived in the form of National Students Federation.<sup>67</sup> The erstwhile National Awami Party (NAP), in 1957, split into: NAP (Bhashani) and NAP (Wali) under the shadow of Sino-Soviet ideological divide. Soon Pakistan found itself under General Ayub's Martial Law.<sup>68</sup>

The ideological conflict amongst various factions of the NAP opened up in 1966 following split of the International Communist Movement (ICM) into two camps. Consequently, NAP witnessed division of its rank and file into

---

two opposing camps. One faction known as pro-Moscow and the other as pro-Beijing. The pro-Moscow faction had a long list of grievances against Pro Beijing Bhashani and his supporters, criticized him for dubious role in the 1964 presidential elections, soft policy towards Ayub Khan and opposition to agreement with the Awami League (AL) on Six-Point programme. Maulana Bhashani's uncompromising attitude towards all these issues and his often changing of policy statements widened the gulf between the two factions. Some of the pro-Moscow leaders brought about open allegations and questioned his position as president of the party.<sup>69</sup> Hence, formal split in Shape of NAP (Bhashani) and NAP (Wali) Occurred.

In 1967, NAP (Wali) faced further split when its leftist members in the then North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) now Khyber Pakhunkhwa were ousted by the landed leadership following a resolution barring NAP (Wali) members to from peasant committees or become members of peasant committees.<sup>70</sup> Since, leftists were active either in forming or became members of peasant committees. Instead of disbanding the peasant committees, the leftists, led by Afzal Bangash (1924-86), decided to quit and found initially NAP (Mazdoor Kisan) and eventually Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP), on May 1, 1968.<sup>71</sup> Major Ishaq and many others from Punjab and Sindh also were cofounders of MKP.<sup>72</sup> It spearheaded peasant struggle for land reform at times using violent means, especially in Hashtnagar and adjacent areas of Peshawar valley. It brought significant gains to peasants in terms of resisting eviction, freezing lease rent and even occupying agriculture or residential land.<sup>73</sup>

An elected government was overthrown in Pakistan in 1977 by military dictator. Reforms were annulled, declaring political parties defunct. Mzdoor Kisan Party faced split by early 1978 after failure in resolving internal differences. The MKP split further into various factions: led by Afzal Bangash, Sher Ali Bacha (1935-98)<sup>74</sup> in the then NWFP; by Major Ishaque and Imtiaz Alam in Punjab respectively. Major issues had been changing role of affluent peasants and landless peasants in the movement.<sup>75</sup> Bangash moved, after the split, swiftly to forge unity with other leftist organizations to form a broad based organization resulting into the creation of Awami Jamhoori Ittehad (Peoples' Democratic Alliance) and was elected its President. This coalition had little potential of providing a united left alternative in Pakistan's politics, but it did facilitate dialogue, and spirit of accommodation between various left groups, despite bitter disagreements.<sup>76</sup> In April 1978, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) captured power in Afghanistan following a coup/ Saur Revolution. In January 1979, the Shah of Iran was toppled after the Iranian Revolution, encouraging revolutionary beat closer to Pakistan's western borders. By the end of December 1979, the Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan in

---

support of Afghan government facing organized rebellion supported allegedly by US, Gulf countries and Pakistan, later named the Afghan jihad. The preceding Afghan governments had intermittently supported activities of NAP elements including Ajmal Khattak, and allegedly provided a base for training prior to rapprochement in 1975 between the two countries. The PDPA leftist Afghan regime provided support to democratic and anti-military dictatorship political workers of Pakistan. The rise of the PDPA and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan emboldened Pakistani leftists/communists, including those who previously opposed the Soviet "revisionism" and considered Maoists, and Pakhtun/Baluch nationalists. They saw Afghanistan as a potential rear base and source of support in their struggles for restoring democracy, bringing social change or national liberation.<sup>77</sup>

By 1985, Afzal Bangash in exile at London formed the Sindhi Baloch Pushtoon Front (SBPF), together with Mumtaz Bhuto and Hafeez Peerzada highly critical of domination of Punjab in Pakistan. His position underwent significant change on class and national Question. In 1986 with the opening up of the political atmosphere in Pakistan, Bangash returned to the country. Aware of his failing health and encouraged by the Afghan and Soviets, he helped founding Awami National Party (ANP) merging his faction of the MKP into it. Erstwhile National Awami Party's successor National Democratic Party (NDP) was the other component led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan with whom the MKP had split in the 1970s. CP minority etc merged too.....CPP Pro-Soviet/ NDP Progressive /NPP. PNP/ANP/QIP/PQP/ NP

The point for any left movement in Pakistan today is to learn from the successes and errors of the MKP, CP and movements in other countries, to better organize and represent the interests of the lower classes in Pakistan. For that, they need to be mindful of maintaining and multiplying the independence of Organizations of the lower classes, while distinguishing carefully between "war of manoeuvre" and "war of position."<sup>78</sup>

#### Conclusion

The Second Congress was planned, after the first RSDLP Congress, with a carefully designed framework. The Party Programme focused on emancipating peasants fully and to bring revolution led by the proletariats. Numerous issues including: National Question; Agrarian Programme; Membership of the Party were discussed and delegates expressed divergent views. The difference in point of views led to a split in the party. Two factions: Mensheviks and Bolsheviks emerged. Menshevik led by Martov attempted an unsuccessful 1905 Revolution. Bolsheviks led by Lenin launched a successful revolution in October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917, overthrowing Tsarist rule and transform the Russian Empire into Federation of Soviet

---



---

## Socialist Republics (USSR).

Peasant programme of R.S.D.L.P charted by Bolshevik Russians had profoundly impacted programme of peasant movements in Pakistan and elsewhere. Numerous national progressive young men from Pakistan who had studied at the University of Toilers, Moscow, in 1920s took inspiration from Russian Bolshevism and subsequently joined the spontaneous peasant movement, in 1938 such as Ghala Dher peasant uprising. In collaboration with local peasant leaders they listed demands of peasants. Putting a ceiling on land ownership The peasant movements and their leader were much influenced by local political conditions and movements.<sup>79</sup>

The composition of the Leftist in Pakistan expressed sharp ideological division and a factional political map. Several ideological groups: progressive democrats; communists ranging from reformists to militant armed adventurists emerged. Alliances on empty terms ignoring deep-rooted ideological difference were formed too. The nature and direction of the Leftist politics in the first decade was confused and disjointed. The division of communist movement pro Russia and pro Chinese camp affected Pakistani leftists too. The earswhile NAP witnessed multiple divisions disintegrated on ideological basis.

Due to factionalism of Leftists and isolation from grassroots workers, the peasantry and industrial class incapacitated them to launch a movement. The situation was exploited by either by local leaders or by parties of the right. Later Mr. Bhutto though a huge landowner himself with his radical socialist rhetoric occupied the centre stage made the left irrelevant. He mobilized large numbers of workers and peasants against Gen Muhammad Ayub. During Bhutto era, the left politics and the movement of the workers and peasantry, declined. Factionalism among Kisan leadership prevented it from achieving the goal of peasant autonomy. The politics of leftist parties has created space for ethnic regional parties, minorities, women and labour.

## Bibliography

Armando Navarro., [2012]; *Global Capitalist Crisis and the Second Great Depression: Egalitarian System Models for Change*. Lexington Books, Lanham.

Committee of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., ed., [1939]; *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Authorised by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, International Publishers, New York.

Dimitri, Volkogonov., [2008]; *Trotsky: Eternal Revolutionary*. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Dr Mazhar Abbas, [2021]; *A brief history of Kisan Tehreek*, Daily The News, Islamabad,

Dr. Himayatullah Yaqubi, [2021]; *National Awami Party, Nature And Direction Of Politics 1957-1975 - An Account Of The Left And Progressive Politics In Pakistan*, Vanguard, Islamabad

G. M. Adhikari, [1943]; *Pakistan and Indian National Unity*, London; Labour Monthly Publication. Gene Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, [1960]; *Communism in India*, Berkeley; University of California Press.

Gottfried, Ted. [2002]; *The Road to Communism*. Twenty-first century Books, USA.

Gromyko.V.V., [2011]; On The 150-th Anniversary of G.V. Plekhanov. 1856 – <http://www.rea.ru/ibs/maincatalog/Research/art/article01.pdf>.



- Hj. Morgenthau, [1991]; *Politics Among Nations* 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Lahore: Vanguard.
- Iqbal Laghari, [1979]; *The Socialist Movement in Pakistan; An historical Survey (1940-74)*, Ph.D Dissertation, Montreal Laval University.
- Jawaharlal Nehru, [1946]; *The Discovery of India*, New York; The John Day Company.
- Joseph Zajdqa, [2013]; *Russian History Textbooks: An Analysis of Historical Narratives Depicting Key Events*; Curriculum and Teaching,
- K. B. Saeed, [1967]; *The Political System of Pakistan*, Boston; Houghton Mifflin.
- K. Newton, [1969]; *The Sociology of British Communism*, Landon; The Penum.
- K.H Ansari, [1990]; *The Emergence of Socialist thought in North Inida*, Lahore Book traders,,
- Kamran Asdar Ali, [2015]; *Surkh Salam Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72*, Oxford University, Press Karachi.
- Lenin, Valdimir., [1965]; *Collected Works. 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Vol.8*, Progressive Publishers, Moscow
- Lenin, Vladimir., [2005]; *The Birth Of Bolshevism: Lenin's Struggle Against Economism. Vol 1*, Resistance books.
- M.N. Roy, [1964]; *Manabendra Nath Roy's memoirs*, A Janta publications, India
- n.a. [n.d]; *History of the Communist Party of the Sovite Union Bolsheviks, Red Star Press c/o, 4, Ongar Road, Landon S.W.6.*
- Nkholas V. Riasanorsky, [1977]; *A History of Russia (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*; Oxford University Press, New York.
- Noaman Ali, [2019]; *The Hashtnagar Peasant Movement: Agrarian Class Struggle, Hegemony and State Formation in Northwestern Pakistan, 1947-86*, Ph.D thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto.
- P.C. Joshi, [1944]; *Congress and Communists*, Bombay; People's Publishing House.
- Paxton, Jhon., [2004]; *Leaders Of Russia and the Soviet Union: From Romonov Dynasty to Vladimir Putin*, Routledge.
- Pearce, Brian., [1978]; *Second Ordinary Congress of the RSDLP, 1903*: complete text of the minutes. New Park Publishers, London.
- Ponomarev Nikolaevich Boris., [1962]; *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Lawrance and Wishart, London.
- Prokhorov.M.A., [1873]; *Great Soviet encyclopedia*. Macmillan, New York.
- Rappaport, Helen., [2010]; *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile. Basic Books*, New York.
- Richard Cavendish., [2003]; *The Bolshevik-Menshevik Split*". *History Today Volume: 53, Issue; 11*, <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/bolshevik-menshevik-split>.
- Sajjad Zaheer, [1944]; *A Case of Congress League Unity*, Bombay; People's Publishing House.
- Ted Gottfried., [2002]; *The Road To Communism*. Twenty-first century Books.
- Volkogonov Antonovich Dmitrii., [1996]; *Trotsky: The Eternal Revolutionary*, Free Press, USA
- Walther Kirchner, [ 1952 ]; *An Outline- History of Russia, Barnes & Noble, Inc, New Yark*
- Williamson, [1935]; *Communism in India* Calcutta: Government of India Press.

## Reference

<sup>1</sup> Czarist Russia Peacefully emancipated some 50 million serfs. The liberation of the serfs had been first of the great reforms. Though the need for reform had long been acknowledged, however, emancipation was delayed fearing its implications. Reform manifesto was to impact life of millions of people, hence, emancipation necessitated a series of additional changes, and bound to interfere with the maxim of "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationalisms" considered by Nicholas the basis of the Russian state. Yet even he realized the inefficiency of the existing system following defeat in the Crimean War at the hands of far inferior forces, Western nations. Prior to his death in 1855 he advocated emancipation.

<sup>2</sup> The intelligentsias were divided into various groups and "Circles" like the "Salons" witnessed before the French revolution, discussing revolutionary ideas and theories.

<sup>3</sup> Ian D. Thatcher, *The First Histories of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, 1904-06*. The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 85, No. 4 (Oct., 2007), p 724, Modern Humanities Research Association

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p.725

<sup>5</sup> The Fourth Congress of the RSDLP, known as the unity congress, met in Stockholm (Sweden) in April 1906. It was attended by 111 delegates with right of vote, representing 57 local organization of the party.

<sup>6</sup> (n.a), (n.d), *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Bolsheviks, Red Star Press c/o, 4, Ongar Road, Landon S.W.6, P27*

<sup>7</sup> In 1649 the Zemsky Sobor was consulted in connection with the new law code of that year, however lacked even a single peasant representative/ member turning its role entirely passive not even convened after 1653. The law code of 1649 reigned supreme, though retrogressive, the code played significant role in developing the Russian nation. In essence it was a revision of the code of 1550 adopted in Ivan the Terrible, moving further, collecting customary procedures or a codification of existing legal concepts, introducing new precepts and methods derived from the laws of Byzance and of the Lithuanian grand duchy. However, despite all endeavors, the code represented no truly scientific approach to the establishment of principles of justice, rather remained superficial. Its adoption led to an intolerable chain of misdeeds.

<sup>8</sup> Walther Kirchner, *An Outline- History of Russia, Barnes & Noble, Inc, New York, 1952*, P151

<sup>9</sup> Yanis Varoufakis, *Communist Manifesto*, vintage, 1888, P21

<sup>10</sup> Pavel Axelrod established a Socialist group of students in Kiev in 1850.

<sup>11</sup> Nkholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*; Oxford University Press, New York, 1977, p61

<sup>12</sup> Jawad Ur Rahman, *Russian Revaluation and its impact on the Pakistani left Politics*, Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Submitted to Area Study Center, University of Peshawar, 2020, p.78

<sup>13</sup> Walther Kirchner, *An Outline- History of Russia, Barnes & Noble, Inc, New York, 1952*, P161

<sup>14</sup> “History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, Authorised by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p13-16

<sup>15</sup> Emancipation of Labour has been the first Russian Marxist group, the emancipation of Labour laid the theoretical foundation for the social democratic movement taking the first step towards empowering working class, Lenin later wrote.

<sup>16</sup> V.V. Gromyko., “On The 150-th Anniversary of G.V. Plekhanov”, 29 Nov. (11 Dec.) 1856 – 30, April 1918, p 2-4. <http://www.rea.ru/ibs/maincatalog/Research/art/article01.pdf>. Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2019

<sup>17</sup> Retrieved from: Lenin+in+“Friends+of+the+People&oq=%2C+Lenin+in+“Friends+of+the+People+&aqs=chrome..69i57.1375j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8, Accessed on 27-02-2021

<sup>18</sup> “History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, Authorized by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p 19-20

<sup>19</sup> The First Congress of the RSDLP, Lennin could not attend, since, he was living in exile in Siberia.

<sup>20</sup> A.M. Prokhorov., *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. Macmillan, New York, 1873, P 129

<sup>21</sup> Valdimir Lenin, *The Birth Of Bolshevism: Lenin's Struggle Against Economism*, Vol 1, Resistance books, 2005, p 52

<sup>22</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/events/r/rsdlp.htm>, accessed on 22-04-2021

<sup>23</sup> Helen Rappaport. *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile*. Basic Books, New York, 2010, p 126

<sup>24</sup> Boris Nikolaevich Ponomarev., *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Lawrance and Wishart, London, 1962, P 6

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, P.9

<sup>26</sup> Retrieved from, [http://www.columbia.edu/~lmp3/mydocs/organization/lenin\\_in\\_context.htm](http://www.columbia.edu/~lmp3/mydocs/organization/lenin_in_context.htm), accessed on 22-04-2021

<sup>27</sup> Jhon Paxton., *Leaders Of Russia and the Soviet Union: From Romonov Dynasty to Vladimir Putin*. Routlage, 2004, p 100

<sup>28</sup> Brian Pearce., *Second Ordinary Congress of the RSDLP, 1903: complete text of the minutes*. New Park Publishers, London, 1978, p 29

<sup>29</sup> <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Second+Congress+of+the+Russian+Social+Democrat+ic+Labor+Party>. Accessed, April 3, 2014

<sup>30</sup> Richard Cavendish., *The Bolshevik-Menshevik Split*. History Today Volume : 53, Issue: 11, 2003, <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/bolshevik-menshevik-split>, Accessed on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 2014

<sup>31</sup> J. L. Moreno, *Theory of Spontaneity-Creativity*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Sociometry and the Science of Man (Nov., 1955), P.105,: American Sociological Association

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, P.110

<sup>33</sup> Richard Mullin, *The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, 1899–1904*, Documents of the 'Economist' Opposition to Iskra and Early Menshevism, Series: Historical Materialism Book Series, Volume: 84, Cover The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, 1899–1904, E-Book ISBN: 9789004272149, Brill, Print, 2015

<sup>34</sup> Dmitriï Antonovich Volkogonov, Trotsky: *The Eternal Revolutionary*, free press, USA, 1996, p 25-27

<sup>35</sup> ibid

<sup>36</sup> V.I. Lenin., *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Vol.8, translated by Bernard Isaacs and Isidor Lasker, Progressive Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p 481

<sup>37</sup> V.I. Lenin., *Collected Work*”, Vol.7, translated by Abraham Fineberg and Nomi Jochel, Progressive Publishers, Moscow, p 78-79

<sup>38</sup> Ted Gottfried., *The Road To Communism*. Twenty-first century Books, 2002, Pp. 48-49

<sup>39</sup> Armando Navarro., *Global Capitalist Crisis and the Second Great Depression: Egalitarian System Models for Change*. Lexington Books, Lanham, 2012, p 225

<sup>40</sup> History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Bolsheviks, *SHORT COURSE*, Red Star Press, Marxist Leninist Publications, Red Star Press c/o, 4, Ongar Road, Lodon S.W6. P.11

<sup>41</sup> In March, 1898, the various groups in Russia who supported the theories of Karl Marx, met in Minsk and decided to form the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP). The party was banned in Russia so most of its leaders were forced to live in exile. This included Lenin, Julius Martov and Alexander Potresov.

<sup>42</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Russian Revolution of 1905, uprising that was instrumental in convincing Tsar Nicholas II to attempt the transformation of the Russian government from an autocracy into a constitutional monarchy. For several years before 1905 and especially after the humiliating Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), diverse social groups demonstrated their discontent with the Russian social and political system. Their protests ranged from liberal rhetoric to strikes and included student riots and terrorist assassinations. These efforts, coordinated by the Union of Liberation, culminated in the massacre of peaceful demonstrators in the square before the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, on Bloody Sunday (January 9 [January 22, New Style], 1905).

<sup>44</sup> In France, where the terms originated, the ‘Left’ was called “The party of movement” and the ‘Right’ was termed “The party of order”. During the French Revolution of 1789 those deputies who sat on the left in the Estate General (National Assembly) usually opposed the monarchy, while those on the right were supportive of the traditional structure of the old regime. There is general consensus that the leftist included communists, ultra and for Lefts, progressive, social liberal, secular democrats, socialists, nationalist and ethnic democrats.

<sup>45</sup> K. Newton, *The Sociology of British Communism*, Landon; The Penguim, 1969, P88

<sup>46</sup> HJ. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Lahore; Vanguard, 1991, P-75

<sup>47</sup> Williamson, *Communism in India* Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1935, P-21

<sup>48</sup> Gene Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India*, Berkeley; University of California Press, 1960

<sup>49</sup> M.N. Roy *Manabendra Nath Roy’s memoirs*, A Janta publications, India, 1964, P.338

<sup>50</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam, Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2015, P.35

<sup>51</sup> G. M. Adhikari, *Pakistan and Indian National Unity*, London; Labour Monthly Publication, 1943, P.21

<sup>52</sup> Sajjad Zaheer, *A Case of Congress League Unity*, Bombay; People’s Publishing House, 1944, P.10

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., P.15

<sup>54</sup> Iqbal Laghari, *The Socialist Movement in Pakistan; An historical Survey (1940-74)*, Ph.D Dissertation, Montreal Laval University, 1979, P. 18

<sup>55</sup> P.C. Joshi, *Congress and Communists*, Bombay; People's Publishing House, 1944, P. 14

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., P.19

<sup>57</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam, Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2015, P.42

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., P.49

<sup>59</sup> K.M. Ashraf, *Hindu-Muslims Questions and our Freedom Struggle*, Vol-II, Dehli, Sunrise Publications, 2005, P.139

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., P.147

<sup>61</sup> Maya Abdullah, *The Right To Self-Determination In international Law Scrutinizing: The Colonial Aspect Of The Right To Self-Determination*, Department Of Law, School Of Economics And Commercial Law, University Of Göteborg, Master Thesis/Tillämpade Studier, Public International Law, May 2006, P.20

<sup>62</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, *Communists in a Muslim Land: Cultural Debates in Pakistan's Early Years*, Published online by Cambridge University Press: 09 March 2011, P.520

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, P.530

<sup>64</sup> The real name of Maulana Hasrat Mohani is Fazlul Hasan. But very few people know his name. Therefore, he says of himself: ***Ishq ne jab se kaha Hasrat mujhe Koi bhi kehta nahin Fazlul Hasan:*** [Since love called me Hasrat/ Nobody calls me Fazlul Hasan] He was born in 1873 in the village Mohan of Uttar Pradesh, which lies between Kanpur and Lucknow.

<sup>65</sup> The dominant historiography of the left decouples it from the historical reconstitution of the classes that the left purportedly represented. Most studies that invoke the left focus mostly on the Communist Party of Pakistan (which operated officially from 1948 to 1954), and foreground their literary debates through figures associated with the Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) rather than their work amongst workers and peasants. A detailed assessment of strategy and tactics, how communists organized among these laboring populations, and how classes responded, is marginal to these discussions. Hence, the weakness and decline of the left is explained largely through external conditions, notably state repression or co-optation. Such studies highlight repression that began in the 1950s with the ban on the Communist Party of Pakistan. For detail see Noman's Ph.D thesis, P.10

<sup>66</sup> M.N. Roy's *Memoirs*, Bombay: Allied, 1980, P-11

<sup>67</sup> B. Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, Lahore: Book traders, n.d. P-30

<sup>68</sup> Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan 1947-72*, Oxford University, Press Karachi, 2015, P.59

<sup>69</sup> Srijan Shukla, 'The Rise of the Xi Gang: Factional politics in the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese Communist Party, Shanghai Gang, Xi Jinping, P.8

<sup>70</sup> K.H Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist thought in North India*, Lahore Book traders, 1990, P.160

<sup>71</sup> Hafiz Malik, *The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan*; Journal of the Asian Studies Vol. XXVI, 4 August 1967, P.460

<sup>72</sup> Revolutionary socialism was reborn in 1968; this upsurge was in no small part inspired by the struggle of Vietnamese communists, alongside other Third World struggles for national liberation led by communists. But perhaps the most ideologically and politically influential of these communist struggles upon radicals in the sixties and seventies was that led by the Communist Party of China, emerging from the Sino-Soviet split and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. For details see Noaman Ali, *The Hashnagar Peasant Movement: Agrarian Class Struggle, Hegemony and State Formation in Northwestern Pakistan, 1947-86*, P.28

<sup>73</sup> B. Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab*, Lahore: Book traders, n.d. P-37

<sup>74</sup> Inspired by Marxist-Leninist theory. Bacha Jee believed in upholding justice, equality and human rights. He began his political journey with the National Awami Party, The party

assigned Bacha Jee and his comrade Afzal Bangash to work for labourers' and peasants' rights. Bacha Jee and Bangash accomplished this by spreading awareness among the oppressed peasants. Unfortunately, the NAP then expelled Bacha Jee and Afzal Bangash. After parting ways from the NAP, they founded their own party called the (MKP) in 1968. They treated the peasants like bonded labourers and frequently refused to pay regular wages. After years of working from the MKP's platform, Bacha Jee was shocked when Afzal Kahn Bangash once again joined the (NAP). Bacha Jee later renamed his party as Pashtunkhwa Mazdoor Kissan Party and continued with his mission. For his pro-democracy role he was arrested and detained at a torture cell in Bala-Hisar Fort in Peshawar. Bacha Jee eagerly supported the *Sour Inqilab* in Afghanistan when the (CPDPA) led by Noor Mohammad Tarakai toppled President Daud Khan's regime in a successful coup in 1978. To show solidarity with CPDPA, Bacha Jee held a *Difa-i-Inqilab-i-Afghanistan* conference in Mandani, Charsadda. Bacha Jee later formed an alliance with the PKMAP of Balochistan under the name of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Ittihad. In March 1989, the alliance was turned into PKMAP at a meeting in Quetta. Bacha Jee was elected its first secretary-general and served it in that capacity till his death in 1998. On his visits to Balochistan, he usually stayed in Zhob with late Sain Kamal Khan Sherani's at his Salyaza home. *Bul Mashaloona* (Shining lamps) is one of his literary essays discussing the plight of Afghanistan and the root cause of its wretchedness. He also contributed poems to *Milli Passon* (National uprising).

<sup>75</sup> Noaman Ali, *The Hashtnagar Peasant Movement: Agrarian Class Struggle, Hegemony and State Formation in Northwestern Pakistan, 1947-86*, Unpublished Ph.D thesis submitted, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 2019, P.261

<sup>76</sup> Ibid; P.273

<sup>77</sup> Noaman Ali, *The Hashtnagar Peasant Movement: Agrarian Class Struggle, Hegemony and State Formation in Northwestern Pakistan, 1947-86*, Unpublished Ph.D thesis submitted, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 2019, P.183

<sup>78</sup> Dr. Syed Azeem, *Consciousness and Tradition: The Paradox of the Left in Pakistan*, Jamhoor Publication, Jun 29, 2020, P.5

<sup>79</sup> Sarfraz Khan & Rashid Hussain Mughal, *Impact of Bolshevik Russian Peasant Programme on Peasants' Movement in NWFP: From Ghalla Dher to Shumali (North) Hashtnagar*, bi annual, research journal *Central Asia*, Issue No.68, Area Study Center, University of Peshawar, P.12