INDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS: 1917-1947

SELECT DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

PART I
1917—1928

Edited and Compiled
by
Purabi Roy
Sobhanlal Datta Gupta
Hari Vasudevan

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET • CALCUTTA 700 016
CONTENTS

Foreword xv
Introduction xvii
List of the Russian Archives from where the Documents have been collected xx
Abbreviations xxii
Texts of Documents

1 Raja Mahendra Pratap’s handwritten Confidential Telegram dated 5.10.16. to the Governor General of Russian Turkestan, Tashkhent seeking an interview 1
2 Raja Mahendra Pratap’s handwritten letter dated 20.10.16. sent to the Governor General, Russian Turkestan, Tashkhent 2
3 Raja Mahendra Pratap’s handwritten letter dated 20.11.16. sent to the Viceroy and Governor General, Russia; Turkestan, Tashkhent 3
4 Copy of Testimonial dated 11.-19. signed by Mohammad Kazim in the name of Abdus Subhan Khan regarding organisation of secret press in India 4
5 Copy of undated Certificate, signed by Kazim Beg, awarded to Abdul Subhan Khan, for organising revolutionary work in India 5
6 Wireless Message of Greetings dated 14.5.20. from V.I. Lenin to Abdur Rabb Barq, Chairman, Indian Revolutionary Association 6
7 Plan of Military Operation in the Borders and in India (presumably sometime in the 20s) 7
8 Letter from (?) to Lord Byron dated 5.2.20 10
9 Letter from (?) to Ya.Z. Suritz dated 1.6.20. 14
10 Letter of Friedland to M.N. Roy dated 30.6.20. 17
11 Letter from Maulana Barakatullah to Tchechrine dated 24.7.20. 18
12 M.N. Roy’s note dated 9.8.20. regarding Indians associated with revolutionary work abroad 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>M.N.Roy's handwritten letter dated 6.11. — to Ya Kh.Peters</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Letter from the Indian Delegation at the Second Congress of Comintern to S. Saklatvala and R.Palme Dutt dated 9.8.20.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mohammad Abdur Rabb Barq's note dated 10.8.20. to the Comrades of the Third International, Second Congress, Baku</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Letter of (?) dated 12.8.20. to Lala Lajpat Rai</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Letter of (?) dated 12.8.20. to Arabinda Ghosh</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Letter of (?) dated 4.10.20. to Ya.Z.Suritz</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Letter from M.P.B.T. Acharya dated 27.10.20. to M.N.Roy</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Letter from M.P.B.T. Acharya dated 17.11.20. to M.N. Roy</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Handwritten letter of M.N. Roy dated 23.11.20. to Mohammad Shaffiq</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Handwritten Minutes of meetings concerning the formation of the Indian Communist Party at Tashkhent between 18.10.20. and 26.12.20.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Letter from (?) dated 30.12.20. to Shiva Prasad Gupta</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Signed letter of M.N.Roy and Abani Mukherji dated 3.1.21. to Mahatma Gandhi</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Letter from (?) dated 6.1.21. to Abdul Guffar, President, the Liberation League, Kabul</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Letter from (?) dated 7.1.21. to Maulavi Abdul Karim, President of the Mujahideen, Charmakhand</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Letter from (?) dated 7.1.21. to Raja Mahendra Pratap, Maulana Barakatullah</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Copy of letter of Provincial All India Central Revolutionary Committee dated 24.1.21. to M.P.B.T. Acharya removing him from membership of the Committee</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Copy of letter dated 30.1.21. from Secretary, Indian Communist Party, to M.P.B.T. Acharya criticising his activities and informing him of his removal from the Chairmanship of the Central Committee</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Copy of Telegram dated 14.3.21. sent by Carl Steinhardt and D.Zetkin to the Small Bureau of Comintern (with copies to V.I. Lenin and G.Zinoviev) regarding discord between the IRA, Tashkhent and the Communist Group of M.N. Roy and Abani Mukherji</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
31 Letter from (?) to V.I.Lenin dated 19.3.21. regarding differences with G.Zinoviev and Abdur Rabb Barq on the Indian question
32 Minutes of a Meeting of Indian revolutionaries dated 3.4.21. at Tashkhent
33 Resolution of the IRA, Tashkhent dated 27.4.21. on allegations against the activities of M.N. Roy and Abani Mukherji
34 Letter of Abani Mukherji, dated 31.5.21. to Kobietzky, Secretary, Comintern
35 A signed Note by M.P.B.T. Acharya dated 28.7.21. regarding allegations against M.N. Roy's group
36 Signed letter of Abdur Rabb Barq, IRA dated 29.7.21. to G.V.Chicherin criticising Comintern's handling of the Indian Question
37 Report of the Work and organization of the Indian Communist Party (presumably sometime before the Third Congress of Comintern in 1921)
38 Report about the Indian nationalist group in Moscow (presumably on the eve of Comintern's Third Congress in 1921)
39 Agnes Smedley's signed forwarding letter and signed note dated 5.8.21. to the Small Bureau of Comintern giving an account of her work among the Indian revolutionary workers in the United States
40 Evelyn Roy's signed report of trip to Germany, France and England dated 7.8.21. concerning Indian revolutionary work
41 M.P.B.T. Acharya's signed letter dated 30.8.21. to the Secretariat, Comintern raising allegations against M.N.Roy and his group
42 Letter from Abdur Rabb Barq, President, IRA dated 10.10.21. to the Secretary, Comintern regarding delay in getting any communication
43 G.A.K.Luhani's letter dated 25.6.21. to the Mandate Commission, Third Congress, Comintern asking for his participation
44 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya's letter to the Mandate Commission dated 25.6.21. on the occasion of the Third Congress, Comintern asking for his participation
45 Letter of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Agnes Smedley and five others dated 8.7.21. to the Male Bureau (Small Bureau) of Comintern requesting for a meeting concerning work on India on the occasion of Comintern's Third Congress
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>A signed Note dated 12.8.21. by V. Chattopadhyaya, G.A.K. Luhani and P. Khankhoje on financial arrangement for scheme of organisation and work in India</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Draft Theses on the Oriental Question. Presented to the Third Congress of the Communist International by M.N. Roy</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>M. N. Roy's Addendum to his Draft Theses on the Colonial Question at the Third Congress of Comintern</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Signed Memorandum to the Indian Commission: Scheme of the organisation of the Indian work, submitted to the Mali Bureau (Small Bureau) by Bhupendra Nath Datta, Ebul Hassan and Abul Hassan on the occasion of Comintern's Third Congress</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Incomplete handwritten minutes of the Indian Commission dated 6.8.21.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>G.A.K. Luhani's letter dated 24.8.21. to Mali Bureau (Small Bureau) of Comintern regarding his proposed plan to visit India</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Letter of (?) dated 31.8.21. to G. Zinoviev</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Letter of (?) dated 1.9.21. to Karl Radek</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>&quot;A few words written in the interest of The Soviet Russia and India.&quot; Handwritten text by Raja Mahendra Pratap dated December, 1921</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Present Political Situation in India (Report of M.N. Roy to the Executive Committee of the Communist International)</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Abani Mukherji's letter to F.Kohn, Secretary, Oriental Section, Comintern dated 20.6.22. regarding his proposed plan of work concerning India</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Copy of letter of M.N. Roy dated 30.7.— to Eastern Secretariat, Comintern criticising the activities of the Berlin group of Indian revolutionaries</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Resolution of the Small Bureau of the ECCI dated 13.8.22. regarding Indian Bureau (Translated Version)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
61. Letter of Abul Hassan and Surendra Karr dated 18.8.22. to Krestinsky and enclosed Statement and Memorandum of New India Revolutionary League signed by Bhupendra Nath Datta, Surendra Karr, Abul Hassan and Pandurang Khankhoje

62. M.N. Roy's letter dated 11.9. — to Secretary, Eastern Section, Comintern, criticising Abani Mukherji’s activities (presumably sometime in 1922)

63. Signed letter of Surendra Karr dated 9.10.22. to M.N. Roy regarding his proposed plan of attending Comintern's Fourth Congress

64. Letter of Tivel dated 7.12. — to the Presidium of the ECCI regarding M.N. Roy's proposal to convene a conference of Indian Communist groups in Berlin (presumably in 1922)

65. An Appeal by Raja Mahendra Pratap dated 4.3.23.(?) to the Indian nobility for struggle against British imperialism (A printed leaflet)

66. Circular of W. Kolarow on behalf of the ECCI (sometime in the beginning of 1923) against Abani Mukherji

67. G.A.K. Luhani's letter dated 4.4.23. to Rakosi regarding his proposed plan of returning to Moscow from Paris

68. G.A.K. Luhani's signed letter dated 4.4.23. to ECCI explaining his difficulties in going to India and his proposed plan of work in Moscow

69. Handwritten letter of Sibnath Banerjee dated 3.7.23. to Virendranath Chattopadhyaya requesting for a passage to Germany from Moscow (Translated version)

70. Comrade Zakaria. A handwritten account of his life, i.e., a brief autobiography of Rahmat Ali of Lahore. Forwarded to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party dated 22.12. 23.

71. Draft Resolution of Presidium, ECCI dated 4.4.24. on proposed plan of work in India

72. "Report of Indian Situation and my one and half year’s work there" dated 22.8.24. by Abani Mukherji

73. "General Indian Situation during my One and Half Year's Stay there”. By Abani Mukherji. Organiser Hindusthan Mazdur Kishan Party (Indian Labour and Kishan Party) and Communist Group
Draft Resolution on the Colonial and Eastern Question (Draft by Comrade Bricke) for Fifth Congress of Comintern, 1924

Minutes of the Sessions of the Commission on National and Colonial Question at Fifth Congress of Comintern, 1924

Suggested Organisational basis of International Colonial Bureau adopted at Meeting in Eastern Department, March 13 (presumably in 1924)

The Colonial Bureau (A Note kept in the Archive dated Moscow, 3.5.25.)

The Indian Foreign Bureau (presumably sometime in 1925)

Colonial Committee's report dated 5.3.25. relating to India

An undated, unsigned Note "Suggestions of Indian Comrades in London" regarding the formation of a Colonial Bureau (presumably sometime in 1925)

Signed letter of nine persons dated 6.7.25. to CPI, European Bureau, seeking affiliation with CPI in Moscow

Copy of reply from Moscow dated 15.9.25.(?) to the letter of C.P. Dutt and eight others dated 6.7.25.

M.N. Roy's letter to Petrov dated 30.12.— dated expressing concern about CPGB's growing control over Indian affairs (presumably in 1925)

The Plan of Action of the Colonial Commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain with regard to India (presumably after 1925)

An incomplete letter dated 5.2.25. (presumably to M.N. Roy) from someone in Comintern

ECCI Resolution on India dated 6.4.25. (Translated version)

M.N. Roy's letter to Presidium, ECCI dated 20.5.25. regarding his reaction to a decision of the International Control Commission of Comintern concerning Abani Mukherji

Resolution of Indian Commission on India dated 9.3.26.

Handwritten letter of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya dated 15.4.26. to M.N. Roy regarding his plan of work in Berlin

Copy of Maulana Barakatullah's letter dated 6.5.26. to Radowski regarding Comintern's work on India
91 M. N. Roy’s signed letter dated 4.8.26. to the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union cautioning against any attempt to reconsider the case of Abani Mukherji 219

92 Copy of letter from Nalini Gupta marked January, 1927 to M.N. Roy 223

93 Letter of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya dated 3.1.27. to M.N. Roy 224

94 Copy of reply of M.N. Roy, dated 20.1.27. to Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s letter dated 3.1.27. 225

95 Instructions to the Delegates to the Brussels Congress (presumably sometime in early 1927 on the eve of the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism) 227

96 Copy of M.N. Roy’s letter to Maurice dated 8.1.27. 229

97 Copy of letter of M.N. Roy dated 20.1.27. to ‘M’ and ‘John’ 230

98 Letter of M.N. Roy dated 20.1.27. to Petrov 232

99 Maulana Barakatullah’s signed note for Comintern and Indian revolutionary organisation dated 25.2.27. 232

100 Copy of Report dated 16.3.27. on organisational work in India by C.P. Dutt and Muhammad Ali 234

101 Letter of Manuel Gomez dated 5.4.27. to a Comrade (presumably M.N. Roy) regarding Jaya Prakash Narayan 236

102 Incomplete text of a letter from C.P. Dutt to Tivel dated 19.5.27. regarding allegations against CPGB’s attitude towards CPI 238

103 Nikolai Bukharin’s speech in a meeting of the Indian Commission of the ECCI dated 17.8.27. 238

104 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s letter dated 26.8.27. to CPI, Moscow applying for membership of the Party 240

105 Incomplete text of a letter dated 28.9.27. from Maurice to Richard regarding problems concerning the relationship between the CPI and the CPGB 240

106 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s handwritten letter dated 26.8.27. to M.N. Roy regarding the proposed visit to Soviet Russia of Indian nationalist leaders 241

107 Copy of reply of M.N. Roy dated 14.9.28. to Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s letter dated 26.8.27. 244
108 Copy of M.N. Roy’s letter dated 18.10.27. to Maurice regarding organisational issues concerning the CPI 245
110 Resolution dated 13.2.28. on organisational work in regard to India 263
111 Resolution on India dated 15.2.28. 268
112 “Anti-Imperialist Struggle in India”. Manifesto of the Communist International (with Bukharin’s comments on the margin) dated 28.2.28. 270
113 M.N. Roy on Comrade Bukharin’s “Amendments to the Indian Manifesto” dated 8.3.28. 276
114 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s letter dated 10.3.— to Willi Muenzenberg regarding Motilal Nehru’s impression of Soviet Russia (presumably in 1928) 279
115 The Tactical Tasks of the Communists in India. Report to the Indian Commission on 10.4.28. by Comrade Petrovsky 280
116 Letter signed by M.N. Roy, Clemens Dutt, Mohammad Ali and G.A.K. Luhani dated 29.4.28. to the Political Secretariat, ECCI 283
117 Draft Resolution on the Indian Question. Summary of Report by Comrade Clemens Dutt at the Session of the Indian Commission dated 30.4.28. 284
118 Abani Mukherji’s speech in the Indian Commission dated 4.5.28. 297
119 A Report to the Indian Commission dated 18.5.28. 298
120 G.A.K. Luhani’s Report to Comintern on India dated 28.5.28. (Part I) and 7.6.28. (Part II) 302
121 Abani Mukherji’s letter dated 7.6.28. from the Institute of Red Professors to Comrade P. Shubin, Indian Commission, Comintern 323
122 The Indian Delegation at the Sixth Congress of Comintern. From the Alphabetical List of Delegates 325
123 Data regarding India’s representation in different Commissions at the Sixth Congress of Comintern 326
124 The International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International (Draft Theses for the Sixth Congress of Comintern). Draft prepared by Nikolai Bukharin 328
125 Sixth Congress of Comintern. Draft Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semicolonies (Draft prepared by Otto Kuusinen) dated 10.8.28. 329

126 Suggested Amendments of the Indian Delegation regarding Draft Colonial Theses of the Sixth Congress of Comintern, 1928. Signed by C.P. Dutt 335

127 Undated letter of Sikander Sur to the Secretary, Programme Commission, Sixth Congress of Comintern 336

128 Abani Mukherji’s letter dated 14.8.28. to Otto Kuusinen, President, Colonial Commission, Sixth Congress, Comintern 337

129 Copy of letter dated 24.8.28. from the Indian Delegation, Sixth Congress of Comintern to Heimo together with a Note dated 31.8.28. Annexed is a handwritten Note 338

130 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s letter dated 6.9.28. to Willi Muenzenberg regarding Jawaharlal Nehru’s request concerning D.D. Kosambi’s proposed visit to Soviet Russia (Translated version) 339

131 Letter of Zakariah dated 25.9.28. to a Friend 340

132 Letter of Shamsul Huda dated 11.10.28. to Comintern reporting on the situation in the Communist Party in Bengal 341

133 Spencer’s letter to I.A. Piatnitsky dated 30.10.28. criticising the Eastern Secretariat’s attitude of disrespect towards Indian Comrades in Comintern 346

134 M.N. Roy’s signed letter dated 9.11.28. to Comrades after the Sixth Congress 347

135 Signed Confidential Report of Mahmud dated 23.11.28. to Comintern on the Over Land Route connections with India 354

136 Brief report of the work of Pretam Singh (A Member of the Hindusthan Gadar Party) submitted to the Executive Committee of Comintern from March 2nd 1927 to Aug.31st 1928, in accordance to the decision of the E.C.C.I. 359

137 Copy of Telegram dated 21.12.28. sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to All India Workers’ and Peasants’ Party Conference and Muzaffar Ahmad 368

138 Incomplete and Undated text of a letter to a Comrade (Translated version) 369

Biographical Notes 373

Index 395