



The migrant Indian revolutionaries and support of Soviet Union

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Abstract

The migrant Indian revolutionaries played a significant part in bridging the gulf between Soviet and Indian communists despite the lack of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and British India. The CPSU policy towards the communist movement in India was driven primarily by Lenin's standpoint towards the Eastern national freedom movement. Most Asian countries were subjugated under Western colonial rule at the moment of the October Revolution. Soviet policy towards these nations came to be known as 'eastern' or 'oriental' policy. The key objective that the Indian revolutionaries had in mind was to secure Lenin's material assistance to further their quest to liberate India from the subjugative colonial clutches. This research paper investigates how the Soviet Policy played a significant role in shaping the strategies of migrant Indian revolutionaries. The research aims to look at, in critical detail, the nature of influences and trajectories of Soviet policy as well as the Indian communist movement's internal policies. This study focuses on a fresh approach to a complex problem and understanding of the Soviet Policy towards the communist movement in India.

Keywords: Soviet Union, revolutionary, communist, migrant Indian, international communist, Lenin, Tashkent, M.N. Roy

1. Introduction

The presence of millions of migrant workers from various Asian nations was a common sight during the time when the October Revolution caused upheavals across the world. Despite that no migrant worker crossed the borders from India to Russia, some of the Indian freedom fighters who somehow managed to reach Russia after the October Revolution, played a pivotal role in spreading the Indian revolutionary message. Imbued by the October Revolution, between 1918 and 1920, several Indian revolutionaries immigrated to Soviet Russia. The key objective that the Indian revolutionaries had in mind was to secure Lenin's material assistance to further their quest to liberate India from the subjugative colonial clutches. As per the Soviet sources, to look for ways to bring an end to British colonial rule and gain their domestic political freedom, several hundreds of Indians crossed into Soviet Russia. (Persits, 1983) ^[1]. Anterior to when the Indian revolutionaries first ventured out on Soviet soil, the first Indian Communist group was constituted by emigrants in Soviet Central Asia; the Indian revolutionary emigrants had spent years working in various countries in Western Europe, America and Asia. (Persits, 1983) ^[1]. The migrant Indian revolutionaries played a significant part in bridging the gulf between Soviet and Indian communists despite the lack of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and British India. It is also a historical fact that seven revolutionaries led by M.N. Roy set up an organisation called the Communist Party of India in Tashkent on October 17, 1920. It demonstrates the level of collaboration between Soviet and Indian Communists long before the actual Communist Party was established in India in 1925.

2. Formation of the Ghadar Party

In the history of Indian emigrants' revolutionary activities, the formation of the Ghadar Party in the United States in 1913 under Lala Hardayal's leadership was a milestone in India's fight for freedom. The party's primary objective was to organise and unite the dispersed Indian revolutionaries in the United States and Canada. Bhagwan Singh and Mohammad Burktullah, the two prominent leaders of the Soviet-based immigrant group, took charge of the party after Hardayal's detention in 1914.

Prominent Ghadar Party representatives and other Indian emigrant organisations met in Berlin in 1914.

Some of them later came to Soviet Russia to organise a revolutionary Indian centre. They were Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendranath Dutta, Mohammad Barkatullah, Mahendra Pratap, Abdur Rabb Barq and Pandurang Khankojee, Revolutionaries of India in Soviet Russia.

(Persits, 1983) ^[1]. These emigrant revolutionaries obtained as much assistance as possible from the Bolsheviks. Unity between these revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks has thus proved to have an overarching effect on the development of the Indian communist movement. "Four different trends can be observed when one looks at the official documents of the Communist Party of India, which among the Indian revolutionaries in India's liberation movement during the first world war and the upcoming years where individuals and groups were in their search for a new path for the struggle for independence, drifted to scientific socialism and communism under the impact of the Great October Revolution of Russia on November 7, 1917." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

These four trends are as follows

1. "Indian national revolutionaries worked overseas at the time of the first world war and after that from Germany, the USA, Turkey and Afghanistan, who earlier functioned through the Berlin committee and the provisional government of independent India or amongst whom we have excellent personalities such as V. Chattopadhyaya, M. Burktullah, M.P.B.T. Acharya, M.N Roy and Abani Mukherjee.
2. National revolutionaries from Pan-Islamic Khilafat movement, who went abroad in the war period (1914-16) and those from the great Hijrat movement of the post-war period. Moreover, who similarly later came under the influence of the October Revolution among whom we have such names as Mohammad Ali Sepassi, Rahmat Ali Khan, Ferazuddin Mansoor, Abdul Majid and Shaukat Usmani.
3. National revolutionaries of the Ghadar Party organised among the Sikh and Punjabi emigrant labourers (USA) before the First World War, who staged an unsuccessful revolution in 1915 at the time when Kamagata Maru arrived in India. We are not here concerned with the first period of the Ghadar Party but the second, post-war period when it was organised and arrived by Rattan Singh and Santokh Singh, with the latter as the general secretary, and who in 1922 took the initiative to establish contact with the Communist International.
4. The fourth and the most important trend was of the national revolutionaries in India itself - from the left-wing of the National Congress, the terrorist organisations, and parties, the Khilafat movement, the Akali movement (especially) it is Babbar Akali leftwing which was linked with the Ghadar Party). Individuals and groups from this trend- when disillusioned with Gandhiji's ideology of nonviolent resistance after the debacle of the movement in 1921-22 or those who never accepted the same turned to scientific socialism and the class organisation of workers and peasants under the impact of October Revolution and later became the founders of the early communist groups in different parts of the country, e.g., Dange in Bombay, Singaravelu in Madras, Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta and the Inquilab group in Lahore." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

Anterior to when the four organisations mentioned above, led by Dange, Singaravelu, Muzaffar Ahmad and Inquilab group, were able to come in unison and form a working-class party, the world communist movement witnessed some noteworthy developments. These developments included the establishment of the Communist International, whose primary objective was to organise and guide the worldwide communist movement. Before it was formed, the Bolshevik Party earnestly urged the Communists of all the countries to unite under the banner of the Communist International given the international revolutionary situation on December 24, 1918. The end of February 1919 saw Sobolev and others beginning to reach Moscow by delegates from all over the globe. (Sobolev 1971: 76) ^[5].

3. The International Communist Conference

The International Communist Conference began in the Kremlin on the evening of March 2 1919; it was attended by

52 delegates from 35 organisations from 21 European, American and Asian countries.

Following the conclusion of the Comintern's second congress, the Eastern People's Congress was organised in Baku in September 1920, attended by many Indians. This Congress is also regarded as the Eastern Muslims' Congress. These two successive conferences together have greatly influenced Asia's national liberation and communist movement. Some of the Indian revolutionaries came to Tashkent after the completion of these two sessions and established a group with the title of Communist Party of India on October 17, 1920. Seven Indian revolutionaries including M.N.Roy, his spouse Evelyn Trent (Roy), Abani Mukherji, Ros Fitingof, Mohammad Ali (Ahamed Hussain), Mohammad Shafiq Siddiqui and M.P.B.T. Acharya were involved in the creation of the Indian revolutionary. Mohammad Shafiq was appointed as the party chairman. Some other Indians also entered the Tashkent party later. In this respect, Dr Devendra Kaushik found an exciting paper in the Uzbek Communist Party Archives in Tashkent. The paper relates to a conference that took place on December 15, 1920, which read and committed to the following, "Admitted to the applicant membership of Abdul Qadir Sehrai, Masud Ali, Shah Kazi and Akbar Shah, the Executive Committee of Roy, Shafiq and Acharya shall be appointed" (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

Referring to Tashkent, a Soviet scholar I.S. Sobolov, reproduced a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India from the Turkestan Bureau of Communist International saying, "Be it known to all that the Indian Communist Party organised here by the Third International Principles." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2]. The evidence cited above obviously show that there was a strong amount of close collaboration between the Soviet and the early Indian Communists. It also provides us with hints about an early Indian communist movement's Soviet perception. Regarding the revolutionaries' issues, M.N. Roy said "the party has been created. What should his exercise be, though? Among the masses, a communist party must operate. India was far from here. It was impossible to reach the Indian masses from where we were." He pointed out, however, that "we had a cross-section of the Indian masses in the emigrant band. The ground-breaking communists would have to face the masses' political backwardness, general ignorance, and religious fanaticism upon their return to India. So, by trying to affect the cross-section of the Indian masses within our grasp, they had better perform their apprenticeship. They agreed, and it was decided to attempt to convince the remainder of the emigrants to join a sequence of overall political duties in preparation for their entry to the suggested army colleges." (Roy, 1964) Later, to train the revolutionaries, the military school was established. M.N.Roy tells about this college, "Still in Tashkent was the band of Russian policemen who had followed me from Moscow. The school organisation was assigned to them. John, the American Wobbly, was named the school's commander. He was going to take care of the discipline. Looking over his wards, he commented sarcastically that "we would not train a revolutionary military, but an army of God." (Roy, 1964)

4. Foundation of the Indian military school in Tashkent

In the context of Indian revolutionaries, the foundation of

The Indian military school in Tashkent was conceived as a momentous event. However, because of the circumstances generated by the British government at the moment, it could not survive for a more extended period. M.N. Roy (1964) defines the formal basis of military school as a ceremonial event hosted by a Turkestan Republic high official and the representatives of the Communist Party of Turkestan. He retains an intriguing reality about the school's lack of Russians. He suggests that, according to an arrangement, Russians stayed back, considering that diplomatic talks were taking place between the Soviet government and Britain just at that moment to resume trade ties that would put an end to the Soviet Republic's lengthy economic blockade.

Roy adds that "Therefore, eager to bring an end to the economic blockade, the Soviet government was unwilling to do anything that could detract from the pitch of diplomatic talks to resume trade with Britain. A pathological suspicion, however, could not be easily allayed. The Soviet government got a blistering notice from the British Foreign Secretary before the year was out, referring to the Tashkent Indian Military School as proof of aggressive Soviet policy against the British Empire. The Indian Military School at Tashkent had to be dissolved as a break in the freshly formed financial ties with Britain would bias the painful method of Russian rebuilding." (Roy, 1964)

The Communist Party of India's formal report, however, rejected the view of M.N. Roy on the dissolving of Indian Military School in Tashkent. Citing an article (New Times, No. 14, 1967) drafted by N.I. Favrovsky, a deputy member of revolutionary Military council of the Turkestan Front and a veteran Communist Party member since July 1917, tells that "at one of the council meetings, Roy, requested for the entire group, the supply of food, military equipment and assistance in organising military training, of course, we knew what this entailed. When Roy left the conference after placing his case, there were comments like adventurism, wonderful, etc.. That was the first response, and it was accompanied by more severe scrutiny. It was chosen to offer all feasible assistance to Indian comrades without being engaged in their scheme, however that was Moscow's stance as far as he understood that the Indians were awarded a Chirchik highway shooting range close to Tashkent and started their army training." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

Also, the article says: "The Muhajirs were very passionate, but it was not long before the entire scheme was cancelled. The state of Afghanistan categorically denied authorisation on the way to India to enter Afghanistan. Roy's constant and persistent requests to Tashkent's Afghan embassy were in vain. Military exercise ended in spring 1921. Some of the Indians chose to move to India unlawfully; others remained in Tashkent, several accompanied the Red Army, and 22 moved to Moscow to study at the 'Communist University of the Toilers of the East'." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

5. Role of Communist University of the Toilers of the East

Communist University of the Toilers of the East was another important milestone in the arena of Indian Emigrants' political education. M.A. Persits, a renowned Soviet scholar, writes that "the news of the establishment of the 'Communist University of the Toilers of the East' quickly reached and made many of its nationalist revolutionaries eager to study in Moscow." (Persits, 1983) ^[1]. He further shows that "they could never recognise one

Indian Communist, who had left the Soviet capital in August 1921, entered Bombay on December 15, wrote to the Indian Communist Party Secretary to inform him about his nearly seven-month journeys throughout the country until June 2, 1922." (Persits, 1983) ^[1].

The first group of eight Indians to finish training at the Communist University, sent thanks to the Third International Executive Committee and the Russian Communist Party (B) on November 20, 1921, in its first letter to the Comintern, they said: "We, the Indian Section of the Communist University for Eastern Peoples Nations greet the Executive Committee of the Third International after completing our study of social science. We want to express our commitment to the philosophy of Communism we have received through our contact with the Comintern." (Persits, 1983) ^[1].

As for the key objective of the University, the famous article entitled "Russia's University of Oriental Communism" by A.C. Freeman, appeared in Soviet Russia Pictorial of April 1923, published in New York. Citing the University Director, he explained that the main purpose of the University was to spread the ideology of Soviet Russia among the people of the East. According to the Director, "This purpose finds expression in two ways. We are not imperialist. We do not believe in taking up the White man's burden, in Kipling's sense of the phrase. Moreover, so we do not attempt to train Russians to govern the Oriental peoples who live within the frontiers of the Republic. We believe that these peoples govern themselves, and so we encourage their young men to come to this University, where they can get both practical and theoretical education and to make themselves fit to become leaders in their communities." (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2].

In the beginning, the Indian Military School in Tashkent and the Communist University of the Toilers of the East proved to be the seedbed for the ideological framework of the Indian revolutionaries. In fact, under the leadership of the 'Third International', the Tashkent and later Moscow based CPI played a crucial role in the formation of the original Communist Party of India in 1925.

Meanwhile, it was the era of the emergence of small organisations in India, of some devoted communists, like S.A. Dange who led India's ever-first communist group, which arose in Bombay. In April 1921, his famous book 'Gandhi vs Lenin' was published. The novel was highly acknowledged in the circle of both the Indian and the Communist International. In the first section of the book, Dange says, "On March 15, 1917, the world was proclaimed as the achievement of the first Russian revolution by the surrender of the Czar, the tyrant of all Russia." (Dange, 1974) The British politicians and the entire world welcomed it as a step towards recognising this world's democracy. But when the Kerensky government was toppled by the Second Russian Revolution of November 7, and the Russian policies of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet government were replaced by peace with the central powers, and when Russia withdrew from the war as if by magic the British started to see the ugly monster of despotism and threat to the entire globe in the location where they were willing, not long old, discovering the very heaven of democracy. They began to shout "Traacherous" to the Bolsheviks and Russia, then declined to have a relationship with their government, and began to spread the news about all the alleged cruel atrocities by the Bolsheviks. (Dange, 1974)

Meanwhile, Muzaffar Ahmad founded a communist group in Calcutta. A third similar group was established in Madras by Singaravelu Chettiar, and the fourth communist group was set up in Lahore by Gulam. Muzaffar Ahmad remembering these incidents says:

"At different moments, previously and subsequently, tries to construct the Communist Party started in India at four locations. These efforts were not the result of any collective decision of joint meeting by those who initially handled these missions; they began at separate locations separately of each other; one did not even recognise the other and that, India is a huge nation. The first four of these locations are isolated from each other by a range of more than a thousand miles from Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, and Madras. We embarked on the mission of constructing an all-India party far apart from each other as we were. We could do that because Communism was an international movement. The nucleus was the Communist International for all of us; its headquarters in Moscow were thousands of miles away. However, with each of these four locations, the Communist International developed autonomous relations. In some instances, the Communist International led us together (as Dange did to me)" (Ahmad, 1978)

The above-mentioned communist organisations surfaced during the mass unrest against the British colonial rule. At the same moment, there was a lot of peasant uprising across the nation. During this period, the 36th session of the Indian National Congress was held in Ahmadabad in 1921. In the name of the Communist Party of India, a Manifesto under the signature of M.N.Roy and Abani Mukherjee was addressed to this session. The Manifesto put forward a full-fledged programme of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution with particular stress on the demands of the workers and peasants to steer them full-fledged into the freedom struggle. It is through this Manifesto that Maulana Hasrat Mohani at the Ahmadabad meeting passed a motion for full autonomy – a resolution that was defeated only because of Mahatma Gandhi's spirited resistance. (Adhikari 1971) ^[2].

The Communist International's third, fourth, and fifth congresses performed a significant part in acting as a remarkable basis for establishing an association with developing communist organisations in India. Nalini Gupta, a revolutionary emigrant, performed a significant role in India in this respect. After leaving Moscow in 1921, late in December, he entered Calcutta and remained in India for more than two months. He succeeded in collecting information about the communist movement in India and in helping to establish links between its groups, which at the time existed in isolation, and also between the Comintern and M.N. Roy's centre abroad. (Persits, 1983) ^[1].

6. Conspiracy case of Peshawar in Kanpur

Activities linked to communist revolutionaries increased significantly between 1922 and 1924. This could be proven by at least two significant instances of conspiracy framed by the Britishers against communist revolutionaries. These cases were the conspiracy case of Peshawar in 1922-23 and the conspiracy case of Kanpur in 1924. Nearly all the top communist revolutionaries had been involved in these conspiracy cases. The leaders like S.A. Dange, especially in the event of conspiracy in Kanpur. They detained Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani, etc. In the event, 13 people were initially mentioned, including M.N.

Roy, who had been overseas. On May 22, 1921, the session judge handed down the verdict and sentenced the four accused to four years' imprisonment each. The appeal in the case was rejected. While Muzaffar Ahmad and Nalini Gupta were released earlier, Dange and Shaukat Usmani served their complete term.

In the Kanpur situation, the two primary accusations against the accused were:

1. The Communist International tried to establish a branch in India through these conspirators;
2. The accused tried to establish a Workers and Peasants Party.

The above instance received enormous hype in India and overseas that helped spread the impact of the communist revolutionaries in this country. After these events, on December 26, 1925, the creation of the Communist Party of India was finally announced. Satya Bhakta, who was not a member of any of the recognised communist groups operating in India, convened the first Indian communist conference. This meeting took place from December 26 to December 28 1925 in Kanpur. (Adhikari, 1971) ^[2]. The first Kanpur Communist Conference chose Singaravelu as President, and Ghate as one of the secretaries, M. Yoglacar, R.C. Nimkar and Muzaffar Ahmad were among the members of the first Comintern. The Communist actions started to gain popularity throughout the nation, especially among the workers and farmers, after the creation of the Communist Party of India.

7. Fifth Congress of the Comintern

Before the party was formed in Kanpur, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern held in Moscow in June 1924 had already placed forward the motto "Popular Revolutionary", "People's, Workers' and Peasants' Parties" and encouraged the Eastern Communists to operate hard and constantly within those Parties-to maintain their own political independence in order to transform them into political or peasant parties to fight against the imperialism. According to this Comintern resolution, the Communists in India established workers and peasants' groups in many locations. This step reinforced the position of Communists' in the country. The Communist Party of India's formal report points out that "to summarise, the workers' and peasants' groups in four regions (Bengal, Bombay, Punjab, and U.P.) succeeded in carrying out a breakthrough and unleashing mass activity, constructing aggressive red-flag unions, holding protests and meetings under the red-flags." (Adhikari 1971) ^[2].

Within the All India Trade Union Congress, the workers unitedly formed a left-wing and also a nucleus in the Indian National Congress. In the early months of 1928, this encouraged the Communists to decide to hold an All-India Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Parties and form an All-India Workers and Peasants Party. The left-wing was powerful enough to get 'Ghate' appointed as assistant secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress when the eighth meeting of the All India Trade Union Congress convened in Kanpur in November 1927.

8. Sixth Congress of the Communist International

At the same time, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International was also held in Moscow in 1928 with the formation of the Communist Party of India and the

subsequent revolutionary development. In the world communist movement, this served as a historical juncture. The Congress embraced the program of the Communist International, evaluating the power of imperialism and the power of revolution, analysing the global crisis of capitalism in-depth and concluding that the demise of capitalism and the defeat of the world socialist revolution were unstoppable. The Comintern's Sixth Congress also formulated the theoretical and political position of war and various types of war and set the practical tasks of fighting the threat of war before the sections.

This Congress once again gained prominence in the debate over the position of the national bourgeoisie. Like the Comintern's second parliament, it had dragged India back into conflict. Concerning the implementation of transitional contracts with the national bourgeoisie by the Sixth Congress, the Indian representatives attending the Congress raised their voice against it. One of the representatives from India, Narayan said that he believes that "this wording is fundamentally incorrect. It is elevated moment now, after our experience in India in 1922, when the bourgeoisie abandoned the great mass movement that shook India from one edge to the other, to formulate it more obviously to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie can never really fight against imperialism, and even a political alliance with the bourgeoisie implies the surrender of the agrarian revolution motto, which implies the virtual suppression of revolutionary fight in the colonial nations, particularly in such a predominantly agricultural nation as India." (Schram, 1969)

The communist party in India had to face many political and ideological issues after the Comintern's Sixth Congress, with thirty-one top party politicians being imprisoned in relation to the 1929 Meerut conspiracy incident. At the same moment, the group was moving slowly but eventually towards sectarianism, as a result of which it started to experience separation from the national stream. That is why the British, Chinese and German Communist Party central committees sent an open letter to the Indian Communists in 1932. They observed that India's communist party had fallen into isolation and were even facing a crisis. The letter articulated the opinion that "Indian Communists' approach towards bourgeois-democratic movement should not be limited to revealing domestic reformism alone, that criticism should be coupled with involvement in the national movement and work in reformist organisations."

In the International Communist Movement, a new tactical line was starting to take form and aspects of subjectivism and left-sectarianism were removed. This was the era when forming the united anti-imperialist front was the primary issue before the Communists. In India, the Communist International was deeply concerned about this issue.

9. Seventh Congress of the Communist International

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in 1935, the experience of the communist movement in India was criticised. This criticism appeared in Georgi Dimitrov's report and in Wang Ming's leading report on the colonial question, which stated that "there were leftist errors in the preceding activities of the Communist Party of India and noted that Indian Communists' work was an example of how the tactics of the united national front could not be carried out. Moreover, while preserving their political and organisational independence, they must carry on active

work within the organisations participating in the Indian National Congress, enabling the process of crystallising among them a domestic revolutionary wing to further develop the Indian people's national liberation movement against British imperialism." (Ulyanovsky, 1978) ^[11].

The scenario started to enhance favourably by the Comintern's condemnation of Indian communists. Meanwhile, in July 1934, India's Communist Party had already been proclaimed illegal. However, under the Indian National Congress, many leaders of the Indian Communist Party entered the Congress Socialist Party in 1936, which helped communists spread their impact in the nation. Thus, the Communist Party of India pursued the united front policy from 1935 to 1939 against the background of the opposition of leftist elements who tried to restore the policy of the party, typical of the communist movement before the Comintern's Seventh Congress.

10. Start of World War II and Communist Policy Discourse

Meanwhile, the start of World War II in 1939 altered the whole communist policy discourse. Contradictions became more and more intense within the party. In October 1939, the CPI ratified a bill calling that the military crisis must be used in the interests of the fight for independence. The strategy was to transform Satyagraha into a revolt against Britishers. The decree criticised the Congress Party's conciliatory position. In CPI, sectarianism reigned strongly during this era. In 1940, the group broke all relationships with the Indian National Congress. It introduced a political manifesto called the "proletarian path" which suggested the use of the army crisis in the interests of the revolution in two stages: First, a general strike and a reluctance to pay rent and taxes; second, an armed insurrection.

The Manifesto was proclaimed extremely controversial, bringing the British colonisers severe repression. In the global scenario, on June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, after which Communist International put forward the worldwide slogan of "people's war". At the same time, anti-fascist united fronts against Hitler started to appear globally. The Communist Party of India also introduced the People's War slogan and said that for the fight against fascism, India's fight for independence had to be incorporated with the world front. The slogan of "Quit India" was also developed by the Indian National Congress in August 1942, along with the "do or die" slogan of Gandhi which generated tremendous mass upsurge across the nation. While implementing the slogan of the people's war against fascism correctly, the Communist Party of India failed to link the people's war with the Indian liberation movement, thereby severely cutting the party off from the national mainstream. This blunder had a long-term effect on the Indian Communist movement.

In this respect, Dr G. Adhikari, a prominent communist ideologue, stated that "this shift in the domestic environment emerged from our dogmatic knowledge of working-class internationalism and sectarian behaviour towards the national bourgeoisie."

In 1946, the Indian communists began an armed uprising to liberate the entire territory in Telangana. It was such a vital era in Indian history that the communists were unable to correctly assess their power because of which they had to endure greatly. The most significant development was India's freedom on August 15, 1947, securing the overthrow

of British colonial rule, which was two hundred years old. The Communist Party of India, however, resumed its armed struggle in Telangana, calling India's Independence as 'fake freedom'. It had a shared understanding of this great event, because of which the group still regarded India under British rule even after 1947.

However, the Soviet and Indian communist distinction of view persisted. While the Soviet Union regarded India's independence as an anti-imperialist revolution, a large segment of Indian communists believed India was still under colonial rule. It took Indian communists nearly a decade to recognise that in 1947, India had become a free nation. Amid these controversies, the CPSU's 20th Congress in 1956 created more problems for the International Communist Movement in general and India in particular. Revolutionary approaches and tactics and the emergence of Maoism in China in the late 1950s and early 1960s triggered massive controversy in India. The Soviet Union came out against Maoist thinking publicly. There were severe disagreements between Indian communists on this issue, however, which led to a split in the Indian Communist Party in 1964. A faction of the Communist Party of India opposed the Soviet Union and split the party under the Maoist impact.

11. Conclusion

To conclude, without considering the events taking place in the Soviet Union, the historical background of the Communist movement in India cannot be dealt with in isolation. In other words, we can conclude from the historical facts illustrated in detail above that it was the Soviet Union that created the historical background needed for the communist movement to materialise in India.

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