LENIN

His Image in India

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V.I. LENIN in his study at the Kremlin, Moscow, 4 October 1922

PRIME MINISTER

FOREWORD

The Editors of this volume, Mr. Leonid Mitrokhin and Shri Devendra Kaushik, have produced an interesting study of the impact which Lenin made on the most perceptive and sensitive minds of his contemporaries in India.

Lenin's immortality rests on his creativeness. He created the Soviet Union, and gave shape and form to the ideas of Karl Marx. In so doing he left a distinctive impress of his own on the Russian soil and the minds of the Soviet people.

Just when Lenin lit the spark of the Russian Revolution, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on our horizon. And like Lenin, he also, through his own distinctive genius, gave new shape and form to the yearnings of the Indian people for freedom.

In our fight against imperial rule we felt a special kinship with revolutionaries everywhere. In working out our destiny in our own way we shall draw inspiration from all the great figures of the world who gave their all to their people, as Lenin did.

Indira Gandhi

(Indira Gandhi)

New Delhi,
March 24, 1970

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT VOLUME is a collection of selected extracts from the writings of prominent Indian leaders, writers and poets as well as from the Indian press about the great revolutionary leader, founder of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world, indefatigable champion of the cause of national liberation—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The scope of the collection is mostly confined to the pre-independence period of 1917-1947.

It would be rather presumptuous on the part of the editors to claim the present work as fully exhaustive. Obviously, it is a task beyond the capacity of two individuals, a Russian and an Indian, especially if one takes into consideration not only the vastness of material awaiting to be discovered but also its multilingual nature. Much patient research work needs to be done by Indian and Soviet scholars before a complete picture of the tremendous influence of Lenin on the leaders of the national liberation movement, progressive sections of Indian society, and the workers' and peasants' movement in India is formed.

On 8 November the last session of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets began in the evening. It was just 8.40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the members of the presidium, with Lenin among them. The audience stood up and moved towards him. For a long time he was unable to begin his speech because of round after round of applause and shouts of "Long Live Lenin." Workers and sailors kept tossing their hats and caps into the air, rifles were raised aloft. Standing thus the Congress listened to Lenin's report on peace.

Lenin read out his draft of the famous Decree on Peace, which called upon the peoples and governments of all the belligerent countries to start immediate open negotiations for the conclusion of peace without annexations and indemnities.

But Lenin's Peace Decree was heard and welcomed not only in Russia, its echoes reached the capitals of the countries of Europe and America and were heard in colonial India as well. The *Tribune* of 16 November published the news about this Decree under the

title "Lenin's Peace Move." On 27 November the same paper gave further information about Lenin's move for peace under such titles as "Lenin's Schemes," "Release of Soldiers," and "Peace Without Annexations." The paper wrote that the Soviet communication was "based on the principle of the independence of nations and their right to determine the nature of their own development."

The *Modern Review*, a leading nationalist monthly, published an article "The Russian Situation" in its number of February 1919 in which the author wrote that "the new Bolshevik Government invited all fighting countries to put an end to the war 'without annexation and without indemnity' and on the basis of the right of 'self-determination'." Thus despite the best efforts of the British rulers of India to suppress any news about the revolutionary moves and policies of the new Soviet Russia, information about them still leaked out to the people who hailed the Great October Socialist Revolution and its leader and inspirer Lenin.

The very next month after the Revolution in Russia, a delegation comprising Abdul Sattar Khairi and Abdul Zabbar Khairi under the pseudonyms of Professor Ahmed Haris and Professor Mohammed Hadi was despatched from Delhi to convey the greetings of the Indian people. On 23 November 1918 it called on Lenin, and presented him some gifts as a token of warm affection and high esteem in which the Indian people held him. Lenin also met a group of Indian revolutionaries led by Raja Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah on 7 May 1919. He met Abdur Rab and M.P.T. Acharya too. M.N. Roy, Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Khankhoje, and other Indian patriots also saw him. Indian revolutionaries from Kabul sent a message of greetings to Lenin who in his reply expressed great joy over the proclamation of the principle of self-determination by the Republic of workers and peasants having evoked such a lively response among the heroic fighters for India's independence.

To know more about Lenin was the demand of the working people all over the world. To them, his name became a symbol of freedom and progress, of liberation from exploitation and colonial yoke. Paid lackeys of imperialism expanded gallons of ink to besmear his image in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But no amount of slander and lies could tarnish the fair image of the great genius of the Revolution.

Under the pretext of counteracting "subversive" Bolshevik propaganda, the British appointed special officers to suppress the information about the October Revolution. For this purpose E.H. Corbett was employed as an Officer on Special Duty in the Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department and a Special Bureau of Information headed by O'Connor was created in the Foreign Department. Again, in the Punjab, which was geographically considered to be more vulnerable to the Soviet ideas, the government requisitioned the services of no less a person than Captain T. Jones who has served with General Malleson in Mashed and as Liaison Officer with the counter revolutionary white general Denikin in Russia.

The Home Department made full use of the services of Professor Rushbrook Williams who wrote in his *Notes on Bolshevism* that Bolshevism "runs counter to the whole course of modern civilization." Edmund Candler also wrote a slanderous booklet under the title *Bolshevism, the Dream and the Fact* which sought to arouse the religious sentiments of the people against Bolshevism. Special check-posts were established all over India with instructions to confiscate all proscribed literature from and about Soviet Russia and Lenin. Under such conditions of strict censorship and control it must have required great courage for Indian authors and journalists to write objectively about Lenin and the October Revolution.

This censorship and hostile propaganda against Bolshevism, however, had just the opposite effect in India. It was deeply resented by the Indian press and several important public figures of the country voiced their opposition to it in strong terms. The *Modern Review* complained in its issue of November 1919 that "the five-year long censorship has also prevented us from knowing what Bolshevism really stands for." Dismissing the fear of Bolshevik invasion of India, the *Mirpurkhas Gazette* of 19 November 1920 wrote: "This is nothing but the revival of an old trick of Government in a new form. For a hundred years past India has been made, in view of an imaginary fear of invasion from Afghanistan or Russia, to maintain a large army, the real object, however, being to advance the course of British influence in Asia."

The efforts of the nationalist press in India to counteract the imperialist propaganda against the October Revolution and its

leader Lenin are quite noteworthy. The *Leader* (Allahabad) and the *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay) published an article "Lenin, the Man and his Aims" in their issues of 10 January and 11 January 1918 respectively giving truthful information about Lenin and refuting the charge of his being a German agent.

Similarly, Tilak also wrote an editorial "The Russian Leader Lenin" in the *Kesari* of 29 January 1918. That Lenin was bribed by the German Government was condenmed by Tilak as "mischievous propaganda." Tilak called Lenin "an advocate of peace" in whose opinion "the upper classes in the warring nations are thoroughly selfish and vicious" and "that it was they who started the war, and that it is the working people who are honest and peace-loving."

Not all newspapers and magazines in India were friendly and sympathetic in tone towards Lenin. Some critical articles giving wrong information did appear, especially in the columns of the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and the *Statesman*. But these papers were not truly representative of the Indian public opinion in those days, controlled as they were by the colonialists (popularly known as the Anglo-Indian press).

About this section of the Indian press, Lajpat Rai, a great nationalist leader wrote:

> When we read the attacks delivered by the hypocritical nations against the Bolsheviks, especially in the columns of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, it surprises us to find that there is no limit to the hypocrisy and lying indulged in by them. Some of our foolish Indian newspapers blindly support the hypocritical peoples in question.... (*Bande Mataram*, 18 July 1920).

Lala Lajpat Rai hailed Lenin's publicity of the secret treaties made by the Tsar with the Allies, and annulment of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. Lalaji noted with satisfaction that "the Bolshevik Government liberated all the nations under subjection to Russia." Jawaharlal Nehru contrasted the policy of Lenin and his Bolshevik government towards the Central Asian peoples with the policy followed by the Provisional Government after the February Revolution and wrote:

Lenin had, on the other hand, from the early days of the Bolshevik Party, long before the Revolution insisted on giving each nationality the full right of self-determination even to the extent of complete separation and independence. This was a part of the old Bolshevik programme. Immediately after the Revolution the Bolsheviks, now the Government of the country, reaffirmed their faith in this principle of self-determination.

After the First World War, an awakened India simmering with spontaneous workers' strikes and peasant unrest and massive protest demonstrations against the repressive British laws—an India entering a period of new anti-imperialist mass upsurge in the wake of the non-cooperation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi—that looked to the October Revolution and its leader Lenin for help and inspiration in its struggle.

There were good reasons why Indian opinion should have reacted sympathetically to Lenin as it did. As against the loud professions of national self-determination by President Wilson which was of no consequence so far as the colonial countries of Asia were concerned, Lenin implemented this principle in practice in regard to the oppressed nations of the Tsarist Empire and supported the freedom of other nations oppressed by the imperialists.

How greatly the British rulers of India were alarmed by the Leninist Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia (16 November 1917) and the Appeal of the Council of People's Commissars to all Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East (20 November 1917), is revealed by some documents preserved in the National Archives of India. The Secretary of State for India in his telegram to the Viceroy of India, dated 7 December 1917, said:

> We have held up highly inflammatory proclamation by Bolsheviks addressed to all labouring class of Moslems of Russia and the East transmitted by Russian Government Wireless. It should be suppressed as long as possible. Have you received it? If not, I will repeat passages referring to India and Persia.*

The British authorities took "all possible steps to hold up tele-

**Copies of Telegrams on Bolshevik Proclamations*, Foreign and Political Department, Special Bureau of Information, Serial No. 1, 1917-18, Nos. 1-14.

grams at Peking, Tokyo, Washington, and in Dutch East Indies," though they felt that "it will probably leak out eventually." They were considering measures to "counterblast" it and "warning local officers of possible publication" of the Appeal to Muslim Toilers signed by Lenin. The British Government of India described the proclamation of Lenin about the independence of nations as "diabolical." The Secretary of State suggested to the Viceroy that despatch of "strong telegrams from prominent Indian Mohammedans" be organized to Baku and Tbilisi refuting the stories of oppression of Muslims in India. The Aga Khan was approached by the Secretary of State while the Nizam of Hyderabad was left to be tackled by the Viceroy. As already noted, despite the British cordon, information about Lenin's proclamations on self-determination found its way into India. Lenin's famous Decrees on Peace and Land and his Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia and Appeal to Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East were frequently referred to quite enthusiastically and admiringly by many prominent Indian writers and public figures, as may be seen from the extracts included in the present work.

Besides articles in newspapers and magazines, original books by Indian authors on the life and work of Lenin made their appearance as early as the twenties. Apart from one in English, biorgaphies of Lenin were published in at least as many as five Indian languages —Hindi, Bengali, Urdu, Marathi, and Kannada—during his lifetime. It may be noted that till then not many biographies of Lenin had appeared even in Soviet Russia. Among the countries groaning under the colonial yoke the largest number of Lenin's biographies appeared in India.

Some of these early Indian writings were not without their shortcomings: inadequate knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and lack of correct information (due to colonial conditions) about the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the tremendous influence of these publications on the formation of political and social thinking in India remains a factor to be reckoned with. The very fact that these writings mirrored a sincere attempt to portray a truthful image of the leader of the October Revolution and working people of the world was of great significance.

The early Indian writers on Lenin who were no Marxists were impressed by two aspects of Lenin's work. First, that he stood

for a social order based on equality, brotherhood and cooperation of men; and, secondly, that he ushered in a new era in history, an era of the rule of the poor and toiling masses. They were highly impressed by his great simplicity in life and deep dedication to the ideals of service to the common man. Writing in 1924, Ho Chi Minh thus highlighted the significance of Lenin for the peoples of the East:

> While Lenin is for the proletariat of the West a leader and teacher, for the peoples of the East he is something more. For them, if we may call it so, he is a saintly person. Lenin conquers and attracts the heart of the Asian peoples not only by his genius, but by his contempt for luxury, love of labour, purity of personal life, simplicity, in short, moral greatness and nobility of the teacher. Being accustomed to their treatment as backward and lowly beings, peoples of the East see in Lenin an embodiment of common brotherhood. They are not only grateful to him for this, but also love him deeply. Their respect for Lenin is like that of children for their father.

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "Lenin has become a mighty tradition not only in his native Russia, but in the world at large." No wonder, by the time of his premature death in January 1924, Lenin's name had already become something of a tradition in India. His death was deeply mourned in all parts of the country as a great loss not only to Soviet Russia but also to India and the humanity at large. A large number of Indian papers of national as well as local importance joined in paying rich tributes to Lenin.

The *Labour Kishan Gazette* of 31 January 1924 (edited by M. Singaravelu Chettiar, an outstanding political figure in the Indian liberation movement, a great scholar and one of the pioneers of the communist movement in India), carried a touching obituary which shows a clear grasp of the significance of the role played by Lenin for the world working class movement:

> Lenin the Great has passed away. . . . The world, the workers' world, is today poorer by the passing away of its great teacher and redeemer. Today the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the

great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their great protagonist. It is the worker, the true salt of the earth who mourns and ought to mourn for him, who showed him the path of deliverance from bondage, privation and misery.

Today Nicolai Lenin stands unrivalled among the men who have tried to alleviate human sufferings and it is now left to the workers to follow his method....

Singaravelu's paper also carried the text of the telegram of the Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan:

Labour Kisan Central Committee requests all its provincial workers' organisations to observe the week ending 31st January as days of mourning for the death of Comrade Nicolai Lenin, Chairman of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russian Workers. In his death, the world workers lost their great teacher and redeemer. Headquarters flying black flags half-mast.

Among the great sons of India none was perhaps more impressed with Lenin than Jawaharlal Nehru who in the late twenties and thirties did more than any one else to disseminate objective information about Lenin, his life, ideas, and achievements. It is, therefore, natural that quite a large number of extracts from his writings should figure in this collection.

The present volume also contains an extract from a letter purported to have been written to his comrades by Bhagat Singh, the great martyr for the cause of freedom from prison. This letter which was published in the Hindi weekly *Abhyudaya*, of 8 May 1931, shows a mature understanding of Lenin's approach to the strategy and tactics of a revolutionary party. Lenin, it may be recollected, wrote on 14 September 1917, his famous article "On Compromises," in which he strongly denied that the Bolsheviks were opposed in principle to all forms of compromise:

The task of a truly revolutionary party is not to declare that it is impossible to renounce all compromises, but to be able, *through all compromises*, when they are unavoidable, to remain true to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary purpose, to

its task of paving the way for revolution and educating the mass of the people for victory in the revolution.

A study of Bhagat Singh's letter only reveals how clearly and thoroughly the young Indian revolutionary had grasped the essence of the writings of Lenin during his imprisonment.

It was not uncommon for many Indian writers to bring in a comparison with Gandhi while writing about Lenin. But they stressed more on the common goals of the two leaders than on their different approaches. "Their common aims are to remove the ills of the world, get rid of the misery of the poor and destroy every kind of despotism," wrote Gorakh in his biography of Lenin in Kannada. G.V. Krishna Rao, who wrote the first English biography of Lenin in India in 1921, contradicted the charge that Lenin was using violence for the sake of violence. "To say that Lenin advocates violence," Krishna Rao wrote, "because he simply wants violence is blasphemous. Lenin abhors violence as much as Gandhi does. But if despotism uses violent methods and gains success through those methods, Lenin will not hesitate to reply with the same methods and achieve success with the help of those methods. He feels that he stands for the welfare of the proletariat and is prepared to sacrifice even his life in the cause of the good of the workers of the world."

The October Revolution and ideas of Lenin evoked a warm response in the form of poetry. Many Indian poets representing different generations and various streams of political and social ideas hailed the Revolution and its leader Lenin. However, for reasons of space poems of only a few of them have been reproduced here

The work on this volume became really a thrilling venture for the editors as it brought them into contact with a number of extremely likeable and highly cooperative persons in all corners of the country who very generously helped in the collection of material for this book. Their names make a long list and it is hardly possible to thank them individually. We, however, deeply cherish the memory of our cooperation with these friends and remain grateful to them for their kind help in our work. Our sincere thanks are due to the Librarians and Directors of the National Library (Calcutta), Nehru Memorial Museum and

Library (New Delhi), the National Archives of India (New Delhi), Indian Council of World Affairs Library, Sapru House (New Delhi), Lady Hardinge Library (Delhi), and also to the Librarians of the Universities of Mysore, Baroda, and Lucknow.

We are, of course, conscious of the many gaps in the information collected by us and hope that they would be filled up before long by other Indian and Soviet researchers.

New Delhi
28 October 1969

DEVENDRA KAUSHIK
LEONID MITROKHIN

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PART I

PROMINENT INDIANS ON LENIN

MAHATMA GANDHI

Noble Example of Renunciation

BOLSHEVISM ... aims at the abolition of the institution of private property. This is only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the people adopted this ideal of their own accord or could be made to accept it by means of peaceful persuasion, there could be nothing like it ... there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake; an ideal that is sanctified by sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain, the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

(*Young India*, 15 November 1928.)

LOKMANYA TILAK

An Advocate of Peace

WE ARE PUBLISHING the main facts of Lenin's life since mischievous propaganda is being carried on that the popular Russian leader is the son of a German Jew and has been bribed by the German government. Lenin is being accused of creating disaffection among the Russian people who are claimed to be loyal to the Allied powers.

Lenin is an advocate of peace....He disagreed with Kerensky precisely because the latter wanted to run the Russian government on the basis of a compromise with the upper classes. Lenin is not prepared to have any such relations with them. It is his opinion that these upper classes in the warring nations are thoroughly selfish and vicious, that they are opposed to the interest of the common people in all countries, that it was they who started the war, and that it is the working people who are honest and peace-loving.

It was because of this difference that Kerensky had ordered Lenin's arrest. Ultimately, the workers' party led by Lenin achieved power by overthrowing the Kerensky government.

(The above excerpt is taken from an editorial "The Russian Leader, Lenin" published by *Kesari* in its issue of 29 January 1918 as reproduced in S.G. Sardesai's book, *India and the Russian Revolution*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 21-3. According to Sardesai, "the very language introducing the purpose of the write-up was most typical of Tilak. Being under constant threat of arrest and prosecution, Tilak had developed a most remarkable style of speaking and writing by which what he wanted to convery became clear to any listener or reader while giving him elbow room for legal defence in a court of law in case he was hauled up.... The words 'accused of creating disaffection among the Russian people' were extremely meaningful because all the prosecutions against Tilak were on the ground of 'creating disaffection among the Indian people'." The write-up gave a remarkably correct biographical sketch of Lenin mentioning that "very early he was converted to the socialist doctrines of Karl Marx," that "from his childhood he was attracted to the peasants whom he always helped and befriended," and that "his writings on the agrarian problem in Russia are considered a masterpiece"—Editors.)

Lenin's influence in the army and among the common people has increased as a result of the distribution of the lands of the nobility to the peasantry by Lenin.

Such are the main facts about Lenin....

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Greatest Man of Action

IT IS INSTRUCTIVE ... to study the careers of some of the makers of the revolution, who out of anarchy and chaos created a new and strong Russia. Exiles, with no knowledge of military affairs, creating great and victorious armies; with no experience of diplomats of other countries; with no knowledge of business or administration, running an enormous state machine which controlled all production and distribution. Specially it is worth while to know something of the greatest of these—Lenin....

Four years ago Lenin died. He was just over fifty, of which thirty years had been spent in preparation and ceaseless toil varied with persecution and flight in Siberia. Victory came to him in the end but with it came years of tremendous difficulty and danger. He died as the result of a bullet wound but before he died he had conquered over these difficulties and dangers and he passed away in the knowledge of his triumph. Today he lies embalmed in a simple mausoleum in the beautiful Red Square of Moscow under the shadow of the Kremlin. He lies asleep as it were and it is difficult to believe that he is dead. In life they say he was not beautiful to look at. He had too much of common clay in him and about him was the "smell of the Russian soil." But in death there is a strange beauty and his brow is peaceful and unclouded. On his lips there hovers a smile and there is a suggestion of pugnacity, of work done and success achieved....

To this resting place of Lenin's body come people from distant parts to do reverence to his memory. Every evening the doors are thrown open for some hours and a continuous stream of the peasants and workers, for whom he lived and died and who loved him, passes by. The orthodox Church is at a discount in Russia but the cult of Lenin is everywhere in evidence. Every shop, every room almost, has his picture or bust. "In a religious age," as says Maxim Gorky, "people would have made him a saint."

In India he would certainly have been canonised, but saints are not held in repute in Soviet circles, and the people of Russia have done him the higher honour of loving him as one of themselves. To each of them he was a brother, a comrade, who knew and laboured for them and to whom they could always turn when in distress....

As Maxim Gorky has said: "His heroism lacked almost all external glitter. It was the modest ascetic zeal, not seldom seen in Russia, of a revolutionary who believed in the possibility of justice on earth, the heroism of a man who, for the sake of his heavy task, renounced all worldly joys."

A classic instance is often given of his utter calmness in emergency and his attention to trivial detail even when the life of the State was threatened. During the critical days of 1921 when Moscow itself was threatened by the enemy and most people thought that the Soviet power was going to collapse, Lenin thought of the introduction of electric light in the villages and issued an ordinance for the immediate supply of electric light to certain areas.

Lenin has been called the coldest of fanatics. He would never let himself be carried away by enthusiasm and would not give in the best of his friends even at the risk of a break. He had no use for sympathisers who did not actively join the fray. Only full-blooded adherents were to his liking, experts in revolution who devoted themselves wholly to the cause. Revolution was to be prepared for cautiously and quietly by educating "revolutionary experts, men who were revolutionaries by profession and not mere enthusiasts, idealists or dilettanti." He realised, what we in India are dimly beginning to appreciate, that it is a difficult, if not an impossible task, for amateurs, with little time to spare from their daily routine and no special training, to fight whole-timers who are experts at their business of defending the existing regime. "Let our comrades," he wrote, "permit the use of the rigorous term 'technical expert' for when I speak of inadequate preparations the accusation applies also to myself. I have worked with men who set themselves to very high and difficult responsibilities, yet we suffered painfully from the feeling that we were but amateurs. The more ashamed I am to confess this, the more bitter I feel towards those sham socialists who fail to realise that we dare not lower the revolutionary to the level of the amateur." With how

much greater truth does this apply to all of us in India who dabble in politics.

Lenin was no believer in a patched up unity of which we hear so much in our country. He deliberately broke up his party as early as 1903 by his insistence on action....

He insisted that the rules of the party should lay down that each member must actively participate in the work and not merely give monetary help. The majority of the party wanted to give sympathy and financial aid only, but Lenin would have neither unless action followed. And so the men of action separated from the men of sympathy and money. When later he was approached with proposals for unity he said with a smile: "I recognise only one form of conciliation with political opponents, ecraser—smash them," words spoken without the least emotion or excitement....

"It is childish," Lenin wrote, "to reject compromise on principle. ... One must simply know how to analyse the circumstances and the concrete conditions of each issue." And again when accused of departing from some maxim of socialism he said: "You are worse than hens. A hen has not the courage to cross a chalk line, but it can at least justify itself by pointing out that the chalk circle was drawn by somebody else. But you have drawn your own circle and are now gazing at the chalk line instead of seeing reality." Perhaps we may find many of these chalk lines of our own making in India also, which keep us from looking at reality.

One of the greatest shocks that he gave to his followers was after the failure of the 1905 revolution. Not daunted by this, the advocate of an armed rising suddenly recommended a participation in the moderate and semi-official Duma, and asked his adherents to study the detailed reports of its sessions. This was with no desire to give up his principles or to adopt the evolutionary method. But he felt that the only platform open to him then for carrying on revolutionary propaganda was through the Duma. He was decried as a weakling and a victim of parliamentarianism; but regardless of censure he pursued his path, nonetheless keeping armed revolution as his goal. To us in India with our controversies about Council entry his change of front must prove interesting....

In Russia also the revolutionaries of an older generation lived

in a world of theory, and hardly believed in the realisation of their ideals. But Lenin came with his directness and realism and shook the fabric of old time orthodox socialism and revolution. He taught people to think that the ideal they had dreamed of and worked for was not mere theory but something to be realised then and there. By amazing power of will he hypnotised a nation and filled a disunited and demoralised people with energy and determination and the strength to endure and suffer for a cause....

And we may well say with Romain Rolland that Lenin was "the greatest man of action in our century, and at the same time the most selfless."

(*Soviet Russia*, first published in 1929, reprinted 1949, pp. 39-48.)

A Great Leader with Love and Sympathy for the Poor

The year you* were born in—1917—was one of the memorable years of history when a great leader, with a heart full of love and sympathy for the poor and suffering, made his people write a noble and never-to-be forgotten chapter of history. In the very month in which you were born, Lenin started the great Revolution which has changed the face of Russia and Siberia. And today in India another great leader, also full of love for all who suffer and passionately eager to help them, has inspired our people to great endeavour and noble sacrifice, so that they may again be free and the starving and the poor and the oppressed may have their burdens removed from them. Bapuji lies in prison, but the magic of his message steals into the hearts of India's millions, and men and women, and even little children, come out of their little shells and become India's soldiers of freedom. In India

*Indira Gandhi—Editors.

today we are making history, and you and I are fortunate to see this happening before our eyes and to take some part ourselves in this great drama.

(*Glimpses of World History*, being further letters to his daughter, written in prison, and containing a rambling account of history for young people, first published in 1934, Second Indian Edition 1962, pp. 2-3.)

Dogmatism Alien to Lenin's Thought

The greatest modern exponent of Marxism has been Lenin. Not only did he expound it and explain it, but he lived up to it. And yet he has warned us not to consider Marxism as a dogma which cannot be varied. Convinced of the truth of its essence, he was not prepared to accept or apply its details everywhere unthinkingly. He tells us:

> In no sense do we regard the Marxist theory as something complete and unassailable. On the contrary, we are convinced that theory is only the corner-stone of that science which socialists must advance in all directions if they do not wish to fall behind life. We think that it is especially necessary for Russian Socialists to undertake an independent study of the Marxist theory, for that theory gives only general guiding ideas, which can be applied differently in England, for instance, than in France, differently in France than in Germany, differently in Germany than in Russia.

I have tried to tell you in this letter something about Marx's theories, but I do not know if you can make much of this patchwork of mine, and whether it will convey any clear idea to you. It is well to know these theories, because they are moving vast masses of men and women today and they may be of help to us in our own country. A great nation, Russia, as well as the other parts of the Soviet Union, have made Marx their major prophet,

and in the world's great distress today many people in search of remedies look to him for possible inspiration.

(*Glimpses of World History*, p. 567.)

Uncompromising Strategist of Revolution

In Russia the position was different, as there was no room for parliamentary action. There was no parliament. Even so, there were possibilities of giving up what were called the "illegal" methods of struggle against Tsarism and carrying on for a while with quiet theoretical propaganda. But Lenin had clear and definite views on the subject. He would countenance no weakening, no compromise, because he was afraid that otherwise opportunists would flood their party. He had seen the methods adopted by Western socialist parties, and he had not been impressed by them. As he wrote later, in another connection, "the tactics of parliamentarism, as practised by western socialists, were incomparably more demoralizing, having gradually converted each socialist party into a little Tammany Hall with its climbers and job-hunters." (Tammany Hall is in New York. It has become a symbol of political corruption.) Lenin did not care how many people he had with him—he even threatened at one period to stand alone—but he insisted that only those should be taken who were "whole-hoggers," who were prepared to give everything for the cause, and even do without the applause of the multitude. He wanted to build up a body of experts in revolution who could develop the movement efficiently. He had no use for just sympathizers and fair-weather friends.

This was a hard line to take up, and many thought it was unwise. On the whole, however, the victory lay with Lenin, and the Social Democratic Party split up into two, and two names, which have since become famous, came into existence—Bolsheviki and Mensheviki. Bolshevik is now a terrible word for some

people; but all it means is the majority. Menshevik means minority. Lenin's group in the party, after this split in 1903, being in the majority, was called Bolshevik—that is, the majority party.

I have told you in my last letter on Russia about the 1905 revolution, which also arose at a time of war and defeat. This was suppressed with brutality, and the Tsar's government continued its career of unchecked autocracy, spying out and crushing all liberal opinion. The Marxists, and especially the Bolsheviks, were crushed, and all their principal men and women were either in the penal colonies of Siberia or in exile abroad. But even this handful of people abroad carried on their propaganda and study under the leadership of Lenin. They were all convinced Marxists, but the doctrine of Marx had been worked out for a highly industrialized country like England or Germany. Russia was still medieval and agricultural, with just a fringe of industry in the large towns. Lenin set about adapting the fundamentals of Marxism to Russia as it was. He wrote a great deal on this subject, and there were many arguments among the Russian exiles, and so they prepared themselves in the theory of revolution. Lenin believed in a job being done by experts and trained people, not merely by enthusiasts. If a revolution were to be attempted, it was his opinion that people should also be thoroughly trained for this job, so that when the time for action came, they should be clear in their minds as to what they should do. So Lenin and his colleagues utilized the dark years of repression after 1905 in training themselves for future action.

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 623-4, 661.)

Inflexible Will of the Leader of Revolution

On April 17, Lenin arrived on the scene. He had been in Switzerland right through the war, and he was eager to come

to Russia as soon as he heard of the revolution. How was he to do so? The English and French would not allow him to pass their territories, nor would the Germans and Austrians. At length, for reasons for their own, the German Government agreed to let him pass in a sealed train from the Swiss to the Russian frontier. They hoped, of course, and with reason, that the arrival of Lenin in Russia would weaken the Provisional Government and the war party, for Lenin was against the war, and they hoped to profit by this. They did not imagine that this more or less obscure revolutionary would end by shaking Europe and the world.

There was no doubt or vagueness in Lenin's mind. His were the penetrating eyes which detected the moods of the masses; the clear head which could apply and adapt well-thought-out principles to changing situations; the inflexible will which held on to the course he had mapped out, regardless of immediate consequences. The very day he arrived he shook up violently the Bolshevik party, criticised their inaction, and pointed out in burning phrases what their duty was. His speech was an electric charge which pained but at the same time vivified. "We are not charlatans," he said, "we must base ourselves only on the consciousness of the masses. Even if it is necessary to remain in a minority—so be it. It is a good thing to give up for a time the position of leadership; we must not be afraid to remain in the minority." And so he stuck to his principles and refused to compromise. The revolution, which had drifted for so long leaderless and without guides, had at last got its leader. The hour had produced the man.

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 665-6.)

Lump of Ice Covering a Blazing Fire Within

With Lenin's arrival all this was changed. He sensed the position immediately and, with the genius of true leadership, adapted the Marxian programme accordingly. The fight was to be against

capitalism itself now for the rule of the working class in co-operation with the poorer peasantry. The three immediate slogans of the Bolsheviks became (1) democratic republic, (2) confiscation of the landed estates, and (3) an eight-hour day for the workers. Immediately, these slogans brought reality into the struggle for the peasantry and workers. It was not a vague and empty ideal for them; it meant life and hope.

Lenin's policy was for the Bolsheviks to win over the majority of the workers to their side and thus to capture the Soviet; and for the Soviet then to seize power from the Provisional Government. He was not for another revolution immediately. He insisted on winning over a majority of the workers and the Soviet before the time came to overthrow the Provisional Government. He was hard on those who wished to co-operate with this government that was betraying the revolution. He was equally hard on those who wanted to rush ahead to upset this government before the time for it had come; "a moment of action," he said, "is no time to aim 'a wee bit too far to the left.' We look upon that as the greatest crime, disorganization."

So, calmly but inexorably, like some agent of an inevitable fate, this lump of ice covering a blazing fire within went ahead to its appointed goal.

(*Glimpses of World History*, p. 667.)

Capture of Power by the Bolsheviks

The Bolshevik strength and influence went on increasing in the factories and Soviets. Alarmed by this, Kerensky decided to suppress them. At first there was a great campaign of slander against Lenin, who was described as a German agent sent to bring trouble to Russia. Had he not come across Germany from Switzerland with the connivance of the German authorities? Lenin became terribly unpopular with the middle classes, who considered him a traitor. Kerensky issued a warrant for Lenin's

arrest, not as a revolutionary, but as a pro-German traitor. Lenin himself was keen on facing a trial to disprove this charge; his colleagues would not agree to this, and forced him to go into hiding.... Events were marching rapidly. The Soviet was becoming a definite rival to the government and often cancelled the government's orders or issue contrary directions.... Lenin came to the outskirts of Petrograd, and the Bolsheviks decided that the time had come to seize the power from the Provisional Government.... 7 November was fixed for the rising....

Lenin became the head of the new government.... The next day, 8 November, Lenin came to the Soviet Congress at the Smolny Institute. It was evening. The Congress welcomed the leader with a mighty cheer. An American journalist, Reed, who was present on this occasion, has described what the "great Lenin" looked like when he marched to the platform.

> A short, stocky figure with a big head set down on his shoulders, bold and bulging. Little eyes, a snubbish nose, wide, generous mouth and heavy chin; clean-shaven now, but already beginning to bristle with the well-known beard of his past and to be the idol of the mob. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached without picturesque idiosyncrasies—but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combining with shrewdness the greatest intellectual audacity.

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 670-1.)

A Consistent Champion of Working Masses

Lenin looked upon the Brest-Litovsk peace with Germany as a temporary affair which would not last long. As it happened, it

was annulled by the Soviet nine months later, as soon as Germany was defeated on the western front by the Allies. What Lenin wanted was to give a little rest, a breathing-space, to the weary workers and peasants in the army so that they might go back home and see with their own eyes what the Revolution had done. He wanted the peasants to realize that the landlords had gone and that the land belonged to them, and the industrial workers to feel that their exploiters had also gone. This would make them appreciate the gains of the Revolution and eager to defend them, and they would realize who their real enemies were. So Lenin thought, knowing full well that civil war was coming. His policy was triumphantly justified later. These peasants and workers went back from the front to their fields and factories; they were no Bolsheviks or Socialists, but they became the staunchest supporters of the Revolution because they did not want to give up what they had got by it.

While they were trying to settle with the Germans somehow, the Bolshevik leaders also turned their attention to internal conditions. Large numbers of ex-army officers and adventurers with machine guns and war material were carrying on a brigand's trade, shooting and plundering in the heart of the big cities. There were also some members of the old Anarchist parties who disapproved of the Soviets and gave a lot of trouble. The Soviet authorities came down with a heavy hand on all these gangsters and others and crushed them.

A greater danger to the Soviet regime came from the members of the various civil services, many of whom refused to work under the Bolsheviks or co-operate with them in any way. Lenin laid down the principle that "he that will not work, neither shall he eat"; no work, no food. All civil servants who did not co-operate were immediately dismissed. The bankers refused to open their safes, they were opened by dynamite. But the supreme example of Lenin's contempt for the servants of the old order who refused to co-operate was seen when the Commander-in-Chief refused to obey orders. He was dismissed, and within five minutes a young Bolshevik lieutenant, Krylenko, was made the Commander-in-Chief!

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 672-3.)

Remarkable Adaptability

Lenin, with his genius for adapting fundamentals to existing conditions, immediately took action. He put an end to war-communism, and introduced a new policy called the New Economic Policy, or NEP for short (from the first letters). This gave greater freedom to the peasant to produce and sell his stuff, and it also permitted some private trading. It was a break-away to some extent from strict communistic principles, but Lenin justified it as a temporary measure. It certainly brought great relief to the people. But soon Russia had to face another terrible calamity. This was a famine due to a great drought and consequent failure of the crops over vast areas of south-east Russia. It was a dreadful famine, one of the greatest that has been known, and millions of people perished in it. Coming as it did after many years of war and civil war and blockade and economic breakdown, and before the Soviet Government had time to settle down to peace activities, it might well have broken down the whole structure of government. However, the Soviet survived it, as it had done its previous calamities.

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 680-1)

Founder of a New World Organization

With eastern countries like China, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, the Soviet adopted a very generous policy. They gave up old Tsarist privileges and tried to be very friendly. This was in accordance with their principles of freedom for all subject and exploited peoples, but a more important motive for them was to strengthen their own position. The imperialist Powers, like England, were often put in a false position by this generosity of

Soviet Russia, and the eastern countries made comparisons which were not to the advantage of England and the other Powers.

One other important event took place in 1919 about which I must tell you. This was the founding of the Third International in Moscow by the Communist Party. I have told you in previous letters of the First International, which Karl Marx had founded, and the Second International, which after many brave words came to grief on the outbreak of the war of 1914. The Bolsheviks considered that the working class had been betrayed by the old workers' and socialist parties which formed this Second International. The Third International was therefore created by them, with a definitely revolutionary outlook, to wage war against capitalism and imperialism, and also against those opportunist socialists who followed a "middle-of-the-road" policy. This International is often called the Comintern (from Communist International), and it has played a great part in propaganda in many countries. As its name implies, it is an international organization elected by various communist parties in many different countries, but Russia, being the one country where communism has triumphed, naturally dominates the Comintern. The Comintern is of course different from the Soviet Government, though many persons occupy leading positions in both. As the Comintern is avowedly an organization for spreading revolutionary communism, it is bitterly disliked by the imperialist Powers, and they are always trying to suppress its activities in their territories.

(*Glimpses of World History*, p. 681.)

An Advocate of Freedom of Nations

I have been constantly referring to the "Soviet" or "Soviets" in this and other letters. Sometimes I have talked of "Russia" doing this or that. I have used all these words rather loosely to mean the same thing, and must now tell you what this thing is. Of

course, you know that the Soviet Republic was proclaimed in November 1917, in Petrograd, after the Boshevik Revolution. The Tsarist Empire was not a compact national State. Russia proper dominated over a large number of subject nationalities both in Europe and in Asia. There were nearly 200 of such nationalities, and they varied tremendously. In the Tsar's time they were treated as subject peoples, and their languages and cultures were to a greater or less extent suppressed. Practically nothing was done for the improvement of the backward peoples in Central Asia. The Jews, although they had no special area to call their own, were one of the worst treated of the minority communities, and Jewish pogroms, or massacres, were notorious. This led to many people from these oppressed nationalities joining the Russian revolutionary movement, although their chief interest was in a national revolution and not a social one. The Provisional Government after the February Revolution of 1917 made many promises to these nationalities, but in effect did nothing. Lenin had, on the other hand, from the early days of the Bolshevik Party, long before the Revolution, insisted on giving each nationality the full right of self-determination even to the extent of complete separation and independence. This was a part of the old Bolshevik programme. Immediately after the Revolution the Bolsheviks, now the Government of the country, reaffirmed their faith in this principle of self-determination.

(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 879-80.)

Hero of Hundreds of Millions

This letter is getting long. But before I end it, I must tell you something more about Lenin. In spite of the injuries he had received when an attempt to take his life had been made in August 1918, he had not taken much rest. He went on working at tremendous pressure, and in May 1922 came the inevitable

collapse. After a little rest he was again at work, but not for long. There was worse collapse in 1923, from which he never recovered, and on 21 January 1924, he died near Moscow.

For many days his body lay in Moscow—it was winter, and the body was preserved by chemical treatment—and from all over Russia and the distant Siberian steppes came representatives of the common folk, peasants and workers, men and women and children, to pay their last homage to that beloved comrade of theirs who had pulled them out of the depths and pointed the way to a fuller life. They built him a simple and unadorned mausoleum in the beautiful Red Square of Moscow, and there his body still lies in a glass case, and every evening an unending procession passes silently by. It is not many years since he died, and already Lenin has become a mighty tradition, not only in his native Russia, but in the world at large. As time passes he grows greater; he has become one of the chosen company of the world's immortals. Petrograd has become Leningrad, and almost every house in Russia has a Lenin corner or a Lenin picture. But he lives, not in monuments or pictures, but in the mighty work he did, and in the hearts of hundreds of millions of workers today who find inspiration in his example, and the hope of a better day.

Do not imagine that Lenin was an inhuman kind of machine, wrapped up in his work and thinking of nothing else. Absolutely devoted to his work and life mission he certainly was, and at the same time wholly without self-consciousness; he was the very embodiment of an idea. And yet he was very human, with that most human of all traits, the capacity to laugh heartily. The British Agent in Moscow, Lockhart, who was there during the early, perilous days of the Soviet, says that, whatever happened, Lenin was always in good humour. "Of all the public figures I have ever met he possessed the most equable temperament," says this British diplomat. Simple and straight in his talk and his work, and a hater of big words and poses. He loved music, so much so that he was almost afraid that it might affect him too much and make him soft in his work.

A colleague of Lenin, Lunacharsky, who was for many years the Bolshevik Commissar for Education, made a curious reference to him once. He compared Lenin's persecution of the capitalists with Christ's expulsion of the money-lenders from the temple, and

added: "If Christ were alive today, he would be a Bolshevik." A curious comparison for irreligious people.

About women, Lenin once said: "No nation can be free when half the population is enslaved in the kitchen." Very revealing was the remark he made one day, as he was petting some children. His old friend Maxim Gorky tells us that he said, "These will have happier lives than we had. They will not experience much that we lived through. There will not be so much cruelty in their lives." Let us all hope so.

I shall finish up this letter with the words of a recent Russian composition for a full orchestra and people's chorus. It is said by people who have heard it that the music of this piece is full of vitality and power, and the song seems to represent the spirit of the revolting masses. Even the English translation of the words, which I give here, has something of this spirit in it. The song is called October, and this means the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917. The Russian calendar in those days was what is called the unreformed calendar, and it was thirteen days behind the ordinary western calendar. According to this calendar the revolution of March 1917 took place in February, and it is therefore called the "February Revolution," and similarly the Bolshevik Revolution, which took place early in November 1917 is called the "October Revolution." Russia had changed its calendar now and adopted the reformed one, but these old names are still used.

We went, asking for work and for bread,
Our hearts were oppressed with anguish,
The chimneys of the factories pointed toward the sky,
    like tired hands without strength to make a fist.
Louder than the cannon, the silence was broken by the
    words of our grief and our pain.
O Lenin! the desire of calloused hands.
We have understood, Lenin, we have understood that
    our lot is a struggle! Struggle! Struggle!
You led us to the last fight. Struggle!
You gave us the victory of labour.
And no one shall take away from us this victory over
    ignorance and oppression.
No one! No one! Never! Never!

Let every one be young and brave in the struggle,
because the name of our victory is October!
October! October!
October is a messenger from the sun.
October is the will of the revolting centuries!
October! It is a labour, it is a joy and a song.
October! It is good fortune for the fields and machines
Here is the banner name of the young generation and Lenin.

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(*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 682-4.)

New World before our Eyes

While the rest of the world was in the grip of the depression and going backward in some ways, in the Soviet country a great new world was being built up before our eyes. Russia, following the great Lenin, looked into the future and thought only of what was to be, while other countries lay numbed under the dead hand of the past and spent their energy in preserving the useless relics of a bygone age. In particular I was impressed by the reports of the great progress made by the backward regions of Central Asia under the Soviet regime. In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world.

(*Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography*, Indian edition, 1962, first published in 1936, pp. 361-2.)

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

Great and Noble Revolutionary

Abdul Ghaffar Khan likes reading history of various world revolutions, and it seems as if of all the people who have impressed him most, is that great and noble revolutionary, Lenin. I remember him remarking once: "Read history and you will discover how power made most of the great men loose their balance. Napoleon, after all his hardships and promises, assumed monarchy and tried to retain it for his family. Reza Shah and Nadir Shah got intoxicated by it when their turn came. They could have easily followed the Prophet and the Caliphs for showing such selflessness, but instead of them this example was repeated by Lenin, who avoided becoming supreme when it was within his reach to do so."

(Mohammad Yunus, *Frontier Speaks*, Lahore, 1942, p. 166. The Preface to the book was written by Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself and the Introduction by Jawaharlal Nehru. The book was proscribed by the British authorities in India —Editors.)

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Struggle for Freedom and Socialism are Inseparable

THE CZARIST EMPIRE collapsed in 1917 but out of its debris sprang the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is still time for Great Britain to take a leaf out of Russian history. Will she do so ? ....

But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question. One thing however is certain. This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes—only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state. There is an inseparable connection between the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and the colonies abroad. As Lenin pointed out long ago, "reaction in Great Britain is strengthened and fed by the enslavement of a number of nations." The British aristocracy and bourgeoisie exist primarily because there are colonies and overseas dependencies to exploit. The emancipation of the latter will undoubtedly strike at the very existence of the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and precipitate the establishment of a socialist regime in that country. It should, therefore, be clear that a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism and that we who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.

(From the Haripura Address at the 51st session of the Indian National Congress in February 1938; quoted in *Crossroads, being the Works of Subhas Chandra Bose*, 1938-40, 1962, pp. 4-5.)

Unity of Struggle

I should add that I have always understood and am quite satisfied that communism, as it has been expressed in the writings of Marx and Lenin and in the official statements of policy of the Communist International, gives full support to the struggle of national independence and recognises this as an integral part of its world outlook.

(Interview with R.Palme Dutt published in the *Daily Worker*, London, 24 January 1938; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 29.)

Only Leninist Irreconcilability with Rightists may Save the Nation from Disaster and Tragedy

The age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us. India, therefore, stands today at one of the crossroads of history. It is for us to share, if we so will, the heritage that awaits the world.

It is not to be wondered at that men's minds should be bewildered when the old structure is crashing under its own weight and the new is yet to rise out of the ashes of the old. But let us not lose faith in ourselves, or in our countrymen or in humanity in this hour of uncertainty. To lose faith would be a calamity of the first magnitude....

I may digress at this stage and draw an analogy with similar crises in other climes and ages. When the October Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, nobody had a clear conception as to how the revolution should be directed. Most of the Bolsheviks were then thinking in terms of a coalition with other parties. It was left to Lenin to denounce all coalitions and give out the slogan—"All Power to the Soviets." Who knows what turn

Russian history would have taken but for this timely lead of Lenin's during a period of doubt and vacillation? Lenin's unerring instinct (or intuition), which ultimately proved to be prophetic, saved Russia from disaster and from a tragedy similar to that which overtook Spain the other day.

Let us now take a contrary case. Italy in 1922 was, to all intents and purposes, ripe for socialism. All that she needed was an Italian Lenin. But the man of the hour did not arrive and the opportunity slipped out of socialist hands. It was immediately seized by the Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini. ... Italian history took an altogether different turn and Italy ultimately went Fascist instead of going Socialist. Doubt and vacillation had seized the Italian leaders and so they failed.

Today our leaders are wobbling and their vacillation has demoralised a section of leftists as well. "Unity," "National Front," "Discipline"—these have become cheap slogans which have no relation to reality. Befogged by such attractive slogans, they seem to have forgotten that the supreme need of the hour is a bold, uncompromising policy leading us on to a national struggle. Whatever strengthens us for this purpose is to be welcomed. Whatever weakens us is to be eschewed. Unity which ties us to the apron-strings of Rightist politicians is by no means a blessing. We might as well induce the Congress to effect unity with the Liberal Federation—if unity is to be desired under all conditions and circumstances.

(Presidential Address at the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference, Ramgarh, Bihar, 19 March 1940; quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 272-3.)

LALA LAJPAT RAI

Lenin Exposed Imperialist Designs of the Allies

The *Bande Mataram* of the 18 July publishes an article on Bolshevism over the signature of Lajpat Rai, who says in the course of his remarks that Lenin published all the secret treaties made by the late Czar with the allied Governments regarding the partition of conquered territories after the end of the war. Their publication made it clear to the world how bad and foul the intentions of the Allies were, and how false and deceptive their public statements were. Outwardly the Allies claimed that the war was being waged in the cause of freedom and to maintain the independence of small nations. As a matter of fact, however, their secret object consisted in the division among themselves of the whole of the world. Besides publishing the above treaties, Lenin repudiated the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1907, and told the Persians that they were free to administer their own country. Similarly, the Bolshevik Government liberated all the nations under subjection to Russia. Continuing the writer states how the Allies and America tried to deal a death-blow to the power of the Bolsheviks and how the last named parried the blow and emerged successful from of the ordeal.... Different charges and accusations were levelled against the Bolsheviks and every nerve was strained to give them a bad name.

When we read the attacks delivered by the hypocritical nations against the Bolsheviks, especially in the columns of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, it surprises us to find that there is no limit to the hypocrisy and lying indulged in by them. Some of our foolish Indian newspapers blindly support the hypocritical peoples in question. Let no one conclude from this that we follow the principles of the Bolsheviks or admire their methods of

administration. We think that some of their principles are sound, while others are wrong. Our readers should study the *Nation*, the *New Statesman*, the *Daily Herald*, the *Labour Leader*, and certain American newspapers to know the truth about the Bolsheviks.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*, No. 30, 1920, National Archives of India, pp. 292-3.)

BHAGAT SINGH

Follow Leninist Tactics and Strategy: Last Message for Indian Revolutionaries

DEAR COMRADES,

Our movement is passing through a very significant phase. After hard struggle of a year the Round Table Conference has proposed to us some definite things regarding a change in the constitutional set up and has invited the Congress leaders to come forward and help in this work of framing the Constitution. Under these circumstances the Congress leaders seem to be eager to postpone the movement. The fact whether they will decide in favour of postponement of the movement or against does not have much importance for us. This is certain that the present movement would end necessarily in some kind of compromise though it is another matter when the compromise is concluded—sooner or later.

WHAT IS COMPROMISE?

In fact compromise is not such a thing which should be considered despicable or spoken ill of, as we generally understand it. Compromises are the most essential part of political struggles. For any nation which rises against an oppressor, it is necessary that it receives some initial set-back, and during the intervening period of long struggle obtains some political reforms. But meanwhile it organises its strength to such an extent that when it reaches its final onslaught, it is so devastating that the ruling classes crumble before it. This is also possible that it may have to come to some agreement with the enemy. This can be easily demonstrated with the example of Russia.

A wave of revolution swept across Russia in 1905. Revolutionary leaders had high hopes. Lenin had returned from abroad

where he had escaped earlier. He was directing the whole movement. People killed about a dozen landlords and set on fire some buildings. But that revolution did not succeed, though as a result of it the government was forced to bring about some reforms and Duma (a kind of Parliament) was established. At that time Lenin supported the move to join Duma. But in 1906 he began opposing this very Duma. And in 1907 he supported entry into the second Duma, the rights of which were curtailed drastically. The reason for this was that he wanted to make Duma a platform for his movement.

Similarly after 1917 when the question of Russia's treaty with Germany cropped up, Lenin was the only person who was for it, the rest being against it. But Lenin said: "Peace, Peace and again Peace—Peace at any price. Even if we have to surrender some provinces of Russia to warlords of Germany, we must sign peace with her." When even some Bolshevik leaders opposed this policy of his, he said clearly that at the moment the Bolshevik government was not in a position to fight Germany and that their first task was to consolidate their government after withdrawing themselves from the war.

What I want to say is that "compromise" is also an instrument which has to be used very often during political struggle, so that a nation could get respite and prepare itself more forcefully for the future struggle. But in spite of all these compromises, we should not forget one thing and that is the cause—which should always remain before us. Our thoughts should be clear and firm about the aim for which we should wage a consistent struggle. And if you are struggling for a complete thing, and you get something of it, pocket it and continue to wage struggle for the rest of it. The thing we hate in Indian moderates is that they do not have any aim. They fight for a crumb, and hence they do not get anything.

(*Abhyudaya*, Hindi weekly, Allahabad ,8 May 1931.)

NARENDRA DEV

"Lenin's Book Complementary to Marx's Capital'

THE PRESENT BOOK is the translation of Lenin's famous book, *Imperialism*. This book enjoys a high place among Lenin's works. In this book Lenin has depicted a complete picture of Imperialism. Imperialism is the developed form of capitalism. In the words of Lenin this is the last stage of capitalism. Capitalism has completed its work. This is a period of its downfall and decline. Capitalism has reached that highest stage of development, where it is a stumbling block for production. Instead of being pacified the internal contradictions of the capitalist system have become tense and those initial stages have gradually grown up in which socialism could be established. The era of capitalism is about to end and a new era is to begin, in which internal contradictions of the capitalist system will end and the waste of productive power in the present system would stop and the economic life of society would be organised according to the principles of socialism. The prevailing situation is becoming unjust and unnecessary day by day. This situation must come to an end. The development of the capitalist system during the era of imperialism has proved that society possessed all those means which can bring this stage to an end. Today such a new social order can be established in which there are no class characteristics of the present and in which during a period of time, available production resources can, with a judicious use and development, provide the whole society with means of livelihood and entertainment and in which physical and mental abilities of all can be developed.

In his book Lenin has written in detail about the characteristics of the modern age of capitalism and has formulated some principles on their basis.

Marx's *Capital* just informs us about these characteristics. Capitalism had not developed in such a manner in Marx's time.

Thus viewed Lenin's book is complementary to Marx's *Capital*.

This book is of great significance from yet another point of view. Lenin has shown in this book that in the era of imperialism, a worldwide economic system has come into being. Different countries of the world have been brought together in a chain. They have become different units of the same chain. Under such conditions according to Lenin, the possibilities of a social revolution in a particular country can be determined only by keeping in mind the state of the entire world economy and not by the specific conditions in that country alone. According to such thinking, revolution would not necessarily take place in those countries first where industry and commerce have developed well, but it could take place in those countries where the imperialist chain is the weakest. The countries which are backward in industry can also prepare themselves for a new social order, when they are oppressed by imperialist nations.

It will not be out of place to say something about the translation itself.

Lenin's language is generally terse and it is not very easy to completely and faithfully convey all his views. The translator has tried to convey views of Lenin in simple and understandable language. For this he had often to resort to use of simple Urdu words. I think this has greatly helped in making the language easily intelligible.

(Introduction to the Translation of V. I. Lenin's *Imperialism* by Jeewan Ram Shastri, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Banaras, 1934.)

M. N. ROY

"Nothing of a Dictator"

IT WAS a vast rectangular room, with a row of tall windows giving on a spacious courtyard surrounded by other wings of the palace. The ceiling was so high as almost to touch the sky. The room was practically bare; only the floor was covered with a thick carpet. My attention was immediately attracted by the bald dome of a head stooping very low on the top of a big desk placed right in the middle of the room. I was nervous and walked towards the desk, not knowing what else to do. By silencing my footsteps, the thick carpet sympathised with my anxiety not to cause the least disturbance. It was quite a distance from the door to the desk. Before I had covered hardly half of it, the owner of the remarkable head was on his feet and briskly came forward with right hand extended. I was in the presence of Lenin.

Nearly a head shorter, he tilted his red goatee almost to a horizontal position to look at my face quizzically. I was embarrassed, did not know what to say. He helped me out with a banter: "You are so young! I expected a grey-bearded wise man from the East." The ice of initial nervousness broken, I found words to protest against the disparagement of my seven and twenty years.

Lenin laughed, obviously to put an awe-struck worshipper at ease. Though much too overwhelmed by the experience of a great event to observe details, I was struck by the impish look which often relieved the severity of the expression of a fanatic. It belied the widely held view that in Lenin's personality the heart was choked in the iron grip of a hard head; that the great revolutionary was a wilful machine without the least touch of humanness. The impish smile did not betray cynicism. Lenin was the most unmitigated optimist. Not only was he convinced unshakably that Marxism was the final truth, but he believed equally firmly in its inevitable triumph. He combined the fervour of the prophet with the devotion of the evangelist. Otherwise, he could not

advocate capture of power, single-handed, as against the stubborn opposition of all his followers, when there appeared to be very little chance for the Bolsheviks to hold it longer than a few days or weeks....

These ideas about Lenin's personality and his place in the history of revolution took shape in my mind gradually, years after I met him for the first time. But their roots can be traced to the initial impression. The man whose ominous shadow was cast athwart the capitalist world, in reality, did not at all live up to his frightful reputation. The crown of dictatorial power sat on his head very lightly. There was nothing of a dictator in his physical bearing or manner of speaking. Nor was his remarkable modesty an affectation—a repulsive demonstration of the consciousness of superiority. He was frank in speech and friendly in behaviour. For years he had been the undisputed leader of the Bolshevik Party. More than once, a majority of the Central Committee of the party disagreed with him. But none ever dreamed of replacing him as the leader of the party. He was more than a leader, he was the preceptor—High Priest of Bolshevism. He was friend and philosopher for the old cadre of the party. They loved him.

Since the early years of his political career, Lenin had fought bitter factional fights inside the Russian Social Democratic Party and the Second International. His polemics against the right-wing leaders were charged with brimstone and fire. He expounded the dangerous theory that the party of the proletariat must be an iron cohort of professional revolutionaries. But his behaviour inside the Bolshevik Party was always democratic. Whenever he failed to persuade the Central Committee to agree with his view, he referred the issue to the rank and file of the party and in those days, there was no bureaucratic machinery to manipulate the party and manufacture a rank and file endorsement for the opinion of the leader. In July 1917, a majority of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party rejected Lenin's proposal that it should call for an armed insurrection preparatory to capturing power. He returned to his place of hiding in Finland, and wrote a series of articles in the party organ, Pravda, expounding his thesis. Within a couple of months the All-Russian Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies met to issue the slogan—All Power to the Soviets!

In discussions inside the party, Lenin used to drive his point home with picturesque arguments. He backed up his view that the new-born Soviet Government should sign the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with the argument that the soldiers had voted for peace with their feet. How? By running away from the fronts. While defending the New Economic Policy in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, he pleaded: "We must now learn the housekeeping of the Revolution." Expounding in the Second World Congress his thesis that the movement for the liberation of the Colonial peoples was a revolutionary force, he warned: "But don't paint Nationalism red."

(*M.N. Roy's Memoirs*, pp. 342-5.)

Lenin's Optimism about Gandhi and Indian Nationalism

My Marxist analysis of the Indian situation led to the conclusion that the nationalist movement was bound to end in a compromise with Imperialism, unless its leadership was captured by the proletariat. Chicherin thought that I was very pessimistic; but his optimism seemed to be founded on the sand of wishful thinking. Lenin was impressed by the fervour of the faith of the new convert, but his practical mind was eager to find a concrete approach to the obviously complicated problem of helping the movement for national liberation in India and other colonial countries....

Our differences about the revolutionary potentialities of colonial Nationalism had considerably narrowed down since the Second World Congress. But even now we could not agree about the role of Gandhi, whose name was just coming to be known in Russia. Lenin regarded the new leader of Indian Nationalism as objectively revolutionary like the great heretics of mediaeval Europe. I held that such an estimation of the role of Gandhi was

precluded by his religious and social ideas, which were positively reactionary. Admitting that, as the leader of an anti-imperialist movement, Gandhi could play an objectively revolutionary role, I argued that he might also travel the way of the Russian Social Revolutionaries, who were characterised by Plekhanov as politically revolutionary and socially reactionary. As a disciple seeking light from the Master, I enquired whether an anti-imperialist movment, inspired by reactionary social ideas and burdened with obscurantist religious beliefs, could be politically revolutionary. Lenin saw the force of my doubt and agreed to differ for the moment, expecting that experience would enable us to make a correct judgment.

In the middle of 1921, the news of the non-co-operation movement in India had reached Moscow. The Russian Communists were enthused by the news, believing that India was in the throes of a revolution. The non-co-operation movement was interpreted as a revolutionary mass upheaval. Though of a sober and doubting disposition, Chicherin shared the enthusiastic belief about the imminence of a revolution in India. Referring to my discussion with Lenin about the revolutionary possibilities of the non-co-operation movement, and particularly Gandhi's role, he remarked that I was very pessimistic. Having listened to the arguments in support of my view, he suggested that I should write a comprehensive report about the situation in India for the information and guidance of the Russian Communist Party. The report should include an analysis of the social background of the non-co-operation movement. I agreed to write the report, but pleaded that it could not be done before I returned from Turkestan. For the moment, I briefly outlined the structure of contemporary Indian society and the class composition of the non-co-operation movement, in order to back up my point of view that the non-co-operation movement was politically immature, with little revolutionary potentialities. Chicherin requested me to prepare a synopsis of the report, pending the preparation of that comprehensive document, which eventually took the form of my book, *India in Transition*.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 413, 499-500, 527.)

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Lenin against "Economism"

IN RUSSIA THERE was a group of intellectuals known as the "Economists" who also believed that the workers were already conscious of what they wanted; and therefore the task of leadership was only to help them in the realization of those desires without attempting to add anything to them or to put them in a scientific shape. Lenin wrote a smashing criticism of their view, which he termed "tailism" (following at the tailend), in a famous pamphlet, *What is to be Done.* In that pamphlet Lenin made it clear that it was the task of the revolutionary intellectual to develop a programme for the masses and lead them to its realization. Socialism was a product not of the working class but of "individual members of the bourgeois intelligentsia" who addressed themselves to the problems created by capitalism and brought a clear head and a sincere heart to their task. In Lenin's own words: "The history of all countries testifies to the fact that by its own efforts the working class can only evolve a trade unionist consciousness, that is, the conviction that it is necessary to coalesce into unions in order to fight the employees, to demand of the Government laws in favour of labour, etc. The doctrine of Socialism grew up out of the philosophical, historical, economic theories that were elaborated by educated members of the propertied classes, by the intelligentsia."

(Jayaprakash Narayan, *Why Socialism*, Banaras, 1936, pp. 100-1.)

Einstein and Ivan the Fool

The Doctor (Bhagwan Das), in my humble opinion, has misunderstood some of the basic ideas of Marxism, viz. the materialist interpretation of history, the theory of the state, the classless society. To give just one instance: Commenting upon Lenin's remark that talents are not born by the hundred, he says, "Why, on the 'materialist interpretation of history,' is talent born only by the ten (scarcely even that) and not by the hundred? Why are there 'exceptional individuals'?" It is surprising that the Doctor did not go on to ask why, if the materialistic interpretation of history is correct, are the Himalayas taller than the Vindhyas. And, yet differences in the talents of men have as little to do with historical materialism as the difference in the height of these mountains. Just as it was possible for physical forces to produce the latter difference so it was possible for them to produce the former. Why are there exceptional individuals is a question which biology can answer and not history—no matter which interpretation of history one accepts. Matter in its infinite combinations produces the peach and the dogberry, the tulip and the dandelion; in the same manner it produces an Einstein and an Ivan the Fool.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 111-2.)

SHAPURJI SAKLATWALA

In Complete Accord with Lenin

LONDON POLICE REPORT on search of 51, Lebanon Park, Twichenhan House, belonging to Shapurji Saklatwala, on Monday, 18 October 1920, says:

"In conversation Saklatwala said he was in favour of revolution which he preferred to call—'new thought'; he was not in favour of armed revolution but if necessary it should be resorted to. He was, he said, in complete accord with Lenin, his theories and methods and when asked as to the treatment of Romanoffs, expressed the opinion that it was necessary. When bundles of 'red' pamphlets were found, Saklatwala said he did not circulate them. This is proved to be untrue from his correspondence....

"His papers prove beyond doubt that he has allied himself to Lenin and his followers and his early return to his own country would appear necessary as the lease of his house expires in March, this would seem a fitting moment to move him."

("Question whether it is safe for Saklatwala, a Bolshevik agent, to return to India, or to stay in England," National Archives of India, Home, Political, January 1921, Nos. 306-7.)

MAULVI BARKATULLAH

Follow the Call of Brother Lenin

Following on the dark long nights of Czarist autocracy, the dawn of human freedom has appeared on the Russian horizon, with Lenin as the shining sun giving light and splendour of this day of human happiness. That noble scheme, first visualised by the divine Plato over 2,000 years ago, and handed down by way of trust from generation to generation in his *Republic*, has today been put from theory into action and introduced into the field of reality by M. Lenin, gaining great currency and favour.

The administration of the extensive territories of Russia and Turkistan had been placed in the hands of labourers, cultivators and soldiers. Distinction of race, religion and class has disappeared.

Equal rights to life and freedom are given to all classes of the nation. But the enemy of this pure unique Republic is British Imperialism which hopes to keep Asiatic nations in a state of eternal thralldom. It has moved troops into Turkistan with a view to felling the young tree of perfect human liberty just as it is to take root and strength. Time has come for the Muhammedans of the world and Asiatic nations to understand the noble principles of Russian socialism and to embrace it seriously and enthusiastically. They should fathom and realise the cardinal virtues taught by this new system, and in defence of the true freedom they should join Bolshevik troops in repelling attacks of usurpers and despots, the British. Oh, Muhammedans! listen to this divine cry, respond to this call of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which brother Lenin and the Soviet Government of Russia are offering to you.

(From Barkatullah's booklet *Bolshevism and Islamic Body-Politic*, Tashkent, 1919, English translation of which is preserved in the National Archives of India, Foreign and Political Department, Secret-F, February 1920, Nos. 77-171, p. 46.)

AJOY GHOSH

A Guide to Action

By his immortal teachings, his titanic organising and political work Lenin stood out even in his lifetime as the greatest builder of the modern world—the begining of the real history of humanity.

As the years pass, as events unfold in rapid succession, the figure of Lenin stands out in ever more majestic proportions. Far from the swift passage of history rendering him a merely historical figure it makes him more real, more alive to an ever-increasing number, of people in all countries of the globe. And his teachings—Leninism—reveal their truth, their riches, their invaluable role as a guide to action, ever more clearly with each passing day....

It is a tribute to the greatness of Lenin that in different parts of the world and at different times, one or another aspect of his gigantic work and immortal teachings come to mind.

The peoples of India and other newly independent countries of the once downtrodden continents of Afro-Asia specially recall today what Lenin did and taught for our freedom. It is absolutely no exaggeration to say that no figure towars so majestically, no teaching gives more guidance for the peoples of this area once "outside history" than Lenin and Leninism....

Thus were shown the two worlds—aid to the coloured peoples on a brotherly basis from the State which Lenin founded and bullets and death from a State which is the concentrated expression of the imperialist system. The people will not fail to draw the appropriate lesson from this contrast.

When we celebrate the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birth it is the vision of a new world from all oppression and cruelty, blossoming with Man's freedom and fraternity, that comes before

our eyes. It is this new life that is rising before our eyes in one-third of the earth. It is this new life that will be triumphant throughout the world. It is the new life which Lenin's work has made possible.

(Ajoy Ghosh, *Articles and Speeches*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 159, 161-2, 164.)

S. A. DANGE

Leaflets versus Guns

SINCE BOLSHEVISM BECAME master of Russia, governments of all countries have been trying to discredit it in the minds of their people, by painting it as devilish, atrocious and despotic. Every move bearing the least resemblance to communist activity is being repressed and the Bolsheviks are cut off from communicating with the people of any nation. Why is it so? What is the secret reason for this hatred? The reason lies in the avowed international policy of the Bolsheviks. In the Theses presented to the Second Congress of the Third International (of July 1920), there is an article by Lenin, called "First Sketch of the Theses on National and Colonial Questions." A passage in it runs thus:

> The present world situation in politics places on the order of the day the dictatorship of the proletariat; and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrated round one centre of gravity—the struggle of the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet Republic, which inevitably groups round it on the one hand the Sovietist movements of the advanced working men of all countries, on the other hand all the national movements of emancipation of colonies and oppressed nations, which have been convinced by a bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except in the victory of the Soviet Government over world imperialism.
>
> It is henceforth necessary to pursue the realization of the strictest union of all the national and colonial movements of emancipation with Soviet Russia by giving to this union forms corresponding to the degree of evolution of the proletarian movement among the proletariat of each country, or of the democratic bourgeois movement of emancipation among the workers and peasants of backward countries or backward nationalities.

Such avowed aggressive international policy, of helping and instigating the labour and peasantry of every country to dispossess capital, has naturally aroused the hatred of the capitalist states of the world towards Soviet Russia. In accordance with this policy and in conformity with his promise "to answer the guns of Germany with his leaflets" Lenin succeeded in overthrowing much of capitalism in Germany and helping the socialist labour in that country. The same danger threatened all the other capitalist states of Europe. America and Japan were too far away to seriously think of the Russian Soviet programme. So England, France and other states hastened to avert the danger to their capitalist classes, and the speedy and best method, they thought of, was to make war upon Russia, on her own soil and put an end to the Soviet Government with all the fruits of the Revolution. Had Karl Marx been alive he would have called it a war for the preservation and protection of a class of murderers! Napolean had failed to carry war to the heart of Russia, with all his powers of a great general. So also Germany with her best generals and army could not do it. What these had attempted vainly, England and France hoped to achieve through the dwarf-intellects of General Wrangel and General Denikin.

(S. A. Dange, *Gandhi* v. *Lenin*, Bombay, 1921, pp. 46-7.)

MEGHNAD SAHA

Lenin's Deep Knowledge of Science

BUT SOVIET RUSSIA was more lucky. She had at the end of the First World War as her ruler a man who was not only a great and successful leader, but one who had utilized his long period of exile in Western Europe in a deep study of science and technics and had realised, *as no other ruler or politician had ever done*, their influence on society and on the course of human history. It was not, as in bourgeois countries, that the scientist had to hammer into the brains of rulers or politicians lessons about the usefulness of science to society but that the rulers of the country on their own initiative asked the scientists to come to their aid, even, as it happened, at the sacrifice of their careers as workers on fundamental problems of science.

After the Revolution of 1917, Lenin himself conceived the grand role which science was destined to play if the Soviet system of life and government were to be a success. He saw clearly that old Russia was a hundred years behind times as regards economic development and if Soviet Russia were to survive in the midst of a hostile world, it should be transformed on the basis of science and technology into a great power built upon socialistic industry, collective ownership and management of land, and complete electrification of the country.

(*My Experiences in Soviet Russia*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 25.)

PART II

INDIAN PRESS AND WRITERS ON LENIN

NICOLAI LENIN

NICOLAI LENIN

FOREWORD

"Two mighty men of action there be today Lenin and Gandhi. Lenin, an ascetic on the throne of Russia—Lenin an Idealist—Lenin a Practical Reformer—in an epoch of religious faith Lenin would have been uttered in Europe as a Saint; in both Lenin and Gandhi is the faith of the Idealist"—Prof. Vaswani.

After a long and tedious struggle Russia smashed the autocracy of Nicholas Romanoff, the Czar of All Russias, and declared her independence on the 7th November, 1917. The day of Russian Independence and the Proclamation of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are events of first-rate magnitude which widen the intellectual horizon and moral purview of humanity. Whatever might be the social and economic excesses which impeded the era of reconstruction, it should be noted that the Russian Revolution of 1917 set up a distinct mile-post in all human progress. The wonderful

Two pages of the book *Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work* **by G.V. Krishna Rao (Madras, 1921).**

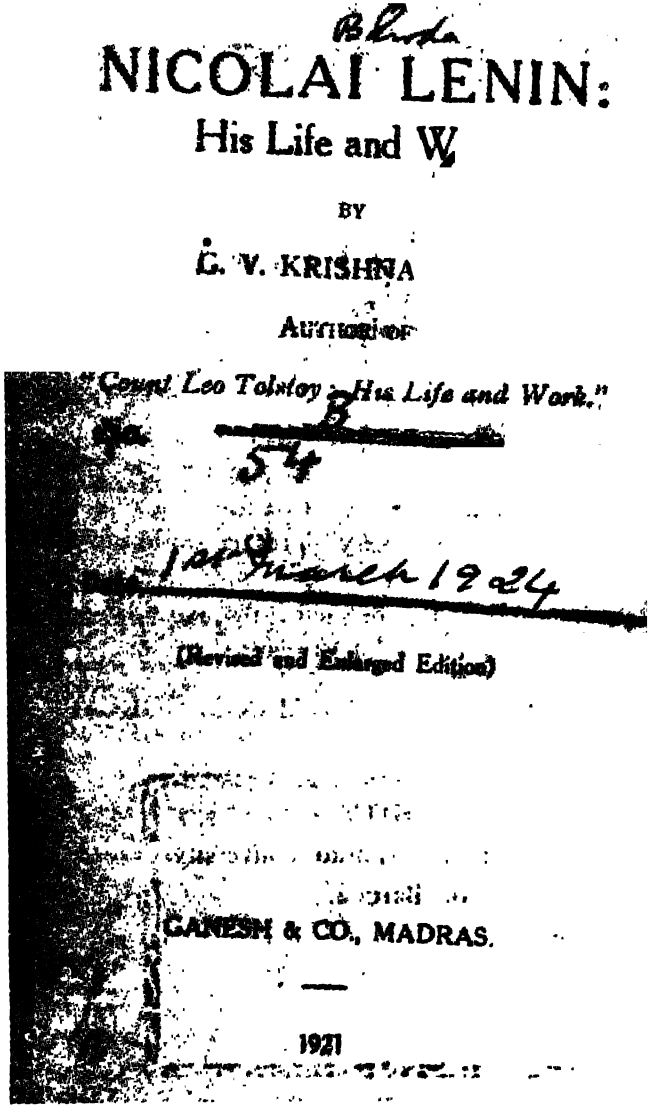
बोलशेविक जादूगर

मि० लेनिन।

यह है लेनिन विश्व विषमता हरनेवाला,
साम्यवाद का सिंहनाद सा करनेवाला।

रमाशङ्कर अवस्थी।

Front cover of the first Hindi biography of Lenin *The Bolshe ik Charmer* **by Rama Shanker Avasthi (Calcutta, 1921).**



Front cover of the book *Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work* **by G.V. Krishna Rao (Madras, 1921).**

निकोलाय लेनिन.

लेखक:—श्रीयुत रा. गो. भिडे.

Front cover of the Marathi book *The Founder of Russian Democracy: Nikolai Lenin* **by R.G. Bhide (Bombay, 1922).**

Front cover of the Urdu biography of Lenin by Aziz Bhopali (Lahore, 1922).

ಪಂಡೀಮೂಳರಂ

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕೋ ವಿಜಯತೇ

ತೀ

ಪರಸ್ವತೀ ಭಾರತಭಲ್ಲ ಗ್ರಂಥನುಲಾ,

(ಪಾಣ್ಯಾಸಿಕ)

ಮುಬ್ಬಿ.

ರಷಿಯಾವ ಪಂಡ್ರೋಟ್ಟಾಕಳಣಾದ

ನಿಕೋಲಸ್ ಲೆನಿನ್.

(ಪತ್ರೊಂಬತ್ತನೇ ಮುನುಮು.)

ಲೇಖಕಃ— ಗೋರಖ

ಪಂಪಾಪಕಳಃ— ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಗುರು ಪಂಗಡು.

ಮೊದಲನೇ ಆವೃತ್ತಿ ೧೦೦೦ ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು

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ಕಾಲ ೨೦—೧೧—೨೩.] ವರ್ಷ ೨. [ಬೆಲೆ ೦—೪—೦.

ವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ಚಂದಾ ರೂ. ೩೫ ; ಅಂಚೇ ವೆಚ್ಚ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ.

Front cover of the booklet in Kannada *The Liberator of the Poor in Russia—Nikolai Lenin* **by Gorakh (Hubli, 1923).**

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE LABOUR KISHAN GAZETTE

A FORTNIGHTLY JOURNAL OF INDIAN COMMUNISM.

EDITOR :—M. SINGARAVELU.

Vol I. THURSDAY—31-1-1924. No. 4

VLADIMIR NIKOLAI LENIN.

In Memoriam.

Lenin, the Great, has passed away and joined the silent invisible. The world, the worker's world, as today poorer by the passing away of its great Teacher and Redeemer. Today the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their great protagonist. It is the worker—the true salt of the earth—that mourns or ought to mourn for him who showed unto the path of deliverance from bondage, privation and misery. Teachers and Prophets, Statesmen, and Scientists Philosophers and Metaphysicians equally great and equally learned have appeared from time to time, and tried to redeem the worker's humanity from its age-long suffering and perdition, but it was reserved to Nikolai Lenin to apply the only true and correct method of removing the great ills of life with the great capitalist interests of the world have fed and fattened upon the unhappy human race.

It was the great master Karl Marx who found the real truth of Human Statesmanship trodden under foot, reviled and ridiculed by the powerful and the ignorant among mankind, but he lived long enough to see the great worker's philosophy understood by the thoughtful and accepted as the method of ridding poverty and misery from this mundane existence. It was for the first time in the history of the world demonstrated with scientific precision and accuracy that most of the misery with which the majority of the world have become afflicted were due to the selfish aggrandisement of few among the powerful, over the toiling many. And he taught further that it was only by rendering the few powerless to continue the evil that the suffering workers will have to get rid of their misery, and attain to the life of knowledge, labour and ease, which today is the monopoly of a very few among mankind. Today Nikolai Lenin stands unrivalled among the sons of men who have tried to alleviate human sufferings and it is now left to the workers to follow his method. While all others were pursuing vague speculations as to the cause of misery and its remedies, and preached charity—DANA as the ULTIMA THULE of social justice, Nikolai Lenin found the true RIMEDY or cause of world's sorrows to be the exploitation of the many by the few and he succeeded in rendering this social wrong impossible in his own country. The Russian worker today can be deemed to be the happiest among the workers of the world and this is due entirely to the self-sacrificing worker for whose death we his comrades, are mourning.

The great revolution in political thought and philosophy which Nikolai Lenin wrought in his own country may be destroyed, may even be swept away by the selfish nature of a few among men, but it will revive again and again, and ultimately encompass the world, and finally render the life of the worker tolerable and pleasant throughout the world. To him we have done so much and who has given the workers a clear vision of his glorious realm in which every human being shall have the right to labour and to live like all his other fellows, we lift up our hands in love, devotion and reverence.

Front page of the fortnightly journal *The Labour Kishan Gazette* (Madras, 31 January 1924) carrying an obituary of Lenin.

THE TRIBUNE

Lenin's Peace Move

LONDON, NOVEMBER 11—According to wireless reports the Cossacks regiments in Petrograd have united with the Minimalists against the Leninists. M. Kerensky, who is reported to be nearing Petrograd, is stated to have an army of over 200,000 men. This, if true, seems to mark the end of Lenin's so-called government which, it has transpired, has sent a manifesto to the belligerents in favour of peace without annexations and indemnities and of an armistice for three months in order to negotiate for peace.

Lenin's Schemes

LONDON, NOVEMBER 24—A Russian wireless communique says: "A decree signed by Lenin states that it has been decided to reduce the armies, releasing immediately the citizen soldiers conscripted in 1899.

Instructions concerning the other classes will be issued later. . . ."

London, November 23—The Petrograd news agency, announcing the text of the communication sent to foreign embassies as regards an armistice, says it proposes an immediate truce on all fronts with a view to negotiating a peace without annexations and indemnities based on the principle of the independence of nations and their right to determine the nature of their own development.

THE LEADER

Lenin—The Man and His Aims

SINCE LENIN'S DRAMATIC appearance in Petrograd last April the true character and opinions of the man have been veiled in a mist of legend, says a correspondent in the *Daily Chronicle.* It has been said that his father was a German Jew, that his real name is Zederbaum, that he is in the pay of the German Government, and that he is working for a separate peace between Russia and Germany and desires to see his countrymen betray the Allies who have been faithful to them. The facts about him should be stated clearly.

Lenin is the son of a Russian squire, and his real name is Ulianov. He was brought up in the country and received the education suitable for the son of a nobleman and country gentleman. He got to know the peasants round his home as friends, and made up his mind to strive to do something to ameliorate their lot.

He became imbued with the doctrines of Marx and an ardent, if narrow, social democrat. His brother engaged in active revolutionary work, and in 1887 was executed for complicity in a plot against the Emperor. Lenin himself, who died a middle-aged man between fifty and fifty-five, saw the inside of a prison cell some twenty-five years ago, having been found guilty of some political offence. After this experience he went abroad and lived chiefly in Switzerland. He spent his time in writing books on agrarian questions, perhaps the best books of the kind in the Russian language, and he came into contact with Socialists of every nationality.

LENIN'S RETURN TO RUSSIA

The men who were in power in Russia after the fall of the Tsar were not anxious to see the exile back in Russia. They knew that he was an uncompromising and bigoted idealist, with whom nobody had ever been able to work. Difficulties were placed in the way of his return, and finally, last April, he went to Russia

through Germany in a special train provided for exile by the German Government. This fact has led to the charge that Lenin is an agent of the Kaiser. It may be true, as a revolutionary, Borisev, has said, that William II has attained all he wanted in Russia through Lenin and his disciples, but no proof has yet been brought forward to show that he is a conscious agent. One may quite as well say that he is an agent of Nicholas II, for his party was encouraged by the police of the old regime and an agent-provocateur, Malinovsky even joined it.

That Lenin is a pacifist is true, but there is no evidence to show that he desires a separate peace, and he himself has passionately denied the charge in the Soviet.

He holds that the war was made by "crowned vampires, capitalists, and middle class people" for their own ends. He considers that these people are equally bad in all countries. His chief quarrel with Kerensky was that social revolutionary insisted on compromise, on a Coalition Government. Lenin refused to have any dealings whatsoever with the bourgeoisie. In his opinion the working classes in all the belligerent countries are as good and as peaceful as the upper classes are bad and bellicose.

He aims at a general peace, on the principles, disagreeable enough for Germany, of no annexations, no indemnities and the self-definition of nations. He will probably put forward some such proposal, and it will only be if the Allies refuse to endorse his principles and the Central Powers do, that is to say, consent to evacuate all the foreign territories they have occupied since the beginning of the war, that he will consent to make peace with them.

His immense hold on the army and the common people of Russia is due to his policy of giving the land of the gentry to the peasants. Had the Cadets, and Kerensky, consented to this measure, instead of temporising and waiting for the long-deferred Constituent Assembly, they might still be in power. If Lenin is successful the February Revolution will sink into insignificance before the November Revolution, for its success means nothing less than the end of the upper and middle classes and the final triumph of the common people.

(*Leader*, Allahabad, 10 January 1918; reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 11 January 1918.)

Lenin's Magnetic Spell

"LENIN'S CAPACITY TO influence young men and throw the spell of magnetism on ardent souls is proverbial in Russia....

Lenin, we read, begins in an unexpectedly pleasing voice, loud and clear as a bell, earnest in tone. He uses very simple words always. He saws the air with a forefinger at first; but as he proceeds he suggests the leader of a French orchestra, so numerous are his gestures, so easy his bendings from the waist. In the excitement of the peroration he runs his hands over his big head and chin. He promises land and bread in the name of the revolution.

(*The Indian Review*, June 1918, pp. 423-5.)

Impressions of One of the First Indians to Visit Soviet Russia—Gurbaksh Singh about His Visit to Tashkent in 1919

WE TOOK PART in many meetings but could not benefit by them as we did not understand either of the languages. However we noticed that they talked vehemently against other nations and demonstrated great indignation whenever the word "English" came in. Once in a theatrical performance, a drama called "The Revolution of the East" was played in which the picture of the cruelties of the British on the Muslims was shown. In many cases we saw that regiments were commanded by females who performed their duties very well. The Bolsheviks do not believe in God and consider religion a fallacy. Of course they respect Karl Marx. They have much respect for Lenin. . . . Pictures and statues of these men are seen in every house and office. If any body wants something to be done he goes and catches Lenin by the arm and the latter goes with him without any objection. Every one can call Lenin to him by telephone. . . . It has been heard that the dress of Lenin is worse than the average coarse dress that the Bolsheviks wear. If one man is carrying a load and he comes across an officer he had a right to ask the latter to take half of the burden upon his shoulders, and the officer cannot object.

The pay which Lenin draws from the public treasury is 3,000 sums which equal three rupees of Indian money.

According to the Bolshevik rules, if any one does not work he is not entitled to meals.

(Foreign and Political Department, Special Bureau of Information, Serial No. 2, p. 25, National Archives of India; interrogation by the C.I.D. of Gurbaksh Singh about his visit to Tashkent in 1919.)

THE MODERN REVIEW

Leninist Right of National Self-Determination

THE BOLSHEVIKS ORGANISED a new government with Nicholas Lenine as Premier. . . .

Lenine, which is the journalistic nom-de-plume for Vladimir Iljetch Vljanov, had been actively connected with revolutionary propaganda from his early youth. His elder brother died on the gallows under the old regime for being connected with a Nihilist plot. Lenine, who has always been a thorough-going believer in the creed of destruction, had been forced to live a considerable portion of his life outside Russia. When the Revolution broke out, he was in Switzerland, and was allowed by Germany to journey overland from Switzerland to Petrograd. . . .

The new Bolshevik government invited all fighting countries to put an end to the war "without annexation and without indemnity," and on the basis of the right of "self-determination." By the term "without annexation" they mean "without the seizure of other people's land and without forced incorporation of other nationalities." And by the phrase "self-determination" they implied the right of nations to choose and determine the form of their own government.

(*The Modern Review*, Calcutta, February 1919, p. 131.)

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA

An Intellectual Giant

IN HIS STATEMENT on the Polish imbroglio in the House of Commons on 10 August, Mr. Lloyd George quoted Mr. Bertrand Russell, the socialist leader who visited Russia, to show that the Soviet Government was "neither Socialist, Democratic, nor Christian," and that "the working classes were in a condition approximate in many respects to slavery." The letter of Bertrand Russell is reproduced elsewhere from the *Nation.* It will be seen that he interviewed the three most important members of the Soviet Government—Lenin, Trotsky, and Gorky. He speaks highly about each one of them, though Lenin seems to have made some unfavourable impression on him, apparently because when he talked to him he "screwed up one eye which seems to increase alarmingly the penetrating power of the other." Here are his words:

> He [Lenin] is very friendly, and apparently simple, entirely without a trace of "hauteur." If one met him without knowing who he was, one would not guess that he is possessed of great power or even that he is in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self-importance. He looks at his visitors very closely, and screws up one eye, which seems to increase alarmingly the penetrating power of the other. He laughs a great deal, at first his laugh seems merely friendly and jolly, but gradually I came to feel it rather grim. He is dictatorial, calm, incapable of fear, extraordinarily devoid of self-seeking, an embodied theory. The materialist conception of history, one feels, is his life-blood. He resembles a professor in his desire to have the theory understood and in his fury with those who misunderstand or disagree, as also in his love of expounding. I got

the impression that he despises a great many people and is an intellectual aristocrat.

Again he says: "His [Lenin's] strength comes, I imagine, from his honesty, courage and unswerving faith in the Marxian Gospel, which takes the place of the Christian martyrs' hopes of paradise, except that it is less egotistical." As regards Trotsky and Gorky Mr. Russell has nothing but praise, and possibly he would not have any fling at Lenin also if the latter had not examined him with his superior penetrating eye and made him feel that he was a mere dwarf before an intellectual giant. But wherefrom did Mr. George get his information that the working classes under the Soviet Government were practically a race of slaves? Mr. Russell does not say anything of the kind in his letter. On the other hand, he gives the impression, and which is also a fact, that the condition of the peasant population in Russia is better than before and that their future is very bright when what is called "electrification" is introduced in industry.

Condemn the Bolshevics when their methods are barbarous, but it is unworthy tactics to avail of fiction to gibbet them into infamy. Perhaps the most amusing statment of Mr. Lloyd George is that the Bolshevic Government is not Christian. (But is there any Government in Europe which is Christian? They no doubt profess Christianity but their acts often times show that no people are crucifying the founder of Christianity more cruelly every year than his White followers. As a matter of fact, poor Jesus Christ . . . himself has been deposed in Europe. The people there worship not their creator but gold and power. One idea that now pervades the West is, how to beggar and enslave a weaker neighbour and grow fat at this expense. If the Soviet Government is not Christian it is in very good company and this fact should not have shocked Mr. Lloyd George in the way it seems to have done.)

By the bye, Lenin made one startling remark to Mr. Russell. He said that the Germans had laughed when the Bolshevics proposed to combat guns with leaflets but the existence of the Soviet Government proves that leaflets are really as powerful as guns. (As a matter of fact who could even dream two years ago that it was possible for a Government like the Soviet to emerge out of the Russian chaos? The Soviet is not only as powerful as any Govern-

ment in Europe but some of its principles are more enlightened than any followed by any other Government in the world.)

("Mr. Lloyd George and the Soviet Government," *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 17 August 1920, p. 6.)

Extraordinary Personality

The death of Lenin, which we believe, has at last really taken place, removes one of the most outstanding personalities of modern times. Probably no one has been more greatly misrepresented and more greatly misunderstood by his contemporaries than this dominating figure of colossal influence in Soviet Russia. After all what has been said and done, when the dust of controversy and the shock of surprise will disappear, and the history of the modern world will be impartially written, Lenin will come to be regarded as one of those men who, in spite of all his shortcomings, made a most remarkable attempt to reconstruct society on the basis of communism. The experiment was novel but it was calculated, as pointed out by a prominent Bolshevist the other day, to destroy the whole fabric of society based on capitalistic system.

Vested interests of the world were therefore naturally alarmed by his experiment and the whole capitalistic Europe rose against him, but be it said to the credit of this wonderful man that nothing could daunt him and that by a combination of astounding power of organisation and resourcefulness he made the Red Army, the Revolutionary messenger of the new cult of socialism, a formidable power in Europe. . . .

The seeds of revolution which he has left broadcast over the world today shall never be easily destroyed. May the soul of this extraordinary personality rest in peace.

(*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 25 January 1924.)

KESARI

Pure-Minded Lover of Mankind

BOLSHEVISM IS AN economic principle, but as by force of circumstances its promoters were connected with the Russian Revolution and as, even more, they were connected as the enemies of England, it had become so long a very daring and dangerous task to get information regarding the principle and discuss it. As in England itself the Bolsheviks were considered dangerous, Bolshevik literature was naturally prohibited, and as we depend on the English regarding such literature, it was also denied to us. But as fortunately Russia and England are to be at peace, no one need now hesitate while pronouncing the name of Bolshevism. What is more, Englishmen themselves might embrace Bolshevik tomorrow; only their political selfishness should be served thereby.

Till but lately, Lenin if found in London would have been hanged. Perhaps if he visits England for the purpose of peace, he may be given a reception now!

Lenin did not rely upon his wisdom or on the strength of Russia; he depended upon a new principle, communism. In communism there will be no room for individual selfishness and it entirely does away with over half the faults in politics. The idea is a new one and Russia was very eager to experiment with it. As his opponents had spread, terrible rumours regarding Lenin and his associates, people have come to form very perverted ideas about him and some look upon him as a *Rakshasa*, as if he wears the garland of skulls and blood is being poured on his head. But the facts are quite otherwise. Lenin is a plain unarmed and innocent philosopher; only his philosophy is practical. He wants to take advantage of the revolution and to bring into practice his idea. Lenin is not bloodthirsty; nay, he is a pure-minded person loving mankind. The 6th and 7th of November 1917 will be historically memorable dates for during these two days the Russian Revolution took place without shedding a drop of blood. Of course, the efforts of thousands

of persons for years were instrumental in bringing it about, but every big idea requires some one as its embodiment. Lenin's name will live for ever in the history of communism.

("Moral Victory of Lenin," *Kesari*, 21 August 1920; *Report on Newspapers Published in Bombay Presidency*, No. 34, 1920, pp. 28-9, National Archives of India.)

A A J

The Place of Lenin

IT IS DIFFICULT to understand the objective of the creator of this great drama. Ordinarily it can be said that man's salvation does not depend on one particular factor, but the salvation of mankind depends on the coordination of various different factors. And if ever one particular factor becomes dominant, opposition to it will also increase in corresponding degree. This great truth is emerging out of this drama. There was a time when the religious leaders dominated the world. After that *Kshatriyas* (wielders of weapons) or kings dominated it, and today moneyed people or *Vaishyas* are dominating the world. In current language, the domination of capitalists has reached its limits. Now opposition to it has already started. *Shudras* or the working people are raising their heads. In Russia this has become more clear.... Whatever we have said before will make it clear that no revolution in the world was ever complete without attaining its objectives. Will the world witness the opposite of this now? It is difficult to answer these question but history is giving its verdict against this possibility. We think that this *Shudra* (working people) dominated revolution will end the domination of *Vaishyas* (capitalists) thereby completing the revolution. But who can say what will happen after this? Today only this much can be said that if the conclusions that we have drawn from history are true, Lenin's task has not yet finished. There is still a place for Lenin—by Lenin we do not mean any particular individual. If one Lenin goes, ten other Lenins will take his place. By Lenin we mean the man who is representing the domination of *Shudras* (the working people). We do not consider Lenin an individual but we consider him as one factor.

(*Aaj*, Hindi daily, 5 October 1920, Banaras.)

G. V. KRISHNA RAO

Inspiring Story of Nicolai Lenin

AFTER A LONG and tedious struggle Russia smashed the autocracy of Nicholas Romanoff, the Czar of All Russias, and declared her independence on 7 November 1917. The day of Russian Independence and the proclamation of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are events of first-rate magnitude which widen the intelletual horizon and moral purview of the humanity. Whatever might be the social and economic excess which impeded the era of reconstruction, it should be noted that the Russian Revolution of 1917 set up a distinct mile-post in all human progress. The wonderful history of the Russian Soviet Republic—"the times that try men's souls"—is but the inspiring story of Nicolai Lenin and his noble band of workers who proved well of what fine stuff they are made of. No one can deny that the path of the infant Soviet Republic is beset with peril and there may be much more agony and "bloody sweat" in her onward march towards her destined end. However, the liberation of the Slav, it must be admitted, has changed the trend of modern universal thought and will certainly affect and underlie the coming centuries. From this young and mighty people imbued with noble revolutionary idealism will flow new currents of life to other parts of the world and strengthen the beliefs and self-consciousness of the working men and women of all countries to unite under a communist banner "the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won." Truly the Russian Revolution wrote on the wall of the world that the day of despotism was done.

Long before the Bolshevik revolution Lenin drew up the policy on the nationalisation of the banks, the food policy, as well as the military policy in all their details. After the Revolution he put them into practice successfully. Clearness, precision, concreteness —these are the chief features of his work. After the Revolution with the help of his workers he successfully opposed and mercilessly

suppressed the plots and the rebellions of the counter-revolutionaries and faced calmly the blockade engineered by the Entente Imperialism. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Third International. At first many virtuous so-called Socialists pooh-poohed the idea that Lenin should put forward his candidature for the leadership of the Third International. But whatever may be the ridicules of these selfish Socialists, the Third International has become a living fact with Lenin as its leader and the International has been giving *moral* support to all those honest proletarians who are working in the world in the cause of Communism. Lenin established the Soviet Republic giving independence to all the provinces of the former Russian Empire and he is now working as the Premier of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia. May God bless him with long life in order that he might complete the work for which he is born, the noble work of establishing the Kingdom of God upon earth.

"... Lenin's life and work, aye! the utter self-sacrifice of his in furtherance of the welfare of the working class of the world should inspire all of us. He is one who refuses to compromise and who is the deadly foe of opportunism. When the time comes for a certain course to be taken, he never fears nor wavers but calmly pursues it sticking to his guns to the last. 'He dares, ever dares, and dares again.' The Tsar's prisons did not prevent the spread of his principles nor will the world capitalism prevent the ultimate triumph of his principles." His life's work is nothing but the embodiment of Dante's famous line:

"Hold to your course and let the people talk."

Workers of the World Unite.

(G.V. Krishna Rao, *Nicolai Lenin—His Life and Work*, Madras, 1921, pp. 1-3, 53.)

RAMASHANKAR AVASTHI

An Intrepid Speaker

WHEN LENIN, SPOKE with all his gestures, he looked like a superman, and one felt like embracing him. Nobody knows how many Russians learnt Bolshevism from him. Lenin was a terror when he spoke and he appeared on the stage just like a lion. He never spoke to please somebody, rather his speeches were based on hard facts. But the way he spoke used to move his audience like anything.

(Hindi book, *Bolshevik Jadugar* by Ramashankar Avasthi, Calcutta, 1921, p. 18.)

THE SWARAJ

Lenin's Government Advocates Freedom and Liberty

GREAT BRITAIN WAS not very long ago noted throughout the world for her civilisation and morality. But the thing which is to-day attracting the attention of the world is her desire to trample upon human liberty. The Soviet Republic is Great Britain's opponent. Great Britain's henchmen may recite a thousand tales of Soviet Government's oppressions, still facts cannot be ignored. Is it not a fact that Soviet is a republican form of administration and no abominable personal rule? On the other hand it is a civilised form of government under which a few capitalists do not enjoy superiority over the public. Human eqality has been maintained under it in the true sense of the term—and perhaps this is the thing which has made Lenin the greatest man in the world. The Soviet Republiic has not been overtaken by a desire for territorial aggrandisement like other European Powers. On the other hand, it respects humanity and advocates freedom and liberty for all the nations in the world. It did enslave neither Persia, nor Afghanistan, nor Bukhara. On the other hand, it established a democracy at Bukhara. If Great Britain wishes to remain successful as before and loves India, she should learn a lesson from the attitude of Russia.

(*Punjab Press Abstract*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 28, 1921, National Archives of India; *The Swaraj*, Lahore, 8 July 1921.)

LAKSHMAN NARAIN JOSHI

Lenin's Hold on Workers

ACCUSATION AGAINST LENIN were laid that he was an agent of Germany and since he had been allowed to return to Russia through Germany, he would oblige Kaiser by withdrawing Russia from war. But Lenin had known Kaiser and Germany thoroughly well....

Lenin's influence among workers was too great for Kerensky to check. The workers demanded Communist government in Russia. Lenin's arrival gave a very powerful impetus to this demand. The New Ministry was in danger....

At first Lenin did not succeed easily. He had to withdraw. But workers' demand that Russia's energy should not be wasted in war was in the true interest of the nation. What Russia was going to gain by winning the war, asked the Labour Council (Soviets). The New Ministry was in no mood to stop war. Labour Council advised soldiers that they should make peace with Germany on the battlefields. The soldiers accepted this advice and war virtually came to standstill.

Lenin's thesis of self-determination of the peoples had a tremendous influence among all European nations and even England and America had to accept his thesis. President Wilson's 14-point declaration was influenced by Lenin's thesis on self-determination.... Russia had already granted self-determination to Finland, Poland, and Middle Eastern countries. Influence of the Russian revolution and Lenin's thesis of self-determination of nations would have been still greater if all these regions of former Russian empire had remained within the new (Soviet) state.

(Marathi book, *Rashiantil Bolshevism* by Dr. Lakshman Narayan Joshi, Poona, 1921, pp. 149, 200, 203.)

AZIZ BHOPALI

Fighter for Real Brotherhood, Equality, and Freedom

NIKOLAI LENIN* IS a great person who has brought about a great revolution in Russia. He is a friend of the poor and an enemy of the rich. He is a deadly enemy of the capitalists and wants to free the working class from the clutches of these high and mighty who are making illegal profit from labour and exploiting it to their hearts' content....

Lenin wants that all men and women of the world should unite and real brotherhood, real equality and real freedom be established....

Today Lenin is the Prime Minister of Russia. We pray to God to give him a long life so that he may succeed in the great mission for which he has come to the world, i.e. Kingdom of God is established all over the world, everyone is free, there is equality and brotherhood in their true meaning, that peace and prosperity reign in the world....

(Urdu book, *Rahnumaye Huriat-Yani Lenin Aur Inqalabe Rus* by Aziz Bhopali, Lahore, 1922.)

*One of the underground names of Lenin was "Nikolai." This explains the mistake of the author, Aziz Bhopali, who called Vladimir Ilyich Lenin as "Nikolai"—Editor.

RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHIDE

Man of Simple Habits

ABOUT HIS INTERVIEW with Lenin the Japanese correspondent (Re Nakahira) says: "I Interviewed Lenin in Kremlin. I was astonished to see Lenin's office extremely simple. Lenin is a very simple man. He welcomed me as one would welcome his long time friend who was away for quite some time. In spite of his high position Lenin had no pride. He started asking me questions even before I started talking. How dominant are the feudal landlords in Japan? Whether Japanese peasants own their land completely? Is Japan self-sufficient in food or does it import foodstuff? His questions regarding internal situation in Japan were minute ones. Then turning to situation in Russia he said that prior to Revolution workers and peasants had to suffer untold hardships; inevitable and natural result of the tyrannical rule was the revolution. The downtrodden people of Russia were illiterate, but during last one and a half years we have tried successfully to eradicate this illiteracy and the reforms that would have taken centuries are taking place in Russia.... We are quite capable to shoulder the responsibility that has devolved on us. The Allies do not recognise our state and try to interfere in our internal affairs. But that will not weaken but rather reinforce our position. We are confident that our economic position also will improve. And when our electrification succeeds our industrial might will also be enhanced."

(Marathi book, *Rushian Lokshahi Cha Sansthapak Nikolai Lenin*, Bombay, 1922.)

PRAN NATH VIDYALANKAR

"The Bolsheviks were True to the Masses and Lenin was a Great Soul"

THE BOLSHEVIKS WERE true to the masses and Lenin was a great soul. He had openly expressed himself at the time of the Revolution in the months of February and March. He told the peasants to throw away the landlords and set up the village Soviets.

Lenin believed that village Soviets can work only when a similar arrangement is there in the towns as well. In its absence the wealthy classes in towns will continue their exploitation of the villagers. Villages and towns cannot exist separately. Without money the agricultural instruments and fertilisers manufactured in the towns cannot be purchased. If the towns continued to be under the domination of landlords and capitalists as before, the peasants would not be free. They would become paupers even after owning the land.

In the towns only the factory workers will support the peasants and the wealthy classes will ultimately betray them despite their "sympathies" in the beginning. This led Lenin to give a slogan to factory workers to capture the means of production in the towns. It did not take much time for the working classes in the towns to capture banks, railways, power stations and the factories. Their administration went into the hands of the Soviets. The railways were controlled by the rail clerks and the coolies. The control of schools went into the hands of teachers and peons and the factories were entirely under the charge of organisations of managers, engineers and other workers. The agents, clerks and the peons were the real owners of the banks. Without much loss of time Lenin established the rule of the Soviets of workers over the large means of production. The Soviets spread over the whole of Russia. This laid the foundation of socialism. Lenin did not want to move further unless the same system was established throughout the world.

He rightly spoke at one time: we have begun socialism in Russia and rooted out capitalism and imperialism. Not only that, we have also set up a new organisation. But as long as the workers and peasants of the whole world do not help, the tree of socialism cannot provide full shade to the people of the world oppressed by the autocracy of the landlords and capitalists. We are ready for this and will achieve our goal. The time is coming when the working classes and peasants of the world will be liberating themselves, making our Revolution a success.

Mensheviks and the Right Socialist Revolutionaries totally misled the Russian masses. They completely forgot to safeguard the right of the peasants after they were seated in majority in the house of the representatives. Wherever Soviets had been established on Lenin's advice Kerensky tried to disband them. But he could not achieve full success in his aim....

Russia and India sailed in the same boats. While one was ruled by the Tsar, the other is being ruled by the British bureaucracy. The condition of the working classes in both the countries was miserable. The Russian masses have been relieved by the Bolsheviks, but Indians are still suffering at the hands of bureaucrats and their followers. The times totally changed when the working classes in Russia rose against the capitalists and landlords. They were looking for the opportunity when they could get rid of these dragons. All the political parties in Russia unanimously wanted the country to be free from the Tsar's tyranny. But every party had its own outlook regarding the aims after freedom. A good number of rich land-owning people were ever ready to revive the Tsar's rule even after the first revolution. Even those people who did not agree with them were in favour of military, police, spies, national loan and war. They wanted the dictatorship of the rich classes. But Bolsheviks led by Lenin opposed this line of thinking and wanted to establish the rule of the Soviets of the workers and peasants. Lenin did not believe in the theory of racial and colour discrimination. He wanted to give equal rights to the peoples of Africa, India and Europe without any distinction. He did not consider that the English were in any way superior to the Indians, that their rule was due to some immutable laws of nature. It was very natural that the peasants, factory workers, clerks, peons, coolies, engineers and other salaried people should have supported

Lenin's Bolsheviks. These classes represent the majority in all countries. This was so in Russia too. Lenin wanted these people to rule by forming their Soviets. The establishment of these Soviets would have made the police and the military useless. On the other hand the Mensheviks and Right Socialist Revolutionaries wanted to follow the British and French system of government. They wanted that working classes should be ruled by the rich in place of the Tsar. They even wanted to continue the world war....

(Hindi Book, *Rus Ka Panchayati Raj* by Pran Nath Vidyalankar, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 6-15.)

YUG VARTA

Doubts about Lenin's Reported Illness

LENIN CAUSED THE autocratic European rulers great anxiety. They do not know what to do with him and consequently he became an eyesore to them. There is no counting the lies that are being spread against him by the European newspapers. Authors and writers of the interested party paint him in such a black hue that he appears like a veritable "satan" before the eyes of the world.

His enemies are not satisfied by merely scandalising him but are even spreading reports regarding his supposed death. Thus on the 31st of August 1918, it was given out that Lenin was assassinated in Moscow. On the 3rd September of the same year it was published that he had died on that day of wound he had received on the 31st August. Again, to the amazement of the whole world, it was given out on that very day that there was no apprehension whatsoever regarding Lenin's life. From that time until now the death news of Lenin and its contradictions have been, every now and then, published, until recently it has been given out that Lenin lost his power of speech owing to an attack of paralysis. We advise our countrymen to accept this news with caution.

(*Yug Varta*, Calcutta, 12 April 1923; *Report on Indian Newspapers and Periodicals in Bengal*, No.16, 1923, p. 313.)

STANDARD BEARER

Proudest Monument of Noble Human Endeavour

LENIN'S WONDERFUL WORK in Russia is an already known marvel of the extreme kind; it is an instance of a patent, bold-cost, laborious experiment of human genius and skill, the fruit of hardest toil and *tapasya* of a handful of extra-ordinary men, who have clung to the great man in weal or woe, materialised his gospel in action. His enemies may wish him death for the thousandth time and more, his achievements may be willfully minimised or falsefully represented in the blackest colour, his success may yet be legitimately doubted or given up for despair as tested according to the ideal standards of excellence—but the world's history will surely preserve Lenin's words as some of the proudest monuments of noble human endeavour of modern times. Lenin may not be a superman of the divine type, but in his own wonderful way he has worked for a mighty change in human affairs and his great material efforts are still continuing in modified or adapted lines, paving the road for the descent of a superior force in the world, of a more spiritual type and nature.

(*Standard Bearer*, Calcutta, 1 May 1923; *Native Press Report of Bengal*, No. 20, 1923.)

DAINIK BASUMATI

British Propaganda against the Bolsheviks

IN THE EYES of English the Bolshevik government is guilty of all the wrong and oppressions on earth. Yet it is now being said that Lenin, the heart of the Bolshevik government, is a very good man. It is difficult, therefore, to understand how his government can be so very bad. Everybody knows that by means of propaganda, white may be made black and black white.

(*Dainik Basumati*, Calcutta, 19 May 1923; *Native Press Report of Bengal*, No. 21, 1923, p. 410.)

STANDARD BEARER

Rishi of the Sudra Age

LENIN STANDS FOR the working class. He stands for the rule of the proletariat. Thirty years ago, he hit at this central idea and wrote thus what subsequently turned out to be a prophetic utterance: "In Russia, the man of the future is the *magic*—so thought the representatives of peasant socialism the NARODNIKI in the broadest sense of the word. The man of the future in Russia is the worker—so say the Social Democrats. Thus in one manuscript was formulated the standpoint of the Marxists." And the whole history of Bolshevism is nothing but execution of this idea of workers rule. And during all this time, since the far off days of 1894 until the present day, this classical struggle has been led by Nicolas Lenin, the Rishi of the Sudra Age and founder of the proletariat dictatorship.

A world revolution for the emancipation of this proletariat class has been the glowing idea in Lenin's mind. Through him, the ever-neglected and down-trodden Sudra has voiced the word of awakening, which thrills through the countries of the world; and it is an age, a *sandhiyuga*, a period of transition, which is being demanded for its possession and rule. Soviet sovereignty, the hegemony and dictatorship of the emancipated proletariat, is recognised to be only a transitory phenomenon a passing though needed stage of socio-political development, leading eventually to the abolition of the state, which must mean a free and ideal destiny for universal humanity. Thus does Bolshevism stand for a particular class-rule at a particular stage of human progress, but with the great hope and ideal that one day the millennium will arrive on the earth, its advent being made possible by the collapse and dissolution of the capitalistic absolutism. For organised class-ego, it held, can only break down, when pitted against another more organised and mightier class-ego; and, till that is done, it is impossible to build-up the ideal state of society, the kingdom of peace and equality

and harmony for all, which is the aspiration of the better soul of man. The better of all works through evil as well as good; and through temporary evil, she paves the way for the advent of a better and more lasting good. The field in Russia, as we have seen, has been nature's experimental ground for the self-recovery of the Sudra and the vindication of his claim for free and equal enjoyment of political, social and economic rights and possessions.

(*Standard Bearer*, Calcutta, 29 May 1923; *Native Press Report of Bengal*, No. 22, 1923, p. 481.)

ATUL CHANDRA SEN

Lenin's Soviet Russia as the Dream-Child of Karl Marx

BOLSHEVISM MEANS LENIN, Lenin means Bolshevism. Bolshevism is no utopian dream of Lenin—it is the actual realisation of the ideals of his mentor—Karl Marx. The scripture of Bolshevism is Karl Marx's world famous book *Das Kapital.* In this book Marx, the friend of the poor has dreamt of a society free from poverty and based on equality. Lenin, by his genius, has translated Marx's dream into reality. Lenin's Soviet Russia is the dream-child of Karl Marx.

Lenin wanted to drive away imperialist wars from the earth and to establish lasting peace. The workers today act as blind cannon fodder for the aristocrats and supply arms to the soldiers. But if they once unite and turn round against war—then greedy imperialist wars on earth shall come to an end. With this aim in view, Lenin called a conference at Stockholm. This is how the Third International of Lenin's dream was born in embryo. The message of Marx echoed round the world like a mighty clarion call: workers of the world unite.

(Bengali book, *Biplab Pathe Russiar Rupantar* by Atul Chandra Sen, February 1924, pp. 76, 106.)

BOMBAY CHRONICLE

Nicolai Lenin's Death Reported—Nation Builder and Leader Comrade Lenin

THE MOST MALIGNED, the most misrepresented and paradoxical as it may seem, "one of the three greatest living men of the world"—in the estimation of Bishop Holmes of New York—M. Nicolai Lenin is once more reported to be dead by Reuter. Nowhere did M. Lenin meet with such systematic and determined opposition, both personal and impersonal, as in England from the English Syndicated Press, which is not a little responsible for caluminating the most powerful man in Russia and misrepresenting his teachings, branding them as a negation of human affinity and social connexions which give rise to family affections and social ties. How unjust and cruel was such an estimate can be judged from the following appreciation contributed by the famous Maxim Gorky in the columns of the *New York Herald:* "Lenin is human to a higher degree than any of my contemporaries and although his thought is naturally occupied above all else with political considerations, that the romanticists must call 'narrowly practical.' I am convinced that his thought filled with battle wanders in its rare moments of repose, far further into the glorious future and sees far more than I can imagine.

"The fundamental purpose of Lenin's whole life is the good of humanity, and he must inevitably perceive in the distant perspective of time the end of that mighty process of development whose beginning his own will serves, so ascetically and bravely.

"He is an idealist, if by this is meant the gathering up of all the forces of a man's nature into one idea—the general good. His personal life is such that in an age of predominantly religious moods Lenin would have been considered a saint.

"I know that this will make the bourgeoisie furious, that many comrades will smile and Lenin himself will laugh. Saint, paradoxical and ludicrous word to apply to a man for whom 'there is nothing holy'."

(*Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 23 January 1924.)

TRIBUNE

Report of Lenin's Death Confirmed

LONDON, JANUARY 22—A Soviet communique states that Lenin died in the hills near Moscow. His health had recently been considerably improved, but his condition suddenly became worse last night and he lost consciousness dying of paralysis of the respiratory centres.

The All Russian Council will continue Lenin's work and says: "The Soviet Government stands firm at its post watchful over the conquests of the proletarian revolution."

Lenin's body will be in State in Moscow till the funeral on 28 January.

(*Tribune*, Lahore, 26 January 1924.)

Passing of a World Figure

In spite of the alleged official sources of the announcement about M. Lenin's death we have purposely refrained from noticing the event for a few days, because past experience made caution more than ordinarily a virtue in this case. No contradiction having been forthcoming from either an official or unofficial source for nearly a week, it is safe to assume that this time the report is correct. It is well known that M. Lenin had been ailing for a long time, in fact ever since the latter half of 1918 when he received a dangerous wound at the hands of an "intellectual" socialist, and although he partially recovered for the time being, it is generally believed

that the injury he received on this occasion was primarily responsible for the illness that has taken him away.

It is inevitable that the passing away of such a man should inspire different feelings in different minds. One feeling, however, is common to all. M. Lenin was a veritable giant among men, one of the two or three greatest world figures in contemporary history. The removal of such a man from the field of his labours is bound to cause a certain sense of sadness not unmingled with awe even among those who were least in sympathy with his aims and his methods. Nor can any one deny the title of "greatness" to a man who, with all his alleged love of power, piloted his country with no small success through a revolution of unprecedented magnitude.

M. Lenin represented not merely the principle of unity in Russia under the Soviet Government, but also its strength. What the future has in store for Russia is, of course, on the knees of the Gods. But today the Soviet Government is so firmly established in Russia that one great European country has already expressed its willingness to recognise it. While in another a party has just come into power and office which has always been in favour of recognising the Soviet.... There have been no men in our history for centuries who had anything like the commanding influence over so many millions of men that either of these men exercised, and that one of them continues to exercise.* The death of a man of such authority and such influence is bound to leave a void, which will remain unfilled for many a long day, not only in the country that is immediately affected but in the world generally. No one can, no one dare, deny that the world today is distinctly the poorer for the death of one who has made revolutionary Russia a thing to reckon with instead of being the plaything of European diplomats, statesmen and soldiers, as it would in all probability have been but for his advent at the psychological moment when his country needed him most.

(*Tribune*, Lahore, 29 January 1924.)

*This refers to Mahatma Gandhi.

Funeral Scenes at Lenin's Burial

MOSCOW, JANUARY 28—M. Lenin was buried today in a vault in Red Square under the shadow of the Kremlin wall. Enormous crowds filed passed a catafalque erected in the open air. Sightseers were exposed to the most intense cold, which was over 50 degrees below zero. Scores of people had to be carried half unconscious with cold to revive at mammotn fires. The only open air music was a funeral march by a Pole by the name of M. Monushko which drew tears irom the eyes of soldiers which turned into icicles. The coffin was borne by Soviet leaders and workmen.

(*Tribune*, 31 January 1924.)

THE SOCIALIST

Lenin is Dead

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION was an accomplished fact in 1917. For four years the capitalist press of the world was overthrowing the Bolsheviks and killing Lenin. He could not be killed and they have never succeeded in killing him. Lenin is dead. We are afraid, this time, the wires have flashed a sad truth.

The world of the downtrodden and oppressed wanted him to live, to live for a hundred years, if that could be done. The world of the oppressors wanted him to die, the next minute that he was a Lenin. He heard neither.

Had he a right to die? A man, who claims the right to live in society, must also show that his death is justified. Society that suffers him to live expects from his life time some service in the interest of society. And a man, who dies without doing that service is a runaway thief. He has stolen social-sufferance and had given back nothing....

The greatest man of the world is dead. He left writing a book on Revolution, to work out a revolution. And he did it successfully. He was the only man who had a right to die.

(*The Socialist*, Bombay, 30 January 1924.)

YADE WATAN

Lenin, a Great Leader of Our Age

V.I. LENIN, known as Nikolai Lenin, was born in Simbirsk on 10 April 1870. His father was a gentle Christian peasant who became the Director of Schools of Simbirsk because of his learning and abilities. Lenin got his early education in a local school and later on joined Kazan institute for studying law. The students of that institute having been influenced with revolutionary movement were in an unrest in 1887. Lenin took prominent part in it. The authorities, therefore, expelled him from the institute and also ordered to leave the city. In the same year his brother Alexander was hanged on the charge of being involved in some revolutionary conspiracy. In 1891, he joined Petersburg University and completed his law studies. But very soon his interest in legal profession withered away and he occupied himself with literary work. Acquisition of knowledge sharpened his political ideas which had already been revolutionary. Now he was not only a disciple and devotee of Karl Marx's principles of Economics but he got mastery over them and became leader of the group of revolutionaries. His political beliefs displeased or rather enraged Czar Government and he was banished from the country.

In 1897, he was sent to eastern Siberia where he stayed for three years. In Siberia, Lenin wrote two books about revolutionary movement. One of them *Development of Capitalism in Russia* still occupies prominent place among socialist books. It was this book which brought his academic might to the notice of capitalist scholars.

In 1900, Lenin migrated from Russia and stayed for many years in different countries of Europe, where he got immense opportunities for propagating the revolutionary movement. In a short period he became member of the Central Committee of Socialist Democratic Party (a revolutionary organisation) and was taken as highly elevated person among those who had migrated from the country

to escape the tyranny of Russian rulers. In 1901 he started "Iskra" in which proposals dealing with the overthrow of the Russian regime and the establishment of a revolutionary government were discussed. In 1903, he was recognised as the leader of socialist minded persons of Europe. In the winter of 1905, the third session of his party was held and therewith he came to realise that the Russian revolution should not only be against Czar Government but it should in fact be directed against the principle of the whole of capitalism. Hence, he openly started propagation of Bolshevik ideas.

REBELLION OF 1905

In 1905, the revolutionaries of Petrograd rebelled against the government. The leadership of rebellion was in the hands of non-Bolsheviks. But after the flare-up of riot the people's excitement went so high that it created the condition for Bolshevik revolution. Lenin was leading the people from behind the curtain. The rebels of Moscow used arms but they were defeated after an encounter with the troops of Czar Government. The rebellion, thus, ended. Though at the surface level the Bolshevik movement met discomfiture, yet it impressed upon Lenin that to induce people against capitalism was not as difficult a task as he had imagined. That is why, since that very moment he raised the banner of Bolshevism, i.e. revolt against capitalism and carried this agitation for ten years.

Lenin participated in international socialist conferences which were held in England, Belgium and Switzerland. He also took active part in the conference of Russian emigres which was held in Paris.

In 1912, Lenin settled down in Poland to lead the Bolshevik movement by remaining close to Russia's territories. At the outbreak of the first European war, he was living in a village of Galatia. Austrian police arrested him but at the orders of the Central Government he was released. After his release he intensified the movement on wider scale and asked the people to refuse to participate in the world war. He also asked them to continue their fight for freedom of the workers and the peasants till the present regimes are overthrown and the governments of peasants and workers are established.

LENIN'S FAME IN THE WORLD

Though Lenin had become by this time quite popular in Russia, yet in other countries, i.e. outside the Socialist circles, he was not much known. After the occurence of Russian Revolution in 1917, when Lenin returned to Russia, the entire world became acquainted with his name.

He and his friends reached Russia via Germany in a locked compartment. It is said that German military officers facilitated his return. In Petersburg, Lenin through his speeches and writings asked the people not to let the Provisional Government grow stronger as it was non-Bolshevik in character. In this connection he made country-wide tour and at each place he delivered fiery speeches. As a result the number of his supporters became very high.

THE GREAT RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the November of 1917, the Bolsheviks, under his leadership, took over the reins of power from the Provisional Government. The majority of people supported Bolsheviks, and those who opposed them were eiher smashed or forced to leave the country. The government of workers was now established in Russia. Naturally, Lenin was elected the first Chairman of the cabinet. His first task was to end war with Germany and it got materialised through Brest-Litovsk treaty. Lenin devoted himself to the cause of peace, freedom and welfare of the people. But in 1918, the capitalists made murderous attack on him. ...

This state of confusion and instability had not yet fully subsided when capitalist absconders took up arms against Bolsheviks and were helped by the allies with money and weapons both. One after the other, seven such battles took place in which the European governments were fighting the Bolsheviks from behind. But might of the Bolsheviks was not so weak as to be broken so easily. Moreover, millions of workers and peasants, who had remained till now away from Bolsheviks, seeing the increasing number of foreign incursions on their land, joined the ranks of Bolsheviks and defended their country....

In 1921, Lenin introduced such economic laws in the country

which could improve not only the worsening internal conditions but also help the establishment of trade relations with foreign countries. He passed the remaining years of his life in this struggle.

LENIN'S DEATH

In 1923, Lenin had a sudden atack of paralysis which disabled him to discharge governmental duties. He and his friends hoped that he will soon recover and take up the leadership of the country in his hands. But ruthless hands of death frustrated this hope for ever and on 21st January, 1924, he was laid to rest.

Despite heavy snowfall millions of people joined his funeral procession and three thousand men and women were admitted in the hospitals either as a result of stampede or being fainted out of grief. Millions of workers and peasants gathered in Moscow from every part of the country to have the last glimpse of their departed leader. Never before in the history of Russia such a big funeral procession was taken out.

Lenin's death was an event of grief and sorrow for both the Russians and non-Russian supporters of Bolsheviks. Even his enemies confessed that he was one of the two or three great personalities of the world.

(*Yade Watan*, Urdu weekly, New York, 1 May 1924.)

DHUNDIRAJ TRIMBAK GADRE

Lenin—The Architect of the Russian Revolution

THE TRIUMPHANT HERO of the Russian revolution, Nikolas Lenin, died in Moscow on 21st January, as a result of an attack of paralysis. One may approve or disapprove of the ideas and conceptions of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state system, but one is sure to respect the bold and patriotic hero, who redeemed the Russian people and who was treated till the last moment as an unrelenting foe by the self-conceited European statesmen, ready to destroy the Soviet Government. There is no doubt that one will feel distressed at his death. . . .

Thirty years of Lenin's life from the age of 17 to 47 were spent in banishment, in the underground, in poverty, in the struggles in his own party and struggles with open and hidden enemies. But the perseverence, talents and energy he showed in those struggles is unique. He advocated the principle of tit-for-tat, while dealing with his political opponents. But he was kind at heart and his private life was very pure. His manner of living was very simple and even his staunch enemies dared not accuse him of corruption and misuse of public money. He was more concerned with Russian people than self-prestige and he decided to compromise with the capitalists, by keeping his fond opinions aside when he realised the utter plight of the farmers, owing to the famine in the Volga region. He was the true well-wisher of the Russian people and even though his foreign enemies slandered him much, the Russian people had unshakble belief in him, until his last day. It is not possible to guess today, what turn Russian politics may take after Lenin. A short biography of this hero of the Revolution is being given here for readers' information.

Lenin was born in 1870, in a middle class family, in a village on the bank of the river Volga. His father was a state councillor. Lenin was young when Alexander II was assassinated. Six years later, there was a secret conspiracy against the Tsar in Petrograd

and Lenin's elder brother was arrested on the same day on which the conspiracy was to take place and was sentenced to death. He was the first to translate Karl Marx's books in Russian. He was Lenin's teacher and his ideal in politics.

This was a great disaster for Lenin's family. Faint-hearted people renounced, for good, revolutionary thoughts and those who were devoted strove earnestly to take revenge and stubbornly took recourse to that path. It was inevitable that this disaster should bring about the latter effect on a bold and revengeful youth like Lenin. From that very day, he became a staunch enemy of Tsarism. But being coolheaded and rationalminded, he came to the unforgettable conclusion that to overthrow the existing state power was not a task to be realised suddenly, that it required some preparation and that it was necessary to play the dice at an opportune moment, or else everything would have gone to pieces out of impatience. Besides this, Lenin was turning to socialism as a result of his studies. He realised that it was not easy to destroy the centuries old edifice of the state and therefore took recourse to intelligent means to wreck the Tsarist state.

He toured Russia for several years in order to acquire a first hand knowledge of the conditions of Russian workers. He wrote many handbills addressed to the workers to rouse their consciousness and distributed those leaflets amongst them. It was not that he first evolved a theory and then propagated it. He familiarised himself with the thorns which were piercing the hearts of the oppressed people, by entering into their very hearts and he evolved his theory after careful research.

The net result of all this was that Lenin was exiled to Siberia in 1897 for three years. Lenin developed his mental powers during this banishment. He spent all his time in thinking. During this time, he perfected the knowledge acquired until now and wrote his first book. The main conclusion in this book is that it is not only enough for the revolutionaries to be bold, brave, selfless and enthusiastic, it is also necessary that they should possess perseverence throughout their life in order to realise their cherished aim....

In 1903... there were discussions about the Russian Revolution and the name Bolshevik (Majority Party) came into vogue and Lenin became the leader of the party. In October 1905, a gigantic

strike took place in Petrograd leading to a minor battle. Workers taking a petition with them were fired at....

The conclusion Lenin drew from these events was that the army fired on workers because they were utter slaves. That is why the workers must become their own masters.... The first world war aggravated internal conditions in Russia. Lenin at that time showed that while governments pretended to fight for liberation of others, their own people were in bondage. Those days Lenin was living in beautiful Switzerland in great poverty and thinking about the Revolution.

At last the much awaited opportunity came, sweeping aside the Tsar. But those who were riding the tide of that revolution were as much the foes of Leninism as Tsarism. Though himself the real author of this revolution, Lenin was not able to come out in the open.... Lenin was disappointed because the new government continued the prosecution of the war and the oppression of the workers.

On his arrival in Petrograd he received a thunderous ovation from all including his enemies. But within a few days when in his simple and direct language he pleaded for the transfer of all power to workers and stoppage of war, a furore was created by his opponents.

The new government which considered Tsarism to be obsolete and Leninism to be a utopia began planning to destroy Lenin's influence. Though 800 delegates assembled in the workers' conference listened to Lenin with rapt attention, yet Lenin was in minority and had to go underground and ultimately had to flee the country barely three months after his return to Petrograd. Lenin was again in deep thought, and he started to write the book *State and Revolution*, but instead of writing about the revolution, he was destined to effect the revolution itself. In October, there was another revolution in Russia which established the power of the Bolsheviks. This time, Trotsky, his former foe, was on his side. Lenin's Party was very strong, and he came into the open to address a meeting even against the wishes of many of his followers. The people were influenced by his speech, and Lenin's Party came to power. On 7th November, Lenin's Government was established.

Lenin at first carried some matters to the extreme but as he gathered experience, he became flexible. For example, his opinion

was that all the capital in the country should belong to the Government, that there should not be private property. But, later on, he allowed private trading and increase in wealth. In accordance with this flexible policy, he allowed the flow of raw materials to Germany and agreed to start factories in Urals in Russia, with that country's help. The European prophets of gloom who had prophesied the doom of Soviet state were miserably disappointed as the new state marched ahead. Though the architect of the Russian Revolution did not die when he was shot at by a mad woman last year, yet he was partially incapacitated till his death on 21 January.

(*Kesari*, 29 January 1924.)

ABHYUDAYA

Lenin—Greatest Man of the Age

WORLD'S GREATEST MAN of the age has passed away from this world. It is most heart-breaking to publish the news of Lenin's death. All alone by himself this man shook the entire world. England, America, France and Japan jointly could not stop his growing might. He gave practical shape to the utopian ideals of social equality and fraternity. He in practice proved how happy the rule of the poor and the working classes can be. To what extent the capitalists were inimical to him in order to safeguard their own interests can be imagined by the fact that dozens of times the news of his death had been published before. Lenin raised the banner of revolution and only within seven days proved the truth of his revolutionary ideals, not only in Russia, but throughout the whole world. One who shook the entire world and before whose might the mighty powers of the world had jointly to eat the humble pie is lying lifeless on earth today.

What else can we say except this that may his ideals be always victorious and may the creator of this universe give place to his soul into his own.

(*Adhyudaya*, Hindi weekly, Allahabad, 29 January 1924. Krishna Kant Malaviya was the Editor of this weekly.)

LABOUR KISHAN GAZETTE

Indian Workers Mourn Lenin's Death

LENIN, THE GREAT, has passed away and joined the choir invisible. The world, the workers' world, is today poorer by the passing away of its great Teacher and Redeemer. Today, the vested interests which are taking shelter under ignorance and greed are silent over the great loss which the humble workers of the world have suffered by the death of their great protagonist. It is the worker—the true salt of the earth—that mourns for him who showed him the path of deliverence from bondage, privation and misery. Teachers and Prophets, Statesmen and Scientists, Philosophers and Metaphysicians, equally great and equally learned, have appeared from time to time, and tried to redeem the worker's humanity from its age-long suffering and serfdom, but it was reserved to Nikolai Lenin to apply the only true and correct method of removing the great ills of life which the great capitalist interests of the world have brought upon the once-happy human race.

It was his great master Karl Marx who found the great truth of Historic Materialism trodden under foot, reviled and ridiculed by the powerful and the ignorant among mankind, but he lived long enough to see the great philosophy of workers understood by the thoughtful and accepted as the method of ridding poverty and misery from this mundane existence. It was for the first time in the history of the world demonstrated with scientific precision and accuracy that most of the misery with which the majority of the world have become affected were due to the selfish aggrandisement of few among the powerful, over the toiling many. And he taught further that it was only by rendering the few powerless to continue the evil that the suffering workers will have to get rid of their misery, and attain to the life of knowledge, labour and ease, which today is the monopoly of a very few among mortals. Today Nikolai Lenin stands unrivalled among the sons of men who have tried to alleviate human sufferings and it is now left to the workers to follow

his method. While all others were pursuing vague speculations as to the cause of misery and its cessation, and preached charity—DHANA as the ULTIMA THULE of social justice, Nikolai Lenin found that the true HETHU or cause of world's sorrows lies in the exploitation of the many by the few and he succeeded in rendering this social wrong impossible in his own country. The Russian worker today can be deemed to be the happiest among the workers of the world and this is due mainly to the indefatigable worker whose death we, his comrades, are mourning.

The great revolution in political thought and philosophy which Nikolai Lenin wrought in his own country may be destroyed, may even be swept away by the selfish nature of a few among men, but it will revive again and again and ultimately encompass the world, and finally render the life of the worker tolerable and pleasant throughout the world. To him who has done so much and who has given the worker a clear vision of his glorious realm in which every human being shall have the right to labour and to live like all his other fellows, we lift up our hands in love, devotion and reverence.

The following telegram was sent to the Indian Press by the Labour Kishan Party of Hindusthan.

"Labour Kishan Central Committee requests all its provincial workers' organisations to observe week ending, 31st January, as days of mourning for the death of Comrade Nikolai Lenin, Chairman Federated Soviet Republic of Russian Workers. By his death workers of the world lost their great Teacher and Redeemer. Headquarters flying black flag half-mast."

(*Labour Kishan Gazette*, Vol. I, No. 4, 31 January 1924. Singaravelu Chettiar was the Editor of this paper.)

GORAKH

Educator and Inspirer of Youth

AFTER GIVING UP the law, Lenin used to move among various groups of students and young men. People with similar views get together quickly. He started gathering students during holidays and inculcating in them great aims and a new enthusiasm. Inspiring them with the ideas and activities of great men like Mazzini, Garibaldi, Napoleon and others, he would train them for his future activities. Young men would listen to him with great attention. Once he made the following speech to a group of young men: "My countrymen and youth, today I want to place before you a few important questions. I hope due to esteem you hold me in and the reverence to the subject, you would hear me patiently. You all know very well the political system obtaining in our Russian motherland these days. There is no need for me to describe the suffering of the poor of our country. What do you feel to see the idle rich enjoying the fruits won by the peasants by the sweat of their brow and the blood of their veins? Do the rich allow them to have sufficient clothes and avenues of education? Since they form the ruling class is there a one in a million chance that such things will happen? Should you not think of these problems now? You are the pillars of the future of our land. You should know what fruit would spring from such seed. All the sacrifices for life are the duty of the youth. You are the people who sow the seeds of the future. The determination to satisfy all demands and face all problems with courage, patience and fortitude belongs to you. You have the strength to swim out of the whirlpools of defeat. The blossoming flower of a youthful heart is the seat of noble deeds. The imagination of the youth follows to the end the bright ideals. What more can I say to you, my young brothers? Great deeds of great men were achieved with the strength of youth. Then they feel that the world is new. All attempts succeed due to the enthusiasm of youth. You should not waste your valuable time in endless

search for an ideal. What is the use of constant discussion until you become weak in limb and heart? You should struggle to win the goal. You should move towards the goal like an arrow shot from a bow. Mazzini and Napoleon started when they were young. You who are in the threshold of youth should be vehicles of ideals. After finishing the university you will punge into family life. Once you are thus caught no ideals will occur to you. Therefore I want to impress on you again and again—you should decide the goal of your life now only, and you should not forget your country while doing so. Once you have decided do not look back. Those who have chosen the liberation of the country as their goal will have to be ready to face countless sorrows. The authorities will pounce upon them and imprison them. They may even be exiled. In such attempts there is chance of losing all your estates and property. Those who wring their hands and like cowards betray their cause and give up are worse than women. Never start a thing which you cannot finish. It is futile to give up in the middle. Dear friends, I have taken too much of your time, please excuse me for that. Let the news of the secret meetings be closely guarded. I have great faith in your honesty and straightforwardness. Please think over what I have said in a calm atmosphere. I am sure you will agree with me, I have no doubt of that. Once more at the end I humbly request you to take up the cause of the working class."

With such speeches Lenin used to win over the minds of the youth, and educate them in political affairs. By explaining over and over the secrets of the tax system, government revenue and expenditure and the methods of exploitation of the poor by the rich, he roused the anger of the youth against government policies.

(Kannada book, *Rushia Daridroddharakanada—Nicholos Lenin*, Hubli, 1923, pp. 5-8.)

Lenin's Astute Comprehension of Problems

Long before the victory of the revolution, Lenin had carefully studied the questions of nationalisation of banks, solution of food problem, relations with foreign powers and decided the policy to be followed. So there was no fear that his party would be stampeded into halfbaked thoughts by the rapidity of the events. Once power had been won, Lenin carefully put his theories and plans into action. He had no fear because the overwhelming number of the poor were natural supporters of his party. Moreover, with their support he mercilessly defeated and routed the opposition parties in the country. Thus without any fear of enemies he continued to do good to the poor and strengthened his position. He was mainly responsible for convening the Congress of the Third International. He led the session successfully. Then he liberated all the former regions of Russia and established the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. There is not the least doubt in saying that the poor people of Russia were freed from the yoke of the army and the rich by the several years of incessant struggle of Nicholas Lenin.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.)

A Real Democrat

Lenin had studied well all forms of state structure from the ancient times. From the autocratic rule of kings to the dictatorship of the few he was conversant with all forms of government. From past history he had learnt four important lessons. First, whatever the form of government the workers and the poor were exploited in various ways. Second, when one system is replaced by another, the victorious party first established its dictatorship and destroyed all opposition. Third, the minority controlling the power of money and arms would cow down the majority and keep it under the thumb. Fourth, all these systems accentuated the contradictions between the different classes.

Therefore he concluded that true democracy was never in existence. He did not like that a section of society should oppress all other sections and boss over them freely and without hindrance. His great ambition was to establish real and literal democracy. As a first step towards that he thought we should establish the dictatorship of the majority (i.e. of the poor) or proletarian dictatorship on democratic lines. Great men like Marx and Engels had in their writings indicated the same things. After the Russian Revolution Lenin not only put his ideas into practice but also succeeded to a great extent.

But who will tolerate passively the loss of something that one had enjoyed all these years with complete freedom? As soon as they lost their power the former ruling classes started all sorts of conspiracies and tried their best to show to the world that Lenin was a fool. Lenin is destroying the noble principles of democracy existing in the world, they wailed. It seems he is replacing it with a so-called dictatorship of the poor majority. We are going back to ancient days once again. It is shameful to have a dictatorship in the 20th century. Let the wise lend their attention. It is our duty to put aside such a dictatorship and re-establish the democratic system which not only becomes this century but also guarantees the freedom of the individual. Be vigilant. That is what the indignant rich shouted before the world. They held meetings and conferences to denounce Lenin's views. It is said that even devil quotes scriptures. These capitalists compared general (pure) democracy with pure dictatorship and tried to ridicule Lenin's ideas in every possible way. But Lenin was like a lion who cannot be frightened by the dogs and jackals. "The existing system is not true democracy. It is the rule of the few rich. You can see this from the voting qualifications. The dictatorship of my people is necessary in the existing circumstances. I do not wish that it should last for ever. This is the first step towards true democracy. History is not against me but for me. The goal of my people's dictatorship is to finally destroy the defeated capitalists and their henchmen who are still powerful and well armed and able to hurt the interests of the poor." That is Lenin's unanswerable reply to all criticism. Without minding the hootings of these capitalist owls, Lenin took over all their instruments of offence—the press, free speech—and nationalised all their property and other things. He

organised the workers and the common men and gave them their due place in the government of the country. Such a government is called a Soviet Socialist Republic. It is also called a communist government.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 34-7.)

Everest among Men

People from different parts of the world went to see this world famous leader of the Russian revolution. Who does not want to smell the rose in bloom? The bee does not need permission to gather honey. The sun does not implore the world to see it. Its powerful rays attract everybody's attention. Is it any wonder that people were eager to see such a great man as Lenin? All the pilgrims and representatives who had seen him have praised him in categorical terms. They were attracted by his personality. They follow him. A terror to the enemies he is all smiles to the ordinary people. His bright face indicates internal peace. That is why in the most complicated situation he does not lose his presence of mind. Other political leaders before answering any question look to the faces of officers who surround them, because they are by themselves unable to answer it. Whatever may be the confusion around him, Lenin will instantly answer any question. He has no need of evasion for advancing his own self. He is not afraid to tell the truth. Truth gives him this courage. He did not hesitate to call Lloyd George, Clemenceau or Poincare that they were thieves and scoundrels to their face. This is enough to show how brave and fearless he was. It is impossible to describe his constant and tireless labour of 20-25 years, his genius that guided the ship of Russia's freedom struggle away from the hundreds of submerged rocks. If one remembers the difficulties and dangers in his path, one will be convinced that he is not one who bows to circumstances.

His attitude reminds us of the words of Bhavabhuti: "In their achievements we can discern the great." A terror to the capitalists, how he loved the poor! He is the true friend of the poor. He was not only political genius, but a learned writer and philosopher too. If all these qualities should be in one man, why should we not compare him to an Everest among men. They say it is not possible to describe all the attributes of god; but I know that it is equally impossible to completely describe a brilliant and world heroic figure like Lenin.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 37-9.)

Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi

Today there are two great men dominating the world stage—Lenin and Gandhi. There are differences and similarities between these two fighters for noble but practical aims. Their common aims are to remove the ills of the world, get rid of the misery of the poor and destroy every kind of despotism. Both believe that for today's degradation of mankind and sufferings of the poor, modern industrial civilization is mainly responsible. While their strategy is the same at bottom, outside it looks different. The Mahatma is trying to strike a new path to civilization by restricting the use of modern machinery. He wishes to turn our vision inside. Lenin preaches that a thorn can be removed only with another thorn. He believes that all industries should be nationalised and their products used for the good of common man, and not to fill the coffers of the rich. However, both of them agree that the dictatorship of the rich is based on force and in order to make the common people happy first we must remove their fear of force. Because the people pay taxes, revenues and cesses and thus support the oppressive machinery, the despotism of the rulers goes on. Gandhiji thinks that non-cooperation with such a government is the way to salvation. "You need not offer your cooperation to the state, if it forcibly gets it

from you. There is no law that only those who suffer should co-operate. For the state it is enough if its aims are served. Also it is not possible that everybody will non-cooperate, for the welfare of many depends on the government," so said Lenin.

The main difference between Gandhiji and Lenin is on the question of tactics. Gandhiji holds that a victory won by non-violent satyagraha according to our ordained duty will last to the end. But Lenin is equally convinced that this path is harmful. He thinks that the ruling classes unwilling to lose their wealth would crush the victorious by onward marching subjects like lice, and destroy the whole of mankind. Evil can be only fought with evil and fire by fire—that is Lenin's opinion. Maybe the end of despotism will be followed by anarchy, but it will be only a temporary phase. But people will tire of this soon, and reorganise society and establish peace—Lenin had not the least doubt about that. But it does not mean that he liked or admired violence. To say that is to insult and besmirch the greatness of Lenin. Lenin hated violence as much as Gandhiji. But he did not believe in licking the hand that holds the sword like a coward.

The noble ideas of Upanishads gave birth to Gandhiji. Lenin was the product of materialist ideas of the West. These two bright stars in the firmament of the world are totally engrossed in achieving their great ideals. One world historic figure, Gandhiji, is hidden behind the walls of prison. The other is busy in his chosen field of activity in Russia. Thrice already rumour has gone round that he is dead. But by god's grace it has proved false. The story of a man who is alive is bound to be incomplete. We pray to god that he be given a long life and good health to increase the good of the world and bring peace to mankind which has been crying "peace, peace," all these days.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.)

U.P. Press on Lenin's Death

Desh Bhakta

The *Desh Bhakta* says that the death of Lenin means a serious loss not only to labourers but to all nations groaning under the burden of subjection. Lenin was the saviour of not only Europe but of the whole world. Capitalists can have no peace even now, for although Lenin is no more on earth, he has planted his principles deep in the minds of the people.

Vartman

The *Vartman* commends the decision of the Kisan and Labour Organisation, Madras , to observe Lenin week as a mark of respect for the departed Bolshevik leader and urges all the Labour Organisations throughout India to follow the lead that has come from Madras and avail of the opportunity to give an impetus to the international labour activities.

Medina

The *Medina* mourns the death of Lenin and remarks that Russian communism was the only weapon which could be successfully wielded against capitalism.

(*Notes on the Press: United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, No. 6, for the week ending 9 February 1924, p. 2.)

Utsah

The *Utsah* publishes an article highly eulogistic of M. Lenin whose policy, the paper asserts, was to serve his country and not become its master for his personal gratification. He was an enemy of despotism and territorial aggrandisement. Those alone are his enemies who advocate despotism. The propaganda against Lenin in India is nothing but an attempt to take advantage of the ignorance

of Indians and prevent them from breaking their chains .... India alone had a place in Lenin's heart. Indians do not exactly know as to who are their real foes and friends. The truth, however, will soon be out since Lenin's disciples will surely carry out his principle of helping the distressed people of the whole world.

(*Ibid.*, No. 8, for the week ending 23 February 1924, p. 1.)

Independence

The *Independence* says that the news of Lenin's death will cast a gloom not only in Russia but throughout the liberty-loving and autocracy-hating world. Lenin was a modern *rishi*, and his message, however cruelly misunderstood or selfishly misinterpreted, was not only for Russia but for mankind. Lenin's life-work and ideals will live as long as humanity endures.

(*Ibid.*, No. 4, for the week ending 26 January 1924, p. 1.)

Leader

The *Leader* says that Lenin was the heart and soul of the new movement in Russia. But there is no doubt that he came in for a good deal of unmerited criticism in the capitalistic press of England, who had much to fear from the Bolshevik propaganda in the Middle East.

Aj

The *Aj* says that, after Mahatma Gandhi, Lenin was the greatest man of the world in the present age. Humanity has suffered an irreparable loss by his death. May God give his followers strength to fulfil his mission of the emancipation of the world.

(*Ibid.*, No. 5, for the week ending 2 February 1924, p. 1.)

Mazdur

The *Mazdur* of Cawnpore publishes a poem invoking Lenin to descend from heaven into India to save the poor cultivators and to overthrow the existing bureaucratic system of Government by means of peaceful, bloodless and non-violent revolution.

(*Ibid.*, No. 16, for the week ending 26 April 1924.)

Bengali Press on Lenin's Death

Hindustan

The *Hindustan* (Calcutta) of 29 January writes: "If manhood can ever be called religion, Lenin was an intensely religious man. He was of fearless heart. The object of his life was to render service to humanity."

Anand Bazar Patrika

Anand Bazar Patrika (Calcutta) of 30 January writes: "The noble-minded Lenin, the friend of humanity, is dead. He was one of those great-minded men who tried to find out the means of deliverance of the humanity and entered the field of action, even at the risk of their lives. Immediately after the great war we find that, in the field of politics, there arose simultaneously in different countries leaders of unbounded power and vast influences. De Valera arose in Ireland, Zaghlul Pasha in Egypt, Kemal Pasha in Turkey, Lenin in Russia, and Mahatma Gandhi in India. The history of the wonderful life and of the success of the noble-minded Lenin has been painted in black by his enemies and spread in the world in a perverted form. It is a heinous sin to paint as a bloodthirsty robber a person, at the moving of whose finger, hundreds and thousands of persons, oppressed by the heartless maladiminstration of an autocratic Monarch, have established a new empire on the unimpeded freedom of humanity. We are a conquered people of the Orient. Even our eyes are filled with tears at the news of his death. Though there is a great difference between our ideals, we feel proud in showing our respect to the sacred memory of this idealist, whose heart always ached for others."

Soltan

The *Soltan* (Calcutta) of 1 February writes: "There are expressions of sympathy all the world over for the premature death of

Lenin, who was a great enemy of monarchs, the aristocracy and capitalists and a great statesman and sincere well-wisher of humanity. Both friends and foes are lamenting his death.

"The world rarely sees a man of marvellous achievements like him."

Sachitra Sisir

The *Sachitra Sisir* (Calcutta) of February writes: "Lenin has passed away, but the spirit of equality, which this Bolshevik leader has infused in the hearts of the general public, is today evident all over the world. In fact, none can say for certain that in future every country will not have to accept Bolshevism."

(*Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in Bengal*, No. 6, 1924.)

Bangavasi

Referring to the news of the death of Lenin, the *Bangavasi* (Calcutta) of 2 February writes: "There may exist difference of opinion regarding the creed of Bolshevism, but there is no denying the fact that Lenin was a very great man; and that the whole of Russia, influenced by his personality, accepted the creed of Bolshevism from him."

Jyoti

The *Jyoti* (Chittagong) of 7 February writes: "Lenin was not a crooked politician. He was never in the habit of using words conveying two meanings. The chief aim of his life was to see to the well-being of humanity. In his private life, he was a sanyasi, free from all desire for enjoyment. Some say that he too, like Mahatma Gandhi, was a superman of action. But the policy of the Mahatma is to refuse to have recourse to violence under any circumstances whatsoever and to subdue brute-force by acting in a non-violent manner. But Lenin's maxim was to subdue violence by violent methods alone. Herein lay the difference."

Soltan

The *Soltan* (Calcutta) of 18 February writes: "Lenin's heart was full of human qualities and the object of his life was to serve humanity. His enemies have described him as the captain of robber hordes. He was nothing of the kind. In fact, he lived the life of a sincere sanyasi."

(*Ibid.*, No. 7, 1924.)

Dainik Basumati

The *Dainik Basumati* (Calcutta) of 25 January publishes an obituary notice of Lenin, in which the following lines occur: "Lenin was really a man of wonderful deeds. He saw that the lower strata of society were being ground down by the wealthy and the aristocrats. This extremely pained his sentimental heart. Probably on seeing all this oppression he became determined to follow the creed of equality."

Bengalee

The *Bengalee* (Calcutta) of 26 January says: "The death of Lenin has removed from this world one of the most striking and masterful personalities of Modern Times—a man who had a large hand in shaping a new heaven and a new earth in our days. Exception has truly been taken to the principles of government established and to the economic heresy preached and practised by this great Bolshevik leader, but admiration and appreciation are due to the memory of the man to whose organizing capacity and administrative ability Russia owes her present position among the modern democracies of the world."

Forward

The *Forward* (Calcutta) of 26 January says: "Lenin stands before humanity a puzzle, a nightmare, and a scare. Prejudice and passion twit our study. A relentless blockade screened him from outside view. Propaganda pictured him as eminently detestable. But half of Europe could not be deleted from its map. One hundred

and eighty millions of the Russian people bear testimony to him, and hold him on to history. A defeated Germany, on the admission of General Hoffman, the father of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, defeated by the 'morale' of Lenin and the Bolsheviks has forced him on our attention. He lives in the unrest in the workers' breast, and will shine in their triumph."

(*Ibid.*, No. 5, 1924.)

South Indian Press On Lenin's Death

Swadesamitran

Adverting to the news about the death of Nicolai Lenin, the *Swadesamitran* (Madras, 25 January) observes: "It is clear that the Russians, who were trying to get rid of the tyranny of the Czars, were on the whole satisfied with Lenin's Government. The British and the French made many attempts to drive away Lenin. They set up a number of Russian Generals, supplied them with munitions and tried to rouse the Russians against Lenin. But all of them failed to achieve their object."

Sampad Abhyudaya

The *Sampad Abhyudaya*, in an English article, writes: "Taking the standard of greatness as that in which a person does the greatest good to the people, Lenin must be pronounced to rank the highest, only second to Mahatma Gandhi, whom the whole world recognises as the greatest man. In his cherished ambition of seeing equal justice done to all classes of human beings and in his fearless employment of all kinds of resources to see his ideal achieved, Lenin stands unrivalled in the whole of humanity. Though high-browed officialdom and long continued autocracy cannot admire the noble aspirations and activities of this man, he is sure to go down to posterity as one of the greatest saviours of Europe and he will be worshipped in every hearth and home as a revered saint."

Andhra Patrika

The *Andhra Patrika* (Madras, 23 January) observes: "We very much regret to hear the news that Lenin, the founder of the Bolshevik movement, is dead. Whether they agree with his views or not, wise persons cannot but admit that he was one of those persons who enjoyed world fame. Though Bolshevism has not done any perma-

nent good to the Western world, it must be said that it has brought a great change therein. It helped to melt down the petrified capitalism of the West. Even in England which does not generally adjust itself to the circumstances of the outside world, unexpected changes have taken place. There is no doubt that Lenin, who was the author of all this great change, would occupy a prominent place in the world's history. May his soul rest in peace? Though Lenin is dead, Bolshevism will not die...."

(*Report on English Papers examined by C.I.D., Madras and on Vernacular Papers examined by the Translators to the Government of Madras*, No. 5, 1924).

Krishna Patrika

In paying a tribute to the memory of Lenin, the *Krishna Patrika* (Masulipatnam, 16 January) says: "The world cannot forget his great power of vision, his dexterity in action, and his ideal of equality. Many a great statesman was born during these times. The names of such famous statesmen as Mr. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George may be effaced from the history of the world, but the name of Lenin will be for many generations to come as a guiding example to the advocates of reform."

Tamil Nadu

The *Tamil Nadu* (Salem, 27 January) observes: "England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan among the allies and America, Germany and other capitalist governments attacked the Bolsheviks on all sides with the object of destroying the Bolshevik Government in Russia. Not stopping with this, they financed Czechoslovakia to attack the Bolsheviks with its army. Lenin withstood all these attacks and, fighting against the enemies, came out victorious in the end and established the Bolsevik Government in Russia. All those who attacked this Government at one time came forward afterwards to conclude commercial treaties with it. Though Lenin is dead, it is certain that his principles will stand for ever."

(*Ibid.*, No. 6, 1924.)

Desasevagan

Adverting to the death of Lenin, the *Desasevagan* (Pondicherry, 29 January) writes: "The great man, who established a unique communal system of government contrary to the system of government obtaining in the world till now and was mainly responsible for carrying on that government for the last six years, is dead. Many characterised him as a revolutionary and an enemy of the world and ridiculed him and still continue to ridicule him. But the doctrine established by him is an incomparable one and we hope that his principles will become firmly established."

Satyagraha

The *Satyagraha* (Udipi, 31 January) says: "At a time when Russia was broken up by internal dissensions and England and France also regarded her with antipathy, it was this Bolshevik leader Lenin that guided the affairs of the Empire with a strong hand and proved a terror to his enemies. Even England and France were in some measure afraid of him. Many stories have been spread about the cruelties of Bolshevik rule and the allies have associated the major part of them with the name of Lenin and he has been described to the world as a cruel person himself. The world has yet to know the true history of Russia, but one thing is certain that, without Lenin, Russia would have been broken up almost to atoms."

Swarajya Patrika

The *Swarajya Patrika* (Bezwada, 27 January) observes: "Many have ridiculed the Bolshevist Government of Lenin at first, but the Bolshevist Government has now spread all over Russia and become world-famous. There will be no one who will not lament the death of Lenin, one of the greatest of world's men."

Congress

In the course of a brief sketch of the life of Lenin appearing in the *Congress* (Rajahmundry, 7 February) occur the following: "Questioned about the future of the world, he [Lenin] said, 'I am

no astrologer, but a capitalist government like that of England will gradually perish. The war itself indicated such a change. The ultimate evolution of the human race may culminate in socialism.' This has been Lenin's ideal, for the attainment of which he devoted his life and won a victory."

(*Report on English Papers examined by the C.I.D. Madras and Vernacular Papers examined by the Translators to the Madras Government*, No. 7 and No. 8, 1924.)

SAMYAVADI

Redeemer of the Poor

PRESENT DAY INCARNATION of God (Avtar) Lenin was born on 10 April 1870 in a place called Simbirsk which is situated on the banks of "Mother Volga," considered to be sacred by the people of Russia. ...

Lenin's object was that the power should come in the hands of the poor peasants and workers. He successfully achieved his object after eight months and he established such a powerful communist state in Russia that no one had heard or seen anything like it. Even today the biggest nations of Europe tremble with fear of this regime and there is no doubt that one day through this [the Soviet regime] all the rich and powerful will meet their doom and the poor will get their rights. Thus after having sown the seeds of a new era, Lenin went to eternal sleep on 21 January 1924.

The object of Lenin's life was to liberate the peasants, workers and all the poor people from the slavery of the rich and to usher an age of the working people. He used to get furious when he saw the oppression of the poor and injustice being done to them and that was why though being a kind-hearted person he was very tough to the rich...."

Russia was being attacked from all sides by the rich. There was a severe famine and people used to get even stale bread with great difficulty. But in spite of the fact that Lenin was the whole and sole of Russia, he used to take only that much food which was available to the smallest in the country because he used to believe that as long as "all the people do not get bread to eat, no one should go in for delicacies...."

"This great man suffered a lot in order to make communism successful and in order to redeem the poor. He was wounded and ill but because of his immense physical prowess and disciplined life he continued to uphold the banner of revolution. In the end,

having kindled a fire in the world which can never be put out without having destroyed the present day inequality and injustice, the friend of the poor, Lenin, sacrificed himself at the alter of communism."

(*Samyavadi*, Hindi weekly, Kanpur, 1 January 1926.)

AL-HILAL

Lenin's Statue Symbolizes the Message of Communism

IT IS KNOWN to the readers of *Al-Hilal* that Soviet government of Russia celebrated the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia and this celebration was called "Tenth Year Jubilee of the Communism." Some Indian leaders were also invited to attend this celebration but nobody could go. Due to the shortage of time, unfavourable circumstances and mostly due to the doubts about Indian Government's giving necessary permission, nobody even tried to go.*

Now most interesting and significant details of this celebration have appeared in the press through the dispatches from Europe. It seems that this gathering in Moscow was one of the greatest in the world. Representatives from not only all parts of Russia but from far off places of the world participated in this gathering in large numbers. Representatives of all the nations of Central Asia were present. Caucasus and Armenia participated in it openly. A delegation from Persia (Iran) also went. Representatives from China and Japan too were present.

Most important and greatest event was the international procession with which the jubilee celebrations were inaugurated. The grandeur of this procession can be judged by the fact that the number of its participants was more than one million and it took more than twenty hours to pass through one point. The people who joined the procession at the time of its start had to spend one day and one night on the roads....

The meeting of the International and Central Committee of

*Probably the Editor, Maulana Azad, was not aware by that time that Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru along with other members of their family were invited in November 1927 to attend the celebrations. They could, however, reach Moscow two days later—Editors.

the Soviet began after the procession. This meeting was held in open space because it was not possible for any building to have enough space for such a big gathering. This gathering was divided in many sections, and Lenin's statue was there in the middle of every section. A big statue of Lenin, which was specially built by a great artist of Russia in 1924, was installed at the main gate. This is a ground of a very big diameter and Lenin is standing at its one end. The presence of the statue in this way symbolizes the fact that the message of communism has overcome capitalism of the whole world.

(*Al-Hilal*, Calcutta, 9 December 1927.)

SHAUKAT USMANI

Visit to the Kremlin

OUR INTERPRETERS BROUGHT us first to the room of Lenin. It was very ordinary and bare. There was no good furniture in it. It contained some rough desks and tables and all round the walls there were maps, and some book almirahs. There was only one photo and that was of Karl Marx. From the appearance of the room it was evident that he had no love of luxury. As to his being self-sacrificing it can be better illustrated by the fact that during the famine the peasants of the Moscow suburbs brought some rations, sufficient for one family of ten to last for two years. Lenin graciously received them and to their amazement took only a little part sufficient for one day and sent the rest to be distributed in the factories. In this way the man had won the heart of the peasants.

We wanted to see Lenin but as he was then in the common room taking his food with the employees of the Kremlin we did not like to disturb him on that occasion. But we had seen him twice speaking at the Trade Union Hall on important current topics.

("Peshawar to Moscow," *Leaves from an Indian Muhajireen's Diary*, Banaras, 1927, pp. 131-2.)

KIRTI

Lenin's Birthday

WE ARE GREATLY pleased to see that just as the people celebrate the birthdays of great men and respect them, they have started celebrating the birthday of Lenin, the late leader of the Bolsheviks. So far the people were a little afraid of his name. But now the people are gradually realizing that if there ever were a man who was a friend of the poor, who wanted to improve the living standard of workers, who expressed extreme sorrow at the miserable plight of the peasants, it was Lenin.

The people are now realizing how Lenin suffered and how he established the socialist system. We are of the view that only a Leninist policy can liberate the workers of the world. Thus it is the duty of every worker that he should participate in the birthday celebrations of this great man.

(*Kirti*, Punjabi monthly, Amritsar, February 1927.)

MADHURI

Victory of the Moral Force

IN 1919 WHEN Soviet democracy was quite young, Mr. Good, Head of Education Department of Victoria University of Manchester and correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, visited Moscow and other parts of Russia to ascertain the practical side of Bolshevik government. He saw that what we are preached against this administration is wrong. He met Lenin who was Head of the Soviet Democracy. It was very commonly said in Britain that Lenin and his associates were guarded by the Chinese soldiers. When Mr. Good went to see Lenin in the Kremlin (seat of the Soviet government) he did not find any Chinese soldier. Ministers were busy in their offices. Lenin worked about 12 hours in his office. Negotiations have taken place several times with British government for permission to the Soviet Government to officially propagate its ideology in the British colonies. But Britain is opposed to it. They say that no diplomatic relations can be maintained as long as Russia preaches its ideologies in these countries. It was on this pretext and with the help of some false evidence that the British broke off their trade relations with the Soviet Russia last year. The readers have read the story regarding the highly improper and illegal behaviour with the Arcos Company. But what Lenin replied to Mr. Good regarding this scores point of moral victory of the Soviet over Britain. Lenin said: "We are ready to give it in writing to stop the communist propaganda on government basis. If anybody goes to foreign countries to preach communism he will do so on his own responsibility. He can be punished according to the law of that country." To further advance this moral victory Lenin confidently said: "There is no law against the British propaganda in Russia, while England has such laws. Therefore, Russia is more liberal in this respect. We are agreeable to let the British, French and American governments do their propaganda work on government basis in Russia.

It is Britain which interferes with the freedom of ideas under the Defence of the Realm Act. French are proud of their freedom of the press. I have been reading a novel by Henry Barbuse out of which two chapters have been deleted after censor." Lenin remarked: "They censor the novels in free and democratic France." What a beautiful idea! The Soviet state wants freedom of ideas. It is willing to let other governments propagate their ideologies before the Russian people in return for a similar right for Soviet propaganda. People will themselves accept and follow those ideas which are liked by them and are beneficial for them. But Britain and other imperialist governments know their weakness. They are fully aware that though the people may not like communism, they still like the freedom of thought and other ideas of welfare of the common man in communism and the imperialist states cannot face that ideology in an open war of ideas. That is why they deprive people of freedom just to save their empires. This is a great moral victory of the Soviets over Britain and America. This has greatly enabled the Soviet people to progress and develop their self-confidence.

During the ten years of its existence since 1917 the Soviet democracy has revolutionised the thinking of the world in such a short time. There have been great changes in art, culture, political ideologies, administrative plans and organisation of the society. The great revolution of the 20th century which the Soviets have brought about is mainly responsible for this.

From the very beginning the Soviet government started giving independence to the countries which had been incorporated into the Russian empire by the Tsars. Lenin gave the charter of freedom to Swinehood who was then the head of the state of Finland. Thus Soviet Russia officially recognised the republic of Finland and gave it freedom. The letter of recognition was delivered in the month of November 1917 in the same month and year when Soviet Russia just came into being. This is very surprising that question of Finland was taken up so soon when Soviet people were engrossed in internal social reforms just after the great revolution which should have taken years together. Immediately upon taking over the government in their hands, the Soviet state declared that no Russian soldier would enter the territory of Finland even though war had not ended. This liberal

treatment is something very uncommon in history. On the other hand, the British government permits a discussion of Indian affairs in Parliament if only some time is left after discussion of home affairs. Still they consider themselves more generous and less cruel than the Soviets.

To free Finland was not the only act of Soviet government. She also gave freedom to Estonia. Poland had already become free. The Bashkir Province was also made free though the Bashkir people are one of the world's most backward and weak nations. Lenin formulated the Soviet policy on this question in the following manner: "Recognition of Sovereignty of all small nations is one of our principles." One example of this policy of Soviet Union is Lithuania and another is Latvia. These two provinces have attained all rights of self-government. Taking into consideration the sentiment for freedom among the people of the provinces which were considered important parts of the imperial Russia and which were ruled by it for centuries, the Soviet Union cut the shackles of slavery. Examples of such a liberal attitude are rarely to be found in the world history.

The Soviet Government did not rest content with all this. To make oppressed and weak countries sovereign, it has been making efforts according to the possibilities. It is useless to say that it has been instigating any community or nation against any other nation, though it has goodwill for all nations struggling for freedom. It realizes their agony and feels about it. In addition to this she renders all possible help in creating required conditions to make them strong. Her struggle is the ideological struggle. It opposses all imperialists who resort to oppression in the name of the nation. It is always anxious to help the aggrieved and exploited communities of all the nations. Lakhs of workers in Russia went without food to offer help to suffering workers in England during the last strike. This was done because of goodwill. They are not averse to money. The Soviet Government does not incite anybody to revolt. She is still following the policies of the first foreign secretary Chicherin with necessary modifications. It is one of the fundamentals of Soviet democracy that nations should progress with their own efforts.

(*Madhuri*, Hindi monthly, January 1928.)

Leaders of Indian Working Class Defend Leninism

OUR STATEMENT IS made in terms of the theory of Marxism and Leninism. It is a matter of experience that this theory and the attitude of mind which it involves is very difficult of comprehension to members of the bourgeois class, and particularly so, we gather, to members of the British bourgeoisie. The Prosecution have clearly failed to understand it. They have shown this not merely by the abuse—"grotesque," "fantastic," "antiquated"—which they have levelled at it, but by their attempt to explain it to the Court.

We can understand this difficulty, which a bourgeois journalist recently expressed by comparing Lenin with St. Thomas Aquinas in regard to the difficulty of comprehending him. The parallel may seem strange, but it has at least this truth, that for the understanding of the system associated with each of these names, it is necessary to escape from many of the ordinary ideas and prejudices current in modern society. As St. Thomas represents the mind of a past, feudal age, which is already superseded by the totally different bourgeois age, so Marx and Lenin represent the future proletarian Socialist age, which will even more completely differ from the present. In order to comprehend Marxism and Leninism it is necessary to realise such obvious, but (for the bourgeoisie) unpleasant truths as these: that capitalism is not a permanent category, but a phenomenon which had a beginning and will have an end; that everything changes, and nothing, not even the British Empire, is permanent; and that the British constitution and the Indian Penal Code are not laws of nature.

The absence of a historical outlook on the part of the Prosecution is very striking. The complaint filed against us conveys the idea that we, or the Communist International, had one day thought, without reference to past history or present conditions, that it would be a good idea to overthrow the Government of India, and had proceeded to try it. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect much philosophical insight in a "complaint." But the same conception

is to be found in the minds of the Prosecution throughout the case. The Counsel for the Prosecution said in his opening Address in the Lower Court: "...Their objective is by means of progressive mass demonstrations, strikes, by making everybody disgruntled, and using in certain countries the nationalist movement for the moment in evidence, to stir up a state of revolutionary ferment which will be favourable to direct action and then to bring about a general strike as a prelude to mass armed action."

The same attitude is shown in his remark about the Russian Revolution: "Now this Russian Revolution, as I have already indicated, was carried through by a small and resolute body of men."

The Magistrate sums up the Prosecution case in the same way, and in spite of certain misgivings (Committal Order, p. 46) finally accepts completely the view of the Prosecution.

Now it is perfectly clear that if this were the real state of affairs, it would not be worth while to prosecute us at all. We were arrested and tried because we were considered a danger to the State, that is, to the British rule in India. And we were a danger to the State, not because of anything we did or could do ourselves, but because we represented powerful historical forces, which are changing the whole world, and are incidentally making for the overthrow of the present regime in India. It is a conspiracy, not of 31 men, nor even of the whole of the Communist International, but of objective conditions and processes, and it is these alone which determine historical events....

The very formulation and acceptance of this theory itself, we look upon as a matter determined by the process of development of capitalism. Our actions, therefore, and the movement in which we took part, are no arbitrary inventions of ourselves, or even of "Moscow." The revolutionary movement arises from the conditions of the present period of the world generally and India particularly. Our actions as individuals were in accordance with the necessities of the periods as we saw them. We saw the line of the historical forces, and followed it....

We regard our ultimate victory and the establishment of Communism as in the highest degree probable (speaking in a strict scientific sense), that is to say, for practical purposes certain and inevitable. But a link in the causal chain or nexus from which

our victory will follow is our own exertions.

At certain times theorists have attempted to raise the question of the relative importance of what may be called the objective and the subjective factors in social events. Lenin gave the only possible solution of the problem. He deprecated the formulation of such a question as valueless if not meaningless. He demanded the most careful possible estimate of the objective situation and lines of development and the adjustment of our actions to that estimate. He accepted the objective developments in fact as determinant. But our lines of action having been decided upon, he demanded the maximum possible effort in those direction, and consistently fought against the tendency to "leave things to work out of themselves. . . ."

While therefore we assert our generally deterministic view, we do not attempt to use this as an argument by which to escape from the consequences of our actions, or to minimise them in the eyes of the Court. On the contrary we lay the greatest possible stress upon the importance of conscious revolutionary activity, organisation and leadership.

(*Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, 1929-1933. The General Statement of 18 Communist Accused.*)

DEV VRAT

Greatness of Lenin

LENIN WAS A unique personality, incomparable and great. He was very practical and highly efficient. He was a selfless man. He sacrificed his all in the service of his countrymen.

He rose to become the President of Russia from an ordinary man and left behind an excellent individuality. He was not at all vain. He never distinguished between the master and the servant, high and the low, rich and the poor. Every one from Russia or outside was aware of his practical outlook, common sense and ability.

He was a leader and hero for the Russian people. By his guidance he gave new life to the downtrodden and oppressed masses of Russia. By giving new feelings and determination he organised the masses and with them he threw out of Russia the greatest curse in the world—imperialism and capitalism. The whole of the world was astonished with his selfless services and quickness of work.

AN IDEAL LIFE

His life was full of hardships before the Soviet government came into being, but even after the establishment of the new government when he was the most important official (the President) he did not change his way of living. He did not like to live an easy life when millions of his countrymen were leading a hard life. This astonished the European politicians. He lived like a most ordinary worker being even the President. His main diet was ordinary bread and soup of meat which the labourers took. He always used hard chair and hard bed. His friends and other people used to present him fruits, vegetables, eggs, etc. But he never touched them. He used to send these things to hospitals, orphanages, and kindergartens. His salary of rupees three or four hundred which he

used to get as President was sent to poor organisations after keeping something for himself. He never cherished desire for any comfort for himself. He was worried only that no labourer should lead a hard unbearable life, rather they should lead an easy life. He used to be greatly moved by their plight. His heart was full of sympathy and pity for those suffering masses. He was born to relieve his people, live for them and he sacrificed himself for them.

His wife Krupskaya was just like Lenin. She was in no way less than Lenin in quickness of mind, patriotism, truthfulness and sacrifice. She always helped Lenin and proved herself to be an ideal wife. When Lenin was unable to preach his creed in Russia either being in jail or in exile, she used to work for him with great devotion and kept his flag high like an ideal wife. Lenin owed his success to a great extent to Krupskaya. She was a real better half. Lenin's home was full of conjugal love and was like a heaven on earth.

LENIN'S DEATH AND PRESERVATION OF HIS DEAD BODY

Lenin was shot twice. The second shot proved fatal and he was always unwell after that. He died on 21 January 1924 on account of that very shot. He died when a new era of flourishing Soviet Russia had just started after great hardships. But he had enjoyed the full glory of victory. Very few people are fortunate like him. The dead body of this great revolutionary is well preserved in a glass box safely kept in the square near Kremlin in Moscow. His body is covered with some chemical which does not let it get spoiled. Many experts are appointed to look after it and they believe that they can preserve it for another five thousand years. The atmosphere of the place is kept very clean. There are proper arrangements to exhaust the unclean air. By seeing it no one can believe that it is a dead body. It seems as if he is sleeping. When you look at his face you feel that he wants to speak. Moved by the suffering of the working class he wants to express his feelings to relieve them of their hardships for ever by ordering them to revolt. People say the living Lenin was not good to look at. He looked a very simple man. He gave a real picture of Russian culture and land from his actions. After death he looks very handsome. His forehead throws a light, his face is very calm and his lips look

like sounding. His face depicts an indomitable courage and great victory. He looks like an immortal ruler.

(Hindi book, *Vartman Rus* by Dev Vrat, Prayag, 1930, pp. 9-11, 15-7, 23-4.)

M. B. L. BHARGAVA

A Redeemer of Humanity

SUCH WAS LENIN. A rebel not against humanity, not against his own country if by country is meant the vast mass of humanity which works and toils from day to day and from hour to hour to eke out its living. He was a friend of this humanity. But, those who had power in their hands, the Czar, his ministers and officials. the police, the military, the capitalist, the land-owner who lived luxurious lives at the expense of the poor, who were afraid of losing their power and pelf, comparatively small in number, took him as an enemy, subjected him to all sorts of punishments, nay, even attempted to kill him. To them he was certainly a rebel, a traitor, a criminal and what not. Even today capitalist nations utter Lenin's name with contempt. But the poor man all the world over considers Lenin's teachings as the panacea of all his ills. We find Communists today in every country and that speaks volumes in support of Lenin and his aims and policies....

Lenin could not live to see his hopes and aims realised but he left behind him ideas, plans and policies which his successors have carried out, some with and others without any alterations. If Russia today is an advanced country, democratically governed on the Soviet system, if there is no exploitation of the poor by the rich, of the weak by the strong, it can all be traced to the doctrines preached by Lenin and to the plans and policies laid out by him.

It is not only in Russia that Lenin is spoken of by the whole people with respect and admiration but the working classes of the whole world look upon him as a redeemer of humanity.

(M.B.L. Bhargava, *Lenin*, Lucknow, 1932, pp. 138-41.)

SHIV NARAIN TANDON

Beloved Leader Lenin

KERENSKY'S GOVERNMENT TRIED its utmost to sow seeds of dissensions among Soviets and their leaders. Lenin was declared a German spy and the whole countryside was told this by the beat of the drums. He was named a deserter, scum, outlaw, criminal who had served a prison term and what not. People were given the "sane" advice of not to be taken by his words. But all was in vain. People knew their beloved leader Lenin well. There was no decline in the high esteem in which Lenin was held. On the contrary, the Soviets made Lenin a hero and welcomed him publicly to snub the government. Under such an enthusiastic atmosphere elections to Soviets were held in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Oddessa and other cities. Everywhere the Bolsheviks emerged in majority. That was the last straw on the government's back.

Right from the very beginning Lenin was in favour of working with the workers, the poor and the peasants, and he went deep into their life. A big army of inspired patriots was among his followers who went to every village of Russia and delivered the message of revolution. Lenin disliked those who talked very high of themselves, he used to make a fun of those who were mere men of words. Lip sympathy was of no use to him. He used to say: "Do as much as you say. Do not talk big and do not decieve yourself and thus degrade yourself in your own eyes, otherwise you will become useless. Put your best of efforts in work. Do your work with all zeal and heart." This was Lenin's "Karmayoga," and this was the key to his success in life.

Russian peasants used to offer white flour, eggs, fruit and vegetables in sufficient quantities to their "Ilyich," but Lenin never accepted even a little bit of it. Every bit of the things he received was sent to orphanages and hospitals. It was the principle of Lenin and his family to lead the life of a poorest peasant of Russian soil, and he used to follow this principle literally.

He used to distribute his monthly salary of three or four hundred rupees as the President to societies of the poor, after keeping the barest money for his needs. Lenin was so strict a man of principles.

When Lenin recovered from his last illness he had grown very weak; having remained sick for a pretty long time, it was natural to have strong appetite to recoup and this happened with Lenin also; but he did not have much to eat. Working eighteen hours at a stretch and then not getting healthy diet, he was becoming weaker and weaker day by day. But he never spoke about it to anybody. According to Soviet rules Lenin was getting a fixed quota of ration. His wife and his sister felt the growing physical weakness of Lenin and both of them started feeding him out of their own ration. But how could Lenin know of this scheme? He was awfully busy in his work. Either his wife or his sister used to go to keep the food in the drawer of his table. Lenin used to be so much engrossed in his official work that generally he would never notice as to who kept the food, so he could never judge the increased quantity of meals. After many days, when he completely recovered his health, he came to know of this "scheme" and demanded an explanation.... Of course, he was very angry, but this was an innocent anger.... Lenin's wife Krupskaya was like her husband. She was just the reflection of Lenin in the matter of working capacity, simplicity, truthfulness, generosity and patriotism. She used to do her hair and wear like the ladies of a village. Krupskaya was always the right hand of Lenin; she was the main helper of Lenin and was a great publicist of the Leninist principles. When Lenin was banished out of the country or imprisoned, this truthful wife of Lenin was always busy propagating the cause of the revolution.

Krupskaya played a great role in preparing the country for the revolution. She was the first lady of the Great Russian State.

(Hindi book *Bolshevik Russia* by Shiv Narain Tandon, Kanpur, 1932, pp. 66-7, 110, 118-9. The book was proscribed by the British authorities—Editors.)

SATYA NARAIN SHASTRI

Lenin's Message to Asian Peoples

BOLSHEVIKS USED TO inculcate high feelings in the minds of the people. They wanted that imperialism should be opposed from all sides.

In 1919, Lenin wrote to Turks on behalf of the Soviet government: "Muslims of the world—you people are becoming prey to the capitalists, keep yourself awake. Russia has abandoned the dishonest policy of the Tsarist times It does not want to oppress you any more. Now it will help you and save you from the oppression of the British. Russia will not interfere in your religious and political matters. Your territory will remain the same as it was before the war. None of your states will be snatched away from you....

"Muslims of Russia shall be given a right of self-determination. We want only one thing from your side in response to this. You continue fighting against the few capitalists who want to keep you as slaves and take away all the riches from your country."

Russians always backed up their publicists. They were told that they were being sent with a great aim: "You are going to unfurl the flag of independence, to rescue the slaves and to relieve 32 crores of people from the claws of a handful Britishers." The publicists or propagandists were told that they should mix-up with the people wherever they went. Those propagandists who came to India were told: "Mix-up and be one with the Independence-loving Indians, induce revolutionary feelings in them with your talks and deeds. Make efforts to establish lasting relations between revolutionary Russians and the peoples of Asia."

The allies had decieved Asians in a big way. Hence the words of the Russians proved to be very effective. Many people, though not having the communist views, stood by Russian views to drive out the imperialists from Asia. For them there remained no difference between the word foreigner, imperialist, British and

French. Repudiation of the Tsarist agreements and treaties further increased the influence of Russia. All Asians of nationalist views were attracted towards Russia and began to realise that Russia was their helper in their struggle for independence.

(Hindi book *Asia ki Kranti*, Ajmer, 1933, pp. 198-200. The book was proscribed by the British authorities in India—Editors.)

VISHWAMITRA

Lenin's Spectre in Rockefeller's House

JUST IMAGINE, AS SOON as you enter your drawing-room, you, all of a sudden, see a tiger in a corner staring at you. Undoubtedly you will loose your breath, it does not matter if it is an artificial tiger. The same thing happened when Nelson Rockefeller saw the spectre of Lenin in one of the rooms of his new "Rockefeller Centre." The Lenin's spectre was shaking hand with a worker. Seeing Lenin's image Rockefeller fell unconscious for a few moments. He could not understand what is what. Later on, his entourage explained to him: "Lord, there is no need to be so perturbed. This is not Lenin's spectre, but an ordinary picture done by the artist Diego Rivera."

"What, Rivera has sculptured this picture on my wall? How could he dare?"

"My God, your honour knows Rivera is a communist and he always makes such pictures which may encourage workers to revolt."

"This much I knew, but I could never imagine that this impertinent communist would dare make such a picture in my house."

"Just see this picture. Oh, yes, he has tried to distort the image of the rich on this wall. What a cruel distortion! No, I cannot see it. The rich with the big belly and shameless cruel vulture-like faces are drowned in drinking and dancing. And just beside them Lenin is instigating the workers and soldiers to revolt against their devilish exploitation and loot. No, this cannot happen. Is there some one? Call Rivera downstairs."

On a high platform made of bamboo a massive figure is sculpturing its object, as if far away from the mad world. His hair are curly and straight, as if they are defending his brain. He is lost in his thoughts and adding colours to the plaster. This is

Diego Rivera, the world famous Mexican painter. He is also known as the painter of revolution.

Rockefeller is one of the world's richest Americans. His son Nelson Rockefeller is angry with Rivera. But America is not like India's native states. So when Rivera's name was called time and again he looked below and when he was requested to come down even then he did not pay any heed to it. This great genius bows down before a worker. But seeing the animal-like men intoxicated with their riches, he revolts even if he does not wish so. He considered it an insult to come down on Rockefeller's order and to stand before him with folded hands. Rivera was lost in filling colours to his pictures and below him there was a cry for him to come down and listen. But Rivera had no time to listen. The situation grew tense and the police was called. On the other hand, some workers gathered in their beloved Rivera's defence. Thinking that it will not be a worthwhile affair, Rivera came down. Rockefeller told him, "See you have done a great injustice to me. 'Rockefeller Centre,' the nest of capitalists is not the proper place for Lenin. This picture does not suit here." Rivera did not reply.

As soon as the police checked him, he replied, "Why do you block my way? I want to show the blue-print to Mr. Rockefeller on which he has put his signature."

Rivera brought the blue-print and put his finger to the spot where the original drawing of this picture was made. Rockefeller had sanctioned to make Lenin's picture, what a surprise! Realising his foolishness, Rockefeller was dumb-founded. This clever capitalist has cheated the whole world. But he was never cheated like this. See, how he was defeated by a simple soul—Rivera. He looked at his signature and the drawing again and again. At last he was convinced that God had made fool of the man who exploits the poor. He apologised to Rivera for his mistake and said: "You did all right, but the picture of Lenin in my house will always threaten me. So you please do not take much trouble." For some time he was silent and everybody felt as if the wind

the whole house would have been put into danger. Has Lenin's spectre settled down in capitalists' nest? Then Rivera has surpassed even the devil.

(*Viswamitra*, Hindi monthly, Calcutta, August 1933, pp. 566-7.)

SADANAND BHARATI

Liveliest of the Lively

HE LIKED THE ordinary language of conversation. He himself used such language of every day use in his articles.... Yes, he was very fond of Latin phrases. It was because of the sharpness and seriousness of these phrases that he liked them. Beyond this he had nothing to do with the language of the educated and civilized people.

Rendering advice in connection with the management of a Communist newspaper he wrote: "Can we not do with ten-twenty lines instead of two to four hundred lines? In my opinion the articles should be brief and simple. Theories should be explained through the daily events of the life of the people." Lenin preferred to use new and popular phrases instead of old and worn out words. Usually he paid more attention to conjugating words. Without beating about the bush he went straight to his subject....

In Lenin's articles quotations have a very important place. He makes frequent use of them. Lenin's analogies and comparisons were straightforward and simple. He only resorted to analogies to render the clear into more clear.

LIGHT FOR PEASANTS

One of his writings, which his followers consider memorable, is a decree written by him in 1921. The Czar's army had laid a siege around Moscow. Everyone thought the end of the Soviets was in sight. In this period of trials and tribulations it struck Lenin that it was very important to electrify the villages. A decree was issued immediately: "The peasants of Gorki should immediately be provided with electric light...."

Another decree says: "It should be found out how far the windmills can help in supplying electricity to the villages." These are the important words of Lenin. In these words his capacity to transform dream castles into reality is hidden.

COMMUNISM AND IGNORANCE GO ILL-TOGETHER

In the opinion of Lenin establishment of communism in a country is impossible without the education of the people. That is why Bolsheviks are trying to eradicate poverty from Russia. They wish that the word illiteracy should be removed from the dictionary. In Lenin's opinion to fight against illiteracy is as important as crushing of the counter-revolution. Very often he used to say in his speeches: "As long as a large number of people are illiterate it is useless to give them political education. A person who cannot read or write is outside the realm of politics...."

Lenin thinks that unless education is spread among the masses, unless a craving for art is inculcated in them, arts cannot develop. For the development of a new culture of communism it is imperative that the entire people are educated.

CHILDREN SHOULD LIVE BETTER THAN PARENTS

Gorky writes: "One day Lenin was going for a walk. On the way he saw some children playing and said: 'The life of these children will be much happier than ours. They will not suffer those bitter experiences which we have suffered. Their fate is not that cruel, yet I do not envy them. Whatever we have done will always remain a part of history. We have been forced by circumstances to be cruel but the future will not blame us for this. The world will understand everything'." When Gorky said something against the policy of repression, Lenin got furious and agitated. He said: "What do you want? Do you think there is any place for kindness in this terrible war? Europe has laid a sieze around us; European peasants and workers cannot help us; in our own country enemies of communism are raising their heads everywhere. Excuse me brother, we cannot sit idle. No one can stop us from doing what we think is proper."

LENIN IS IMMORTAL

For a number of days the simple people of Russia did not believe the news of Lenin's death. They thought that Lenin is just pretending to be dead in order to train his successors in administration.

A number of legends spread about his death in Russia. People used to say: "One day Lenin got up after finishing his tea and called his physician and asked him if he could do something that would give people the impression for some days that Lenin was dead."

The doctor replied: "Why not? But what benefit will come out of it?" Lenin answered: "I want to see what will happen to Russia after my death. At present everyone is carefree, having put all the burden of administration on me." The doctor said: "All right, you lie down in a glass-case and we will spread the news that you are dead. In this way you will be able to see everything." Lenin said: "It's alright, but no one, besides my wife and you, should know about it."

It was done. People were told that Lenin is dead. They were overwhelmed with grief and cried. Lenin's friends put him in a glass-case and kept it in a house. The house is called a "mausoleum."

Lenin lay there for a day, a week, a month and got fed up with this glass cage. One night he got up and reached Kremlin through the back-door. Here a meeting of the representatives of the people was going on. The guards did not stop him because he had a ticket for the meeting. He was hiding his face under the brim of his hat, hence no one could recognise him.

He watched the proceedings of the meeting of the representatives. Everything was going on properly. Seeing this he came back satisfied and lay in his glass case. The very next day he again got up in the night and went to see a factory. There were not many people working in the night. Lenin asked them a number of questions about their life and the administration.

On the third day he went to the railway station and boarding a train he travelled a long distance, reached a village and examined the condition of the people. He wandered for a number of days and when he was convinced that the condition of the peasants is also satisfactory, he came back to the mausoleum and lay there. We cannot say how long he will feign this death but one thing is certain that one day he will once again start working with his colleagues.

(Hindi book, *Mahatma Lenin* by Sadanand Bharati, Kashi, 1934, pp. 17-9, 28, 58-9, 149-50.)

MUNSHI NAVJADIK LAL

A Friend of Humanity

THE NATION ACCEPTED his [Lenin's] declared policy with bowed-head. The dreams of Mahatma Karl Marx took a concrete form. The farmers of Russia got the land of Russia. Income of the factories was meant for the workers. Nobody was the master of anyone; and every body was equal....

Anyhow, from 1918 to 1924 with the establishment of a new regime by hard work which pleased friends and terrorised foes, after building a sky-scrapper of human capacity on the breast of history, eradicating poverty and destitution from Russia, and emancipating the long oppressed, with no one to support, peasants and workers, and after leaving the reins of government in the hands of able comrades, Lenin, a friend of humanity, died in 1924. Lenin is not physically alive, but he always lives and would continue to live for ever.

(Hindi book, *Paradhinon Ki Vijay Yatra* by Munshi Navjadik Lal Srivastava, 1934, pp. 416-7. The book was proscribed by the British authorities—Editors.)

VISHWAMITRA

A Legend about Lenin

So MANY LEGENDS are prevalent among Muslims of the Soviet Russia about Lenin. One of the legends famous in the form of a song among the people of Soviet Turkmenia is as follows:

The war was going on all over the world and thousands of persons were dying in this fire like worms, because the kings living on the earth wanted to fill up their treasures and were compelling their subjects to die in the battlefield, fighting together. While the smell of the dead bodies of the soldeirs and the blows of the trumpet of war reached Heaven, the Kingdom of God began to topple. He thought that the time has come, when he has to select one of his followers, who may be most able and powerful and may put all the troubles to an end.

God Almighty arranged who tests in order to select the best person for this purpose. His selected representative will have to turn a one-ton rock and to answer correctly the following: Who are the most powerful, happiest, weak and most unhappy persons in this world? There were several candidates for this competition but more of them succeeded in turning the rock, though most of them term God Almighty as most powerful and happiest person and the Devil as the weak and unhappy person in this world. At last the God Almighty saw a man of ordinary looks who was looking at the rock carefully. God Almighty thought, it is quite possible that this mission may be successful with this man.

But after this, when the last candidate stood there putting off his clothes, seeing his frail structure, the heart, of the Almighty began to sink. But his surprise had no bound when he saw that the man went slightly away from the rock and came back with many wooden logs. He put one of the logs under that big rock. Thereafter he put second log beneath the remaining portion of the first log. With this method, he easily overturned the rock. There

was a poisonous snake under it, whose tail was about 2 tonnes and was holding that rock.

Thereafter that man answered the riddle of the Almighty in the following way—he, who is ablest, and loved by all is the most powerful and the happiest person. He whom nobody loves is the most unhappy and the weakest person in the world.

The Almighty became wonderstruck on the intelligence of this man. He took him to the Heaven. There he got preachings for 50 days from the Almighty. Thus after becoming enlightened, that successful person was named Lenin and was sent back to the earth. Lenin stopped the human blood shed while moving on the earth. He made human-beings happier and thereafter he returned to the Almighty. He departed from this world after imparting contentment and peace to the world. The name of Lenin will remain permanently till happiness is existing in the world.

(Vishwamitra, Hindi monthly, April 1935, p. 84.)

SHAIKH MUSHIR HOSAIN KIDWAI

Marvellous Political Genius

LENIN'S MARVELLOUS POLITICAL genius gauged the situation quite correctly. Our age has not produced a man with a greater political sense than Lenin. He knew that he could not wait for a revolution in Germany to stop the war. He knew that he could not risk the suppression, by the enemies, of the Russian Revolution in the hope of a revolution in Germany or other countries. Trotsky and all others failed to appraise the situation correctly. They expected a revolution by the German proletariat which did not come. It has not come up to the present day. On the contrary quite a different kind of revolution has come there. Lenin told them: "Germany, you see is only pregnant with a revolution, but here in Russia, a perfectly healthy child—the Socialist Republic—has already been born, and we may kill it if we start a war." Lenin was right; Trotsky was wrong. By accepting German Peace terms the Socialist Republic was saved. Lenin's genius triumphed.

It is not that Lenin did not expect a revolution in Germany or elsewhere, but he thought peace itself would give time to the Revolution to develop. He said, "In expectation of the hour, which we hope is near, when the oppressed working classes of all countries will seize power as have the proletariat of Russia, we are taking our army and people out of the war."

He further thought that it was not right for the Bolshevists to continue take a part in an Imperialist War. He said, "If the war was ever waged for self-defence (that was the plea for the war on the part of Belgium and her Allies) it has long ago ceased to be that for both sides. When Great Britain conquers African Colonies, Baghdad and Jerusalem, it cannot be a war of defence. When Germany occupies Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Lithuania, Roumania and the Moon Islands, it cannot be a war of defence. This is a war for the division of the world. . . . We no longer wish to participate in this purely Imperialistic war where the designs of

the propertied classes are being effected with human blood. Our relation to the Imperialism of both camps is equally irreconcilable."

Lenin insisted on peace at Brest Litovsk because he thought that the hour of decision had arrived. Others also later accepted the terms because a prolongation of the war could give the Russian people nothing but new victims, humiliation, disaster—nothing but an increase of domestic and foreign slavery. Lenin never feared creating an impression of weakness by trying to end the war. So the Peace, although humiliating, was signed at Brest Litovsk.

(*Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism* by Shaikh Mushir Hosain Kidwai of Gadia, London, 1937, pp. 42-3.)

A Benefactor of Muslims

Muslims cannot but be thankful to Bolshevists who have finished together with Czardom also the Crusaders' fanaticism and the supreme power of the Russian priests. Bolshevism has thus, with one stroke, removed three thorns from the side of Muslims: (1) Czardom—the enemy of the Muslim States of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan; (2) Priesthood—which had made it a matter of conscience to try to humiliate and insult Islam; and (3) Imperialism—which tyrannised over millions of Russian Muslims and which incited Turkey's Christian subjects to be rebellious.

Bolshevists have thus performed Muslims' own mission. What wonder that Muslims hailed Bolshevism which saved the life and property of millions of Muslims! What wonder if Muslims blessed Lenin when he was alive and bless him now when he is dead!

Whatever may have been the personal belief or motives of Lenin, the fact remains that he was a benefactor of Muslims and that at a time when they were in great distress and when even many of those who called themselves Muslims could not or did not help them. For this help at a critical time Muslims must bless Lenin even though he is no more on this earth. Surely a Bolshevik, of all persons, can have no quarrel if a Muslim refuses to believe that a man of the

calibre and mentality of Lenin is, after a very short span of benevolent activity on this earth, now nothing more than a heap of dust or only a mummied corpse and that all the good he did to his fellow beings, had no consequences for him at all. On the contrary, Bolsheviks who love and admire Lenin and his work should share the Muslims in their belief that there is a continuity of life in which "God may give them the best reward of what they have done and give more out of His Grace." (xxiv : 38.) And that because of the services Lenin did or meant to do to humanity at large and particularly for Muslims ... encouraging Muslims to unite and advance and because he helped them to defend their hearths and homes and lives, the God of Islam, the Rabbul Alamin who has imposed mercy upon Himself, has forgiven Lenin's sins, if he had committed any, and that his soul is happily resting now in the *Garden of Peace*, the *Abode of Bliss* where all noble desires are fully realised and the transcendental pleasures of which nobody can guess in this earthly life and which can only be described in similies or allegories or parables.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.)

BHUPENDRA NATH SANYAL

Creator of Present Russia

So MANY EXAMPLES can be found of the internationalism of Lenin and the love he had for the working class in the book entitled *Memories of Lenin* written by Lenin's wife Krupskaya. Soon after becoming the President of Russia he declared that the factories in the country are no more the property of an individual. The government shall be responsible for their management. At the same time he felt that it was an age of electricity. On one side Soviet Russia was fighting with the world on the other hand she was trying to make available all the natural resources to the general public and not let them remain in the hands of a few capitalists. It is not out of way to say that Lenin is the creator of present Russia. Lenin died on 21st January 1924.

(Hindi book *Samyavad Ki Or* by Bhupendra Nath Sanyal, Allahabad, 1937, p. 66. The book was proscribed by the British authorities—Editors.)

BEJOY KUMAR SINHA

Lenin Inspired Indian Exiles in Andamans

AT THE CLOSE of the last nineties Lenin had been sent to Siberian exile. It was the formative period of the Russian Social Democratic movement. Conflicting and harmful trends were creeping in. These were being openly preached to gain converts. One such theory reached Lenin in exile. He at once jumped up and assembling his fellow exiles numbering over a score, discussed it and drafted a crushing joint reply refuting the pernicious doctrine. He condemned it as a theory of Economism—an attempt to keep the labour movement confined within economic limits, with political leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie secure over it. In Siberian exile, class and group discussions were held where ever the revolutionaries got opportunities. Several books too were written throwing light on the problems facing the immediate struggle. To refute the Social Revolutionary Party's contention that Russian conditions were unique and that capitalism was not growing and could be skipped, Lenin wrote the famous book *Development of Capitalism in Russia*. The pages of the volume gave crushing replies to petty bourgeois subjective theorists.

It was the year 1937. We had passed three years of our "University" life. We had been diligent students of dialectical materialism. In books of history, economics, or politics, we had read it. In our debates, lectures and papers we had discussed it. We now felt tired and restless. How long can one go on studying revolutionary philosophy without hurling oneself in the thick of the fray? Historical materialism that we were studying was not a mere theory, it was above all, a guide to action. It did not only explain the past and the present, it did also teach how to act for the future. Theory and practice were indissolubly linked up. The call for fight against iniquities and against exploitation, was inherent

in dialectical materialism. That is why one found in Marx and Lenin, the greatest propounders, not only as brilliant theorists, but also as undisputed leaders of the revolutionary masses.

(Bejoy Kumar Sinha, *In Andamans—The Indian Bastille*, Kanpur, 1939, pp. 14-5, 173.)

GANESH SHANKER VIDYARTHI

There He Sleeps—The Great Destroyer

AFTER LIGHTING FIRE on his left and right, in front of himself and behind himself, and after having burnt down the skeletons of the old institutions, Lenin rests in deep slumber. Great helper of Russia's peasants, workers, the downtrodden, children and helpless women, mighty propagator of Communism, singer of revolutionary music, incarnation of cruelity, ocean of kindness—Lenin's soul is hovering over Russia. Russians did not bury him. They have scientifically embalmed his body and have preserved it in its original form. An American lady Fenny Hearst has seen this preserved body. She says that even today his dead body inspires the peasants of Russia. This is some indication of the greatness of that great man. To be popular in one's lifetime or even ten years after death to be universally worshipped may be a sign of greatness—and truthfulness, but if commanding adoration in one's lifetime and even after death is one's natural characteristic, no one can have any doubt in his greatness. Even his opponents have conceded his greatness. There may perhaps not be another personality who has been so much criticized, hated and feared as Lenin was. At the same time, there may perhaps not be another great man in whose hands his countrymen surrendered their all with full confidence in him. Lenin was revolution personified. The destructive sound of Lord Shiva's DAMRU was in his throat. When he moved his legs, the earth trembled. One of his Italian friends wrote to him: "Comrade, you willed—and made a revolution!" How Russia accepted this great man, we want to describe here according to Mrs. Fenny Hearst's article....

He is sleeping, it seems. At the same time, one feels that if someone wakes him then he will again begin to write his incomplete book—an incomplete stanza in the harsh song of world-wide revolution. The imcomplete pages of Lenin's book are not being written in Russia alone, but throughout the world. The suffering

part of the world remembers him. This part of Russia which was being suppressed since ages, today raises its head and considers the world a worth-living place. There will be revolutions. Winds of change will blow. Lightning will fall on old cruelity. Men greater than Lenin will be born and will give their messages to humanity. But under all these conditions Lenin's name will command respect and pride. Lenin, who had knowledge of all living beings, has acquired a special place in the list of great redeemers. No one can displace him from that place. His hands were soaked in blood. But the hands of those who wanted to destroy him and his work were guilty of the murder of the feelings of innocent people. Lenin carried a sword in his hands. But his sword was raised for protection and not for murder.

(Collection of Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi's articles in Hindi as published in Hindi book *Karamvir*, Delhi, 1967.)

PART III

TRIBUTES TO LENIN BY INDIAN POETS

MOHAMMAD IQBAL

To God from Lenin

Where's the *homo sapiens* to which thou art the God?
Is he the one who inhabits the planet under the skies?
Looking at them, I find the East governed by the
whites of Europe
And glittering nothingnesses hold the West in bondage.
In spite of the much wonted light of its learning and art
Europe, in fact, is all darkness without any trace of the
fount of life,
For the grandeur of architecture, design and glamour,
Indeed, buildings of churches are no match to the
buildings of banks.
On the face of it, it's a form of trade
In reality it is a gamble,
For, the profit earned by one, means instant death for
many.
Meaningless is this knowledge, this wisdom this
statesmanship, this system.
Which sucks the blood and talks of equality.
Unemployment, shamelessness, alcoholism and poverty
These are the veritable achievements of Western
Culture.
The nations which are denied the divine gifts
Can find the pinnacle of its glory only in electricity
and steam.
The supremacy of the machine spells death for the
heart and the mind,
Tools but always crush the fellow feeling.
Now, at last, one can discern some signs
Which portend the triumph of reason over fate.
The wisemen of yore are brooding over the fact

That the entire structure of their domain is shaken
to the very foundation.
The glow that one finds on the faces by twilight
Is never real, it is either rouge or the handiwork of the
glass and the bottle.
Thou art omnipotent and just, but in thy world
Hard and miserable are the days of the working people.
When is this ship of Capitalism going to be sunk,
God, thy world is waiting for the day of deliverance.

BISHNU DEY

Lenin

Where accidents of birth or whims of money
Determine the world's value, high or low,
And gambling greed flits where the wealthy go,
Man's bagatelle, a pawn, not worth a penny.
Thru this external fault, mankind has been
For ages dark, paltry amid profusion.
But empire's siren-song, of Commerce queen,
Now ends, is changed in Life's great revolution.
Each his own value now—life's based on reason.
Now starts the blade sharp conflict that's worldwide
Of mind and body, that new forms allow,
Being classless. At the delta mouth has risen
The Soviet workers' sacrificial tide;
Brothers! your Bhagirath's our Lenin, now.

(Bishnu Dey's Bengali poem, translated by David Esbury, *ISCUS Bulletin*, February 1969. The poem was written before 1945—Editors.)

SHASHI MOHAN BAKAYA

Lenin

Lenin
Your mausoleum
In the Red Square of Kremlin
This month of the year
Is stirred again.

An old worker in grey overalls
Stops and recalls
Nineteen Seventeen,
A Russian peasant has sighed,
An Uzbek woman has wept,
A child has cried,
For now Lenin has slept
For over eighteen years
Within the fold of newborn atmospheres,
And Socialism
Is in pain.

Berlin and London, France and Portugal,
Madrid, and Italy's citadel,
Bombay, Cawnpore,
Malabar, Bengal
In ancient Hindustan,
Chinese, American
Industrial towns
Have stopped to listen
Over the ups of mountains
and the oceans' downs
To the sound of Lenin's feet,
His voice, his word,
And all have seen

His penetrating eyes that glisten
Across the film of history
Like moving stars,
And all have heard
Each workmen's heartbeat

Lenin's voice, the call to fight,
To fight for a greater, happier world
With the proletarian flag unfurled,
His call to the workers to unite.

From Don, Danube to Mississipi,
From Ganga to the Yangtse,
The blood of Lenin flows,
On Caucasus,
Alps and Appenines,
Himalaya's rugged and snowy lines,
The light of Lenin glows
Promising a future
With free men fighting nature.

Lenin, near,
Here
Where a worker breathes
In mute machines creative birth,
There,
Where a peasant wreathes
The pregnant earth
Into a garland gold and gay
Of wine and vigour, corn and clay.
Electric light
To the worker's dusk and the peasant's night.

Lenin, far,
Guiding, immortal star.

The hammer and the sickle are sad
For Lenin, beloved, is dead.

Lenin, the working class,
Lenin, the vast, infinite mass,
Historical logic, science, vision,
Strategy and strength, deed and decision,
Hate for the molecular few
Who on our sweat and labour grew
In cold inhuman giant lust
For low, contemptible gold dust.

Lenin,
Marx,
Spread on the earth in active sparks
Red conflagration
In the heart of every nation,
the slogan and the motive force
Of International Revolution,
Spirit and strife,
Destruction and creation,
Death and life.

Lenin,
Leninism,
Transparent prism
Through which the light of Marx refracts
The Era of Imperialism.
Father and friend,
of Bolshevism.

This day did Lenin die,
This day the eagle ceased to fly
With sheltering wings
Across the stormy sky,
When Mother Earth
Was in the pangs of a new birth.

We Communists do not mourn
The loss of our leader with a tear,
We Communists, who have sworn
To Communism, we who have wrought

In Russia a Soviet workers' land,
We who have fought in China and Spain
Putrid reaction, set to naught.
With word and action and clenched hand
Treacherous designs
Of World Finance,
Masters of circumstance

We, who have brought
To the battle's barricade
The international working class
To liberate the mass
Of hunger-pained humanity,
We, who have torn
The shroud of fascism from the shade
of foul Imperialism, who have borne
The weight of modern history,
We Communists whose slogan is
Strike, and advance!
This day we swear ·

Under the banner of Lenin
Onward to victory.

(Shashi Mohan Bakaya, *ISCUS Bulletin*, June 1969. The poem was written in 1942—Editors)

VALLATHOL

At the Lenin Mausoleum

The loveliness of Paris,
    The majesty of London,
The prosperity of New York great
    In Moscow harmoniously blended;
Whom not will it surprise
    Where-so-over I cast a glance?

In that central square
    Of Moscow, vast and beautiful.
Where gather people
    Energetic and dressed elegant,
Along the steps
    In black marble stones
Rather too soft
    To slip the foot;

It stepped down
    Would reach an abode underground
There, on a raised floor lies
    LENIN, the lofty hearted.

The fair body shines
    In the brightness of electric lamps
Like the personification
    Of pure, fresh dawn—
Why say 'like'?
    He is the Dawn
That cleared Russia
    Of her darkness,
The dawn that gives
    Awakening to all!

This a Holy Temple
For own countrymen and guests
With the bodily presence
Of the dead Teacher:
Offering flowers, bent
In deep devotion saluted we
His feet, that tread but only
The path of liberation.

II

Even now, after seeing off
His spirits to heaven
Seven and twenty years ago
For this courageous man,
His eyes far-reaching into the future,
Have been closed,
As though pondering deep
Of the world's welfare !

Lo! there lie on either side
Motionless both his hands
Hands that led up bravely this country
From deep, infernal sorrows
Caused by the despotic rule
Of Czar, the emperor !

III

LENIN, who treats all alike
Rejuvenated Russia
With the brimming heat
Of the bright Sun.

IV

And India by Gandhiji
With the Moon of Satyagraha;

The liberators from darkness, are they
The Sun and the Moon, to us.

While the one tore
The holy golden curtain
To dress the wounds of the world,
The other stitched peace on them.
Both of them
Were equally virtuous men
Those that drive away evil rule
Prisoners of injustice.

V

Outside, but not too far
Of the underground cellar
Where remains the body still
Preserved by medicaments,
There shines a raised floor
Half a metre high
Long and fresh-grassy
Along with marble plates.

Beneath them lo!
Take eternal rest
Warriors great that fought
To achieve independence.
Here you lie sleeping
Bodies draped fully
With green grass blanket
In the abode beneath the earth.
Yet, that land of yours
That lay for long
In dead slumber
Awoke again, anew;

Tell, oh! men of goodwill
Have, the dutiful warriors, death.

That lay their lives
For the good of Motherland?

VI

None in sorrows, none idle
And no one illiterate,
Amongst your children
Five and twenty crores,
Men, women and all live
Equal with singleness of purpose;
Your success oh, Russia
Is victory indeed!

(Translation of the Malayali poem by Mahakavi Vallathol. Reproduced from *India and Lenin*, edited by Anand Gupta, 1960.)

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Lenin

Calm in your mausoleum you lie
Embalmed ... but you are on future plans and charts
A decisive factor: you can never die
Who live forever in our hearts.
Idiot Kaplan, hireling of a faction,
Sought to kill you with a bullet-shot
Which only killed the party of reaction,
While your wound-blood but left a hideous blot
On venomous fools who strove to plan and plot
Your doom—the doom of you whose presence yet
Reminds us what we never can forget
That Lenin is immortal, Lenin's eyes
Are everywhere, to chase untruth and charm
Dull shades away from water, earth and skies;
He points towards park and collective farm,
Factory, electric power-house, theatre....
Who does not know the surety in that finger,
That of a true creator
Which pointing, speaks: Let nothing petty linger,
Let all be mighty, death-defiant
And every man become a toiling giant
Building, within an hour, luminous-willed
What lonely centuries could not build!
It points across both time and space and orders
"Let there be light" and light is everywhere
Making a festival of air
Not only here, but right beyond the borders
Where once there loomed mere darkness;
It points across the minds of doubting countries;
"Let there be bridges, forests, clinics,
schools and creches,

Harvests, tractors, problem-solving machines!"
And countless bridges, forests, clinics, creches, schools,
Multi-million harvest, tractors, machinery
Are already in existence! Unconsciousable fools
Who still suspect, prevaricate, criticize....
Why! Lenin's children have even changed the scenery
Nature established cosily,
(No more can she usurp us!)
Yea, transformed Nature herself to serve man's purpose;
Re-planned the course of rivers, wrought
New nature out of tireless toil and thought—
And now the dawn, once mournful, cometh rosily
For all alike, over field and mountains pass;
Life has become the mirrored glass
Of progress speeding like a cataract
Horizontally....What power dare stem that flow?

What interference? Lo!
That mirror shall not any more be cracked!
Comrade Lenin! who says you are sleeping
You are everywhere, wide-awake —
Giant constructions happen for your sake —
Life on every side is being re-made,
Your commands are being obeyed —
Parks, electrified countryside, your dreams
Fulfilled, of huge hydro-electric schemes —
You are everywhere, wide-awake,
The Red Star opens like an eye on Spasski Steeple
Watching the life and progress of your people.

Behind your lids, sealed in silence,
An epoch of freedom and joy and laughter
For men, women and children, momentarily begun.
The present is the rich structure of the hereafter,
Your memory paints new colours in each rising sun,
Which, brick on scarlet brick, builds the mansion
Of human life, never weary of expansion....

(*Indo-Soviet Journal*, February-March 1952.)

SUKANTA BHATTACHARYA

Lenin

The dam of injustice has been
shattered in Russia by the flood of the
people led by Lenin.

Against injustice,
Lenin is the first to protest.
Even to-day,
in a thousand villages and towns
of embattled Russia,
A thousand Lenin fights
all along the frontiers of freedom,
flashes of lightning in their eyes,
A million Lenin
bring closer the day of final triumph.
Capitalism in crisis,
its voice choked, agony in the heart
comes the news of the fall of the demon.

The masked capitalism
no longer marches in arrogance,
Its heart all a tremble
in its face and eyes
the sure symptoms of death.
The oppressed masses are rising
the Revolt is on today,
in many land the eruption has already started.

In every corner of the globe
Lenin's footfalls are heard.
The submerged masses cry out:
Victory to the Revolution!

In every home of this earth,
Lenin grows in the womb,
In every sky of revolt
Lenin's rays shine crimson and bright.

Italy, Germany, Japan,
England, U.S.A. or China —
Wherever there is freedom's fight
there I find, resplendent comrade Lenin.

India is dark;
Dead bodies in the street, famine stalks,
Disunity in the land—undue suspicion.
The nights are weary,
the chains of the foreigner on our bodies;
Here too, silent and quiet
Lenin prepares the filed.

Lenin has broken asunder
the dam of injustice on the earth.
Lenin protests against oppression,
The ocean of death is no more.
The high wind blows in the mast,
The shores of freedom are near,
the wind sways the grass.

Lenin is in my blood today
I owe no debt to impotence.
Revolt throbs in my heart,
It seems, as if
I am myself Lenin!

K. V. PUTTAPA

Lenin

Lenin! Whenever I think of you, warm blood springs in my heart.
Your name is the sound of lightning to the ears of the king;
Your teaching of equality is gunpowder—to burn the
acquisitive tendency of man when it becomes selfish;
it will inflame the heart with the fire of selflessness.
Like the son of Jamadagni, you are forest-fire to the earthly
kings!
You are Godly to the toilers and Yama's sceptre to others!
There is nothing to the toilers, all sweets are for those
who sit and do nothing; the thornprick for the servant,
fragrant flower for the master; pain for that
man and comfort for the other.
Kalki comes to break this inequality.
So that the wealth of bloodstream may flow in the
arteries of the dry lean bodies of toilers and
the wage-earning peasants.

(Translation of Kannada poem by K.V. Puttapa.)

Jamadagni: The Indian mythological sage who killed all the kings.
Yama: The God of death.
Kalki: The last incarnation of God according to Hindu mythology—Editors.