CHAPTER – IV

MARXIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

Another important trend of historiography is the Marxist philosophy of understanding history. This new development began to emerge in the second decade of 20th century due to gradually emerging new forces at the global scene. Firstly, it was the emergence of working class movement which had already been becoming a stronger force since the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Secondly, the Russian Revolution created stronger subaltern sections quite stronger in the society which became a ray of hope for the oppressive and exploitative nations of the world.\(^1\) Third was the growth of such an international organisations that began to spread the message of socialism and marxism all over the world. Such global developments were instrumental in greatly influencing the Indian youth who also started founding their organisation in all parts of the country. Their writings and speeches are full of such marxian philosophy.\(^2\)

The credit goes to D.D. Kosambi\(^3\) for initiating marxian concept in Indian historical writings in the second decade of 20th century. This trend was further developed by A.R. Desai\(^4\), Hiren Mukherjee\(^5\), R.P. Dutt\(^6\), Bipan Chandra\(^7\), G.P. Pradhan\(^8\), Shashi Joshi, Bhagwan Josh\(^9\), Devendra Kaushik\(^10\), L.V. Mitrokhin\(^11\), Sumit Sarkar\(^12\), Ayodhya Singh\(^13\), Ashok Kumar Patnaik\(^14\) etc. in their writings about different aspects of Indian history. These scholars have analysed the Indian society, structure of Indian capitalism and relationship with capitalism and imperialism in their writings. These scholars argue that the Indian revolutionaries writings and speeches clearly indicate that they could not make any distinction between the landlords, zamindars and money-lenders and industrial capitalists.\(^15\)

After reading the writings and speeches of Indian revolutionaries and post-independent writings of the marxist scholars, it can be said that there are two streams in marxian historiography. The first stream was of the Indian
revolutionaries who gave prominence to the propagation and popularization of marxian philosophy among the youth for the transformation of Indian society as an egalitarian society. The second stream did emerge in post-independent India whose scholars have been mentioned above.

In the pre-independent India, the revolutionaries started founding their organisations, delivering speeches and started writings in this frame work themselves. They include Bhagat Sigh\textsuperscript{16}, Shiv Verma\textsuperscript{17}, Yashpal\textsuperscript{18}, Ajay Ghose\textsuperscript{19}, Jaidev Gupta\textsuperscript{20}, Manmath Nath Gupta\textsuperscript{21}, Bejoy Kumar Sinha\textsuperscript{22}, Sohan Singh Josh\textsuperscript{23}, Bhagwan Singh Mahour\textsuperscript{24}, Ram Prasad Bismil\textsuperscript{25}, S.N. Sanyal\textsuperscript{26}, J.N. Sanyal\textsuperscript{27}, Vaishampayan Vishwanath\textsuperscript{28} etc. These scholars have included all aspects of economy, society, polity, Contemperary events and even political system visible before them. Their writings, autobiographies, biographies throw ample light on such issues which were directly or indirectly linked with the issues mentioned above.\textsuperscript{29}

Jitendera Nath Sanyal was the first biographer who wrote \textit{Amar Shaheed Sardar Bhagat Singh} in Hindi in 1931. He was an associate of Bhagat Singh who had revolutionary background and belonging to famous Sanyal family of Lahore. Sanyal believes that he became more popular due to his revolutionary outlook and actions which were basically instrumental in shaping in widening and the ideology of revolutionary movement. Use of bombs and pistols was deemed essential for shaking off the slumber of Indians and compelling the callous bureaucracy to realise India's deemed for 'Swaraj and Socialism'\textsuperscript{30} It is worthy to mention here that the revolutionary movement which has been following religious line during the first phase was delinked by the secular personality of Bhagat Singh. 'Swaraj and Socialism' were quite relevant words chosen and used before the Lahore Congress (1929) by this ideologue\textsuperscript{31}. has been praised for his multi-facts personality, his velour, self-sacrificing spirit and inclination towards new approach i.e. Marxism.
After reading Sanyal's biography one can easily visualise that he narrates the personality both in marxian and nationalist perspective too. Mixing both the approaches together makes the readers difficult to make the clear distinction at one point of time. His understanding of communism was primarily instrumental in the formation of small communist groups in different parts of the country\(^\text{32}\).

Shiv Verma was another associate of Bhagat Singh who wrote *Sansmritian* (autobiography) in Hindi in 1969 highlighting the revolutionary movement in his own imaginary perspective. As a great leader of the revolutionary movement, he was full of idealism and humanism. Shiv Verma had a great understanding of western savants such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Victor Hugo, Tolstoy, G.B. Shaw, Marx, Lenin, Bakunin etc. The Indian revolutionaries had a substantial organisational skills and their understanding of socialism and imperialism was par excellence. They gave due weight to the addition of 'Socialist' with Hindustan Republic Association for establishing a classless society by substituting public for private ownership of means of production, distribution and exchange\(^\text{33}\). He laid stress on the grievances of the workers and peasants in many of his articles published in papers of Amritsar. Besides, he focused on the other issues such as society, polity and economy of the country. Shiv Verma emphatically writes that they had attraction for reading such literature which gave new dimension to the society and nation. Bhagat Singh developed this vision in jail where he got time to read western literature. At the age of merely twenty three, he had read enough and wrote articles, leaflets, booklets and letters on most significant national issues which were published in *Pratap* (Jullundur), *Prabha*, *Chand* (Allahabad), *Mahratta* (Poona), the contemporary popular nationalist journals of that period.\(^\text{34}\)

Ajay Ghosh, acquitted in Lahore Conspiracy Case and later on became the Secretary of the Communist Party of India (then united), recalled that he was greatly impressed with the personality of Bhagat Singh, a 'supreme leader' of the communist thinking in India at that time. During his first meeting with Bhagat,
Ghosh assessed his personality in the following lines: "I think when I met Bhagat singh for the first time some time in 1923. Then I was fifteen. Bhagat Singh was also, I believe, of the same age. Batukeshwar Dutt of Kanpur introduced me to him..... He appeared to be very shy and spoke with great effort. He was not smart and seemed to lack self-confidence. He was a typical village boy. At that time, I did not find anything remarkable about him. When Bhagat Singh left, I conveyed my evaluation to Dutt". It was the period of adolescency but a great change occurred in his personality and ideology.

In the second meeting with Bhagat Singh, Ghosh had 'a longish talk' in which they discussed about the dream of revolution' though 'childish dream' as both of them then realised Bhagat Singh slightly differed with him in the context due to the ‘prevalent somnolence and apathy in the country'. Their meeting confirmed the impression that the path of awakening the masses was not only 'bristled' but 'difficult' also.

The first phase of the revolutionary movement before and during the first World War greatly influenced the revolutionaries of the second phase who had great respect report for them. Kartar Singh Sarabha, a prominent leader of Ghadr Party, came to India from USA for spearheading the revolutionary movement but caught and hanged along with his other exponent. Both of them had great respect for Sarabha who was 'a fearless freedom fighter and a first class organiser'. When Sarabha was hanged, his friends and foes, all admired him for his supreme sacrifice for the nation's cause.

It is natural that when someone admires any personality, there may have been many qualities of head and heart for his admiration. Both Bhagat Singh and Ajay Ghosh treated Sarabha as their 'idol' for them. This second meeting made a strong bond of friendship' between them. Ghose found a different Bhagat Singh very different from the one he knew. There was a remarkable change in his body
and mind as Ghosh found in him during the third meeting as he himself observed: “Here was a tall, well-built, handsome man with crimson lips and soft glittering eyes. We talked and I come to the conclusion that he had not only grown in years, his mind had also matured”\textsuperscript{38} Ghosh frankly admitted that Bhagat Singh and Chandra Shekhar Azad were ‘two leaders of our party' whose principle object was the establishment of a socialist society in the country. The Communist party which was founded in 1920 witnessed a change in its character at whose apex was the 'Central Committee of the revolutionary party’, next came the ‘provincial committees' consisting of ‘representatives from the district committees' It was probably due to the entry of educated youth who strengthened the organisational activities at the districts level also.\textsuperscript{39}

Like other comrades, Ajay Ghosh counted the main task of their party was how to fight for freedom and socialism. It was their firm opinion that there was no other alternative except the revolutionary method with which they could fight the system that had bound them hand and foot. The idea was to hit the selected nerve-centres of the government again and again and thereby released the blocked energy of the masses, which when released would sweep away imperialism. Their main idea at that stage was to join the mass-upsurge as its armed vanguard and gave 'the torrent of lava, a socialist direction' It was their considered opinion to present themselves 'as models to forge a new pattern of leadership' for the attainment of socialism. This was only possible after capturing power. Ghosh frankly admitted his craze for books and also even during his imprisonment, he spent all his time in studying the socialism. He was perhaps the first among us to be drawn towards socialist ideas. He was a confirmed atheist and untouched by religious beliefs of his predecessors in the revolutionary movement.\textsuperscript{40}

Ajay Ghosh does not consider Bhagat Singh as ‘a full-fledged Marxist' but all of them were merely ‘great lovers of the Soviet Union'. But Manmath Nath Gupta strongly differs with Ghosh on this issue as the following lines indicate:
“The question is, if he was not a marxist, who is? Ajay Ghosh hit at him from a pedestal, at that time a monolithic body, but now torn into many fragments. ... party, confined to parliamentary activities entitled to call itself Marxist – Leininst.... can we call such people Communists who wear the sacred thread, call the Mulla, pundit, padri and granthi to sanctify their marriage, death and birth?.... Is it necessary that revolution in every country should follow the same pattern as the 1917 revolution?" It is quite true that all Communist parties in the developed countries have settled down to the 'comfortable position of parliamentarism' Only few parties have openly admitted this by abandoning loyalty to the hegemony of the 'proletariat' which was redefined to cover the full gamut of the toiling masses.”

Both the contemporary freedom fighters and Marxian scholars differs with each other as the above lines clarify. To defend his stand taken on the historic personality, Gupta further observed that Ghosh did not know all this but he should have been ‘less arrogant while writing about a man' who “dragged him from his petty bourgeois existence... Bhagat Singh's services to socialism are greater than that of any Indian. Even now 'Inquilab Zindabad' is the battle cry of all leftists in India.... Bhagat Singh has become the symbol of the fight for socialism more than any person or party has.”

Gupta frankly admits that the Indian revolutionaries and other nationalists’ Congressmen such as Tilak, Savarkar, Aurbindo, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Ramprasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah and Gandhi were nationalists yet their nationalism was inextricably associated with such symbols, concepts and slogan like Ramrajya which were Hindu in nature. Ashfaqullah, Rahmat Ali and other members of Muslim community who joined the freedom movement were praiseworthy personalities despite their ideological handicap even going to the gallows. Some of them somewhere had to compromise in this regard. It is evident that the compromise was worked out without any prejudice to the movement but
such extreme examples of understanding, generosity and magnanimity did not give a final solution to the problem.

Gupta does not agree with the contention and believes that stories are often created for the general welfare. He affirmed that Bhagat Singh and many other revolutionaries did not belong to the rich families. It seems that all this was done knowingly in order to enhance the value of the sacrifice made by them. He further wrote that Bhagat Singh’s family was struggling for improving its economic condition. Many people started treating him as ‘legendary hero’ because an ordinary man could not ‘conceive him hero’ at one point of time. Gupta gives an example in this regard: When I was in Fatehgarh central prison along with Yashpal, one Shivram Pandey (later on an M.L.A.) told us in all seriousness that when Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt were travelling in a ship, some Englishmen spoke against India. At this, Bhagat Singh and Dutt picked them up by their ears and dumped them in the sea.

It was just within three years of their hanging that such type of legends had started spreading. But in reality, both of them never visited any country outside India. Many such stories were made in order to regard him 'hero as a colossus'. Giving warning to such people and the writers, he contemplated that the hero should be seen as ‘a man risen from among the people and as one of them’ not ‘as a superman’.

Bejoy Kumar Sinha, another contemporary revolutionary leader, has analysed the then existing situation and ideological development to some extent rationally. His sources of information are the Red Posters on the walls of Lahore city, leaflets dropped in Central Assembly hall, a letter written to his father and Bhagat Singh's argument before Lahore High Court in support of his assessment of this historic personality. In his last meeting with Bhagat Singh in Lahore Central Jail, Sinha writes: “Learning on the cell door of iron bars Sardar was standing in
front of me with a smile on his thin lips and in his bright and sharp small eyes. On my side, I had a queer sensation. I felt that my friend with whom I had worked and suffered for years, sharing the same hopes and fears, who at that movement stood so near to me, was a stranger from another world…. I just stood there when he looked at me with eyes full of understanding, eyes that conveyed that he had sensed the storm that was raging in my heart”.  

Sinha made it evident that he had no illusions about any amnesty being granted but he feared that the death sentence might be commuted on an appeal and he would be then deprived of the opportunity of furthering the cause of the revolution by dying for it.  

Sinha in the same article continued to point out that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were of the firm opinion that they could serve the cause best by their ‘death at that juncture’. In order to some more time for more revolutionary propaganda throughout the country, they were still aware of the fact that their appealed to the Privy Council, London was bound to be rejected but they still continued to chalk out strategy for more concrete work in near future. But their expectation shattered. When both of them departed from their cells, there was an unforgettable moment as both of them were in each other’s arms.  

Bhagat Singh continued to smile but “this time its impact was different and clear. It was of a farewell, of a parting for ever. With heavy steps I came back tearing bursting in a flow that I had suppressed in his presence”. Sinha citing a letter written to the Governor of Punjab by Bhagat Singh tells that his comrades want that their bodies should be shot dead instead of hanging by the military department. But the government did not pay heed to their request. Prison authorities hanged them and their bodies were burnt hurriedly with kerosene oil in dark hours of night in a lonely spot by the side of Satluj river. It is noteworthy to mention here that Hindustan Socialist Republic Association has requested Beony
Kumar Sinha and Bhagat Singh to visit Russia not only to seek her support and sympathy but also closely watch the functioning of communism there. But due to the development of some complex nature in Russia, their plan of visit could not be materialised.\(^5^0\)

In an interview recorded by the Manuscript Section of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, Jaidev Gupta telling some of the qualities of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries observed. They were not only revolutionaries but humanists which was also very dear to them. Saunders was killed not because he was British but he brutally lathi charged Lala Lajpat Rai who was leading a procession against Simon Commission in Lahore. He was not against any individual but against the British callous bureaucratic system. Many revolutionaries were greatly influenced with the socialist thinking which would bring ‘a revolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat' They were deadly opposed to individual violence as it could hinder their ultimate goal.\(^5^1\)

Bhagat Singh seemed to be an honest man who could not prepare the way for himself nor he made his thinking apparent before the Indian masses. He had no any self-interest but made his sacrifice for the nation.\(^5^2\)

Many scholars and biographers of the revolutionaries confirmed that Bhagat Singh initiated his comrades into the revolutionary creed by making them to read *The God and the State*, a book written by his Russian Comrade Bakunin. The title page of the book bore that ‘if God really existed, it should be necessary to abolish him’. It shows that he became an atheist and asked the people to refrain from worshipping God which did not exist at all. It was more significant to attract towards humanism and its values. Many contemporary Indian revolutionaries regarded him as their first preacher who kindled their interest in socialism.\(^5^3\)

The religious minded youth who were fond of reading *Geeta* did not show any opposition to it. Some of them wanted to be revolutionaries but not an atheists.
By their gradual association with Bhagat Singh and reading Russian and leftist literature in jails, most of them became the real ‘comrades’ and also followers of Bhagat Singh.”

The personalities of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries as Sohan Singh Josh argues could not be defined in brief. As prominent Indian revolutionaries, they had great attraction towards socialism. In his opinion, revolution was the rule of the universe which was greatly attached with the mystery of human progress. Revolution was not an individual violence nor a culture of bombs and pistols but aimed at the establishment of a classless society. He strongly objected to call Bhagat Singh and his comrades as ‘terrorists’ or ‘anarchists' but they were infact national revolutionaries who wanted to end the British imperialism and bring independence and socialism. The British bureaucrats nick named them as ‘anarchists’ in order to defame them. In reality, they were neither the terrorists, nor anarchists, but true revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives for the national cause. They vehemently opposed the British imperialism which exploited the tilling-toiling masses for whom they continued to be ready for the sacrifices. In his view point, Bhagat Singh and his comrades were the patriots of first order.

Yashpal who wrote his revolutionary memoirs Simhavalokan in four volumes was neither related to Saunders murder nor Assembly bomb case. Being a Hindi novelist, he has highlighted the detailed history of the revolutionary movement in his multi-volume set denouncing barbaric and inhuman treatment of the British officials when they ordered to cut the dead bodies of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru into small pieces before burning. He could not understand why the government did so. The British officials always quickly acted in union so that nobody could realise their barbaric activities nor could it become a cause of public excitement. He has discussed all the events, incidents, personalities, relationships with Congress leaders, visits to Russia, attitude of the Indians towards sacrifices given by the revolutionaries, organisational activities etc.
these volumes written by him throw ample light on their activities in and outside their organisation and the personalities involved in it.

After analysing the writings of Indian revolutionaries and their contemporaries, it can be observed that most of them praised Bhagat Singh and his comrades for their character, valour, freedom, sacrifice, secularism, socialism but Ajay Ghosh and Sohan Singh Josh do not regard Bhagat Singh as a pure marxist. Bhagat Singh learnt from his own experience that religion was an opium for the people and did not hesitate to oppose it at all levels. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha was more a radical than the other left parties. It was bound to remain a model for youth organizations even in future.58

In the post independence period, a new school of marxist scholars did emerge. They claim to analyse different aspects of history in a more scientific basis. They have interpreted the rise and growth of freedom struggle, different forces at work, leadership, its weakness, contribution etc. The scholars of this trend are Bipan Chandra, Sumit Sarkar, Ayodhya Singh, G.P. Pradhan, Devendra Kaushik, L.V. Mitrokhin, Satyapal, Ashok Patnaik etc. who have deeply penetrated into the story of India's revolutionary movement began in India before and after the World War first.

Prof. Bipan Chandra had made an in depth and exhaustive study on this significant aspect India's freedom struggle. He has highlighted several factors both internal and external responsible for the rise of the revolutionary movement in the limited pockets of the country. The national leadership basically offered two substitutes – ‘parliamentary politics of the Swarajists and ‘the constructive programme of no changers but both of them were greatly disgusted the youth who had great expectation from Gandhi for winning the Swaraj within a year. Their desperation made them search for alternatives’ which consequently led them to socialism on one hand and revolutionary terrorism on the other59. Many old and
new emerging leaders had an inspirational background due to an extensive upsurge of working class soon after the I World War and the influx large scale publication of Soviet literature in India. They celebrated the "Friends of Russia Week" in August 1928 at Lahore. The Indian revolutionaries who were imprisoned in Lahore Conspiracy Case celebrated "Lenin Day" and "Russian Revolution" in jail\textsuperscript{60}. It shows their attraction towards the changes which took place in Russia's society and polity. They were very keen to ‘get training in the arts, methods and organisation of revolutionary process’. In order to make their organisation more on substantial and national footing, both the old timers and newly emergent leaders assembled at Pherozeshah Kotla ground on 9-10 September, 1929, where they created new leadership and gave their organisation ‘a new name with a difference’ – Hindustan Socialist Republic Association.\textsuperscript{61}

The second phase of revolutionary movement belonged to the ‘new generation’, men of new ideas and ideologies. Bhagat Singh and Bhagwati Charan Vohra were men of exceptionally powerful intellect and capacity' who clearly articulated and brilliantly expounded the socialist ideology properly suitable to Indian society and polity. Their revolutionary movement was primarily meant for the attainment of freedom on the one hand and made ceaseless endeavors for the betterment of the exploited and suppressed sections of society, their reconstruction on the basis of a new social order i.e. the ‘socialist system based on the abolition of class distinctions and class domination’. Many scholars believed that the major shifts in their thinking ‘occurred during the period of their imprisonment due to their serious studies made by them in the jails.\textsuperscript{62}

But Bipan Chandra contradicting such impression asserted that ‘the basic ideological formulations of Bhagat Singh’ came into being ‘in the early period of his career on the basis of his earlier reading and thinking’ in pre-1929 period. By reading Kaur Marx's Das Capital, alongwith other Marxian, socialist and revolutionary literature, had his experiences, and discussion with his comrades, he
had emerged as an ideologue in the then contemporary situation. The others accomplished all this during their imprisonment while Bhagwati Charan Vohara, Yashpal, Chandra Shekhar Azad did experience outside the jail.\(^{63}\)

The commitment of Indian revolutionaries to independence and socialism found a capsuled expression in the slogans of "Long Live Revolution" "Inquilab Zindabad", “Down with Imperialism". According to the Manifesto of H.S.R.A., their commitment to revolution was moreover total. It should not be treated either 'mere historical accident' or the demand of ‘a particular historical situation' in the country. It aimed at to achieve inalienable right of mankind’, and ‘eternal principle of human projects’. There was a dire need of a continuous process of revolution restraining the human society from the stagnation and dark forces’. It was, therefore, ‘the very embodiment of humanist principles’. The revolutionary literature published by their organisation fully supported the prevalence of anarchistic and chaotic situation for the birth ‘a new star’ and ‘life’ which was ‘accompanied by agony and pain’.\(^{64}\) Their struggle, they asserted would be continued ‘to the end resulting’ either ‘victory or death'. Such sacrificing spirit was not new nor peculiar to this generation but they inherited from their predecessors. The time revolution was defined in quite more clear cut term that also briskly broadened its scope. The bombs and pistols would be only used when found necessary in some cases, the mere means of bringing about revolution’ for the salvation of ‘humanity from the bondage of capitalism and misery of imperial wars’.\(^{65}\)

In order to preach the real meaning of socialism, the Indian revolutionaries proposed in their publications the dire need of nationalisation of railways and other means of transportation and communication along with the large-scale industries such as steel and ship-building. The small scale units would be put under the cooperative system. Bipan Chandra does not consider them as the ‘great scholars of socialism and Marxism’ like some of his comrades as the recent
writers have claimed. They, undoubtedly, studied, discussed and even thought ‘their way towards a scientific socialist understanding of the problems of the Indian Revolution’. They also knew it well that the first achievement of the socialist system would, therefore, be the ending of capitalism. Bhagawati Charan Vohra in his publication, ‘The Philosophy of the Bomb’ and the statements made by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt in High Court on 6 June 1929 clearly indicate the exploitation of Indian masses who ‘live and perish in slums’ by the capitalist, landlord, moneylenders, officials, industrialists etc. would be impossible.\textsuperscript{66} Therefore, the radical changes were necessary and it was ‘the duty of those who realize this to reorganise society on the socialistic basis’.

The marxist scholars observe that the revolutionaries failed to make an in depth class analysis of Indian society especially the rural-folks. No discussion of the structure of Indian capitalism or its complex relationship with imperialism was made. There was an acute necessity for making clear-cut line between landlords, zamindars and money-lenders and industrialists. All of them considered themselves as an ‘epitome of capitalism’ and the ‘symbol of economic exploitation’. The upper-strata of the Indian society mentioned above collaborated with the imperial power and the never supported India's liberation movement with zeal. In such situation, only the common could be relied on Indian’s struggle against foreign power. The Indian revolutionaries firmly believed that a relentless struggle would be waged only on the strength of organised labourers, peasants and the common people. In 1924, they had made up their mind to organise the workers and peasants in different factories, railways and coal-fields\textsuperscript{67}.

But in fact, they could not do so nor could they make any contact or link with such forces. It evidently indicates that they continued to delink themselves with such classes which might prove useful for the social base of the revolutionary movement.
In spite of the popularity of the revolutionary movement, heroic personalities with ideology and deeds, failed to muster support of the masses. The repressive policies of the government restrained them from establishing contact with the masses. The Department of Criminal Intelligence Bureau continued to closely watch the plans and activities of all these heroic personalities of the movement. Internal squabbles generated controversies among their ranks which ultimately weakened their planning and movement. In such situation, the major part of the national movement remained under the grip of Indian National Congress whose acknowledged leader was Mahatma Gandhi.\textsuperscript{68}

Discussing the causes of the failure of revolutionary movement, Bipan Chandra strongly held that it was only in the Punjab where Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Hindustan Socialist Republic Association were actively spreading the socialist ideas in order to create socialist consciousness in the masses. But it is also, undoubtedly, true that the Indian revolutionaries succeeded in arousing the country and in winning the love and respect of their countrymen for the cause of nationalism. Keeping the time and situation in view, it was no mean success.\textsuperscript{69} The revolutionary movement succeeded in attaining the socialist understanding of the society, state, nationalism, imperialism and revolution. In theory, the revolutionary terrorists had totally been committed to the socialism but in practice, they could not go beyond nationalism.\textsuperscript{70}

Sumit Sarkar gives importance to Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919 which transferred education to elected ministers under diarchy resulting into the increase in the number of students from 5.04\% to 6.91\% in five years (1922-1927) but the job opportunities were little better than before. The Indian National Congress through its auxiliary branch Hindustani Seva Dal tried to bring these young men into the organisation. Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Bose and N.G. Hardikar were entrusted this task to hold youth conferences in different parts of India. They tried to initiate the youth movements of Germany, Italy, Russia and
China so that the formation of the ‘Communistic society’ could possibly be made.  

After the formation of the League Against Imperialism (with the Congress), Nehru was warned by Gandhi that ‘he was going too fast in the Indian politics’ to say. The U.P. Branch of the League in April 1929 laid stress on the setting-up of a 'socialist democratic state in which every person has the fullest opportunities for development' and maintaining state control over the means of production and distribution. In July 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter to Gandhi confessed that their organisation i.e. League had proved a 'hopeless failure'.

The revolutionaries in Bengal again turned towards the revolutionary terrorism, however, old timers of Anushilan Smiiti and Yugantar party, advised them to ‘be patient preparations, discouraged any immediate action’. Bengal group continued to insist on the cult of heroic self-sacrificing policy against the despotism of the blood – thirsty English’ but utterly lacked any socio-economic programme. Sumit Sarkar admits that the formation of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in Delhi, September 1928, was ‘a remarkable openness to new ideas’ and marked “an increasingly deep committment to Marxian socialism”. There occurred twenty six incidents of terrorism in Punjab alone where Naujawan Bharat Sabha really had a much broader perspective. A revolution like the Russian revolution was greatly needed without ‘the cult of bomb and pistol’, with ‘a total change in society culminating in to the overthrow of both foreign and Indian capitalism’ and the hegemony of the proletariat.

To bring revolution for freedom and the transformation in the Indian society, the youth were the real potential through which ‘the inalienable right of the mankind’ was realizable. In the course of his trial, Bhagat Singh made it clear: “Freedom in the imprescriptible birth right of all. The labourer is the real sustainer of society.... To altar of the revolution, we have brought our youth as incense for
no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause. We are content. We await the advent of revolution. *Inquilab Zinadabad*. Their throwing of the bomb was purely demonstrative on the significant occasion when Trades Disputes Bill was to be passed. In a book entitled *Why I am an Atheist*, he completely rejected ‘all the religion on the grounds of human dignity and rationalist logic’. When Jatin Nath Das died on sixty fourth day of his strike in jail in September 1929, their movement attained remarkable popularity. Due to his new ideological formulation and supreme sacrifice, Bhagat Singh attained sudden and amazing popularity’ not only in Punjab but in northern India also.\(^{75}\)

Elaborating in detail the *Struggle for Hegemony in India*, Bhagwan Josh and Shashi Joshi contributed three volumes to this important aspect of modern Indian history. Both these scholars lay great stress on the succes of the October Revolution in Russia and its impact on ‘the colonial world’ as a great historical event, ‘a progressive advance for all humanity’ and ‘a source of immense encouragement and inspiration for the colonial liberation movements’. The success of the October Revolution made Nicolai Lenin, the most popular personality, in the world resulting into the publication of eight books on him and on his movement in a short period of three years (1921 – 1924)\(^{76}\).

Such a vast published literature widespread the socialist ideas and encouraged the youth to wage anti-imperialist movement on the ‘militant edge’. The revolutionarry terrorist groups emerged with ‘a radical and anti-imperialist ideology’ in different parts of the world. Indian revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev became the champions of 'socialist ideology' which would get rid of them from the ‘capitalist economic exploitation and the enslavement of nations’\(^{77}\).

With the entry of the youth in large numbers into the fold of the national movement, its spectrum began to increase. Consequently, the political atmosphere of India became quite hot with a national 'revolutionary sentiment increasingly
oriented towards work among the masses’. The youth cadre continued to bring the working class and peasantry in order to actively mobilising them in the liberation movement. The youth organisations all over the country ‘gropes towards new ideas and political ideologies’

A.R. Desai, a sociologist by training and profession gives a new interpretation to the situation arising out during 1927-29. There was a series of strikes of workers throughout India and the volume of the participation of the working class was increasing briskly due to low wages, rising prices, economic recession. When Simon Commission came to India, the workers participated in the boycott in a large number. The Calcutta Congress held in 1928 surcharged the political atmosphere when two opinions began to clash.

The older group of the Congress including Gandhi advocated the 'Dominion Status' while the youth such as Subhas Bose, Nehru and others wanted immediate independence. The Calcutta Congress, Desai affirms, revealed the growing strength of the radical forces in the Congress.

Desai fully supports view of the new awakening and growing political consciousness among the working class which started holding its conferences at all India level. It adopted a programme of complete independence, abolition of princely states, landlordism, nationalisation of major industries, proper wages, working conditions etc.

Keeping the political turmoil in view, Indian Government intended to pass two bills – Trades Dispute and Public Safety bills 'to remove from India British and foreign communist agents'. The Government took strong measures during 1929 against the labour movements which were developing rapidly in the country. Even many editors were also arrested for publishing anti-British and Government literature.
Desai fully supports the views of radical wing within the Congress which was greatly influenced with the new changes taking place within and out India. However, Congress still believed in the old demand since first World War i.e. 'Dominion Status' as was the Manifests of the Congress. Though Jawaharlal signed this Manifesto on one side but declared it as ‘a political error’ on the other.\(^8\)

It shows that he was a socialist and a republican. He made it clear in his Presidential address: "I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power"\(^8\)

G.P. Pradhan, another marxist scholar, discussed the supreme sacrifices of the Indian revolutions given to all liberation movement. How they came into contact with socialist ideology and formed their organisations in several regions of the country? He observes that their aims were judicious and secular by all means. Their revenge of Lala Lajpat Rai’s death, their departure to calcutta, act of throwing bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly, courting arrests, historic statements in the Court, hunger-strike in the jails and death of Jatin Das have been discussed\(^8\) in an appropriate manner on the basis of primary sources. Throwing special light on the heroic activities of Bhagat Singh, he writes :"Bhagat Singh emerged as a source of inspiration for the freedom; the statement he delivered in the court greatly impacted the youth... when Bhagat Singh and his comrades were challenging the sovereignty of British imperialism, it seemed that no one could stop them for attaining the swaraj. The assassination of Bhagat (and his other companions) awakened the thousands of people. Thus Bhagat Singh was a different personality from the other revolutionaries, therefore, he got great place in the Indian history".\(^8\)

Dr. Devendra Kaushik and L.V. Mitrokhin have not only written several books but also many articles on Indo-Russian relationship from the first World War to the present times. Dr. Kaushik who worked as a visiting Professor in
Moscow University and other research institutes has discussed the global political scenario, formation of capitalist and imperialist ideologies in the western world.  

This marxist scholar is greatly influenced with the Marxist –Leninist perception as an instrumental in bringing about social, economic and political transformation in the Soviet Union. The Indian revolutionaries correspondence with Soviet leaders like Lenin and formation of the leftist organisations, participation in the sessions of the Communist International, an organisation of world socialists etc. have been given due consideration in his writings.

Dr. L.V. Mitrokhin worked as a Director, Research in Russian Embassy in Delhi for a long time. His close association with Dr. Devendra Kaushik and knowledge of Hindi language created interest in him for reading and writing on Indo-Russian relations from 1907 to the present period. He has written a very good piece of research, *Lenin in India* highlighting the beginning of revolutionary movement in India. He further writes : “It is a matter of great surprise that they (Indian revolutionaries) paid little attention towards Indian problems.... Exploitation of Indians for a long time was an important and contemporary issue but the persons like Bhagat Singh has mentioned it only twice and thrice. He has controlled over his narrow nationalistic approach and joined Indian problems with the development of the global scenario... He studied capitalism and wrote the comments on many philosophers and scholars in his (jail) Diary which is very influential.”

Mitrokhin has given an interesting example of Britain which had controlled over the production had the total of the world with a population of 1/2. The other world consisting of 2/3 was depending over 1/8 of the total resources. This system of capitalism developed only in the democratic countries. He calls it the ‘democracy of bourgeoisie which is heaven for the rich people’. Quoting Karl Marx on the matter of religion, the author writes that religion works like an opium
in the peoples minds. Besides, he presents many arguments on the destruction of capitalism and imperialism which did create a big gulf between have and have nots. The Russian author praises Bhagat Singh that he became mature in jail after reading revolutionary literature and influenced with marxist thinking. But when he tried to give practical shape to his views, his earthly activities came to an end. His contribution did not go waste. Whatever he used to write, he always sent to his friends for further discussion and ultimate result. The author believes that Bhagat and many other revolutionaries were against the violence of individual. Thus this scholar praised the Indian revolutionaries for deeply understanding of a capitalism, imperialism, socialism democracy, religion and other important and contemporary aspects of the global politics.

Ayodya Singh, a socialist writer, wrote many books namely, Bharat Ka Mukti Sangram, Samajvad etc. The author has made an indepth study of marxism, socialism, capitalism and other contemporary issues of 19th and 20th centuries attracting the world politics. Like other scholars, Singh also agrees with the view that the impact of socialism on the revolutionaries became visible in jail. The author writes : 'All the convicts of Lahore Conspiracy Case red marxist literature and many of them believed in terrorism. After their release from the jail, many of them became communists. Ajay Ghose, Shiv Verma, Gaya Prasad, Kundan Lal are the best examples of it. There was a change in the thinking of Bhagat Singh who clearly wrote : "Only organised workers and peasants can lead a successful revolution for the nation... It is my firm belief that bombs and pistols would not be beneficial for us. The history of the Hindustan Republican Association clarifies that their aim is to organise workers and peasants (for the over all transformation in the world)"
Ashok Patnaik, a researcher submitted his Ph.D. thesis on the topic 'The Soviets and the Indian Revolutionary Movement' to J.N. University, Delhi, has analysed the ideological influence of Russian Revolution, 1917 movement. He points out the increasing degree of such influence in various phases of Indian revolutionary movement. The scholar has pointed out that the Indian revolutionaries were misunderstood by many in their own country including national leaders.97

The bomb thrown in the Central Legislative Assembly by them was to express their solidarity with the working class whose leaders had been arrested in Meerut Conspiracy Case. Their protests against the public safety and Trade Disputes Bills and the callous murder of Lala Lajpat Rai made them to make the deaf hear. In the end, the author sums-up: 'With all their faults and failings they certainly took the revolutionary movement in India to a new height paving way for the revolutionaries to join the communist or left movements and subaltern organisations later.98

In the end of the topic, it can be said that the Indian revolutionaries were deeply influenced with marxist approach which was to hegemonise the social, economic and political structures by the workers and the peasants who forms the majority of the population. They knew that only socialistic pattern of the society would end all sorts of exploitation and class distinctions. Their publications confirm that they were deadly against the exploitation, oppression, inhumanism, bourgeoisie democracy, capitalism and evil designs of selfish nature. The Congress had to change its ideology and programme which became visible when Nehru had to declare in his historic speech delivered at Lahore in December 1929 on the complete freedom from the British raj.
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