

FACTS ABOUT LENINE, RUSS PREMIER, TOLD

Louis Edgar Browne Writes Graphic Account of Bolshevik Chief's Career.

"IS HE A HUN AGENT?"
His Wonderful Qualities of Leadership—Might Be a Napoleon.

By LOUIS EDGAR BROWNE.
Special Correspondence of The Toronto Star and the Chicago News.
Washington, D.C., Aug. 2.—What kind of a man is Lenine? Is he a German agent?

This question has been put to me more than any other since my return to the United States from Russia. Everyone who has tried to keep pace with the kaleidoscopic changes in the Russian situation and the colorful presentation of them in this country, regards Lenine as a man of deep mystery. The majority of people who have displayed an interest in Russia have put Lenine down as an unqualified German agent or a Russian patriot, a charlatan or a fanatic, or just a plain, ordinary fool; they are not sure in which category Lenine belongs.

Since Lenine became president of the Russian Soviet republic nearly nine months ago I have seen a good deal of him in one way and another, and have followed every twist and turn in his career with the critical eye of an observer hostile to the majority of his expressed political formulas. Only historians in the distant future, when his acts and intentions and the results of them may be coldly analyzed, can fairly pass judgment on Lenine. History may call him a great liberator, or it may dub him a fanatic, but now, in the midst of the greatest war the world has ever seen, when class prejudice, casualty lists and repudiated debts count for so much, it is utterly impossible to sit down calmly and correctly classify Lenine as one thing or another.

The attempted execution of Lenine's Socialistic formulas was a godsend to the German militarists. Whether the ideal of revolutionary Russia, crystallized by Lenine, spread and helped in the democratization of Germany in the long run remains to be seen. Many of Lenine's actions have benefited Germany, yet now he has asked America and the allies to co-operate with Soviet Russia for the purposes of mutual aid.

Can't Judge By Immediate Results.

Most people are satisfied to judge Lenine by the apparent results of his control of Russia. That is hardly a safe rule, for even in our own little affairs things do not come out just as we intended them to. It is not safe to judge a person's motives simply from the results of his actions. Lenine became a revolutionist while yet a mere schoolboy. He was hunted by the Czar's secret police and outwitted them time and again. His record as a revolutionist is absolutely consistent. He is today trying to work out theories, the adoption of which he urged twenty-five years ago. Not once in his whole life has he wavered from his formulas, not once in his forty-eight years has he changed his platform.

Even his political enemies admit that as a leader of men Lenine is without equal in present day Russia. Russia realizes that if Lenine were a military leader instead of an exponent of Socialistic formulas, he would be a Russian Napoleon. Lenine entered Russia shortly after the revolution with all the clothes he owned in the world, except those he wore, in one small handbag. In seven months he was President of Russia; Aug. 8 will complete his eighth month in office, and if to-day his position is precarious it is not due to any armed pressure from internal Russia or to the attitude of the great mass of Russian people, but to the Czechoslovakians who come from Bohemia, a country in the far west of Austria.

When Kerensky fell there were 15,000,000 armed Russian soldiers in the field. Lenine must have talked a language these men liked to hear and could understand. It is inconceivable that Lenine with a few Bolshevik followers could have gone to Petrograd, accomplished the overthrow of Kerensky's Provisional Government and disarmed or otherwise rendered impotent those 15,000,000 soldiers. Lenine has wonderful qualities of leadership. He told that army of 15,000,000 of Russians what to do and the army did it. What Lenine really did was to tell the army how to do just exactly what the army wanted done.

Pen Picture of the Premier.

Lenine is short, and by no stretch of the imagination could be regarded as good looking. He has a bullet head and is very bald. He has a pronounced snub nose. When he talks with one his glance penetrates and one remembers his eyes for many days, for in them there is either the light of great genius or the fire of fanaticism. Lenine hardly ever appears twice the same. In the old days when he was dodging the Czar's secret police he sometimes wore a beard, sometimes only a moustache, and then again he would be clean shaven. It is said that he never twice parted his hair in the same way. Even now Russia never knows whether he will appear in a full beard or clean shaven. He invariably wears dark clothes, which are usually very much the worse for wear.

I have seen Lenine riding on waves of triumph and also in what seemed to be certain defeat. His face is a mask that displayed no emotion. I never talked with any one who ever saw him flustered. He is a calm, cold



TORONTO MEN IN A GERMAN PRISON CAMP.

Corporal J. Fellows, of Toronto, is to be seen standing at the extreme right of the photograph, which shows a number of prisoners of war in the German war prison of Soltan in Hanover. Corporal Fellows was captured with the Toronto Highlanders at the second battle of Ypres and has been a prisoner of war ever since. In the centre of the picture is an air observer corporal, whose machine was brought down. The picture was sent to Mr. David Cairns of 382 Woodbine avenue, who was a close friend of the Toronto Highlander. A number of the men are still wearing war medal ribbons. Some other Toronto men are thought to be in the group.

thinking machine, to which is added a tremendously powerful personality. He is a man of simple habits. He neither smokes tobacco nor drinks alcohol. He is a tireless worker and a heartless slave-driver when it comes to getting work out of other people. For the first five months of his control he averaged less than five hours' sleep out of the twenty-four.

Has Office in the Kremlin.
Kerensky moved into the Winter palace and occupied the Czar's apartments. Lenin has an office in the Court of Justice in the Kremlin. His desk is on one side of the room; his army cot and washstand are on the other. Frequently for days at a time he will not leave this room. In times of crisis he has worked for seventy-two hours without sleep. His subordinates say that at the end of that time, though he was physically fatigued, his mind seemed just as clear and as coldly analytical as ever.

When Lenin appeared before the fourth all Russian Congress of Soviets, which was called to ratify the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he found that more than half of the 1,765 delegates attending had been instructed by their constituents to vote against ratification. Lenin admitted the shamefulness of the peace, but compared it to that of Tilsit, where Germany signed away her liberties to Napoleon. He declared that the peace was only "temporary" for the purpose of giving the Russian revolution a breathing spell. His dominating personality and the cold, logical reasoning why Russia must sign peace on economic grounds won the fight and the peace was ratified by an overwhelming majority.

Lenin claims to be neither pro-ally nor pro-German nor pro-anything else except socialism. Lenin says he is for socialistic Russia first and world socialism (internationalism) second. He has been able to explain his every action in terms of socialistic formulas to the entire satisfaction of his Russian followers. From the point of view of the Russian extreme revolutionist Lenin's record as a revolutionist leader is absolutely spotless. As far as known, he has never once deviated from the formulas and ideals he expressed twenty-five years ago.

Facts About Lenin's Life.

I am able to give a summary of Lenin's life and the history of the bolshevik party that is probably the most complete existing outside of the archives of the Soviet Government.

It is based on Tsiavloski's card index compilation of documents found in the archives of the Russian secret police at Moscow and upon Baturin's "History of Social Democracy in Russia." The following biographical data are translated almost literally from the card index, dated 1901:

"Lenin—Nicolai (other political aliases: 'Ilyich,' 'Ilyin,' and 'Tulin,' real name Vladimir I. Ulianov). Is a hereditary nobleman, the son of an actual counselor of state in the Government of Simbirsk. He was born on the 10th of April, 1870, and is of Greek Catholic religion. He was educated at Simbirsk gymnasium. In 1887 he entered the University of Kazan, from which he was expelled the same year for political agitation among the students. He was exiled from Kazan and placed under secret police observation. His father died in 1887. In 1891 Lenin entered the University of St. Petersburg and devoted himself to literary work. He graduated as doctor of law. His widowed mother, Maria Alexandrovna, lives on a Government pension at Podolsk in the Government of Moscow. His brother Dmitri is under secret police observation at Podolsk. His sister Maria was accused and cross examined by the police in connection with a crime against the state. Another sister is married to Mark T. Elizaref, who is under secret police observation. Lenin's brother Alexander was executed in 1887 for participation in a terrorist plot—attempted assassination of Alexander III. Lenin is married to Nadezhda K. Rupskava, who was at one time administratively exiled.

Organizes Revolutionary Service.

"In 1895 Lenine went abroad on a passport issued at St. Petersburg. Being under secret police observation, secret police agents abroad were notified of his coming by circular telegrams. After leaving Russia Lenine immediately established contact with Plekhanov, and together with him organized a regular service for introducing revolutionary literature into Russia. Later in the same year he returned to Petrograd and collaborated in issuing an underground paper known as Rabotchi Dvoro (Labor Work). In 1896 he was cross-examined in connection with the trial of certain social democratic circles in Petrograd and by imperial ukase on Jan. 29, 1897, was exiled to eastern Siberia, and placed under police surveillance for a term of three years and forbidden, after exile and until new disposition, to reside in Petrograd city or in Petrograd district or at Moscow, and, for a further term of three years, to reside in places where there were industrial establishments,

in university towns or at Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk and their districts.

"Lenine spent his exile at the village of Sushenskoye, district of Minusinsk, government of Yennisel. On the 16th of July, 1900, on a passport issued by the government of Pskov, Lenine went abroad as a delegate from the central committee of the Russian social democratic labor party and very soon occupied a leading position among Russian immigrants. In 1900 Lenine, together with Martov (real name Tsederbaum) and Potresov, started the publication of the party organ Iskra (the Spark), which absorbed into it the old liberation of labor group with Plekhanov at its head and became a great factor in the life of the Russian social democratic labor party for many years."

His View of Socialism's Task.

The next document in Lenin's file in the secret police archives, chronologically, was a marked copy of the first number of the Iskra, which stated Lenin's new program as follows:

"The task of Russian social democracy is to inculcate in the masses socialistic ideas, and to organize a revolutionary party closely in touch with the spontaneous and unorganized labor movement and to perfect the organization of the working masses."

The Iskra declared that social democracy must fight "economism" trade unionism, which wished the social democrats to limit their activities to leading direct collisions with capital and to leave political struggles entirely in the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie.

According to the comments of the police regarding this record, the Iskra united the best talents and the more popular leaders and was a tremendous factor in forming a solidified revolutionary party. Simultaneously, a newspaper was started in Russia by the same group of social democrats. Its name, Zarya (The Dawn), had the same objects as the Iskra, but its principal mission in Russia was to lead the fight against the socialist revolutionary party, which had then first appeared on the scene, and which made its main appeal to the petty bourgeoisie.

Thus in 1900 there came the first clash between the social democrats headed by Lenin and the social revolutionists, which after the Russian revolution was headed by Kerensky. Lenin then fought the idea of any bourgeois participation in a revolutionary government. The social revolutionists (Kerensky's party) advocated bourgeois participation.

Writes of "What Is To Be Done."

Both the Iskra and the Zarya plead for the organization of a united party in the place of unorganized and isolated "home-made" revolutionary groups, and in 1902 Lenin published a pamphlet called "What is to Be Done?" This pamphlet is as much responsible for Lenin's power as anything, not because of theories expressed, but rather because the pamphlet was a call for unification of revolutionary effort. He wrote as follows:

"As long as 'home-made' groups do not realize their limitations, political problems will remain inaccessible to them. Only through a firm revolutionary organization will we be able to guarantee resisting power as a unit, and realize both social democratic aims and trade unionism. The nucleus of the future united party must be a countrywide central control which will unite in itself and gather in one drive all and every manifestation of political opposition, protests and indignation—an organization composed of professional revolutionists and led by real political leaders who have the confidence of the whole people."

Lenin's pamphlet received wide circulation. There was nothing really new in it, for the idea of unification of the Labor parties and revolutionary groups was advocated at the first congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party held at Minsk in 1898.

Chief Zubatov Takes a Hand.

After Lenin's pamphlet appeared, the secret police became somewhat worried and feared Lenin would succeed in uniting the various revolutionary groups in Russia. Zubatov, the famous chief of the political section of the Department of Police in Moscow, under the direction of Witte, Plehbe and Trepod, decided to take a hand in the situation by giving Government support to the economists (trade unionists), persuading them that the Government was planning to introduce State Socialism. The Czar's Government thus prevented unification of the revolutionary group by playing the more conservative trade unionists off against the radical followers of Lenin. The "Iskra" conducted a terrific fight against Zubatov's scheme which eventually failed. Lenin and his agitators throughout the industrial centres explaining to the workmen and trade unionists state socialization—trade unionists state socialization—czar's government in promising the trade unionists state socialization—a promise which it never intended to keep. The results of this agitation by the Iskra group are shown by the following statistics:

The number of arrests for political crimes in Great Russia between 1898 and 1899 were 335, and the number of political exiles to Siberia for the same period were 454, while between 1901 and 1904 there were 1,203 arrests

made and 1,783 people were sent to Siberia. The number of local revolutionary committees increased from five in 1898 to thirty-six in 1903.

During this time, the Iskra conducted agitation for the formation of Lettish, Polish, Jewish, Armenian and Georgian national movements. Although these groups were represented at the first congress, their nationalistic movements did not take on a very active growth until after the Iskra group had been formed. In 1901 for the first time Russian Labor Day, May 1, was celebrated.

Leader in Congress of 1903.

The evidences of an accumulation of revolutionary energy and the activities of the Iskra led the majority of Social Democrats to expect great things in the way of union and strength to result from the second congress held in London in 1903.

This congress was to sum up the growth of the party for the five years since the first congress and to bring about the unification and centralization of the labor parties which was demanded on all sides. In the second congress Lenin played a leading role. The nucleus of the Iskra group, apparently cohesive before, soon split into a "majority" and a "minority"—the majority called itself the "Bolsheviks," the minority called itself the "Mensheviks." The two factions fought a desperate fight for control of the party. The differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks at the London conference did not at first extend beyond questions of control and organization of the party. Lenin led the Bolsheviks (majority). He insisted that a member of the party should only be one who is prepared to assume an active share in party organization and formulated the views of the Bolsheviks as follows:

"The stronger the inner party organization, which must be composed of real Social Democrats only and free from weak and vacillating elements, the wider, more fruitful and richer will be its influence for leading the surrounding labor masses. During revolutionary periods in particular practically every laborer is an adherent of the Labor party, which is labor's vanguard. By the very reason of our being a class party we must make a distinction between being a party member and a party adherent. To have the party numerically big does it no good. We know very well that not every striker can be a social democrat. Control over those who carry out occasional jobs for the party committees without actually being a party member is a fiction, and, besides, such special jobs should be discountenanced as far as labor masses are concerned. Noncompulsory participation in party organization will only open the door to free lances from the 'intelligentsia' (educated class), who, in general, as a class differ inconveniently from the proletariat in that they are less capable of organization and discipline."

His Views as Written in 1904.

Lenin at that time apparently did not realize the seriousness of the controversy between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, for in the beginning of 1904, regarding the results of the London Conference, he wrote as follows:

Our congress was unique in the annals of the Russian revolutionary movement. For the first time in its history has the revolutionary party succeeded in emerging from the position of being an underground conspiracy into the light of day and shown not only its face but the processes and results of inner party strife and all the important questions of program, tactics and organization which agitate it. For the first time we have succeeded in freeing ourselves from the waywardness of the small revolutionary looker-on, and in gathering dozens of groups, differing among themselves in many respects and in the past often fighting each other desperately, bound only by the force of common idea and common principle to sacrifice their group separatism and their group independence into the single whole created by a matter of fact."

As a matter of fact, the disputes of the congress had broken the unity of views regarding the immediate problems of the party which had apparently become established during the three year activities of the Iskra. Despite Lenin's optimism, the disagreements were too deep seated and although the bolsheviks succeeded in getting control of the Central Committee of the party, the mensheviks, led by Plekhanov after some difficulty, got control of the Iskra and began a bitter campaign against the central committee.

Faction in Contest; Hurry Arrests.

The year 1904 passed in a struggle between these factions. Some of the irreconcilable bolshevik members of the central committee were arrested by the secret police. This gave control of the central committee to the mensheviks. Lenin made an attempt to conciliate the two factions and failed. He then started a movement for the assembly of a third congress of the social democratic labor party, but, being no longer in control of the central committee, failed to put it across. The bolshevik group headed by Lenin, was, however, in control of the organization committee, whose function it was to organize the third congress once the central committee had called it.