

LENIN AND GANDHI

BY RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER

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(from a portrait by Andreev)

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INTRODUCTION

THE aim of this book is to describe the life and work of the two men whose personalities, in the author's opinion, most forcibly embody the spirit of the present age. The ideas preached by Lenin and Gandhi, their words and actions, will perhaps afford future generations clearer evidence than anything else of the motives of our time, of what spheres it accomplished permanent work in, and of how far it fell short of our hopes. Later ages will measure the significance of our epoch by the standard of the work of Lenin and Gandhi, and the inadequacy of these two men will show the tragic deficiencies of our age, which set itself the task of attaining the unattainable, the concrete realization of age-old Utopias.

Both of them, Lenin as well as Gandhi, in different ways undertook the heroic and at the same time adventurous experiment of putting into practice the long cherished dreams of humanity. They were both rooted deeply in their own nations, and their reforms and their methods were entirely the result of the destinies of their countries, of the limitations of Russian and Indian conditions, and that at a moment when both nations had arrived at a turning point in their national development. But the political enterprise of both the Russian and the Hindu goes far beyond the narrow boundaries of the national and the temporary. Russia and India were merely to be the subjects of a great and universally valid experiment whose success was to give an example to the world and to spread the new doctrines of the two reformers over the whole earth. Lenin and Gandhi were upheld by the emotion of an ecstatic faith, the faith that their country was called to redeem humanity.

Therefore the words of these two men have the

fascination, and at the same time the disturbing and repelling arrogance, of a Gospel. Like two prophets they stand at the opening of the twentieth century. If we listen to them, their age will be the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the world. They desire to lead humanity to salvation in different ways and they point in opposite directions, each with the same gesture of most profound conviction. Lenin regarded the unlimited—though only temporary—use of violence as the means for bringing about an ideal world order, whereas Gandhi is trying to reach the goal by an absolute rejection of all violence. Lenin tried to free humanity by complete mechanization, Gandhi, by repudiating machinery in principle. The one regarded machinery as the salvation from all evil, the other as a delusion of the devil.

But in spite of these apparent antagonisms, the deep kinship and the common spiritual origin of the two may be seen at every turn, often more clearly in the differences between them than in the obvious resemblances in their lives. Lenin and Gandhi both sprang from the race of the great rebels, and what unites them in all their resemblances as well as in all their differences is that both were convulsed by one and the same great experience, that both belong to an age which was stirred to its deepest foundations, in which need and misery began to arouse not only an inactive or friendly and charitable pity, but that genuine sympathy which leads to consciousness of personal responsibility for every evil, and, therefore, necessarily to rebellion against the existing political and social order. It was their profound feeling of responsibility for the sufferings of all the disinherited that lent compelling force to the words of these two great leaders, gave weight to their actions, and was the cause of their overwhelming influence on the masses.

Lenin associated personally with the oppressed and shared their life, their sorrows, and their imprisonments. He formed his doctrine on the injustice they suffered

and drew his power from the hatred that seethed in their souls. Lenin the dictator was the outcome of the appeal of a dispossessed nation. From the moment he entered the Kremlin in the name of the masses and seized power in Russia, through him the hitherto dumb world of the disinherited began to reign. Their indictment became the new political ideal, their hunger for power created the new brutal machinery of state, their dumb instincts decided the ethics of the new social order, the continued existence of which seems very problematical.

The same historical phenomenon also occurred in India, with the difference natural to another cultural zone and another national character. Gandhi also shared the life of the oppressed, their humiliations and imprisonments. With every success of Gandhi, the countless millions of oppressed Indians also gained a victory, and in his rise they too rose to power. When the people of India appointed Gandhi dictator, the enslaved Hindu appeared as the accuser of the foreign authorities and the despised pariah as the accuser of the proud Brahman. The cry and accusation of the humble in Russia and India assumed for the first time a concrete and personified power, which confronted the still existing old order on equal terms. In the faces of Lenin and Gandhi, the physiognomy of the impersonal millionfold mass, which no one had ever looked at before, took on the form and austere features of two great personalities, features which will be stamped on history for all time.

The Russian and the Indian gospels, in spite of their differences, are both animated by the same spirit of indictment of European culture. This indictment is brought by two men, to whom the moral right and, therefore, the sincerity, behind their harshness cannot be denied. We cannot disregard their words.

Europe cannot, however, accept the accusations of Lenin and Gandhi as both a judgment and an indictment, for like all accusations, these too show only a part of the

truth. Asia, whose spirit rises against Europe in the words of the Hindu, and also in those of the Russian, may be superior to us in many respects, but only Europe has been able to struggle to the recognition of one truth, the truth that the accuser may never be at the same time the judge.

Thus Europe will listen to both accusers, but will be able consciously to oppose to this damning verdict the defence of a rich and manifold culture based on the moral freedom of personality. For the West has hitherto known how to transform all great ideas coming from the East into a new and organic enrichment of its own nature.

In his attempt to present a reliable, objective, and true picture of Lenin's character and career, the author found a most inadequate literature at his disposal. For most of the books on Lenin misrepresent the figure of the Russian dictator either from uncritical admiration or party hate. The author was, however, able to supplement the sources quoted at the end of the book mainly by impressions and experiences gathered in Soviet Russia, by documents and conversations with people who had been connected with Lenin from his earliest youth, followed his career as fellow workers, or been his opponents in political warfare.

In painting the picture of Gandhi, the author chiefly used the Indian editions of the writings, speeches, and letters of Gandhi, the files of *Young India* and *Current Thought*, and the writings and pamphlets of Gandhi's Indian opponents. Moreover the careful German selection of Gandhi's works by Emil Roniger, a model of editing, supplied many valuable hints.

It is unnecessary to say that the well-known monograph by Romain Rolland was also consulted, and also the other works on Gandhi, especially Hans Prager's profound study of the Indian apostolate. In investigating the connections between Gandhi's teaching and Buddhism, the abridged and longer collections of

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Buddha's speeches in the classical translation of Karl Eugen Neumann was used.

Herr Percy Eckstein also gave the author valuable assistance with his book, for which he is especially thanked here. Mention must also be made of the kindness of Messrs. Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Dilip Kumar Roy, Professor C. F. Andrews, Sir N. Chandavarkar, and Professor T. L. Vaswani, who gave the author their views on non-violence by letter.

RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER.

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