

Gandhi Foundation Summer Gathering 2013

3 – 10 August

The Abbey, Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire OX14 4AF

Theme: ***A World of Limited Resources,
Inspirations and Challenges in Sharing the Planet***

Prices from £160. Further information from: The Organisers, Summer Gathering, 2 Vale Court, Weybridge, Surrey KT13 9NN or tel 01932 841135

A review of last year's Summer Gathering is on the website

www.gandhifoundation.org



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Gandhi's Influence on Nobel Peace Laureates

The Nobel Peace Center in Oslo, Norway, has been showing an exhibition on the subject of Gandhi and the Nobel Peace Prize from 21 September 2012 to 17 February 2013, although Gandhi was never awarded the Peace Prize. Some extracts from a section of the exhibition are shown here courtesy of the Nobel Peace Center.

Nominations of Gandhi for the Nobel Peace Prize

There is much secrecy around the Nobel Peace Prize. No one is allowed to write minutes of Nobel Committee meetings, and all nominations are locked in a file in the basement of the Norwegian Nobel Institute. No one is allowed access to these documents until 50 years have passed. Here, you can see a selection of the nominations of Gandhi received by the Nobel Committee in 1937, 1938, 1939, 1947 and 1948. Among them are nominations from Peace Prize laureates like Emily Greene Balch and the Quakers.

Inspired by Gandhi

Throughout history Gandhi has been a role model and inspiration for several Peace Prize laureates. Many of them have adopted Gandhi's methods of nonviolent protest.

American Emily Greene Balch received the Nobel Peace Prize along with John Raleigh Mott in 1946 for her long-term commitment to disarmament and peace. She nominated Gandhi for the Nobel Peace Prize on 14 January 1948, stating in her letter to the Nobel Committee:

"It appears to me that no choice would be wiser and more widely acceptable than that of Gandhi."



Friends Service Council and the American Friends Service Committee 1947



Founded by British and American Quakers, these organisations received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947 for their humanitarian work. The selection was made after the Nobel Committee decided in a three to two vote not to give the prize to Mahatma Gandhi. In the following year, the American Quakers nominated Gandhi in a brief telegram:

“American Friends Service wishes to place Mahatma Gandhi in nomination for 1948 Nobel Peace Award – Clarence Pickett Secretary”

ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI 1960

Albert Luthuli was the first Peace Prize laureate from South Africa. Luthuli headed the black population’s nonviolent struggle against the laws discriminating against them and preventing them from exercising influence in their own country. He organized strikes and demonstrations, while the authorities responded with imprisonment, harassment and violence. In his Nobel lecture, he stressed the importance of nonviolent resistance:



“Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, have remained nonviolent (...) nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this award is given.”

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

1964

Martin Luther King, Jr. headed the civil rights movement in the US in the 1950s and '60s. The movement brought about changes giving millions of African Americans the right to education, to vote and the chance to rise from poverty and oppression. He was inspired by Gandhi and read many books about him and his philosophy. The civil rights movement was known for sticking to the principle of nonviolence. Black students conducted sit-ins in cafes reserved for whites only. They were often harassed or physically attacked by the other guests, but they were determined to remain calm, even in the face of violence. King is also known for the large civil rights marches in the 1960s, particularly the March on Washington in 1963. That is where he gave his famous “I have a dream” speech.

LECH WALESIA

1983

Electrician and activist Lech Walesa fought for better living conditions for Polish workers and for their right to form free trade unions. After much resistance from authorities, he gradually succeeded in his mission and became head of the powerful trade union *Solidarity* in 1980. However, *Solidarity* was banned after only a year and many members were imprisoned. Walesa was placed under house arrest for two years. He promised that the resistance struggle would never be violent. When he received the Peace Prize in 1983, many saw it as an acknowledgment of the nonviolent fight for the freedom to organize and for democracy. Walesa became President of Poland in 1990.

“Deep faith eliminates fear.”

DESMOND TUTU

1984

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is primarily known for his nonviolent resistance to the racially discriminating apartheid regime in South Africa. In spite of bloody attacks against the black population and the fact that the anti-apartheid movement took up weapons, Tutu was steadfast in his nonviolence policy. After South Africa became a democratic country, Tutu led the reconciliation process between the proponents and victims of apartheid.

“Without forgiveness, there’s no future.”

THE 14th DALAI LAMA

1989

As in Gandhi’s struggle to free India from British rule, the Dalai Lama wants Tibet to have greater independence from China. The Dalai Lama also shares Gandhi’s interest in the goodness in the world’s many religions and has worked to promote greater respect and understanding between different faiths. The Norwegian Nobel Committee emphasised that the Dalai Lama has always opposed the use of violence in Tibet’s fight for independence. In his Nobel Lecture, the Dalai Lama expressed his gratitude for the Peace Prize as follows:

“I accept it as a tribute to the man who founded the modern tradition of nonviolent action for change – Mahatma Gandhi – whose life taught and inspired me.”

TAWAKKOL KARMAN

2011

Tawakkol Karman spearheaded the rebellion against President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen and has led many protests and marches for democracy and human rights in her home country. She is the youngest laureate ever and the first Arab woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. On her wall at home hang pictures of her greatest role models: Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Nelson Mandela and Hillary Clinton.



Photo: Matthew Russell Lee

She says that the entire Arab spring was strongly inspired by Gandhi:

“The Arab spring youth were inspired by his struggle and are proud of their peaceful revolution which attracted the attention of the whole world.”

LEYMAH GBOWEE

2011

Leymah Gbowee is often called “Africa’s Gandhi”. She played a leading role in ending the long and bloody civil war in Liberia. Gbowee gathered women from different ethnic and religious backgrounds and mobilised them to join peaceful protests against all the violence. She has played an important part in getting women to believe that they themselves can play a decisive role in creating change.

“Don’t wait for a Gandhi, don’t wait for a King, don’t wait for a Mandela. You are your own Mandela, you are your own Gandhi, you are your own King.”

Archbishop Romero – Defender of El Salvador’s Poor *Matthew Bain*

In June 2012 I visited El Salvador to work with local charity PROCARES. With my companions Ed and Amitabh, we were a team of three MBA students from Cranfield School of Management, examining ways to increase the income of prawn farmers on the Pacific coast. The prawn farmers were actually demobilised combatants of the Salvadoran Civil War; the Chapultepec Peace Accords of 1992 had granted them land rights in a salty Pacific coastal area and they had taught themselves prawn farming. Although most of the farmers were ex-FMLN leftist guerillas, some were from the rightist armed forces who had been demobilised at the same time. The farmers had organised themselves into cooperatives and had managed to overcome their previous political divisions, with right and left working together to fight their common enemy, poverty.

PROCARES and its founder, Bertha Aguirre, supported these same people when they were still political refugees in Nicaragua before the Peace Accords. As a young woman in the 1980’s, Bertha herself had been forced to flee El Salvador because of threats from the rightist death squads who had killed many of her fellow students and assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero, the head of the Catholic church in El Salvador. Bertha had known Romero personally: she told us how she and her friends had offered to accompany Romero wherever he went because they were afraid he would be assassinated, but he had refused saying that he didn't want any special protection not available to ordinary people. Bertha was crying as she remembered this conversation; she described how people used to see Romero driving around the city on his own, and they were afraid for him.

On 24th March 1980 Romero was celebrating mass in the chapel at the Carmelite Hospital of Divine Providence where he lived. From the altar he could see a car pull up at the front door of the chapel, and perhaps Romero even saw the sniper take aim but he carried on consecrating the host and so, when the bullets hit him, he fell backwards and the wine symbolising the blood of Christ spilled all over him. Romero was dead. He had been killed for insisting on the right of ordinary people to defend themselves against state-sponsored violence. His body was placed in the dark basement of San Salvador Cathedral by the authorities.

When Pope John Paul II heard of Romero's death he was mortified. Just one month before, he had refused to receive Romero at the Vatican. Visiting Rome to collect an honorary doctorate, Romero had wanted to explain to the Pope what was happening in El Salvador and present evidence of government atrocities. The Pope had snubbed Romero, considering him to be a Communist sympathiser. Romero had in fact been a conservative whose appointment as Archbishop in 1977 initially dismayed those Salvadoran clerics inclined towards liberation theology. However, the increasing



viciousness of government paramilitaries, and particularly the assassination of his friend Rutilio Grande, a Jesuit priest who worked with peasant farmers, had convinced Romero to change tack. “When I looked at Rutilio lying there dead I thought, “If they have killed him for doing what he did, then I too have to walk the same path””.

In 1983 John Paul II visited El Salvador and prayed at Romero’s tomb. Bertha believes the Pope was asking his forgiveness. The Pope declared that Romero was “a zealous and venerated pastor who tried to stop violence” and John Paul II subsequently instigated Romero’s beatification as ‘a prophet and martyr’ who had warned the powerful against committing murder, and who was killed for his pains.

If you would like to find out more about the life and work of Archbishop Romero please visit the website of the Romero Trust: <http://www.romerotrust.org.uk/>

The author, Matthew Bain, is a friend of The Gandhi Foundation and administers our website together with his wife Diane.

BHIKHU PAREKH
BARON PAREKH OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL
PRESIDENT OF THE GANDHI FOUNDATION

The Trustees and Patrons of The Gandhi Foundation are truly honoured that Lord Parekh has agreed to become our President whilst Lord Attenborough becomes Life President. Bhikhu has been a Patron for many years. He delivered a memorable Annual Lecture in 2007 entitled “The Relevance of Gandhi in the 21st Century” and has chaired these and the Gandhi International Peace Award events ever since, hosting most of them in The House of Lords.

Bhikhu Parekh graduated from the University of Bombay and obtained his Ph.D from the London School of Economics. He taught at the LSE and the University of Glasgow and was for many years Professor of Political Theory at the University of Hull. He was Centennial Professor at the LSE from 2000 to 2002 and is currently Emeritus Professor at the Universities of Westminster and Hull. He has been a Visiting Professor at several European and North American Universities, including McGill University, Harvard University, Institute of Advanced Studies in Vienna, the University of Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, the University of Pennsylvania, and Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Professor Parekh returned to India for a period of three years as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Baroda, one of India’s most distinguished universities.



Bhikhu Parekh is the author of several widely acclaimed books in political philosophy and the history of western and Indian political thought. He has also edited a dozen books including four volumes of Critical Assessments of Jeremy Bentham, and published over a hundred articles in academic journals and anthologies. His *Rethinking Multiculturalism* was published by Harvard University Press in 2000 and *A New Politics of Identity* by Macmillan in 2008. He has also published three widely acclaimed books on Mahatma Gandhi include *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*, Macmillan 1991, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*, Sage 1989 and *Gandhi*, Oxford University Press 2001. In 2004, Prospect Magazine published his "Why Terror?", an imagined correspondence between Gandhi and Osama bin Laden.

In addition to being an academic, Professor Parekh is also active in British public life. He was a member of the Rampton/Swann Committee of Inquiry into the Educational Problems of Ethnic Minority children (1978-81), and Deputy Chairman and for a year Acting Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality (1985-90). He was or is a Trustee of Runnymede Trust, Institute of Public Research, Policy Studies Institute, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, and Anne Frank Educational Trust. He was chair of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, whose report called the Parekh Report was published in 2000.

Bhikhu Parekh was elected the British Asian of the year in 1992, Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in 1988, Fellow of the Academy of the Learned Societies in Social Sciences in 1999, Fellow of the British Academy in 2003 and Fellow of the European Academy in 2008. In recognition of his contribution to British public life and his professional eminence, he was given BBC's prestigious Special Lifetime Achievement Award in November 1999. He has also received Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Philosophy and Padma Bhushan from the President of India. He was made Labour Peer in 2000 as Lord Parekh of Kingston-Upon-Hull. He became President of The Gandhi Foundation in 2012.

Bhikhu Parekh is married with three sons, all of whom won scholarships to the University of Oxford and are now well-established in their respective fields. He and his brother have set up a family foundation which, among its worldwide charitable activities, has endowed two doctoral scholarships at the University of Oxford, a post-doctoral fellowship at the LSE, annual lectures at the University of Westminster, The Anne Frank Trust and The Gandhi Foundation and six scholarships at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. The Foundation has also donated a mobile hospital to Sumandeep University in Baroda, India. Δ

Two Saints: Gandhi and Francis

Glen Reynolds

“...a man who really practices ahimsa in its fullness has the world at his feet, he so affects his surroundings that even the snakes and other venomous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi.”

M. K. Gandhi (CWMG vol.13, pg-295)

“My God and my All” is a meditation prayer ascribed to St. Francis of Assisi and when considering his love for the poor and pity for helpless animals, it could be said that St. Francis was perhaps the greatest humanist of the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe. He said “those who will exclude any of God's creatures from the shelter of compassion and pity will deal likewise with their fellow man.” He also loved birds. When preaching, he would open wide the windows of the church so his voice could reach out to his beloved birds. It is said that many a time St. Francis asked forgiveness from animals for the cruelties mercilessly inflicted on them by fellow humans.

For a man quoted as saying "we are all creatures of one family", it is not surprising that he is historically seen as someone who embodied a form of ahimsa, and Gandhi saw him as a fellow traveller on the path of those traditions of tolerance and compassion – ahimsa – that were granted to all living beings. “Preach the Gospel at all times, and when necessary, use words”, was articulated by Francis but these words could so easily have been spoken by Gandhi, the man who suggested that the greatest error on the part of some Christians was to fail to appreciate the full pacifist nature of Christ and by implication, the Christian message to be adopted by His followers.

Francis was a Christian loyal to the Roman Catholic establishment who was indeed a pacifist, and persuaded his followers to live from the true Gospel to life, and from life to the Gospel. They were inseparable components in a life of peaceful fulfilment. Ahimsa also has affinities of course with Gandhi's non-violent campaigns of satyagraha ("truth-force"), in which injury to others was strictly forbidden even at the expense of one's own life.

There are many similarities in the thinking of these two saintly figures; St. Francis ministered to the poor, most notably the actual untouchables of his generation, the lepers; Gandhi ministered to the poor, most notably people who were treated as lepers – the social untouchables. Both Francis and Gandhi spent their early years in settings that were either wealthy, or promised wealth – Francis as the son of a prosperous merchant; Gandhi as an aspiring lawyer. Yet both left that setting early on, and after contact with the poor – Francis with the lepers that St. Claire cared for, and Gandhi after contact with the struggling Indian masses of South Africa.

Both preferred a life of deprivation, Francis wearing a ragged costume amid medieval splendour, and Gandhi eventually wearing only a loincloth. Both courageously questioned and peacefully attacked the privilege of the establishment of their day and preached the fundamental dignity and equality of the impoverished. Francis was a friend of the animals and a vegetarian; Gandhi was a lover of animals and a vegetarian. Both could be described as universal in their sympathies, but while Francis was an ardent lover of Jesus, Gandhi expressed his love of all religions, including Christianity. Francis too, sought out a life threatening dialogue with Muslims over their shared understanding of the nature of God, or Allah.

It is too simplistic to see both men as idealistic lovers of peace, animals, or eccentric talkers to birds and plants in the case of Francis. These facets are deeply illustrative of a fundamental root principle common to them both. For them, the whole dynamic of an individual's activity constituted an indivisible whole. You could not and should not, divide life, (social, economic, political and purely religious) into distinct and isolated separate compartments. Francis and Gandhi lived that "all life is one", believing in the unity of human and non human life. This unity is the vision shared by Francis and Gandhi. They saw that what seem to be separate segments are, in fact, different facets of life; they are inter-related, and act and react upon one another. The division of activities of human and non human life into different compartments was false and artificial.

Part of this sentiment was illustrated by a letter to Kanti Gandhi (Gandhiji's grandson) by Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG-Vol.-49-page-22):

Chi [Chiranjeev – "May you live long"] Kanti,
1932

January 23,

"I was glad to get your letter. Personally I was very happy that all of you were given a taste of the Government's kindness. If the experience does not make us angry but, on the contrary, fills our heart with compassion for the other party, and if we are as ready as ever to welcome more such experience, we shall have realized the true aim of our life. If anybody abused St. Francis, he would smile gently and thank God that he did not inspire that person to assault him, and if anybody assaulted him he would thank God that He did not inspire the latter to kill him outright. If anybody attempted to kill him, St. Francis would say that after all he did not try to torture him. The point is that he who has overcome love for his body and looks upon it only as an instrument will never be affected in his mind by anybody injuring his body.

Blessings from Bapu"

Since not everyone influenced by Francis could abandon their families and join his Order, Francis outlined in a document A Letter to the Faithful how they might live. This became the basis for the Rule of The Third Order, approved in 1221. Like each of the Franciscan Orders, these communities were organized around a rule of life. This rule of life for lay people was born out of the Gospel and centred on being generous to the poor and being peacemakers – they were forbidden to carry arms in a medieval world of violence and social inequality/upheaval (not so indifferent from that in which we now live) – and only making oaths to God and the Pope. This helped them to remain peacemakers. This Third Order has flourished around the world and throughout history, down to today. It is a lay Order of secular Franciscans within the Roman Catholic faith, now known as the Ordo Franciscanus Sæcularis, found in the UK and elsewhere.

Like St. Francis, Gandhi preached a message of love, and lived in simplicity. Through the course of his life he managed to build many bridges between the world's great religions, such as Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. For these men, be you Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jew, Buddhist, Agnostic or Atheist or whatever you chose to call yourself, deep down we are all part of the "One" of Saint Francis and Gandhi. If we affect our surroundings as did these two men, with peace in our hearts we too, can walk like them, and if we have to, we might have to use words as well.

Dr Glen Reynolds is a Professed Member of the Ordo Franciscanus Sæcularis, The Third Order of Saint Francis (secular Franciscans), Christ the King Fraternity, based in Ellon, Aberdeenshire. Until recently he was a Tutor in Christian Studies at The University of Aberdeen (reynoldsglen59@hotmail.co.uk)

References are to the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG).

“The earth has enough for everyone’s need but not for everyone’s greed”

Gandhi is one of the most quoted people of the twentieth century and this “need, greed” quotation is one of the sayings most often attributed to him.

Some readers of *The Gandhi Way* will remember Marjorie Sykes. Marjorie spent much of her long life in India, working closely with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan from 1939 to 1941 and then with Gandhi from 1945 to 1947. Marjorie returned to the UK in 1990 and became a regular participant in the Gandhi Foundation Summer School. On one occasion in a Summer School at The Abbey she raised the question of the authorship of the “need, greed” quote saying that she had searched Gandhi’s published writings without finding it. Gandhi’s writings occupy about a hundred volumes in Fred Blum’s library at The Abbey so this was a major task.

Marjorie went on to say that she thought it unlikely that Gandhi had said or written the words because the sentence has a rhyme and a poetic balance that Gandhi never sought and rarely used. On the other hand, Tagore was a poet and Marjorie thought it more likely that the quotation had come from him. In her book, *Gandhi, his gift of the fight*, she quotes Tagore writing in *City and Village* in 1928:

“Mother Earth has enough for the healthy appetites of her children, and something extra for rare cases of abnormality. But she has not nearly enough for the sudden growth of a whole world of spoilt and pampered children.”

The trouble is that Gandhi shared the sentiment completely and Marjorie quotes him writing in *Young India* in 1924 about nationalism:

“I want the freedom of my country so that the resources of my country might be used for the benefit of mankind. A country has to be free in order that, if need be, it may die so that the human race may live. Let that be our nationalism ... World peace can be firmly assured only when nations learn to share goods, services and knowledge with other nations and limit their own consumption for the sake of other nations.”

The message is as relevant now as it has ever been as it recognises that the answer to poverty is not more production but fairer distribution.

Another well-known saying attributed to Gandhi is, “Even if you are in a minority of one, the truth is still the truth.” Did he really say it? And if so, where in the hundred volumes can it be found? **Graham Davey**

Reviews

International Journal of Gandhi Studies Volume 1, 2012 pp220
Edited by Sushil Mittal

This new academic journal devoted to Gandhian studies is very welcome. The journal is edited by Sushil Mittal, Professor of Hindu Studies at James Madison University, Virginia, USA, and the Advisory Board includes Antony Copley, Academic Adviser to the Gandhi Foundation, and Bhikhu Parekh, President of the GF. Seven papers by Gandhi scholars are included in the first issue.

Sharada Sugirtharajah, Birmingham University, chooses to look at the issue of religious pluralism as propounded by John Hick, the distinguished British philosopher of religion, and Gandhi and she finds ‘striking resonances’

in their approaches. Religious experience led them to an understanding of higher reality which Gandhi called Truth, and Hick called Real or Transcendent rather than God. Both see the differences between the various faith traditions but consider these religions as each displaying a distinctive way of relating to Truth or Reality. Gandhi's pluralistic outlook was influenced by the Jainism that was strong in Gujarat where he was brought up, while Hick's pluralism was reached later in life as he grew away from the exclusive truth of evangelical Christianity. Both Hick and Gandhi agree that the Real or absolute Truth is not knowable in its fullness to human beings. Like Gandhi, Hick was more concerned with deeds than with correctness of belief.

Sean Scalmer, a historian at the University of Melbourne, Australia, looks at how Gandhi was represented in the Western media. Scalmer claims that journalists focused mainly on Gandhi's appearance and represented him and his followers as childlike and so incapable of self-government. His face and head were judged to be ugly, his body skinny and weak, and his nakedness shocking. Therefore to Westerners he was an inferior type, although he was also considered 'spiritual' as Hindus were judged to be. He was also sometimes thought of as effeminate. Scalmer regards this as a case of Orientalism.

However Gandhi's dress was an intentional dramatic statement aimed at political effect. Some recognised his conscious adoption of simple Indian dress as a rejection of Western superiority expressed through dress and hence a rejection of British rule. The British who had to negotiate with him in the attire he insisted upon half-recognised their loss of power

The enormous attention which Gandhi received in the media was due to his dramatic qualities. This media attention reached its peak in 1930-1. He was named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1930. This kept the Indian cause in the public eye but sometimes the media criticised him, calling his appearance and actions ostentatious or 'publicity stunts'. And this could lead to accusations of insincerity. But the purity of Gandhi's belief was central to his dramatic appeal. Gandhi's closest colleagues came to his defence and strongly denied that he was posing. Some journalists also recognised that he could be "newsworthy to journalists and truthful to himself".

Farah Godrej, a professor of Political Science at the University of California, Riverside, presents Gandhi's theory of nonviolence as a method of public discourse in multi-cultural democracies. There are different competing truth claims in these societies over such issues as abortion, how women should dress, euthanasia, same-sex marriage. What Godrej puts forward is a secular theory of nonviolence detached from any spiritual view, what she calls 'civic ahimsa'. The practice of civic ahimsa involves three requirements. The first is self-scrutiny, meaning that a position should be publicly expressed only after thorough examination including acknowledging that the adversary may have a better grasp of the issue than oneself. The second is engaging in public discourse in an attempt to persuade one's

adversary to one's own moral position. Likewise the opponent is encouraged to persuade one of the correctness of their position. Finally, one must be willing to suffer nonviolently and undergo legal sanctions arising from civil disobedience or other nonviolent direct action undertaken as a last resort.

Douglas Allen, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Maine, examines Gandhi's form of socialism. There were many socialists of different varieties in the Indian Independence movement. But this has changed in the last two decades as Indian politicians have embraced corporate capitalism. In 1947 Gandhi wrote: "Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal – none low, none high". Sometimes he described himself as a communist who wishes to destroy capitalism, although not the capitalist. In spite of that it is not easy to draw out a consistent socialist philosophy from Gandhi's writings as he is primarily concerned with the practical and not the theoretical. He does not like centralised state power and prefers a decentralised village-based society. He also rejects the violent overthrow of the capitalist state. An idea he was fond of was trusteeship, by which he meant we all, but especially the wealthy, should only keep sufficient for our own basic needs and use the rest for the welfare of the more needy. After dealing with what Allen sees as the weaknesses and confusion in Gandhi's socialism he lists ten strengths and concludes that Gandhi's philosophical and ethical principles are antithetical to capitalism. His way leads to "realising greater Truth and Reality through nonviolent egoless service, meeting the social needs and working for the welfare of all, and experiencing the ethical and spiritual unifying interrelatedness of all of life".

Anthony Parel, Emeritus Professor of Political Science, University of Calgary, believes that Gandhi's ideas have a particular underlying philosophy and are not just a collection of disparate ideas. He believes that the theory underlying Gandhi's philosophy is that of the *purusharthas*. According to Indian thought the goals that humans pursue are wealth and power (*artha*), pleasure (*kama*), ethical integrity (*dharma*), spiritual transcendence (*moksha*). However a movement called *shramana* arose which promoted the pursuit of transcendence above the others and led to withdrawal from mundane activities. Thus a conflict developed between the four *purusharthas* leading to an imbalance. Gandhi's contribution to Indian civilisation was to bring the four *purusharthas* together again.

Parel discerns the *purushartha* approach in Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* and in his autobiography. Modern civilisation has prioritised *artha* and *kama* over *dharma* and *moksha*, while Indian civilisation had done the opposite. What was needed was a rebalancing of the four. Parel sees Gandhi as providing a political philosophy rooted in an updated Indian tradition of *purusharthas* rather than one imported from the West.

Thomas Weber, Professor of Politics at La Trobe University, Melbourne, deals with one of the most unusual of the many women in Gandhi's life, an American called Nilla Cram Cook. Cook was a sensual, passionate woman

who posed the greatest challenge to Gandhi who hoped to convert her to a celibate life. Her family background was Bohemian and her development was precocious. She came to India via Greece, where her father had settled, and she was already married, briefly, at the age of 16 and had a son. Meeting Gandhi at the age of 22 she had thrown herself into anti-untouchability work in the villages. This impressed Gandhi but other information came to him that her character was suspect – apart from men in her life she had many debts. But she declared that she wanted to put that behind her. Then suddenly Gandhi announced a fast without apparent cause. He called it self-purificatory and it appears that Nilla's influence had some part in his decision. Gandhi sent her from the Harijan village where she was living to the Sabarmati Ashram. But she fled from there and after a number of moves she (and her son) were repatriated to the USA. She had been testing to Gandhi but he did not regret the attempt to reform her. The rest of her life was colourful and included conversion to Islam. Did Gandhi see in Nilla a way to test his own *brahmacharya* as he did in a more explicit way a few years later ?

Michael Nojeim is a Professor of Political Science at Prairie View University, Texas. His paper is on Gandhi and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the US. Gandhi's influence on the American Negroes' (to use the word acceptable then) struggle for equal rights was significant although they did not take up his vegetarianism, celibacy or nature cures. They were attracted to the idea of nonviolent suffering as a means of social reform. Although Gandhi never visited the USA several of his colleagues did during the 1920s and 1930s. Also W E B Du Bois, the leading scholar and human rights campaigner, sponsored a journal symposium as early as 1924 although personally he had reservations about nonviolence being suited to the Negro character. In 1929 Gandhi wrote letters of support and in 1935 some prominent Negroes visited him in India and this was followed by others. In the 1940s A S Randolph took up nonviolent techniques among workers without however adopting nonviolent philosophy. Sympathetic white Americans such as Richard Gregg and A J Muste also visited Gandhi and then spread the idea of satyagraha in the US. One of the leading activists in the civil rights movement was James Lawson, who lost his university post as a consequence. He had spent three years as a missionary in India and back in the US he organised 'freedom rides' and sit-ins in the South.

Martin Luther King discovered Gandhi's writings while a student and saw that Christian ethics combined with Gandhian satyagraha made the perfect vehicle for principled political action. Martin and his wife Coretta Scott King went to India in 1959 and returned even more committed to nonviolent transformation of American society. While the civil rights movement led by King was the high point, so far, of Gandhian nonviolence in America it lives on in many small organisations and in the conscience of many individuals.

The IJGS is an excellent addition to the list of Gandhian journals as the papers are of a consistently high quality. For annual subscription send to:

IJGS Editorial Office, 155 Rachel Drive, Penn Laird, VA 22846, USA.
Cheques should be made to 'World Heritage Press', \$25, or \$30 if outside
North America. **George Paxton**

Whose Country is it Anyway ? Untold Stories of the Indigenous Peoples of India Gladson Dungdung Adivani 2013

This collection of activist essays is out just when it is needed most: a book touching on every aspect of the Adivasi situation by an Adivasi activist prepared to take on the big questions and the key perpetrators of violence, from the big companies staging takeovers, headed by Tata, to the police increasingly serving these companies rather than India's citizens, and the politicians facilitating the takeovers.

The book's starting point is a recent Supreme Court Judgement that validates Adivasis' identity as India's original inhabitants. Significantly, this case involved an Adivasi woman stripped naked and shoved around a village in Maharashtra. Another piece focuses on the plight of Anna, a domestic servant, whose unheard plea for justice is symptomatic of mass exploitation and oppression of Adivasi women in domestic service. As for exposure to rape – what about rapists in uniform ? Hasn't rape been used against tribal people as a weapon of subjugation for decades ? When tribal women are gang-raped by police or army personnel, are perpetrators ever punished ? "Are these women too ?" is one of the book's strongest essays, covering the sexual abuse in a school in Chhattisgarh and other episodes that bring national shame.

The first essay starts at the beginning with the inspiring, yet harrowing story of the first Adivasi to oppose East India Company invasions, in 1779, with the words "Earth is our Mother". Baba Tilika Manjhi paid for opposing the British with a gruesome death, giving the lie to the mastermind of this Paharia campaign, Augustus Cleveland, whose memorial in Bhagalpore claimed that he brought this tribal people under British rule "without terrors of authority" !

The book's documentation of the many forms of violence and prejudice ranged against Adivasis fills a vital gap in literature. The detail is often sickening and will make any sane person extremely angry. It is shown how Adivasis are being displaced by dams, by industrial/mining projects, by continuing tricks of non-Adivasis, and – perhaps most outrageously of all – by the new University for the Study and Research of Law at Nagri. As Dungdung points out, the head of this university is also Jharkhand's Chief Justice. If this isn't a blatant conflict of interest, what is ? This university's takeover of land lays down a pattern of trampling on the Law that does not bode well for its future !

The book documents the situation in other states besides Jharkhand, such as Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Assam, where the Forest Department's use

of Boro tribal people to evict Adivasis from their forest land shows a typical colonial technique of turning one tribe against another. As the author asks, if Rahul Gandhi says he is Adivasis' *sipahi* in Delhi, he needs to speak up a lot louder and more often on Adivasi issues !

Dungdung rightly points out that in many ways Nehru is the 'Architect of Adivasis' misery', through his ideology of dams as 'temples of modern India'. The experience of tens of thousands of Adivasis whose lives have been ruined by dams forms a blatant contradiction to Nehru's stated principle that tribal people should always be allowed to develop according to their own genius. However well-meaning Nehru was in his words, his violent actions towards tribal communities at certain times have yet to be recognised: apart from the horror of his big dams, he also sent in the troops against tribal communities in Telengana in 1948, destroying the achievements of 3,000 villages who had effected a democratic redistribution of land, and similarly in Nagaland and Manipur during the 1950s, where troops used extreme levels of violence to force submission. In each case, 'security forces' established a level of habitual violence, including use of 'rape as a weapon of war', for which thousands of perpetrators went unpunished. Operation Greenhunt is just the latest manifestation of the recurring patterns of state violence that these two operations initiated. Offering just military action and 'development' to counteract today's Maoist insurgency is no solution at all 'precisely because the injustice, discrimination and denial are the foundation of the violence'.

Gladson Dungdung records the starvation levels of hunger still faced by large numbers of Adivasis. As Binayak Sen has pointed out using medical and nutrition statistics, over 50% of Adivasis and Dalits are presently living under famine conditions of malnourishment. This being so, how can India's rulers claim they have brought 'development' at all to these sections of society ? To be real, development needs to be under local democratic control, not dictated by corporations and opaque government hierarchies.

As the two most discriminated-against groups in India, Dalits and Adivasis share many experiences. Yet the difference between the two groups is also important to be aware of: Dalits were more or less enslaved by mainstream society, while Adivasis maintained a high level of independence up to British times. As such, they developed their own diverse cultures and languages to a high level. Adivasi cultures are still too often perceived through stereotypes as 'primitive' and 'backward', when the reality is that they are extremely civilised and highly developed in areas of life where mainstream society is weak or degenerate. Centuries of development is often destroyed when Adivasi communities are thrown off their land by projects usurping the name 'development'.

Adivasi society needs to be recognised for its formidable achievements, including an economic system that is based on and in accordance with the principles of ecology, and therefore sustainable in the true sense and the long term. Cultural Genocide is the term for what Adivasis are facing now all over India, and this book is a landmark in spelling out the injustice. It is a pity the

book is not better edited for grammatical errors. These do not affect the quality of writing however, which is consistently high, and the historical importance of this book. By bringing out the truth, and documenting the situation from an authentic Adivasi perspective, it gives hope for a turning of the tide that will counteract the genocidal invasions and takeovers of Adivasi land.

Felix Padel

Letters

‘Gloomy Thoughts’

I have to point out that twice-over thoughts attributed to me are not mine. Nitin Mehta ascribes to me an ‘apocalyptic vision of India's rampant capitalism’ when it is transparently clear from my piece *Gloomy Thoughts* that I am here but transcribing what I understood Bulu Iman to have said in his acceptance speech. M R Rajagopalan quotes an observation, ‘a satyagraha can only impact if your opponent has a moral susceptibility to injustice’, etc, yet once again it is made perfectly clear that here I am citing once again the opinion of Bulu Iman. I am of course in agreement with Bulu Iman's insight into the power of satyagraha. If I share a worry at the impact of mining capitalism on the forest areas I would not, however, use Bulu Iman's language – indeed nothing I've ever written or said suggests that I'd do so – but then I have not dedicated my life to recording the culture of a forest people which is now put at such grave risk.

Antony Copley, Canterbury

Gandhi Foundation and India

I have read the above captioned letter of Mr. Nitin Mehta in the Winter Issue (2012) of *The Gandhi Way*. One thing I would like to concede is that a majority of Indians hold views similar to that of Mr. Mehta and would support him in toto.

Unfortunately, I do not belong to that majority. I am concerned with the truth value of his statements. Mr Mehta has questioned the veracity of the statements of Dr Binayak Sen and Bulu Imam on Adivasis and minorities. Well, the Supreme court of India, while acquitting Dr Sen has more or less endorsed his averments. On several occasions in the recent past, High Courts of India in some states and the Supreme court of India have expressed their anguish and displeasure over police atrocities and violations of human rights – especially of the Dalits, Adivasis and minorities.

Further, from the annual reports of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, one could see how bad the situation is with respect to crimes against the Dalits, Adivasis and minorities – only in a very small percentage of cases do the victims get justice.

Like they say in English you don't need a lamp to look for missing things in daylight.

About Development Activities in Tribal areas:

“Dr B D Sharma commissioner for STs & SCs (1980) has argued that the outcome of developmental measures taken by the government and the adverse forces already at work in society had led to a ‘relentless slide back’ in the fortunes of SCs & STs despite gains by way of ‘reservations’ in govt. jobs. The people were paying a heavy price for the so-called ‘development’: The institutions of the state had abdicated their constitutional responsibility of safeguarding the interest of the deprived sections. The executive in particular, with its distorted role perception, was working against the interest of SCs & STs”. (Quoted by K.S. Subramanian in his book *Political Violence and Police in India*)

Incidentally Dr B D Sharma was an officer of the Government of India when he wrote this.

As for the link between corporate elite politicians and the press I would like to quote John Dewey from an Op-Ed article in *New York Times* dated 5 October 2008 by Noam Chomsky.

“Politics is the shadow cast on society by big business,” concluded John Dewey, and will remain so as long as it remains in “business for private profit through private control of banking, land, industry, reinforced by command of the press, press agents and other means of publicity and propaganda.”

The United States has effectively a one party system, the business party, with two factions, Republicans and Democrats.

This applies *mutatis mutandis* to all major developed and developing nations of the world.

Lastly, a word about exploitation of Natural Resources: It is an indisputable fact of History that during the 16th to 19th centuries and the first half of the 20th century, the European Nations thoroughly exploited, looted and destroyed the natural resources of the American, African and Asian continents – the most barbaric being that of Spain in South American continent and Britain all over the world.

The question is, does it justify the same sort of exploitation by Indians in India, Brazilians in Brazil etc. etc. in the name of Development ? A wrongful act cannot be justified by arguing that it is a smaller and less serious wrongful act than what was done in the past by several others.

We do need development, a better life for the poorer sections of the people – not by dispossessing some of our own fellow human beings. We should go slow and look for alternatives.

M R Rajagopalan, Managing Trustee, Gandhigram Trust, Gandhigram 624 302, Dindigul District, Tamil Nadu.

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The Gandhi Way

Articles, book reviews and letters of a specifically or broadly Gandhian nature will gladly be received by the Editor. Maximum length 2000 words.

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Aung San Suu Kyi visiting the Nobel Peace Centre in 2012 when she received the Prize awarded in 1991. She is accompanied by the Director Ms Bente Ericksen and Chair of the Nobel Peace Committee Thorbjørn Jagland. See *The Gandhi Way* no.114 for an article on the Burmese leader.



A view of part of the Gandhi exhibition in 2012
Photos: Sara Johannessen / Nobel Peace Center

