

The Gandhi Way



Newsletter of The Gandhi Foundation

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The Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award 2014

will be presented to **Godric Bader**
for his life-long commitment to promotion of Trusteeship in industry
Thursday 30 October 2014, 4.00-6.30pm
in the House of Lords Committee Room 4A
Please register with william@gandhifoundation.org or 07910215651
See also pages 15-17

Gandhi Foundation Annual Lecture 2014 in association with the Inner Temple

The Rule of Law and Nation Building

Hon Dr Navichandra Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of
Mauritius

at the Inner Temple, London EC4Y 7HL

on Wednesday 1 October 2014 at 6pm

Admission by ticket which is free. Apply to:

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Living Sustainably:

Rethinking how an equitable future for all depends on decisions we make now.

Richard Jurin

When we talk about living sustainably, the greatest problem is thinking it is about simply changing to environmentally sensitive 'green' technology. While green technology is a part of this sustainability change, the reality is that our capacity to endure sustainably as a species literally means integrating our thinking about the economic, sociocultural, psychological, and ecological systems for long-term equitable human and natural benefit. When equity exists, many of the reasons for conflict disappear and non-violent cooperative interactions become commonplace. The path to a truly sustainable world combines environmental sustainability and social justice revolving around civic engagement. This path can be summed up through twelve simple principles that readily embody Gandhi's ideas of peace and equity.

PRINCIPLE 1 – Sustainable Living is more than just better environmental behaviors and engineering Fixes! It is recognizing the need to rethink how we interact equitably with each other and live within limits of our ecosystems both locally and globally.

PRINCIPLE 2 – Social and Cultural Trends hold us back from thinking sustainably. The industrial revolution of the past two centuries and especially the last 60 years created sociocultural changes through technological advancement that greatly modified how we live together within a hyper-consumer society. Many developing countries aspire to these technological comforts without realizing the cost of cultural decline and environmental deterioration that usually accompany such change.

PRINCIPLE 3 – There is a difference between Standard of Living versus Quality of Life. The Gandhi foundation correctly states that "Simple lifestyles avoid an endless quest for more possessions and superficial experiences." Especially in the industrialized world, we've lost track of what it is that makes life worth living. We are dominated by the idea that technological comforts and luxuries equals happiness and well-being. It is a strange contradiction that the higher the standard of living climbs, the more likely the overall quality of life diminishes. It's not that we need to relinquish technological benefits, we just need to balance them with our more pressing sociocultural needs. We have to start thinking about the bigger picture of our lives and the resources truly needed to create this balance.

PRINCIPLE 4 – Critical and Systemic Thinking is a prerequisite for sustainability. We have to be willing and able to ask those hard questions about our lives and our resource use, and then understand how myriad variables act upon the system. Passion for change is wonderful, but without the rigor of full knowledge and understanding of how

systems function it can become just rhetorical noise. There are literally hundreds of environmental issues, which really boil down to a few simple root problems – human population, over consumption, fossil fuel use, and how we think about them. One of the most pervasive systems in our world today is that of economics. If we truly aspire to global and local equity we need to understand two more principles:

PRINCIPLE 5 – New models of economics foster equitable prosperity (well-being), and sustainability, and PRINCIPLE 6 - Happiness and Well-Being are primary factors describing a sustainable lifestyle. A Gandhi Foundation goal emphasizes “egalitarian economics, emphasizing self-reliance, cooperation, and trusteeship.” Globalization has fostered a destructive set of market forces focused simply on profit, all the while destroying local economies that are better suited to managing commerce at the local level. New economic metrics framed through ecological economics removes the simple ‘bottom-line’ only thinking and replaces it with a more holistic set of measures that consider environmental and human welfare as the central indicators of success.

The industrialized world has developed an economic food production system relying extensively on fossil fuels for fertilizers, pesticides, and using farm equipment. While food yields over the last 50 years have apparently increased, so has the plague of obesity with the terrible western diet of ‘fast and processed food’ and the marked increase of animal abuse through Concentrated Animal Feedlot Operations (CAFOs) reliant on highly subsidized crops. This brings us to:

PRINCIPLE 7 – Developing new agricultural food systems promotes healthy, sustainable lifestyles. Developing respect for animals ends their exploitation and creates localized food systems making communities self-reliant and free of corporate control. Industrialized farming grows a staggering amount of crops to feed large numbers of animals inhumanely penned up in CAFOs before being slaughtered to simply to meet the needs of meat hungry populations. The industrial farming system is designed as part of a globalized system where crops and fruits are transported around the world to allow us to enjoy things like strawberries in winter. If the crops (like Corn and soybean) are not processed for use as animal feed for CAFOs, they go to factories that make tens of thousands of various processed foods. In most industrially developed countries, most farming is controlled by corporate systems intent on maximizing their profit margins, which encourages a globalized food market system at the expense of localized economies and people. This system also promotes more processed food and ‘fast food’. Sadly, most processed food is treated chemically to be tasty with additional chemical preservatives to ensure long shelf life. Worldwide, there are movements to eat more healthily from localized organic farms, often using polycropping and permaculture techniques to ensure food is as pure as we expect it to be.

In general, 90% of Energy is lost as we move up the food chain. Simply eating lower on the food chain means that if we eat the vegetables grown in a field instead of feeding them to animals and then eating the meat, we gain 90% more calories of food. In a subsistence farming system using 'green' manure, energy expenditure to yield is about 1 calorie of energy used to 2 calories yield. Industrial farming systems use chemical fertilizers, pesticides and fossil fuels for intensive machinery use. The ratio is inverse at 2:1, with an additional 10 units of energy to transport it to places distal from where it was grown giving a final average ratio of 12:1 input to yield of crop. Simply localizing our food gives us immense savings of energy. Then keeping modern yields, using modern organic, polyculture, and permaculture techniques can give us more equal ratios of energy (possibly as good as 1:2) that are controlled locally.

PRINCIPLE 8 – Educating for sustainability is much more than just knowledge. Gandhi believed a “Grassroots democracy should be decentralized, human-scale, and involve active participation from everyone”. Our currently educational process promotes the dissemination of information but is rarely about learning. Our educational system is more about learning information and skills for a future career than how we ought to live well in a place. Living sustainability means looking systemically at how we live and work together for the well-being of all the people. Certainly knowledge and skills are an essential part of living in a technological world, but learning the process of being an engaged citizen is largely ignored. In a hyper-individualistic, hyper-consumer world, the community is transformed into a place in which one merely lives. The skills for being a good citizen, and how to interact and cooperate with each other are an essential part of ensuring equity and overall well-being that encourages empathy and compassion. Civic education is an essential part of the educational process where these skills that are naturally inherent within children can also be taught to adults. Systems need to be ingeniously considered at all levels from localized ones where we live to the larger political systems that manage sharing of resources across larger ecosystems.

Technology utilizing large amounts of fossil fuels energy has been pivotal in creating the modern industrialized world with all its luxuries, comforts, and labour saving machinery, but at a high price socially, culturally, and ecologically.

PRINCIPLE 9 emphasizes that utilizing ‘good and appropriate’ technology focusses on a new Industrial ecology mindset. For a short interval in human history (about 300 years) we have access to an amazingly compact, although highly polluting, form of energy from fossil fuels. What happens after those fuels run out depends on decisions we make today. Human technological innovation has always been restricted by energy! If everyone on the planet is to enjoy a good standard of living safe from chemical and toxic pollution with adequate energy to meet our needs, then we must pursue sustainable industrial ecology. In the natural

world, everything is recycled completely through natural food webs. Photosynthesis on the planet potentially captures about 4% of the energy streaming to us from the sun. Our big quandary is, not only must we practice sound energy conservation measures and non-toxic manufacturing systems, but we must build a renewable energy capture system (e.g. wind, solar, tidal, etc...) that is essentially free energy once built. The disclaimer, however, is that it must be built now from the fossil fuel system currently in place, because it will require mega amounts of minerals and energy to build the renewable system. For instance, solar panels and wind towers are not environmentally benign to manufacture. A 3MW wind tower requires 9.9 tons of pure copper (around 2000 tons of ore) for the generator and wiring, and about 1700 tons of ore for minerals to construct the tower. Despite the 'free' energy that will be gained once they are in place, that is a lot of mining needed, and this is just for one tower of the many hundreds of thousands that will be needed. We will need to think of how we manage this whole system through an industrial ecology process that mimics the earth's natural systems.

PRINCIPLE 10 – Community is a central part of who we are as humans. Localized farming as mentioned in principle 7 has many other benefits such as more integrated, cohesive, and resilient communities that are more autonomous and equitable. The natural condition for humans is living within community and not as individuals simply living together.

PRINCIPLE 11 – Transitioning to sustainable living can take many forms. One of the greatest misnomers I get is that sustainability is a specific way of living, which really misses the point. There is no one right way to live sustainably, but as given in this article is a series of principles to be applied in different ways, creating harmony with specific locations that address ecosystem constraints for nutrient cycles and energy use. Human beings are not perfect and angelic, yet throughout history, humans have found that living communally creates more equitable living. Avoiding hierarchical governing systems requires vigilance and can be achieved when we believe in ourselves.

PRINCIPLE 12 – Change for sustainable living is possible when we imagine it and believe it – Believing in ourselves ! The key is not to keep moving down the same path that is OK for some and a struggle for most. We must 'embrace transparency' as a central tenet in all things we do and how we think. We don't all have to agree, but we must work to empower each other, and understand everyone else's worldviews and perspectives through tolerance and pluralism. Gandhi regarded different religions and philosophies as each possessing some but not the whole truth. This is true for all our thinking and actions. We all bring something to the table. If we are to live in relative peace and harmony we must focus on quality of life issues promoting change to give people what they really want from their lives. These quality issues are physical comfort, good interpersonal relations, interesting cultural activities, good health, good nutrition, satisfying jobs, and life purpose. People are hardwired to be empathic and altruistic and

can now aspire for a level of human development that encompasses humanity as a single group. Once everyone begins the full transition to sustainability, industrial systems will no longer produce harmful artificial chemicals and relocalized living will provide healthier food and more benign resources that are sustainable and in harmony with the planet. Happiness, health, and equity will naturally come when people live for sustainability.

Source: Jurin, Richard, R. 2012. *Principles of Sustainable Living: A New Vision of Health, Happiness and Prosperity*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

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A Gandhi Alphabet (IV)

P Politics

Hinduism centres on the values of *dharma*, a moral code – *karma*, pleasure – *artha*, politics and wealth – *moksha*, or release and the attainment of *nirvana*. Gandhi was exceptional in seeing in politics the means of *moksha*. By connecting politics and religion Gandhi was taking Indian politics in a particular direction and rubbing up against the strong tendency of India's Anglicised elite to want to go in quite different Western-style constitutional directions. Many were deeply suspicious of Gandhi's style of politics and just saw him as playing at the role of the saintly, whilst in fact being a very astute and devious power politician. But there is no cause to doubt his integrity. But it all put intolerable demands on his contemporaries.

One of his greatest successes was in winning over the Nehrus, father and son, Motilal and Jawaharlal. Motilal was a paradigm old-style Congress politician and that he came into line with Gandhi's non-cooperation campaign was an amazing conversion. It was vital for Gandhi to keep the younger generation on side and pre-empt their attraction to far more radical, socialist, even terrorist politics, and through winning over Jawaharlal, English educated, moderniser, quasi-socialist, to a large degree he succeeded in doing so.

Gandhi often seemed far more engaged by matters of social reform, and always looked rather bored at major Constitutional conferences, but he was a democrat and did not turn away from the need for the fashioning of more progressive political institutions. But his was a vision of a decentralised India, resting on its villages, a kind of oceanic vision of the whole. Shortly before he was assassinated, he told Congress to disband itself as a political organisation and devote its energies to social work.

Q Quit India

Gandhi's decision to launch the Quit India satyagraha 8 August 1942 was one of his most contentious. Many in Congress, Nehru and Rajagopalachari above all, wanted to find a way of working with the British to meet the challenge of Japanese aggression. Was not Gandhi putting India at risk? It was an almost impossible dilemma for Gandhi, how to stand by his belief in nonviolence and yet protect his country. All attempts to work out some form of collaboration with the British through the Cripps mission foundered. Did Gandhi hope that by fighting for independence a new India would emerge, better able to deal with Japan? In fact a number of considerations were in play. Gandhi saw the need for some radical gesture if he were to upstage one of his most serious rivals, Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army, actively allied to the Japanese. Although Gandhi had tried to keep Bose on side by sanctioning his Presidency of Congress in 1938, there were irreparable differences about how to attain freedom, and Bose drifted into opportunist alliances with the fascist powers. Possibly Gandhi always assumed the British would still be there to meet the challenge of invasion. As it happened the satyagraha quickly turned into a campaign of violence and for once, it seems, Gandhi was more resigned to letting resistance play itself out, though he was ready once again to fast unto death to prove his innocence of endorsing violence.

R Religion

Gandhi's religious belief in his mature years embraced features from different religious traditions, although he called himself a Hindu. He was born into a family who were Vaishnava Hindus but his mother belonged to the minority tradition of Pranami which combined Hindu and Muslim elements and in addition his father had many Jain friends. Jainism was to be a considerable influence on Gandhi's developing beliefs, especially *ahimsa* and *anekantevada*, the many-sidedness of reality.

In Britain as a student he came across the Theosophical movement which he found interesting as it was of Western origin but looked to Eastern spirituality. Ethical societies were appearing in the late 19th century in the USA and Britain and he was attracted to them and their literature. The societies did not last for very long but for Gandhi religion always had a large ethical component. Tolstoy's religious writings also influenced his developing ideas confirming nonviolence as a key component.

He naturally met many Christians in Britain and when he settled in South Africa many more, some of whom tried to convert him to Christianity. While Gandhi respected individual Christians and was strongly drawn to the person and ethical teaching of Jesus the theology of Christianity did not attract him. One of his closest friends, from 1914, was the Christian, Charles Freer

Andrews, Charlie and Mohan to each other. Andrews had gone out to India as a teaching missionary but took up the cause of indentured labourers in the British Empire travelling thousands of miles from Fiji to Trinidad in that cause.

Gandhi's religion had two great principles: Truth (*satya*) and Nonviolence (*ahimsa*). He saw these as interconnected as end and means – Truth was the end sought and the means were Nonviolence. This implied tolerance of other beliefs as human beings could never possess the whole truth.

S Satyagraha

The word 'satyagraha' grew out of the 'passive resistance' movement of the Indians in South Africa. Having tried established methods of campaigning for improvement in the legal position of the Indian community without success Gandhi turned to what was then called passive resistance. However he was dissatisfied with this expression and so towards the end of 1907 he had a competition in *Indian Opinion* for a suitable alternative. A relative, Maganlal Gandhi, contributed the word 'sadagraha' meaning 'firmness in a good cause' which Gandhi liked but changed it to 'satyagraha' or 'firmly holding to the truth'.

Gandhi's understanding of nonviolent satyagraha was that the user, the satyagrahi, is prepared to suffer the consequences of its use with courage and without bitterness. This, he believed, would 'melt the heart' of one's opponent and lead to a positive change. Ideally there was no coercion involved in the process but it has been doubted whether this is the case in most interactions. Whatever the mechanism it has proved to be a powerful method of political action. It was the principal method of action used by the Indian National Congress from 1919 under Gandhi's leadership. In practice it often proved difficult for all participants to maintain nonviolence and Gandhi sometimes called off satyagrahas which he had launched because of the outbreak of violence.

Satyagraha was to be used only if strenuous efforts at negotiation had failed. When used the participants were to maintain strict discipline. This can clearly be seen in the satyagrahas launched by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and in the Salt satyagraha. Gandhi laid down detailed rules of behaviour for the satyagrahis.

*The Human Right to Peace:
Foundation for a Just International Order*

Annual Erskine Childers Lecture 2014

by Alfred de Zayas, UN Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur

Thursday 9 October 6pm-8.30pm

Hilton London Euston, 17-18 Upper Woburn Place, London WC1H 0HT

Contact: Vijay Mehta vijay@vmpeace.org

Moving Towards Peace in the Middle East and North Africa: Reflections on the Religious Factor

Brian Cooper

Learning from Europe's Experience

From mid-16th century to mid-17th century, in the wake of the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation, many wars of religion engulfed Europe: conflicts between states, civil wars, England's conflict with Spain, the terrible 30 Years War (1618-48) when Germany lost one third of its populace; Britain's 17th century civil wars. Of course, religion was not the *only* factor – class conflict, dynastic succession, balance of power, economic forces were also important – but the clash of religious forces was the dynamic – imbuing conflicts with intense persistence and uncompromising fanaticism, far greater than in purely political wars. Why? Because religion claims to deal with absolute truths, humanity/God issues, the very fundamentals of human existence – so can unleash unequalled energies for good – and ill. After 100 years of conflicts, a war-weary Europe finally recognised this – religion was removed from international relations. For 300 years, except on the Balkan periphery, religion ceased to be a dynamic for conflict in Europe. This fundamental change resulted from sheer war-exhaustion – and, in northern Europe, acceptance of religious toleration. Only in the 20th century, with quasi-religious Fascism, did violent fanaticism return. [Contrary to Osama bin Laden's claim, Britain defeated the Ottoman Empire in World War One for imperialism, not to replace the Caliphate with a 'Christian' system.]

Why is this recall of European history relevant for 'moving towards peace in the Middle East' ? Because significant parallels between 16th/17th century Europe and early 21st century Middle East are readily evident. Religion, especially rivalry between Sunni Islam and Shia Islam in Iraq, Syria and elsewhere, but not only that rivalry, is the high-energy dynamic encompassing and heightening power struggles, drives for regional spheres of influence and control of resources, rush to fill post-US vacuum, etc. The context is this: a fundamental shift has taken place across the region from Tunisia to Afghanistan/Pakistan. The vacuum left by collapse of 20th century Arab secular ideologies – Arab Socialism, secular nationalism and Pan-Arabism – has been filled by **Islamism** – a spiritual resurgence with deep but differing political consequences made more complex by interaction with the Arab Spring [initially 'secular' – then more Islamist]. Islamism in its various forms from moderate to ISIS etc., is now the dominant narrative across the Muslim world.

Can the Middle East move away from violence ?

Is the Middle East doomed to repeat Europe's terrible experience of religion-fuelled conflict ?

Today, signs are not good: Sunni-Shia division, a genuine historic schism within Islam, threatens to engulf the region as fanatical mis-use of faith 'justifies' terrorism and banditry – and is used for power rivalries, eg Shia Iran v Sunni Saudi Arabia. In Bahrain, the Shia majority struggles for democratic rights against a Sunni ruling elite. Tunisia offers hope as its moderate Islamist Ennahda Party rules in a broad coalition to establish lasting democracy. **If other states followed Tunisia's example, that would contribute hugely to building peace.**

Yet it seems unlikely the Muslim Middle East today would be willing to learn from Europe's history, due to its deep-rooted and wholly justifiable *distrust* of the West. Dr Javed Saqlain, Pakistan Consul in Glasgow, addressing a Uniting for Peace Middle East event in Edinburgh in 2013 declared: "the disastrous consequences of the Gulf Wars, the Afghan War and the West's hypocritical silence over Palestine and Kashmir, have only deepened Muslim distrust". So, if Muslim Middle East won't learn from Europe's past – and one wishes it would – could it recall the 'golden ages' of Ottoman and other rulers who gave full freedom of worship to the other faiths of the Book – the other Abrahamic faiths, Judaism and Christianity ? [eg Pre-Reconquista southern Spain ?]

Religion – A Force for Peace and Harmony, not Discord and Division ?

As the dominant religious presence in the Middle East, Islam has a special responsibility for Christians and other minorities. Countries like Jordan and some Gulf states offer a high degree of religious freedom, allowing churches, synagogues, Hindu mandir and other faith traditions to operate freely; other states are restrictive, or even totally ban non-Muslim faith expressions. Since the prophet Mahomet [peace be upon him] was protected by a Christian king and himself protected churches and synagogues, saying all followers of Abraham should be honoured, surely such restrictions cannot be justified. If all Middle East countries could move towards full **religious freedom**, as the most basic human right, that would contribute greatly towards peace-building – because different faiths can and do build harmony together.

The sudden rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, unlike Al-Qaeda, is not primarily anti-Western [but certainly a danger to the West] but "attacks what it sees as deviant forms of Islam, both Shiite and Sunni. This is why Al-Qaeda has disowned ISIS as too violent and theocratically wrong" – Major Gen. Jonathan Shaw, commander UK forces in Basra and critic of the Iraq War 2003. For now, ISIS's enemies are Iraq's Shiites, al-Malaki's [Shiite] and Assad's secular/Alawite, regimes. Its aim of restoring the Caliphate from the

Atlantic to Indonesia aims at the total politicisation of the ‘umma’, the worldwide Muslim family of faith.

Muslim leaders and scholars in both Sunni and Shia communities, who deplore violence and atrocities being done in the name of their faith traditions, must speak out and condemn those who mis-use Islam for violence. How can prayer to the Merciful, Compassionate Deity – Allah/God – be followed by terrible killing? Is this not as much a denial of true Islam as the Crusades were a denial of the teaching of Jesus? Christian communities are now targetted by Jihadists in Syria; many Christians have become refugees. “Islamic unity is the best hope for a lasting Christian presence in the Middle East” – His Beatitude Gregorios III, Melkite Greek Catholic Patriarch of Damascus. Can Sunni-Shia conflict be ended - not just militarily – before it engulfs the region in chaos? Can ‘takfiri violence’ be outlawed by Muslim leaders and scholars. **Peace within Islam – a religion of peace – is necessary for peace across the Middle East.** In the famous words of Catholic theologian Hans Küng: “there can be no world peace without peace between the world’s religions”. Recent united meetings and calls for peace by Shia and Sunni clerics are very welcome.

Can the Middle East be moved towards peace by heeding the voices of world faith leaders? 2007 saw leading Muslim scholars address to the Christian world the Document *A Common Word between Us and You*. It declared that Christian-Muslim co-operation, based on common moral imperatives derived from the Quran and the Bible, was urgently needed for world peace. In 2008 Pope Benedict XVI held high level Christian-Muslim dialogue. Many other initiatives followed. The Saudi royal house has been involved in global interfaith dialogues, eg the Astana conferences. In 2012 Pope Benedict XVI’s high profile ‘peace mission’ to Lebanon spoke to the whole Middle East. He went in ‘solidarity’ with all suffering there, urged dialogue, inter-religious toleration and ‘communion between people’ as keys to peace; cessation of violence; he condemned the export of weapons to the Middle East as a ‘grave sin’. The popular response to him reflected deep yearnings for peace across the region and across faith divides. On his 2014 visit to Jordan and the Holy Land, albeit more low-key, Pope Francis commended Jordan’s actions for “inter-religious dialogue and understanding between Jews, Christians and Muslims” – implicitly urging such for the region.

While Christian-Muslim conflict is not central to the current crisis, its centuries-long legacy is a deep source of discord – expressed in anti-Christian discrimination in some Muslim states [eg Copts in Egypt] and war against Christians by foreign Jihadists in Syria. Many Middle Eastern Muslims interpret UK/US invasions eg Iraq, Afghanistan, as a ‘War on Islam’ [‘War on Terror’ is often seen as that], while some US writers and Christian leaders speak of ‘Clash of Civilisations’. Both are wrong – but are widely-held misconceptions. There is a profound and urgent need for Christian-Muslim accord, co-operation and *reconciliation* – based on mutual forgiveness.

Common Word could be the basis for such reconciliation. Public acts of accord within Islam and between Christians and Muslims would be potent **Signs of Hope/Witness for Peace** in the Middle East today. Such could help:

- to oppose the mis-use of faith for violence – and morally isolate the men of violence
- to proclaim unequivocally that faith can never justify violence
- to change the atmosphere away from conflict and towards peace
- to undergird political peace processes with the support of faith communities.

Rev Brian Cooper is a retired Baptist minister and Churches & Interfaith Secretary of **Uniting for Peace**. The above talk was given in London on 25 June 2014 at a conference in The Dorchester sponsored by Yasser Bin Homran.

WWI: What Gandhi Should Have Advocated

George Paxton

We have all heard of the Christmas Truce – the First World War unofficial fraternising of troops from opposite sides that took place in different parts of the front on the first Christmas of the war in 1914. British and German soldiers in particular began to communicate in the week leading up to Christmas Day. This included the singing of carols and sometimes playing a game of football. It is a glimpse of what could have been.



In the years prior to WWI it was clear to some political observers that the industrial, colonial and military rivalry of the great powers of Europe was a danger to peace. But many in the socialist movement of Europe believed they had the answer to the slide to war. The Socialist International was held in Copenhagen in 1910 and here Keir Hardie, principal founder of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and of the Parliamentary Labour Party, called for a general strike of all workers if war appeared imminent.

As the international situation deteriorated in 1914 after the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne an emergency meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was called for 29 July in Brussels. The socialist leaders of France, Jean Jaurès, and Germany, Hugo Hasse, were also staunchly anti-war. A full Congress was called for 9 August in Paris. The slogan *War on War* was approved.

In Britain a public demonstration was called for 2 August in Trafalgar Square while telegrams were sent around the country calling for socialists and trade unionists to hold local demonstrations and meetings. On 1 August Hardie in a letter to the *Daily Citizen* called for “an international strike against war”. An ominous sign however was the assassination the previous day of Jean Jaurès who was to have chaired the Congress. His assassin was an extreme nationalist.

There was a great gathering in Trafalgar Square on the following day, a Sunday, as well as other meetings around the country. On the Monday Ramsay MacDonald and Hardie spoke against war in the House of Commons. But on Tuesday 4 August war was declared. Within a few days German socialists voted for war credits, 74 to 14 with only Karl Liebknecht and a few supporters against. Hardie held a meeting in his constituency on 6 August in Merthyr and was shouted down and the meeting had to be abandoned. The Labour Party was divided and they soon, along with the TUC, supported the war. The suffragettes supported the war. Only the ILP stood firmly against.

The anti-war movement failed utterly to prevent war as patriotism proved to have a powerful appeal – but many must have later regretted being swept along on a wave of emotion.

Although the socialists failed to stop the war or bring it to a swift end once started, the principle of a general strike along with a refusal to be conscripted is in keeping with Gandhi’s satyagraha. This sort of non-cooperation if taken up widely would certainly have prevented the war or stopped it, especially since warfare at that time depended heavily on manpower. The workers did not realise their potential strength.

When Gandhi reached London in 1914 on his way back to India the war had just started and he responded as he had done on two previous occasions in South Africa, ie he gathered a team of Indians to form an ambulance corps. However his attempt late in the war in 1918 to recruit Indians for the British army at the request of the Viceroy was of a different kind and to most of his colleagues appeared incompatible with his espousal of nonviolence [see *The Gandhi Way* no. 120]. He later changed and in 1926 he added his name to an

international No Conscription Manifesto, and in the 1930s advocated nonviolent resistance to the Nazis, and during the Second World War advocated noncooperation to deal with a possible Japanese invasion of India.

Keir Hardie's general outlook was in fact very close to Gandhi's in spite of their very different backgrounds: a concern for inequality and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, a belief in nonviolence and not just towards humans either but animals too (Hardie was also a vegetarian), respect for different religious beliefs, and living a simple lifestyle. Hardie was 13 years older than Gandhi and died relatively young in 1915, the year that Gandhi returned to India from South Africa. The two men never met. Hardie had developed a great interest in India after he paid a visit of two months in 1909. He wrote a small book on his experiences there, *India: Impressions and Suggestions*, and brought his political knowledge to bear on the relationship of the rulers and the ruled in a colonial situation. He expressed the opinion that Indians were as capable of governing themselves as the Canadians. Neither man influenced the other but if circumstances had brought them together there would have been mutual respect and perhaps valuable synergy.

Godric Bader and the Scott Bader Commonwealth

To Sue Carter, Commonwealth Secretary

It gives me great pleasure informing you that The Gandhi Foundation Trustees have chosen to award The Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award for 2014 to Godric Bader and The Scott Bader Commonwealth.

The Trustees of The Gandhi Foundation have for some time been impressed by the different economic model envisioned by Godric and his family and their commitment to the establishment of The Scott Bader Commonwealth to enable that vision to take a permanent business form.

The business model so created has faced stiff competition from traditional capitalistic model companies but has passed the test of time and continues to show a robust alternative economics of cooperation and distribution of wealth and protection of natural resources.

The people that work for Scott Bader become trustees-in-common of the company assets and therefore have both a greater commitment to the well-being of the Company and its preservation for future generations. Scott Bader Commonwealth structure ensures "leadership is founded on approval rather than dictation" and this allows individuals to achieve their full potential in an environment of equal opportunities, involvement and participation.

The Trustees of The Gandhi Foundation also take note of Scott Bader's commitment to a wider socio-economic vision as part of their national and international responsibility. A percentage of the profits generated by Scott Bader are devoted to charitable giving and there is a great emphasis on refusal to take an active part in re-armament.

The Gandhi Foundation Friends, Trustees and Patrons believe that the approach initiated by Godric and his family and the structure of the Scott Bader Commonwealth are in keeping with Gandhian ideals and look forward to receiving Godric at the House of Lords and presenting him the award on 30th October 2014.

Omar Hayat, Trustee, The Gandhi Foundation



Godric Bader's father Ernest founded a chemical company in 1920 that later became Scott Bader. Godric was a conscientious objector during the Second World War and joined the Friends Ambulance Unit. As a Quaker he has been a peace campaigner ever since.

Godric entered the business in 1947 and in 1951 the company converted to a common trusteeship form. On the 60th anniversary of the Scott Bader Commonwealth Godric described its beginnings:

After the second world war, we were joined by new people, some from the forces, all agreeing "never again!" We felt strongly that the roots of violence must be removed from the world. We felt that just saying "No" to war was not enough. The unhealthy growth of greed and selfishness in the business world was developing. We wished to work for peace not only between countries, but in relationships between all people, personally, face to face, especially within the workplace. People earning their living decently and building wealth in common on a firm basis together.

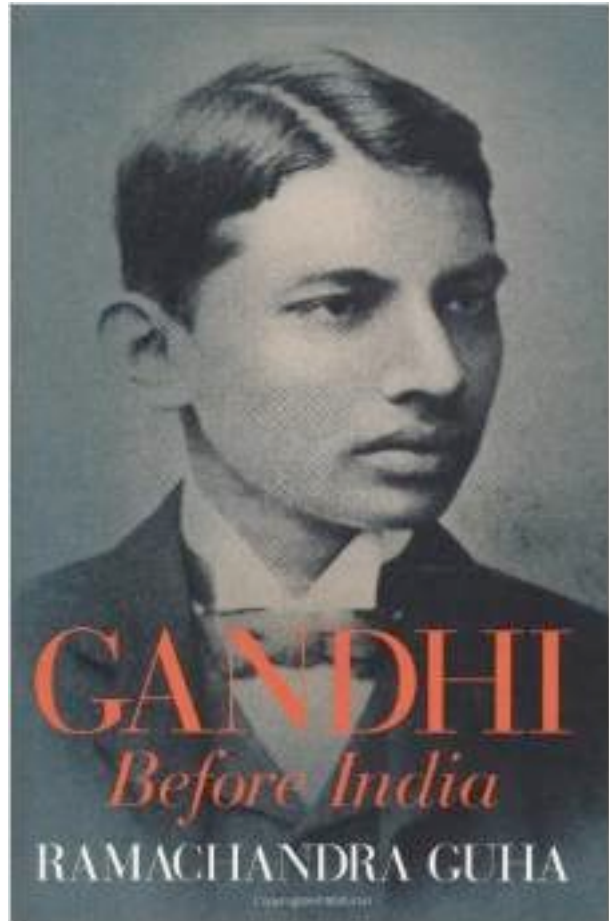
Today the Commonwealth is global and he is proud of what has been achieved not only with the company which now manufactures in six countries around the world all working to the same fundamental principles handed down from the founders, but also with Charitable Giving. The Scott Bader constitution prescribes that a proportion of the profits of the operating company has to be donated to the Charity. Further, as Life President Godric has £5,000 per annum from Scott Bader Commonwealth Limited to be able to support the charities of his choice. Godric is a man whose life has been devoted, in a quiet but determined and practical way, to showing the world that in the area of social and moral responsibility a business can be run differently.

Book Review

Gandhi before India Ramachandra Guha Allen Lane 2013 HB pp.673
ISBN: 978 1 846 14266 6

Lord Gladstone, Governor-General of the newly formed Union of South Africa, reporting to the Colonial office on a meeting between Gandhi and Smuts 16 January 1913, reflected "it is no easy task for a European to conduct negotiations with Mr Gandhi. The workings of his conscience are inscrutable to the occidental mind". His is "a curious compound of mysticism and astuteness". In what promises to be a defining biography Ramachandra Guha sets out to explain Gandhi's outlook. He makes a radical decision to do so entirely through contemporary sources. This is in no way a historiographical text. Rather than rely on overly Gandhi-focussed texts such as the Collected Works, and with a distrust of retrospective memoirs, Gandhi's own Autobiography no exception, through exceptional diligence as a researcher he uses often new materials which reflect the views of Gandhi's friends and opponents. Particularly valuable sources are newspaper clippings from

Gandhi's Durban years, probably originally compiled by Gandhi himself, possibly transferred by his nephew Chhaganlal to the Sabarmati ashram. Millie Polak's memoir, *Mr Gandhi the Man*, and the Kallenbach papers traced to Haifa. This is a chronicle, no doubt the better to reveal the way Gandhi changes in these South African years, and only in the final chapter does he allow himself the role of interpreter. He rejects any idea that these years were but a prelude to his future role in India. Indeed this is a remarkable story of the way a migrant community asserts its own identity and, given our present concern with immigration and multiculturalism, it becomes a tract for our times.



Not only does his approach as chronicler add frequent new material to a familiar story but he arrives at provocative revisionist insights. Maybe the most striking is the way he plays down that humiliating ejection from the train in Pietermaritzburg en route to Johannesburg in May 1893, seen as a Damascene moment by Louis Fischer and in Attenborough's film, in favour of Gandhi's terrifying reception by a murderous mob protesting at "an Asiatic invasion" on his return to Durban in December 1896. He was physically assaulted. This emphasis makes his life, claims Guha, seem "more jagged, more contingent and more true" (p.122). Guha has discovered a letter from Jinnah to Gandhi as early as 1897, hinting at Jinnah's enquiring whether his legal future might also be in South Africa. Often the decision to adopt passive resistance to the new Transvaal Pass Law taken at that crucial meeting in the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg 11 September 1906 is attributed to Gandhi's reading Thoreau. In fact he was only to do so the following year. Whether the example of non-conformists in Britain resisting the new Education Act or the Indian practice of *hartal* was the model is open to question, but Guha interestingly suggests it was inspired by the occasion itself, "a specific response to a specific occasion" (p.210). Gandhi invited suggestions in *Indian Opinion* for naming passive resistance and, in the end, modified his nephew Maganlal's *sadagraha* (firmness in the good cause) to *satyagraha* (force of truth in a good cause). We learn that Gandhi seriously thought of moving with Kallenbach to London in 1910 to study medicine, hydrotherapy in particular,

but the dictates of the political struggle got in the way. There is a revisionist flavour to Guha seeing *Hind Swaraj* as an expression of “diasporic nationalism”, its extraordinarily positive account of ancient culture: “the polemic is powerful but also crude” (p.383). He contrasts it with Gandhi’s highly favourable account of English society in his earlier *Guide to London*. There is an equally novel feel to his portrait of Gandhi’s relationship with Gokhale, Gandhi all but seeing himself as the teacher and senior partner.

This is the extraordinary story of how a struggle by a small minority took on world significance. In 1893 there were but 50,000 Indians in all South Africa though the numbers compared to Europeans in Natal was close, 37,000 to 46,000. In the Transvaal, epicentre of the struggle, a tiny minority took on the emergent ideology of apartheid: by 1911 some 2,700 out of 9,000 were in jail. In Natal the situation was more familiar, an entrepreneurial class of mine and plantation owners were ready to use cheap immigrant indentured labourers, but the merchant and blue collar classes were afraid of Indian competition in trade and jobs. Guha brings out how much of the Indian struggle was driven by injured pride, humiliation at being classified with Africans, the Kaffirs, at being required to give fingerprints in the manner of criminals. Nothing caused so much pain as insult to their wives and it was the Searle decision in a Cape Town court questioning the legality March 1913 of any marriage not registered in a European court and so invalidating all Indian marriages by their priests, that inspired the most widespread resistance of all. As a lawyer Gandhi endlessly challenged these arbitrary restraints on Indians but always in a highly conciliatory way. He saw himself as “a humble interpreter between the communities” and is here described as “a non-racial incrementalist”. He would have settled for voluntary registration and there is an elitist feel to his readiness to accept an annual entry of but six educated Indians into the Transvaal. Was it this conciliatoriness that explains his curious reluctance to reach out to the majority indentured labourers? When this came about spontaneously he rose to the challenge, and of course, famously thereafter, dressed as one. Guha spares us any semiology of clothes. He ends with the telling observation that it was just because Indian numbers were now increasing no longer from immigration but by demographic changes from within that it became vital to get the community onto a safe legal footing.

Guha has interesting qualifications to make on whether this was but a sectarian struggle by the Indian community. He writes of South Africa at the time “as a crucible of human togetherness” (p.537). For Gandhi the greatest challenge was in forging a cohesive Indian resistance, breaking down barriers of caste and community. It is fascinating to see the way in which Muslim Gujarati merchants gave way to low caste Tamils as the bravest *satyagrahis*. Yet mosques played a prominent role in planning and Gandhi must have been delighted with the degree of Hindu Muslim unity he achieved. But he did reach out to other communities. There were a few European supporters, above all Jewish. The Chinese community in Johannesburg, led by Leung

Quinn, came on side: rather rhetorically Quinn believed that here was “a pan-Asian solidarity” (p.538). But any ideas of this being the rainbow society in the making founders on the tentativeness of any reaching out to the African majority. Admittedly Gandhi learnt to refer to them no longer as *Kaffirs* but African. There were some parallel developments in the Indian and African struggle, John Dube’s farming community adjacent to Phoenix, and the setting up in 1912 of the African National Congress. But here was unfinished business left to his son Manilal to address.

The joy of this text lies in its portrait of Gandhi’s almost Bloomsbury-like friendships with both Europeans and Indians. In London, whilst a law student, his closest friend was fellow vegetarian and doctor to be, Josiah Oldfield. They shared a flat. Gandhi kept in touch during visits to London from South Africa. Oldfield meanwhile ran the Lady Margaret hospital in Bromley but their friendship broke down over a botched operation on the wife of Gandhi’s Theosophist friend, L W Ritch in 1906; all friendships were conditional and as Gandhi put it: “we have often to break our idols” (quoted p.331). In South Africa his closest friends were Jewish, Henry Polak, nicknamed Keshava for his Krishna-like uncut hair, and Hermann Kallenbach, Hanuman for his unquestioning loyalty. They differed in those aspects of Gandhi they admired, Polak preferring his political role – on a visit to India in 1910 he did much to forecast Gandhi’s future leadership there – but Polak thought Gandhi gave too much time to religion and he and his wife were irritated by his food fads, whereas Kallenbach passionately shared Gandhi’s obsessive concerns over life-style. Lelyveld’s implication of some homo-erotic aspect to their friendship is overlooked: he saw in Gandhi “the route to improvement of his own anguished, flawed self” (p.452). They shared a house together in Johannesburg from March 1908 onwards and Kallenbach put up the money in 1910 to buy Tolstoy farm. His friendship is seen “as the most complete and unquestioning of them all” (p.542). Gandhi’s most loyal female friend and indispensable secretary was the Jewish Sonja Schlesin. Non-Jewish friends included the Baptist Joseph Doke, his first biographer, Superintendent of Police R C Alexander and his wife, and late in the day in these South African years, his soul-mate Reverend Charlie Andrews.

Indian friendships were somehow less intimate and more instrumental. Fascinatingly the schoolboy on whom he had some kind of crush, Sheikh Mehtab, reappears in his life in Durban though once again he disgraced himself, this time being found with a prostitute in the family home. But he was not banished for good and often reappears in this story as the poet celebrating moments in the political struggle. Gandhi came greatly to admire Thambi Naidoo, the Tamil trolley contractor. It was his skillful defensive use of his umbrella that may well have saved Gandhi’s life when he was murderously attacked by Pathans and Punjabis 10 February 1910, outraged at Gandhi’s conciliatory readiness to voluntarily register. One close admirer and friend was the Parsee, Rustomjee. And another Parsee, the Rangoon based

jeweller, Pranjivan Mehta, emerges in this text as his closest Indian friend. He was to be the first to pronounce him as the mahatma. We await a future biography by S H Mehrotra. More guru than friend was the Jain jeweller, Raychandbhai, in some ways posthumously even more influential in these South African years. He influenced Gandhi's decision to take the *brahmacharya* vow of celibacy. Gandhi saw Raychandbhai as even more perceptive, on matters of religion, than Tolstoy. All these friends jealously competed for Gandhi's attention.

As Guha's objective is to see Gandhi in the round he also addresses his relationships with his opponents. European opponents in South Africa do not come out well, Milner just indifferent and Smuts, and, to be fair, he was having to take on board greater issues, the formation of the Union and forging a new alliance between Boer and Briton against the African majority, and in 1912 a general strike of white workers, only reluctantly took notice of the Indian question. It has been claimed that Smut's moral sensibility was touched by Gandhi – he sent him two books on religion when Gandhi was in jail in 1909 – but his account suggests he merely found him a distraction and was glad to see the back of him. There is a strong sense that Gandhi would have struggled to get any attention were it not for Raj officials who worried about a backlash of Indian nationalism at the way Indians in South Africa were being humiliated. The most sustained Indian opposition to Gandhi's cautious approach came from the editor of the *Durban African Chronicle*, P J Aiyer, seen “as the only *articulate* opponent of Gandhi within the Indian community” in “sometimes splendidly vituperative prose” (pp.442-443).

Gandhi's Achilles heel was family. Politics took precedence. At the same time as he took a vow of celibacy he assumed the life of a *vanaprashtha*, with the role of householder subordinate to public life. The most obvious victim of this decision was Kasturba, once a rebel against his moral regime, often socially isolated in South Africa, and now often abandoned by Gandhi. In time she became pathetically dependent on his presence. One wonders if she fell victim to Gandhi's sense of guilt at his early marriage. She was to be the first Indian woman to join the *satyagraha* against the invalidation of Indian marriages. Gandhi's fraught relationship with his eldest son, Harilal is perceptively explored. Guha reminds us of their nearness in age, Harilal born when Gandhi was but 18: “his adolescent crisis coincided with his (Gandhi's) mid-life crisis” (p.416). So many friends of Gandhi were deferential but Harilal was exceptional as an adult in standing up to him. Gandhi tried to be gentler with his other sons, so much so that Guha concedes he “was slowly growing into fatherhood” (p.356). But then Harilal had an affair with the married daughter of Pranjivan Mehta, Jeki, and Gandhi flipped: he went on a week-long fast. Gandhi never grasped how liberated his own life became through the early death of both his parents. He remained “the traditional overbearing Hindu patriarch” (p.417). Relationships with his elder brother, Laxmidas, equally broke down.

Two interpretative questions shadow the text, both implicitly addressed but not wholly answered. How did the descendent of several generations of loyal servants of Kathiawar princes turn rebel ? How did the tongue-tied barrister and public speaker become a leader ? How to explain the transgressive ? What was the source of his charisma ?

Did the origins of the transgressive lie in his breaking with his Modh bania community ? Guha suggestively conveys how Gandhi was no typical bania. He seems to have been unfazed by ostracism for breaking the caste taboo of crossing the dark waters. Another form of the transgressive lay in his European friendships. And this was compounded by his religious pluralism, a kind of universalism, a heterodox refusal to be bound by the texts and belief that salvation lay in the pursuit of one's personal conscience. He was always drawn to seekers of all kinds. Guha sees Johannesburg as a kind of cultural melting pot, an ideal venue for exploring all those dissenting sub-cultures, be it Jain, Theosophist, non-conformist, vegetarian.

It is even trickier to explain Gandhi's emergence as leader. Clearly he had indispensable skills as a lawyer for the Indian community. By 1907 he had acquired a confidence as a public speaker though he remained no orator. Gandhi himself puzzled at his authority and put it down to his faith in God and truth: Guha tends to agree and sees his exemplary life-style as commanding respect. That relationship with Gokhale is highly indicative. More and more he assumes the dominant presence and increasingly he tells Gokhale and the INC to follow the example of his campaign in South Africa. But this was not out of arrogance but a deep concern that India should follow his nonviolent path and not give way to the appeal of extremists and terrorism. It was of a piece with his quarrel with the Hindu nationalists in London, so passionately addressed in *Hind Swaraj*. And it was working, in the sense that Gandhi was becoming ever better known in India, all the way to a Telugu play about his struggle in a part of India he had yet to visit. Charlie Andrews had the insight to see that it was time for Gandhi to leave if the Indian community in South Africa, so dependent on his leadership, were ever to be able to stand on their own two feet. But he also saw that Gandhi's role as leader in India was already clearly cut out for him.

In a way Gandhi himself saw South Africa as the pathway to India and in that narrow sense European opponents were right to argue that Indians had come late to South Africa and their real interests lay in India. But it was Gandhi's leadership that in fact forged their South African identity. Guha faces a hugely challenging task of selection with his chronicle approach as he addresses his Indian leadership role, but this first volume gives every hope of an equally successful second.

Antony Copley

Antony Copley is Senior Research Fellow, University of Kent and Academic Adviser to the Gandhi Foundation. This review appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol 24 Part 3, July 2014.

Martin Dent 1925-2014

Following the death of Bill Peters in March this year, Martin Dent who co-founded Jubilee 2000 with Bill, has died aged 88. They were jointly awarded the Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award in the year 2000.

When Martin met Bill Peters they both realised they shared a concern for the huge debt owed by the world's poorest countries to the richest. The Jubilee 2000 campaign for debt relief, which started in 1990, was the result. Martin asked students at Keele University, where he lectured in politics (1963-93), to sign a petition calling for the cancellation of the crippling debt owed by the world's poorest countries by the year 2000.

By the turn of the century, more than 20 million people from 155 countries had added their names to the Jubilee 2000 petition, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was a patron, and among the supporters of the movement were Bono, Muhammad Ali, Bob Geldof, Peter Gabriel and Youssou N'Dour. Campaigners estimate \$120bn of debt has been written off. Martin was appointed OBE for his contribution.

Born in Harlow, Essex, to Geoffrey and Marian Dent, Martin was educated at Eton and went to Aberdeen University for a Royal Artillery short course before joining the Essex Regiment, attached to the 18th Royal Gahrawal Rifles, Indian Army, at the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun (1944-47). On discharge from the army, Martin went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied history and economics before taking a postgraduate colonial service degree at Worcester College, Oxford (1951-52).

Martin joined the colonial service and was an administrative officer in northern Nigeria (1952-61). He learned how to speak Tiv and worked tirelessly to improve the educational opportunities of Tiv children, offering scholarships funded from his own earnings. He fought discrimination against the Tiv, and this led to his dismissal from the colonial service in 1961 when he defended a Tiv senator, Joseph Tarka, against charges of treason. The British head of the civil service told him that what he had done was bad for the British Empire, and he never received his pension.

Martin was the great-great-great-grandson of Thomas Foxwell Buxton, who took over the leadership of the abolition movement in the House of Commons after William Wilberforce retired in 1825. Martin followed in his footsteps by arguing that debt imposed a "new slavery" on the developing world.

Martin was hugely popular with students and colleagues, and a great English eccentric – his trousers were held up by his tie – as well as a campaigner for justice.

The above obituary is largely derived from *The Guardian* of 22 May 2014.

See www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk for current campaigning on the issue.

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