

The Gandhi Way



Statue of Gandhi in Parliament Square
(Photo: Amit Roy, The Telegraph Calcutta)

Newsletter of The Gandhi Foundation

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GF Summer Gathering 2015

Gandhian Values in the Digital Age

Saturday 25 July - Saturday 1 August

at The Abbey, Sutton Courtenay, Nr Abingdon, Oxfordshire

In the morning sessions we shall be looking at the dangers and opportunities of our increasing access to information technology.

There will be a variety of practical activities as well as walks, discussions etc.

Prices for the week range from £150 to £260 depending on the accommodation

– children and full-time students come at half price.

Booking form: The Organisers, Summer Gathering, 2 Vale Court, Weybridge KT13 9NN

or gandhisummerngathering@gmail.com; Tel: 01932 841135

The film *Cotton for my Shroud* about farmer suicides in India will be shown at Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bromley-by-Bow, London E3 3HJ at 2.30pm following The GF's AGM at 2pm on Saturday 16 May 2015

Some Non-GF Events in London

Saturday 13 June 30th Annual Celebration of the London Peace Pagoda 2pm

Saturday 6 August Hiroshima Day at Gandhi statue Tavistock Square 12 -1pm

6 August Multifaith Service at Friends' House, Euston Road 2.30pm

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Unveiling of a New Statue of Gandhi in Parliament Square on 14 March 2015

Speech by Prime Minister David Cameron

On behalf of the whole country I want to thank Lord and Lady Desai, Jo Johnson, in my policy unit who has played a key role, and all those who have supported the Gandhi Statue Memorial Trust in making this sculpture possible.

The image of Gandhi we see today is based on a picture of him on the steps of Downing Street in 1931. On that same visit he also went to meet King George V. Arriving bare chested in his dhoti and marching ahead with his stick Gandhi was asked whether he felt under-dressed. He replied: “The King is dressed for both of us.”

British sculptor, Philip Jackson, has done an incredible job. This stunning nine foot bronze statue is a magnificent tribute to one of the most of the towering figures in the history of world politics. And for me there are three reasons in particular why I believe this statue is so important for our country.

An eternal home for Gandhi in our country

The first is that in putting Gandhi in this famous square we are giving him an eternal home in our country. The man who turned the politically unimaginable into the politically inevitable, whose work in South Africa paved the way for Mandela and whose doctrine of Satyagraha became the inspiration for the civil rights movement across the world. That inspirational man worked out who he was and what he stood for right here in Britain. It was in London as a young man that Gandhi first learnt to petition, to draft letters and make speeches. It was here – where he was treated equally by his colleagues at Inner Temple – that the foundations were laid for his battles with segregation and discrimination. And even years later when he was striving for Indian independence his respect for the people of this country shone through. If Gandhi could have lived anywhere in the world outside India, he said it would have been London. We should be proud of that. And we are proud of him.

Britain and India – a special friendship

Second, this statue celebrates the incredibly special friendship between the world’s oldest democracy and its largest. I think of the one and a half million Indians who do so much to make Britain the country it is today. I think of the growing trade between our countries. But I also think of the way we have both pursued Gandhi’s vision of different faiths living together in harmony. We are proud to be multi-racial, multi-ethnic democracies. And we will always stand together against those who would seek to destroy the societies we have built. Gandhi said: “You must not lose faith in humanity. Humanity

is like an ocean; if a few drops of the ocean are dirty, the ocean does not become dirty.” Britain and India stand together for humanity.

Power of Gandhi’s message

Finally, this statue celebrates the universal power of Gandhi’s message. Many of his teachings remain as potent today as when he first said them: “The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others.” “Be the change that you want to see in the world.” There are so many timeless, profound and inspiring words of wisdom. 85 years ago this week Gandhi led his followers on the 241 mile Salt March to Dandi. As they sang the traditional song that we have heard this morning they asked that everyone should be blessed with real wisdom. sab ko sanmati de bhagavān. I hope that as Gandhi takes up residence in this square at the heart of our politics and democracy that we can all be blessed with the wisdom of Gandhi today, tomorrow and for generations to come.

Sadly the above fine words are weakened by the motivations of the Government which appear to be to encourage sales of British goods to India including especially weapons. India is the world’s largest importer of armaments measured over the last 5 years. Ed.

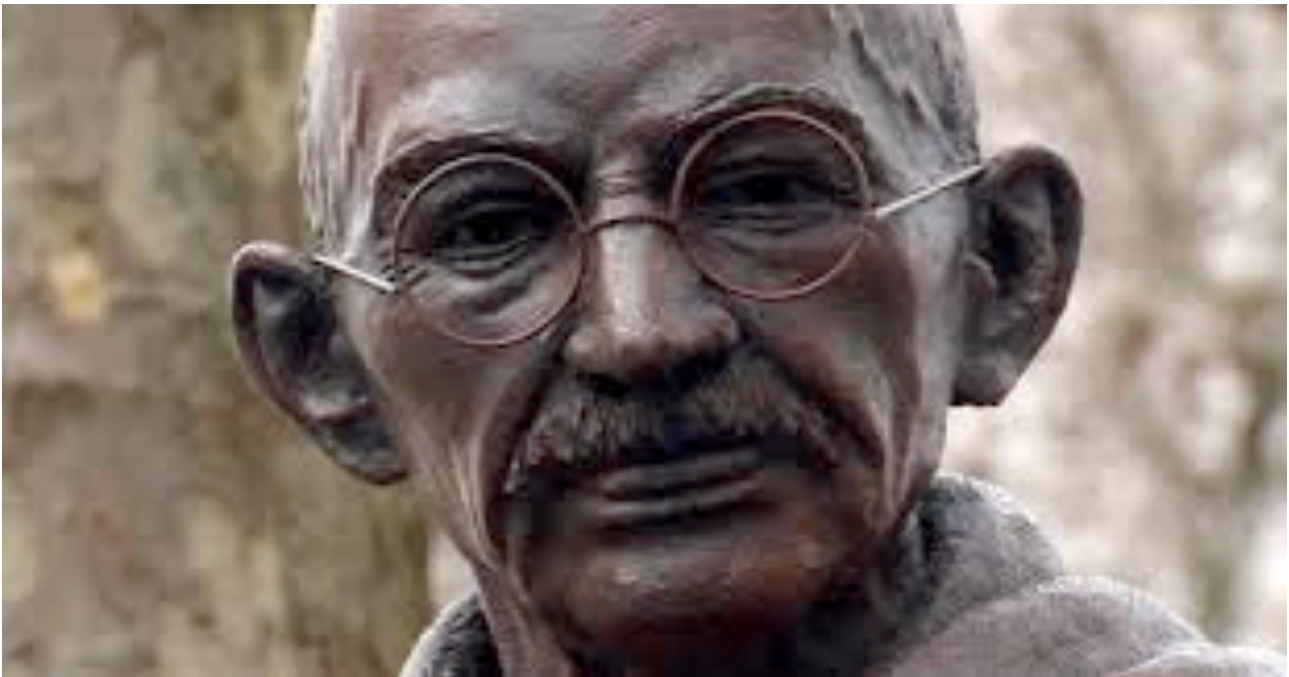


Photo: euronews

Speech by Gopalkishna Gandhi (grandson of M K Gandhi)

He looked rather like this, sixty-eight years ago, to his assassin.

He looked straight into his eyes, quite exactly like this.

Gandhi was walking, of course, not standing. And he walked straight into those three bullets.

He embraced those darts, he did. With the might of his pain for others, the depth of his faith in God, he hugged them.

He had fought for years to prevent the division of India along the lines of religions.

But with that division a fact, he fasted for peace amongst the two main peoples of India – Hindus and Muslims – and for trust between the newly independent India and new-born Pakistan which included what now is Bangladesh.

Had he lived, he would have asked to have the man who shot at him, freed. He had, as we know, been greatly influenced by Jesus, the Christ. Gandhi had just begun to dream to work for a new India that may or may not be rich, may or may not be powerful, but which will be fair and just, to its own poor, and to the immiserated everywhere.

He believed in learning from Truth – the one with the capital ‘T’ – and from the many truths of India, the truths that made her great, the truths that keep her small – and not running away from them, papering them over or pretty-fying them. Peace and its offering, happiness, can only come by acknowledging what is real. He said “the way of peace is the way to truth”.

Gandhi scorched by his love, he healed by his fire.

We need him in India today more than we ever have. He said there was so much he had left unfinished he would like to be re-born. But he would not want us to be looking out for the re-born Gandhi. In any case, that would be a loser’s way of doing things. Gandhi was no loser. India is no loser. India finds herself, from the debris of her mistakes, the ruins of her aspirations. Whenever she has been considered ‘lost’, she has been found by an astonished world, a relieved world, to be the mother of her greatest son, Gautama the Buddha in the composure that lies beneath the turbulence, and to the genius of her immensely wise and even sagacious people, of all faiths and of the other great faith – faith in their striving hands. I have used ‘she’ for India with deliberation for that ‘she’, the woman in India, worshipped in concept but neglected, exploited, abused in reality, is one of the scorching truths of India.

The fact that London, the capital of the then Imperial Power he dis-engaged India from, raises a statue for him even as India has some people contemplate a temple for his assassin, shows that Gandhi’s work for freedom of belief and expression succeeds in the most unbelievable ways.

You were not infallible Mohandas Gandhi. You erred often, as your wife, Kasturba, knew more than any other person. But you owned your errors, tried always to be better than your best. Bronzed and hearkening, here, in what once was your ‘opposite ground’, you will give heart to those who want a

world that does not fear the bully, the bomb or the blatant lie. You will show us, too, that money cannot buy, nor power suborn the truth.

On behalf of his 'family', which means not just his biological descendants alone – he did not elevate family descent – but all those anywhere who experience the tyranny of bigotry and exploitation and try to resist it, I felicitate Great Britain and Her Majesty's Government for creating space for this Gandhi statue on this great Square. That large 'family' celebrates the fact of his statue taking its place right beside that of his political descendant, Nelson Mandela. How many countries celebrate the life-work of a man who opposed it with vehemence for more than three decades ? Not many. Britain celebrates Gandhi today because while oppose he did, he opposed it in a cause that Britain now sees was just, and in a way the world now sees was fair – so fair as to have set an all-time example. On behalf of all present here today and the generations of pedestrians, young and once-young, from all nationalities and customs who will see it, I offer to Britain's sense of history congratulations, her wisdom, appreciation. And to the master-sculptor of this statue, Philip Jackson, salutations.

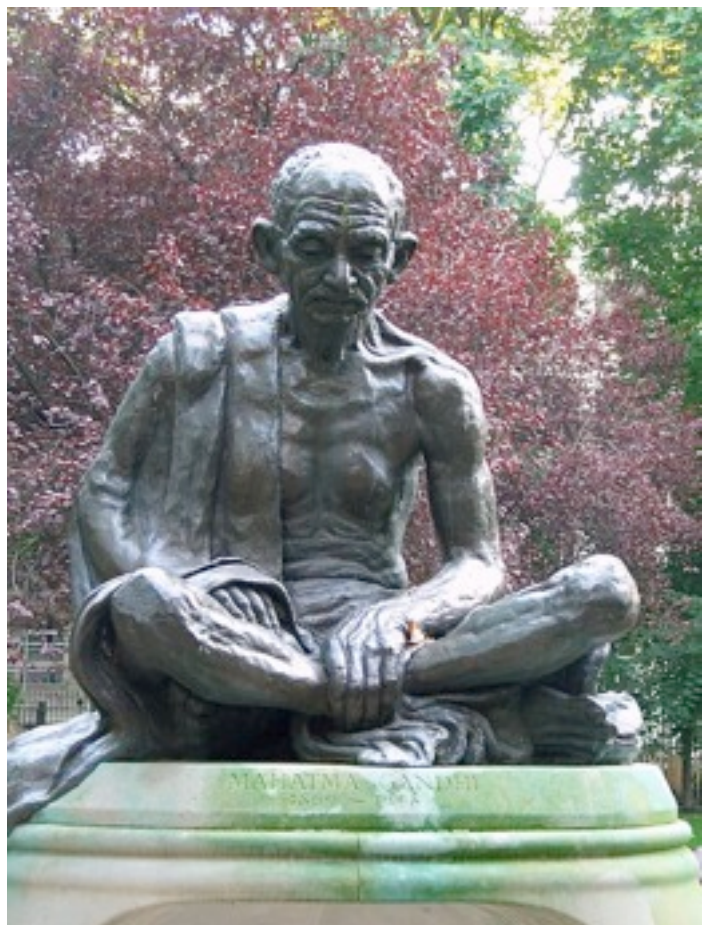
Gopal Gandhi was Director of the Nehru Centre in London in the early 1990s and has held ambassadorial positions for India including in South Africa. He was also Governor of West Bengal and is a writer of both fiction and nonfiction.

A statue of Gandhi is also being planned for Cardiff at the instigation of the Hindu Council of Wales.

And in London there is the seated statue in Tavistock Square (photo opposite, Wikipedia Commons) which was sculpted by Fredda Brilliant, Polish born actor, singer and writer as well as sculptor, and unveiled in 1968.

Some words of Gandhi read at the unveiling on 14 March 2015 by the famed Indian actor Amitabh Bachchan:

Men often hesitate to make a beginning because they feel that the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely our greatest obstacle, an obstacle that each man, if only he wills it, can clear it.



Prospects for Indian Democracy

Vasant Kumar Bawa

I Bharatiya Janata Party in Power in India

For the first time since India gained its independence from the United Kingdom in August 1947, a party other than the Indian National Congress came to power at the centre by winning a large majority of the seats in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of Parliament, in the Indian General Elections in May 2014. It was the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), led by Narendra Modi. To quote an article by Biswajit Roy a Leftist intellectual from Kolkata: “The Sphinx of Indian democracy had helped Modi to gain 282 seats and attain power despite garnering only 31 per cent of vote-share, through the division of anti-BJP votes in the Lok Sabha polls last May”.

However, the Congress Party, headed by Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, holds an absolute majority in the Rajya Sabha (upper house). The Modi government is now trying to push through, with the support of other political parties, the Land Bill, which will facilitate the taking over of large tracts of farmers’ land, a move which has been strongly opposed by the Opposition parties, from states all over India.

Readers will remember that Lal Bahadur Shastri was elected Prime Minister, after the unexpected death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, on May 27, 1964. However he died of a heart attack on January 11, 1966, at Tashkent, Uzbekistan, just after signing a treaty between India and Pakistan, concluding the 1965 war.

Indira Gandhi, the only child of the first Prime Minister, Nehru, succeeded Shastri as Prime Minister of India. She served from 1966 till 1977. However she had become unpopular, especially in Gujarat and North India. A senior Gandhian leader Jaya Prakash Narayan led an agitation against Indira Gandhi, which forced her to call a general election. The newly formed Janata Party came to power, and chose as its Prime Minister a senior Congressman, Morarji Desai, who had been a Deputy Collector under British rule, and was well known for his integrity. However the Janata Party began to fall apart almost immediately after it was created. The old pro-Hindu elements, which had joined the Janata Party, withdrew and formed the Bharatiya Janata Party. Jaya Prakash Narayan died soon after, a broken man.

In a recent development a number of parties that were separate offshoots of the Janata Party – in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Karnataka and headed by leaders like Mulayam Singh Yadav, Nitish Kumar, Laloo Yadav and H D Devi Gowda have decided to merge, an apparent revival of the old Janata Party. They claim that they will have a common election symbol and become a single party.

Indira Gandhi made a surprising comeback late in 1979. Her newly-created Indian National Congress [Indira] became the main Congress Party. She then served from 1979 till her assassination on 31st October 1984. She was killed

by her own security guards, in revenge for her decision to send troops into the Golden Temple, the holy shrine of the Sikhs in Amritsar, Punjab, in February 1984.

After the death of Indira Gandhi, the President, Zail Singh, promptly declared Indira Gandhi's elder son Rajiv Gandhi, a former pilot who had emerged as her second-in-command, as Prime Minister of India.

II The Delhi State election: Prospects for Democracy.

The elections to the Delhi State Assembly were conducted early in February 2015. The correspondent of *The Hindu* described the election on the first page of the newspaper dated 11 February, 2015. "The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) won 167 seats out of 170. The BJP won only three seats and the Indian National Congress got no seat at all." *The Hindu* described the win of nearly 96% of the seats as the best ever in the state.

The significance of the victory of the Aam Aadmi Party lies in the challenge it poses to the established party system in India. In *The Hindu*, a couple of days later, their staff member, Smita Gupta, reported that she was present at an "extraordinary conversation" at which senior members of the Congress, the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Janata Dal (United) Party of Bihar and the Samajwadi Party of Uttar Pradesh, were present. Those present were unanimous that the politics of the AAP was the most serious threat to the future of their own parties. They were not referring to any Vote Banks which the AAP controls. They were referring to the magnetic effect of the AAP on the 'youth vote' all over the country. As we shall see, however, there is little hope at present that the AAP will emerge as an all-India force in the near future.

Every year about a million new voters acquire voting rights as they reach the age of 18. The Indian political parties may have to re-think their position, if and when the younger generation of India becomes optimistic about this prospect. It has to be remembered that the Delhi State Assembly has control over only a few limited areas.

The most surprising development in the Delhi election was the total defeat, in all the constituencies which it contested, of the Indian National Congress. This party under the leadership of Mrs. Sheila Dikshit, had ruled the Delhi State Assembly for more than a decade. The Chief Minister of Delhi state now is Arvind Kejriwal, whose name is now known all over the country.

Looking at the television coverage and the newspapers, I feel that Kejriwal and his group have used their position in the Delhi chapter of the Aam Aadmi Party to eliminate the more sober elements in the party. They have even taken the liberty of removing from his position the Lok Pal (Ombudsman) Admiral Ramdas, whom I have known for several years as an activist in the environmental movement of India. In a public statement he said he was "stunned", "bemused" and "befuddled" by his removal from the post since he had completed only one year of his five year term.

My sympathies are with the other leaders – Yogendra Yadav and Prashant Bhushan, who have been summarily removed from even the primary membership of the party. It is now clear to the general public that the Delhi group, headed by Kejriwal, should not be allowed to dominate the all India party.

III Prospects for Democracy and the West

In a significant article in the *Frontier* magazine published from Kolkata, Biswajit Roy expresses the view of a Bengali Leftist intellectual in the following words:

“Skeptics have reasons to be cautious against reading too much into AK’s (Arvind Kejriwal’s) intent and ability to deliver a reasonably radical response to Moditva. The man of the moment chose not to speak against the ‘popular’ prime minister and his pro-corporate agendas either during the polls or after the sweeping verdict despite the fact that Modi went for a no-holds-barred attack. Instead, the AAP mascot softly played to the ‘Modi for PM, Kejriwal for CM’ tune, apparently to make a dent into BJP’s vote-bank. Unlike his debut run in 2013, he did not venture into poll khol (exposure) of the corporate connection to BJP and Congress as well as big media. No exposure of the Ambanis (owners of the Reliance Group of Companies) and Adanis (Industrialists from Gujarat), no banter on Kala Dhan or black money stashed in Swiss banks this time. No grilling of Modi and his billionaire finance minister Jaitley on their pre-poll promises to bring back ill-gotten fortunes, now dismissed as mere election-time ‘jumla’ or rhetoric by Shah.”

During Modi's ten months rule there have been heavy cuts in the coverage of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA), food and fuel subsidies to the poor and middle class and public health expenditure as well as changes in patents’ laws that made some lifesaving drugs less costly. He has virtually revoked new land acquisition and rehabilitation law and reinstated its colonial version, undone mandatory environmental and social audits for mining and other industries in forest and tribal lands in addition to the unfreezing of SEZ (Special Economic Zones) clearances et al.

Left-wing political parties must engage AAP and like-minded parties

All shades of the Left parties have lost the Delhi polls most miserably and are being increasingly marginalized even in their traditional strongholds. It’s time for all the Leftist political parties to introspect and engage critically with AAP and AAP-like forces that it has inspired in order to fight the Saffron Parivar, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), that has a saffron flag and its affiliate organisations, such as its political wing, the BJP, that champion the cause of Hindutva, an aggressive form of Hindu nationalism. It will be mutually beneficial for the Left to engage with the urban poor, migrants,

Dalits (people regarded as untouchable in the Indian caste system), marginals as well as the new-age middle class and aspirational youth who constitute AAP-like social bases.

Comments by Political Analysts

Kuldip Nayar, the veteran Indian journalist, who was once the Indian High Commissioner in London, in his column quoted in the *Siasat*, an Urdu newspaper of Hyderabad, on 22nd March 2015, has drawn a parallel with the Janata Party of 1977-1979, of the authoritarian behaviour of Arvind Kejriwal and the late Morarji Desai. The latter was appointed leader of the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha after its remarkable success in the National elections of 1977. He never gave up his authoritarian style that he had acquired under the Raj, although he served as a Chief Minister of Bombay State, and as Finance Minister of India.

Kuldip Nayar states that he, along with others, requested Jai Prakash Narayan, the real force behind the victory of the Janata Party, to meet Morarji Desai, but the former was unable to do so because of his delicate health. However Morarji told those who met him, that he had not even called on the Mahatma himself, and did not consider Jai Prakash Narayan greater than the Mahatma.

In an article in the *Siasat* of 29th March 2015, Praful Bidwai, a senior journalist, pointed out that among the heroes projected by Narendra Modi is Vallabhbhai Patel who had actually banned the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January 1948. This has been stated by K L Mahendra, who was once the President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. [*Events and Movements* published by Prachee Publications, Hyderabad in 2006.]

Many who follow Indian politics will be happy to know that the English-educated, somewhat elitist Prakash Karat has been succeeded as General Secretary of the Communist party [Marxist] by Praful Bidwai, who hails from Andhra Pradesh, and was educated at Jawaharal Nehru University, Delhi.

Praful Bidwai seems to hold the view that the RSS has held in abeyance its own economic ideas based on grassroots development, and low technology – an ideology which was not too different from that promoted by Mahatma Gandhi, J C Kumarappa, Jaya Prakash Narayan and even the late RSS ideologue and grassroots worker Nanaji Deshmukh.

Prime Minister Modi has been making visits to major countries of the West which has led to some adverse reaction by Indian politicians, especially Rahul Gandhi, the son of Sonia Gandhi who has publicly urged Modi to study the miserable conditions in India rather than project India abroad with the slogan “Make in India” to encourage foreign investment in India.

Bidwai states that many of the BJP state governments are promoting the ideas of the Hindu forces. The ban on public servants joining the RSS has been removed in Chhattisgarh. The Bhagawat Gita has been made a

compulsory subject in schools in Haryana. Beef selling or eating is to be punished with five years imprisonment in Maharashtra.

The ban imposed on the RSS in Gujarat in 2000 at the instruction of then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, has now been lifted. Bidwai, however feels the government officers and police got this message before the results of the 2002 elections were too adverse to the BJP.

Conclusion

To sum up, the prospects for democracy will depend to a large extent on the reaction of the political parties who have stood up against the BJP. The Congress is still in power in Assam, Karnataka, Kerala. A few other states are controlled by parties which are not allied to the BJP, such as Tamil Nadu, Odisha, West Bengal, UP and Bihar. A large number of educated Indians who had joined the Aam Aadmi Party, or contributed financially to its success in state elections are likely to support Bushan and Yadav, who have announced the setting up of a new body called the Swaraj Abhiyan, which may eventually become a political party, and contest elections. If the Gandhian forces can provide an ideological basis for a fresh approach to Indian politics they can make a serious attempt to build an all-India alliance – which would undertake a dialogue with the Left and the forces working for democracy from all sides of the political spectrum.

The financial crisis in Greece: is it reversible?

Krystalia Keramida

It is a demonstrable truth that the economy is a milestone for every society in order to achieve growth, progress, stability and social security. But when a serious financial crisis hurts a developed country, then considerable consequences follow in almost every walk of life for people. This is the story of modern Greece from approximately 2008 until now.

To begin with, the financial crisis in Greece is a product of multidimensional causes. The most significant of them, such as the political conflicts and the vulnerable banking system led to an unprecedented problem that no one could ever imagine. A clear sense of lack of competitiveness of the country in the Eurozone, as a result of deficits and imbalances took place. The banking crisis, because of insufficient supervision and inadequate control of markets, resulted in the historically lowest interest rates. Investments, which are necessary for the circulation of money and the development of the country, are lost because the trust in the Greek economy is lost. Moreover, one very hard aspect of this situation is also the legitimization crisis of the national and the European Union institutions. Greek people lost their faith in politics and in the incumbent national government, believing that these are responsible

for all the difficulties that we face as society. Furthermore, there is also a general doubt whether the source of the weakness of national authorities to prevent or face the financial disaster lies in the European Union institutional system itself.

But as the financial crisis deepens year by year, many species of other parameters are generated. So, apart from, therefore, the financial instability and deficits, shocks of the banking system, but also the crisis of national institutions and the European Union institutions, another and maybe the most serious aspect of the crisis is obvious. This is the humanitarian crisis. The implemented austerity has dramatic consequences for the Greek people. Millions of them lost not only the essential, but also the minimum standard for a decent life. The health and educational systems are collapsing. Unemployment is rampant, especially among young people, as almost 29% of them aged 20-35 are jobless. People with Master's degrees and PhDs are unable to fulfill their dreams, as career prospects are gone. They decide, thus, to live abroad so as to find a job and this situation provokes a brain drain in Greece. Further, exploitation and unpaid work are blooming. In the meantime, the taxes and the cost of life regarding day-to-day demands are skyrocketing.

However, as young people who are the future of the world and the basis of the society, we are obliged to be optimists. We have to work hard to save our homeland, which is fertile with valuable resources and full of beauty. So, what should be done ?

The whole problem is not about numbers, it is about human beings. First of all, we should proceed to the re-democratization of the European policies. Together with the other member states, we should compromise and agree in order to save the European Union model, which was built with dreams, love and hope for a better dawn. As a Greek society, we have to understand that the abundant material possessions and the money are not the key for happiness and personal worth. Instead, constant education is vital to imbue the upcoming societies with moral values, like dignity, respect for each other, democracy and peace. If we fight against corruption and social ills, we would be able to re-build our society. Young people will not abandon their country and will offer their knowledge and strength to work hard in Greece.

Plus, a complete social system of governance which sets citizens to the foreground of politics and of internal reclamation efforts is necessary. The profound protection of Human Rights, the economic enhancement of agriculture, trade, social entrepreneurship, a better medical system, education accessible to everyone without discriminations of any kind and with job perspectives and last but not least, equal and fair bestowal of justice will affect the living conditions and increase human welfare, by giving access to goods and services to express people free their personalities. As a result, Greek people will show interest in the European actions and all together,

institutions and individual effort, will lead to a stronger structure with strength and ability to provide a great environment to live in.

In conclusion, although the contemporary condition of Greek society is very hard, there are ways to tackle it, both at a national and a European level. So, let us work with zeal, together with the European Union and as Greek nation, let us recognize the mistakes of the past and learn from them, so as to rebuild Greece, which is a vital part and parcel of the European Union, based on optimism, responsibility, organization, fairness and love for this precious land. Besides, as Gandhi said “Be the change you want to see in the world”.

Krystalia is a lawyer and member of UNESCO in Serres, Greece, specializing in Human Rights, Peace and Democracy. Krystalia3@hotmail.gr

SESOL TRAVEL UK (Sacred Educational Society of Ladakh)



SESOL Travel UK Limited is a professional travel company registered (SC494376) in Scotland, United Kingdom. The travel initiative is committed to sharing its profit with the SESOL-UK, charity in Scotland: SESOL-UK Charity.

SESOL-UK charity led to the development of an idea for a sustainable source of income to support Sacred New Era School (SNE) in Ladakh, and to help make the school financially self-sufficient in future. Shabir Banday, who is originally from Ladakh and currently works as Director for a Health Charity in Scotland took responsibility for setting up SESOL Travel UK and also helps run it with the support

of travel professionals. Profit from the Travel Company will also support disadvantaged communities in Scotland, in terms of education and preventative health and wellbeing.

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Shabir Banday Director, SNE School, Ladakh



THE URGENT NEED FOR UNITY TO SURVIVE THE 21ST CENTURY

“The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.”

Oh we'll be all right, providing we keep the economy growing, don't forget our defense budget, international aid or regular environmental summits. Now I assume, the majority reading this know better; that the situation is rapidly becoming desperate.

We know our economy and its model is bankrupt, our environment arguably beyond salvation and much of the world in turmoil. But how many appreciate the biggest 'carnage' is actually within our own heads?

The industrial and digital revolutions have rendered us binary automatons, unable to judge situations with the nuance of wisdom, perceiving everything as right or wrong, good or evil. We see a modern metaphor in the dramas of vampires & zombies, in our religious intolerance and most devastatingly, in our media and its contaminated politics.

The instruments of corporate greed blind us to the needs of our environment and our health, to what is most precious and even to the obvious distinction between pleasure and happiness.

Is the situation hopeless? Well actually no, not if we can recognise our responsibility and unite. We can cooperate without the need for conflict through what Jonathan Sacks calls the 'Dual Covenant' of both local and broader allegiance.

It is no longer an option to believe nothing when we know we should renounce judging others and respect the rights of all. Just watch the biting comedy 'Carnage' to see how judging leads to condemnation and the violence of war; the cancer that destroys everything we value.

Our only hope is in the total surrender of our ego that was Gandhi's ultimate strength. But to combat the industrial, military and social complex requires Polish-strength Solidarity. From where will this come in our fractured world?

There is a movement with increasing advocates that could provide the necessarily anonymous platform required. CIVIL-ISATION shows why 'preaching to the converted' is essential in creating a united front of individuals and organisations.

Unless we stand together, admitting our responsibility to act now, better-organised negative forces will bring annihilation sooner than we dare imagine.

Anthony Russell is founder of the Chandos Foundation
and author of *'Evolving the Spirit - From Democracy to Peace'*

Problems and Opportunities for Innovation

in achieving social, economic and environmental justice

Robert Fisher

Encoded within all life is the driver to survive, multiply and pass on its **investment** to the next generation. It is the governing principle behind the Darwinian thinking of natural selection and evolution.

I am not an economist but I am aware of Adam Smith's writings on the history of economics and of Prof John Forbes Nash's work on equilibrium and believe for humanity to evolve and move forward, within the constraints of its environment, society must have the ability to change. Sarvodaya as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi (the economic and social development of a community as a whole) in a connected digital age must ultimately mean a global community.

Therein lies the problem, in economic terms, for innovation to enter the equation when hitherto previous environments have enabled many organisations / institutions / states to grow and prosper to the extent that their **investment** (which naturally they will be driven to protect and pass on) may not be ideal in meeting the needs of a global community.

Investment – Innovation – Conflict – Conflict Resolution & Change, a cyclical evolutionary process but one in which all the players must win if progress is to be achieved: (**John Nash**) equilibrium.

With reference to the above and in context with the article published in *The Gandhi Way* Spring 123 in which Professor Ursula King spoke about eight major threats to us all caused by human economic activity.

1. Global climate and atmospheric changes that threaten us with an unprecedentedly fast global warming which will alter the living conditions for the entire planet and lead to what has been called “the end of nature”.

Response: The transition from a high carbon economy to one that is low carbon is not without its challenges, but with (**innovation**) in the form of (**conflict resolution**) between those who historically have invested heavily in a high carbon model and those who are now researching into and investing in low carbon or renewable technologies, the potential for economic activity and gain is vast, the rehabilitation of the environment a real and accelerated outcome.

200,000 years ago (science tells us) Homo sapiens appeared on earth as a result of dramatic climate change.

2. Toxic wastes (chemical, heavy metal, biological, nuclear waste have accumulated in staggering quantities and are found in every region, no matter how remote) result in environmentally caused diseases, most obviously the dramatic increase in cancer.

Response: International regulation, compliance and enforcement of that regulation, governing all industrial processes are just three areas of political, commercial and not for profit activity that have huge potential for social, economic and environmental gain.

For heavy metal See: http://nano.ir/index.php?ctrl=news&actn=news_view&id=48453&lang=2

See: (ITER) international thermo experimental reactor, for fusion instead of fission nuclear energy generation.

See: developments in immuno-oncology and consider how pharmaceutical communities recently pooled their resources in order to try and combat the current threat to us all from the Ebola crisis in Africa.

3. Loss of land from overuse of chemical agriculture and destruction of forests threatens food production and leads to erosion and desertification.

Response: For every tree that is harvested there is an opportunity to plant 3, this is an opportunity for the not for profit sector, perhaps linked to some (**innovative**) financial or other intervention between governments in industrialized society with their counterparts in undeveloped regions of the world.

I am not an expert on the economics of feeding an ever-increasing global population but believe a sustainable future for us all can only be achieved by understanding our past and by finding ways in which historical investment can benefit from innovation and subsequently to change.

4. Loss of species or what some call the “crisis of biodiversity” with decimation of a variety of habitats. Current rates of extinction are reducing the number of species to the lowest since the end of the age of dinosaurs, 65 million years ago.

Response: It is in the nature of habitats for them to change, 65 million years ago such a change brought about the end of the Cretaceous Period and the Dinosaur. However I am acutely aware, over my lifetime, of the loss of biodiversity in the area in which I live.

If human activity is the cause of that loss then human activity can change and habitats restored to their former state or if that is not possible, reinstated elsewhere, again an opportunity for the not-for-profit sector and in the same way that for every tree that is harvested 3 are planted, for every hectare put

under the plough, sufficient land is set aside for the regeneration of biodiversity and the rehabilitation of the environment.

5. Loss of wilderness: Ecosystems that remain free to develop without human interference or intrusion have become increasingly rare. People are everywhere; yet we are haunted by the loss of that natural Other which has been our long-time companion for biological ages.

Response: Wilderness extends far beyond our shores, into the deepest oceans and far out into the universe. It is in the nature of humanity for it to explore the unknown and one of the reasons, as a species, for its' survival and success.

In times of perceived shortage some governments may have tended to support legislation that seems to offer economic benefit, sometimes in haste and sometimes at the expense of the environment. Trees cannot vote for a particular political party but environmentalists can; however political parties, environmental and or otherwise rely on taxes, the result of economic activity and wealth generation.

The set aside in perpetuity of wilderness for natural development can only realistically be achieved if ways can be found for intergovernmental agreement on such initiatives and in a way that distances that land from economic pressure.

6. Devastation of indigenous peoples: these are the last examples of human communities integrated into nonhuman nature.

Response: Indigenous peoples, like natural habitat should be protected; however if for whatever reason it is not possible to protect an indigenous people on the land they currently inhabit, justice demands a suitable alternative is found in order that they can pursue their way of life.

In all of the above the greater need of society should be given precedence over the needs of a minority, which may include an indigenous people or an industrial conglomerate.

7. Human patterns and quantities of consumption are unsustainable. The developed world's insatiable consumerism depletes natural resources and contributes to global warming and accumulation of waste. In the underdeveloped world an over-population relative to existing technological resources and political organization decimates the landscape. Moreover, a widespread culture of meat-eating undermines the ecosystem's integrity through overutilization of water, grazing land, chemicalized pesticides and food additives.

Response: I can foresee a situation where those in society, who are better off financially and well educated, being much less likely to over consume than those who may have a need to show personal consumption as a means of

overcoming various insecurities, possibly caused as a result of industry or peer-pressure.

I also can see a situation where (**innovation**) in the form of new business models culminates in the reduction of consumption rather than an increase in it.

In the undeveloped world there is now a real opportunity for these great emerging economies to benefit from the experiences of industrialized society by avoiding some of the excesses and mistakes we have made in our evolution.

Meat eating is a lifestyle choice, which if ceased, will have a profound impact on pasture (habitat) and the future of livestock, plants and other species.

The transference of knowledge between the developed and undeveloped worlds must inevitably result in technological advancement for all and the development of good governance. The process of change is not without its challenges / opportunities, but if social, economic and environmental justice is to be achieved then climate change now, as was experienced 200,000 years ago, might again result in an evolutionary step up for Homo Sapiens to perhaps Homo ad pacem.

8. Genetic engineering: seems to promise miracle cures yet also menaces us with the potentially catastrophic invention of insufficiently tested organisms. Genetic engineering has come into existence before we have, as a world society, given adequate consideration to what this magnitude of human control over evolution could possibly mean.

Response: The human species from the day it learned to stand upright and took its' first step took the risk that it would fall.

I am mindful of how those working on genetics are creating drought-resistant crops to feed people in Africa, targeted treatments for cancers, potentially resulting in the end of unnecessary suffering by many through avoiding interventions that are unlikely to be effective. There is always a risk when changes are being made, but without risk there can be no reward and humanity suffering now from thirst, hunger, Ebola, from cancer or some other illness will continue to suffer and die. 100 years ago the median life expectancy in the United Kingdom was 49 years of age, currently it is 81, due in no small measure to innovators working with various institutions, scientists, engineers and industrialists to create a better environment for us all.

The education of young people worldwide, instilling in them the underlying values, skills and understanding that will enable them, as global citizens, to stand up against injustice in all its forms that society will continue to evolve, progress and move forward. Δ

Remember Fukushima: No to Nuclear Power

Reverend Nagase's speech at a vigil on 11 March 2015

NAMUMYOHORENGEKYO

Governments spend trillions of pounds on nuclear weapons, when nobody can wear nuclear weapons, nobody can eat nuclear weapons, nobody can live in nuclear weapons.

To produce and maintain nuclear weapons, nuclear power plants were developed. The world's first mercantile, industrial-scale nuclear power plant was built at Calder Hall,* Lake District, in the UK. A peaceful future for children demands all nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants be abolished.

The creation of peace should be the objective of our countries, the objective of humanity. There is no way to create peace other than through the elimination of conflict and strife. All instruments of war, which hamper the realisation of genuine peace, must be removed.

Japan is also called the state of Yamato. Yamato, in Japanese characters, signifies "big harmony". Great harmony ... this is the heart of Yamato. Article 9 of the Japanese Peace Constitution is truly the heart of the Yamato of Shikishima, which could bring a great harmony of peace to the entire world.

We fervently observe Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution – the fruit of the sacrifices made by our ancestors.



To look up to heaven, prostrate ourselves upon the earth.

Let us pray and walk together for a peaceful future free of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy.

With palms together in prayer, Rev G Nagase.

***Note:** The world's first nuclear power plant was the reactor at Obninsk, in the Soviet Union. A 5MWe reactor, it was built in 1954 and connected to a public supply. The world's first **industrial-scale nuclear power plant**, consisting of four 60-MWe reactors, was built in Calder Hall, Lake District, in 1956.

Book Review

Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict Erica Chenoweth & Maria J Stephan Columbia University Press 2013 pp296 PB ISBN: 978 0 231 15683 7

This is an important academic study by two young American women. Taking an empirical approach they examine 323 violent and nonviolent campaigns that occurred between 1900 and 2006 and compare their effectiveness (about one third were nonviolent and two thirds violent). The sort of campaigns they look at are those tough cases which aim at removing an oppressive indigenous regime or preventing the establishment of an invading regime. They also examine secessionist movements which use either violent or nonviolent direct action.

The principal conclusion is most encouraging for those who believe that on pragmatic grounds and not only ethical grounds nonviolence is superior to violence. The authors conclude that the evidence shows that nonviolent campaigns are about twice as often successful as violent campaigns. Of course they do not always achieve their aim and in fact fail in about a quarter of the cases. Secession campaigns are in a different category in that the authors have found that they are by far the least successful whether violence or nonviolence is used.

A major factor in the greater success of nonviolent campaigns is that they normally attract a larger number of participants. This increased participation leads to more tactical innovations, greater disruption of the status quo due to numbers, and greater likelihood of opponents, including the security forces, shifting their loyalty. They found that the average nonviolent campaign has 200,000 members and the average violent campaign only 50,000. Looking at the 25 largest campaigns only (0.3 to 4.5 million participants), 20 have been nonviolent and 5 violent. Of the latter, 2 were successful (ie 40%) and of the former, 14 were judged successful (ie 70%). The largest campaigns are Iran

1977-79 with a peak membership of 2 million, Philippines 1983-6 with 2 million, the largest however was China 1937-45 under Japanese occupation with 4.5 million which was violent and was a failure.

A study by Marchant and others, which is quoted in this book, found, rather surprisingly, that the success of nonviolent campaigns is very little affected by the type of regime, by its level of development, or whether it is a country divided along ethnic, religious or linguistic lines.

The present study also reveals results counter to expectations with regard to oppressive and liberal-democratic regimes. Nonviolent movements are as effective against violent-authoritarian regimes as they are against peaceful democratic regimes. This seems to apply irrespective of geographic location and is persistent over time.

Another finding which is less surprising is the longer term effect of violent and nonviolent campaigns. Victories achieved by violent campaigns do not normally lead to long-term democracy or peace. But successful nonviolent campaigns do tend to lead to peaceful democracies. Even nonviolent campaigns which are not successful are more likely to produce democratic regimes long-term and are less likely to lead to civil war.

There are four detailed case studies included: the Iranian Revolution of 1977-79; the First Palestinian Intifada 1987-92; the Philippine People Power Movement 1983-86; the Burmese Uprising 1988-90. In Iran of the 1960s and 70s both Muslim and Marxist revolutionary movements sprung up but were suppressed by the Shah. A religious movement directed by Ayatollah Khomeini developed in the 1970s and gathering large support achieved the overthrow of the Shah in 1979 with largely nonviolent tactics. However it was not long before an authoritarian regime developed, which is not the usual pattern following nonviolent success. The first Palestinian intifada or uprising began in December 1987 in Gaza and then spread throughout the occupied area. While there was some stone throwing the great majority of the actions were nonviolent including strikes, boycotts, mass demonstrations and much else. Unfortunately this broke down after a year-and-a-half before a resolution of the conflict was achieved. Violent resistance was returned to in spite of its ineffectiveness. In the Philippines Ferdinand Marcos was elected President in 1965 and he soon centralised power and expanded and increased control of the security forces. As opposition built up including armed groups he introduced martial law in 1972. Opposition leader Benigno Aquino was exiled in 1980 but decided to return in 1983; as he arrived at the airport he was assassinated by the military. Large popular demonstrations followed and Cardinal Sin condemned the murder but this was met by further repression. Corazon Aquino (wife of Benigno) stood in the elections the following year and did well in spite of irregularities in the process. Marcos called a snap election in 1984 expecting to divide the opposition. There was widespread fraud so Aquino declared victory for the people and launched civil

disobedience including a general strike. Widespread nonviolent resistance took place until much of the military swung against Marcos and he went into exile. Aquino became President. Burma is ethnically very diverse and has so far proven difficult to govern. In 1962 General Ne Win led a military coup which established a polity with a large role for the military. In 1988 there was a popular civilian uprising which led to military rule being replaced by civilian with elections held in 1990. However civilian rule did not last long and was replaced once more by a military one. No permanent civilian rule has been established yet.

One surprising success for a *violent* insurrection was in Costa Rica in 1948 because it was succeeded by a democracy which in addition abolished the army. This however is rare and the authors clearly demonstrate the general superiority of nonviolent campaigns from a purely pragmatic viewpoint.

George Paxton

Narayan Desai 24 December 1924 –15 March 2015

Narayan Desai was the son of Gandhi's highly respected secretary Mahadev Desai and his wife Durga. Narayan became a life-long peace activist and was general secretary of War Resisters' International 1962-78 and was a founder of the World Peace Brigades in 1962. He was involved in the Shanti Sena, or peace army, which intervened in communal conflicts in his own country. In the 1950s he walked the length and breadth of Gujarat gathering and redistributing land as part of the Bhoodan movement founded by Vinoba Bhave. He opposed the government of Indira Gandhi when it turned in an authoritarian direction and helped found the Janata Party which briefly came to power. He also wrote a biography of his father and a four volume biography of Gandhi, both written in Gujarati.

Geoffrey Carnall 1 February 1927 – 20 February 2015

Geoffrey Carnall's teenage years coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War and when mainstream distributors refused to distribute *Peace News* he cycled round Cambridge delivering bundles to those willing to sell them. He registered as a Conscientious Objector in 1944. Geoffrey gained a scholarship to Magdalen College, Oxford, to study English Literature in 1945. After graduating he served with the Friends Service Unit in India 1948-50 and here he met the well-known Quaker, Horace Alexander, and himself became a Quaker. Back in the UK he became a lecturer first at Queen's University, Belfast, and then at Edinburgh University where he stayed for the rest of his life. He and his wife Elizabeth became involved in the Edinburgh Peace and Justice Centre of which he was secretary for over 30 years. In retirement he wrote a biography of Horace Alexander called *Gandhi's Interpreter: a Life of Horace Alexander* which was published by Edinburgh University Press. Elizabeth was a Friend of the GF for a number of years and Geoffrey wrote an occasional article for *The Gandhi Way*. The last time I saw them both was on an anti-Trident demonstration and although it was apparent that it was a struggle to keep up with the march, they were determined to give their support to the cause. GP

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Charity number 292629

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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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