

# The Gandhi Way



Peter Tatchell with the Peace Award in Westminster Hall

Newsletter of the Gandhi Foundation

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### **Gandhi Foundation Multifaith Celebration 2017**

The date and venue have not been fixed yet but it may be on 28 January  
Please check at contacts on back page in January

### **Gandhi Foundation Summer Gathering 2017**

*Theme: Inspired by Gandhi*

22 July - 29 July 2017

St Christopher School, Barrington Road,  
Letchworth Garden City, Hertfordshire SG6 3JZ

Further details: Summer Gathering, 2 Vale Court, Weybridge KT13 9NN  
or Telephone: 01932 841135; [gandhisummerngathering@gmail.com](mailto:gandhisummerngathering@gmail.com)

### **Jeevika Trust Annual Lecture and Indian Bazaar**

Thursday 24 November 2016, 6.30 for 7pm

*India and China: modern travels in ancient civilisations*

by Michael Wood (BBC historian)

at the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington

*followed by Bazaar – tickets £20*

[www.jeevika.org.uk](http://www.jeevika.org.uk) for booking

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# Peter Tatchell

## Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award recipient 2016

Approximately 70 to 80 people came to the Peace Award in the House of Lords on Monday 31 October which was kindly hosted and chaired by Baroness Helena Kennedy of The Shaws who is herself a very well-known champion of liberal causes.

The evening began with a tribute to Antony Copley, GF Trustee and Academic Advisor. Omar Hayat and William Rhind spoke about Antony and what he meant to the Gandhi Foundation and that he would be sorely missed. Helena Kennedy also spoke about him as she had known Antony and had been involved in her early career representing people who had fallen foul of the gross indecency act. Following a one minute silence in respect of Antony the Peace Award ceremony began.

Dr Hayat introduced Baroness Kennedy by thanking her for hosting The Gandhi Foundation at the House of Lords and read a brief biography of the work\* that she is involved with. It was most appropriate that someone with her background was actually presenting the award to Peter Tatchell. The Gandhi Foundation citation was read:

Peter Tatchell's consistent dedication over many decades and single-minded pursuit in promoting human rights, and LGBT rights in particular, has helped to engender a greater understanding in the public mind of these important issues and created the conditions to allow laws protecting minority groups to be implemented.

He has consistently been at the forefront of progressive movements, from anti-apartheid to Palestinian rights, nuclear disarmament, democratic reforms in the Middle East and campaigns against draconian anti-terror laws in the UK.

He has achieved this through his conviction and nonviolent protest, which are the hallmarks of the guiding principles espoused by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Trustees also took into account his personal bravery in confronting prejudice and putting himself sometimes in the way of violent attack but never retaliating violently. He has repeatedly risked arrest and imprisonment for exposing injustice and has been looked upon as a role model by many campaigners for human rights.

He has been able to bring together like minded people to create momentum in promoting human rights issues, both here in the UK and around the world. The work The Peter Tatchell Foundation is doing has helped highlight human rights abuses in the Commonwealth, create dialogue between the LGBT and Muslim communities and speak out against war crimes in Syria, Balochistan and West Papua.

Responding to receipt of the Gandhi International Peace Award 2016, Peter Tatchell said:

Receiving this award is a massive honour. My heartfelt thanks to the Gandhi Foundation.

This award is in recognition of my half a century of human rights work, which began in 1967. But, of course, whatever changes I have helped bring about, they were never achieved by me alone. The advances in LGBT and other human rights have always been a collaborative effort. I could have never helped secure any social change without the support of many others. My heartfelt thanks to all those people for their kindness, generosity and support over the decades. It is much valued – and treasured.

Gandhi's successful nonviolent struggle against British colonial rule in India has been an enduring inspiration throughout the 50 years of my human rights campaigning.

Forcing the British out of India – at a time when Britain was the greatest military superpower in history and was determined to continue its imperial rule was remarkable enough. But it was all the more remarkable because Gandhi's methods achieved self-rule and freedom without disturbing even one hair on the head of a British soldier. He showed the enormous potential of peaceful people power.

I have striven, often imperfectly, to adapt his principles of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience to the contemporary struggles for democracy, human rights, equality, LGBT freedom and global justice.

I applied those principles in my protest for LGBT rights in what was then communist East Germany (1973), my two attempted citizen's arrests of President Mugabe of Zimbabwe (1999 and 2001), my appeal to British troops to refuse orders to use nuclear weapons (1985), my outing of ten Anglican bishops over their hypocritical collusion with church homophobia (1994), my ambush of the motorcade of Tony Blair in protest at the Iraq war (2003), my defiance of the ban on Gay Pride marches in Moscow (2007), and my blockade of the limousine of the military dictator of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, (2008) to highlight war crimes in occupied Balochistan.

Following the lead of Gandhi, the motive of my human rights endeavors is love. I love other people. I love freedom, equality and justice. The only liberation struggle worth pursuing is a struggle inspired by love. Love is the beginning, middle and end of liberation. Without love, there can be no liberation worthy of the name.

I dedicate my acceptance of this award to the heroic people of West Papua and their national liberation struggle against Indonesian colonisation and military occupation. Since annexation by Jakarta in 1969, at least 100,000, and possibly 400,000, West Papuans have died.

The transmigration programme to settle people from Java and other Indonesian islands is deliberately designed to make West Papuans a minority in their own land. It is part of a grand plan to swamp West Papua with non-Melanesians to erode their indigenous culture – a slow motion 'genocide' by demographics.

Human rights abuses are widespread and unpunished. West Papuan protests are violently suppressed, with mass arrests. Even the mere flying of the West Papuan flag has resulted in people being jailed for 10-15 years. I stand in solidarity with West Papuans and their right to self-determination.

Indonesia should agree a UN-supervised referendum of the indigenous West Papuan people, to let them decide whether they want to remain part of Indonesia or



be independent. It has been clear for decades that a majority want independence. They do not want to suffer any more at the hands their colonisers.

To signal condemnation of Jakarta's on-going occupation and repression, Western arms sales to Indonesia should be halted, as should Western economic exploitation of the country's vast gold, copper, oil, gas and timber resources, which is taking place without the consent of the West Papuan people and without them benefiting. Everyone is profiting from West Papua, except the West Papuans. This has got to stop.

I stand with the West Papuan people to demand: Referendum now ! Then independence !

Freedom for West Papua has been long delayed but it cannot, must not and will not be denied.



After Peter's speech the daughter of Benny Wenda, the tribal leader of the West Papuans, Maria Wenda, gave a speech describing the hardship and exploitation of her people. She and Peter described it as a 'slow genocide' in which hundreds of thousands of people have been killed and displaced since Indonesia occupied West Papua. The second speaker, Koteka Wenda, pointed out that many of the deaths in West Papua had been caused by bombing carried out by the Indonesian air force with British-made Hawk aircraft. She also said that there was large-scale exploitation of mineral resources (including the largest gold mine in the world) with a share of the profits going to the Indonesian government and not benefiting the West Papuan people.

After the speeches there was ample time for a lively Q&A session and many questions were asked of Peter as to how he manages to continue fighting for causes when he is sometimes faced with violent attacks and potential death. He explained that he looks towards those other campaigners of human rights who fare much worse than him ! This was a typical answer of a modest person who maybe does not fully realise his own impact. He went on to answer that like Gandhi, Love is the driving force behind his passion for human right causes.

\*Helena Kennedy QC has practised at the Bar for 40 years in the field of criminal law and has conducted many of the leading cases in those years, including the Balcombe Street Siege, the Brighton bombing trial, the Guildford Four Appeal, the Michael Bettany Espionage case, the Jihadist fertiliser bomb plot, and the transatlantic bomb plot. She has championed law reform for women, especially relating to sexual and domestic violence and developed the defence of Battered Women's syndrome in the British courts. She has chaired the British Council and the UK Human Genetics Commission. She has been a member of the House of Lords for 18 years, where she sat on the Joint Committee of Human Rights, and is now chair of the European Union Sub Committee. She is chair of Justice and co-chair of the International Bar Association's Institute of Human Rights. She is Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. She has received 39 honorary doctorates, is an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy and the Royal Society of Edinburgh. She has also been honoured by the Governments of France and Italy. She is the chair of the Booker Prize Foundation.



**Further information:** [Peter@PeterTatchellFoundation.org](mailto:Peter@PeterTatchellFoundation.org)  
The Free West Papua website link is <https://www.freewestpapua.org>

# Empathy, Ethics and Peacemaking

Dr Rowan Williams, Master of Magdalene College, University of Cambridge, and former Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered this year's Gandhi Foundation's Annual Lecture on 1st October in St Martin-in-the-Fields Church, London.

In introducing the lecturer to the audience the Gandhi Foundation's President, Lord Bhikhu Parekh, said Lord Williams was one of the finest thinkers and human beings he knows.

What struck me most about Rowan William's lecture was its breadth of humanity and refusal to offer any quick fix solutions or gloss to situations of individual or national conflict. Time and time again, Rowan stressed the importance of taking time to listen to another's point of view and not to attempt to prejudge or impose a 'heroic act of generosity' or ego driven empathy which can act to further alienate and antagonise. What is essential, maintained Rowan, is to recognise and value our diversity in all its many aspects. We should respect people's differences and admit that often we really can't put ourselves in others' shoes when we have no real idea of what they are experiencing. Instead, we should try to listen deeply to their stories and create the space for a slow development of trust and, hopefully, a common sense of humanity and communication to arise of its own accord. This takes time and effort and 'faith'! Eventually this will lead to our seeing ourselves from another's point of view which allows us to realise that our wellbeing is very much tied up with the wellbeing of another. As Rowan vividly said, 'I cannot literally see the back of my head'. It takes another's view to give a deeper insight and perspective into our joint situation. However, in this impatient culture, we all want rapid solutions. This impatience is not necessarily something new to the 21st century.

This slow, patient listening and getting to know the lives and concerns of the 'other' does not mean capitulating to others' demands, nor showing indifference or a passive response to what may be a very violent situation. There needs to be the acknowledgment that change may need to arise on both sides, and that in spite of the pain and cost, 'one chooses to remain in the room when an impasse seems to have been reached'. Gandhi Ji undertook a number of experiments in nonviolent conflict resolution which were designed to prompt a different response to a situation of deadlock. Often he shamed the other party into having to choose a different course of action, steadfastly refusing to mirror violence. The examples of conflict in Syria and South Sudan were raised. What has all this to say in a situation where profound, ongoing and deeply violent conflict is raging, more often than not as a mere play of power on a global stage? Again, Rowan commended the model of trying to create the safe space in which leaders can communicate with each other not just about control but about the good of the communities which they represent. In his lifetime, Gandhi Ji, in order to say what he needed to,



spoke from within the context of a community, an ashram. The importance of creating intentional communities for this kind of work was echoed in Northern Ireland in the Corrymeela community, where it was shown how Catholics and Protestants could peacefully live alongside one another in the midst of conflict. Rowan suggested that in present day conflicts, what was needed was not so much a UN Security Council, rather a Mediation Council which would help us to move from the 'collective nervous breakdown' in which so many countries worldwide seem to have been drawn.

Gandhi Ji's legacy is indispensable in the context of conflict resolution. Rowan said that he believed that religious communities could play their part in a solution to the problems, rather than causing them by reinforcing global tribal positions. We are pressed to decide what kind of humanity we want in the 21st century. Gandhi Ji devoted his whole life to the question of the endless struggle for power. We are invited to look beyond the narrow confines of individual security which can lead to suicidal conflict, to a world in which 'we choose again to be human together'. As Rowan Williams so eloquently said, 'The world we inhabit is a world full of strange and different perspectives. Our human enrichment comes from that diversity'.

*Jane Sill*

An audio recording of the Lecture is available to listen to at [www.stmartin-in-the-fields.org/podcasts/](http://www.stmartin-in-the-fields.org/podcasts/) Listen to the lecture in Rowan Williams own words and voice if you can.

### **Jane Sill – new GF Committee member**

I first became very interested in the life of Mahatma Gandhi when I was on a short pilgrim style tour of India with my Indian Yoga teacher in the 1980s. We were fortunate to visit many of the sites associated with Gandhi Ji's life, including museums and libraries in Mumbai and Madurai, including the final cremation ground in New Delhi and place of assassination. I picked up a considerable amount of material by Gandhi Ji himself and also about his life and work in both South Africa and India which I found very inspiring. Having lived and worked in East London since the mid 1970s, first in welfare work, then as a long term unemployment adviser, close to Kingsley Hall, the links became even closer. After a time in the Women's Rights Unit of what was then the National Council of Civil Liberties, I became Editor of *Yoga & Health* magazine in 1990, a post I retained until 2013 when the magazine was discontinued in its original form. This work enabled me to become further acquainted with Gandhi Ji's life and we published a number of articles, particularly related to his views on natural health and healing, and also his life long dedication to ahimsa or nonviolence. At one of the Gandhi Foundation's birthday celebrations at the Bharatya Bhavan, I met with Marjorie Sykes over a cup of tea which led to a close friendship until her death. Thanks to her, I gained a deeper insight into Gandhi Ji's life from her own personal experiences having lived in his ashram and undertaken her own personal 'experiments with truth'. I would also learn much about Rabindrinath Tagore who





Marjorie had also known very well and who she regretted was now not as well remembered as Gandhi Ji which she felt was a great pity. Thanks to Marjorie I visited the Gandhi Summer School and became a frequent visitor over the years, getting to know many of the Gandhi Foundation members well. Nowadays, I am still very much involved with Yoga, teaching a local community class and also a local community garden which was set up in the mid 1970s. I also organise activities for a carers' group in Lambeth and Southwark and lead meditation and mindfulness sessions for Macmillan head office and a Guinness Trust sheltered housing group. At a time of great conflict and uncertainty, the example of Gandhi Ji's life still offers great inspiration and direction and I was very happy to accept to join the GF Committee when kindly invited by Graham and Mark earlier this year.

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## Economics as if People Mattered – Summer Gathering 2016

This year's Summer Gathering (23<sup>rd</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> July) saw the Gandhi Foundation return to St Christopher School. Whilst it was sad to part company with The Abbey, the costs of hiring a grade 1 listed medieval building made it no longer viable to return to Sutton Courtney. An earlier executive committee had agreed that at the very least the Summer Gathering should be self-financing and the Gandhi Foundation was not in a position to subsidise the Gathering.

Fewer attendees came this year than previously and sadly there was no new attendee for the first time anyone could remember. Perhaps it was the change in venue or perhaps the topic of Gandhian Economics did not inspire people. Any thoughts in regard to the future of the Summer Gathering would be appreciated.

The week saw the return of some faces coming for the first time in a number of years. Jill Stevenson had not been to a Gathering since the days of Marjorie Sykes

(who passed away in 1995) and Liz Rowe. Liz Rowe showed that frugal vegetarian fare does not have to be dull and spoilt us rotten by supervising the production of three course banquets every night. Even teaching those of us with bits of Indian blood (ie the author and Mark Hoda) new things about Indian cookery.

The week followed the same format of previous years with Graham Davey leading us in discussion about various aspects of economic thought relating to Gandhi. A particular focus was on the work of E F Schumacher. This led us on the Sunday to furthering our knowledge that *swaraj* went far beyond the political concept of 'home rule', *sarvodaya* concerned the development of economic systems that were for the good of all,



and *swadeshi* involved focusing on local production for local goods.

Monday saw us get down to basics by discussing what is the economy; Tuesday moving into a look at Utopia; Wednesday,

saw us looking at alternative models and Thursday got us looking at how all this interacted with the international scene with the Brexit vote. it seems appropriate to have some discussion about how Gandhi might have responded to this, and to the policies of Prime Minister Modi.





Unlike The Abbey, St Christopher School was less geared for us to do *shramdana*. A condition of us using the buildings was such that the school cleaners had to come in every morning. Therefore our work around the house was reduced, though sadly probably not missed. The school also did not have facilities for us to compost our waste and recycling had to be sorted out and thrown away rather than reused. The house having a TV enabled us to introduce some of the younger participants to Charlie Chaplin.

On the Wednesday, we were able to walk down to the International Garden Cities Institute; this is a museum and think tank combined studying the ideas and history of the Garden Cities Movement. Learning about it dovetailed very neatly with the theme of the week and it was felt that next year we should invite their director to give a talk to our participants on the Institute's work.

The week closed with a discussion about next year's theme and venue. It was felt that whilst the school was not perfect (but what venue is) we should book it so we have a venue set. The theme of 'Inspired by Gandhi' would be appropriate and hopefully would introduce a few new attendees. *William Rhind*

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### **The proud Bengali**

We the Bengali millions  
Of our heritage extremely proud  
Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and Christians  
Comprising a diverse crowd  
Across the globe dispersed today  
Having crossed seas seven  
Nostalgic about our motherland  
To us it is Heaven  
Nothing is dearer than our language  
Of Ekushey the world is aware  
Salam, Barkat and our brothers many  
With their lives challenged the dare  
Sons and daughters of Bangladesh  
And India's West Bengal  
Sharing the culture of Nazrul and Tagore  
Literary gifts they left for all  
Meandering rivers, azure skies  
Fragrant flowers amidst fields green  
A blessing from Mother Nature  
Such beauty who has seen  
Wherever you may now belong  
Of your motherland you are fond  
We treasure our language and heritage  
Which creates our unique bond.  
*Shaheen Choudhury Westcombe MBE*

Shaheen Westcombe's poem above was published in the *Behar Herald*, published from Patna since 1874, and whose motto is 'Secularism and Democracy'.

***Ekushey** refers to 21st February – International Mother Language Day. In 1952 some students in Dhaka were killed by the then government in a procession when they said that Bengali should be their national language instead of Urdu as Bengali was the language of the majority. Salam and Barkat were among the students who were killed. The UN acknowledged the day as International Mother Language Day.*

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## Direct Action at Burghfield

*Chris Bluemel*

In October, Reading Magistrates Court convicted two protesters of offences related to month-long protest at AWE Burghfield in June this year. On 14 October, Mary Millington was found guilty of unauthorised road painting and going equipped for criminal damage at the base. On 19 October, Helen Swanston was found guilty of obstruction of the highway. Both were given lengthy conditional discharges and orders for costs or compensation.

Situated a few miles south-west of Reading, Burghfield is at the heart of Trident, the UK's nuclear weapons system. The nuclear warheads which are carried by the submarines, were manufactured here, and return here for heavy maintenance; they are brought back from Scotland in convoys of trucks by road, at enormous risk to the public.

At the time of the protest, construction work was taking place to equip the plant to manufacture a new generation of warheads, even the decision to replace Trident had not yet been made. The decision came on on 18 July, when MPs voted to approve a new nuclear weapons system, reminding us all of the hypocrisy and double-standards which continue to dominate the UK's dealings with the rest of the world.

The first day of the Month of Action (6 June) brought an unexpected twist when the police decided to take no action against the protesters blocking the road on either side of the Construction Gate entrance. After several hours in the hot sun, both groups moved into the gateway itself (the intended target), and stayed for what became the first night of a rolling blockade. The aim was to prevent work to upgrade the nuclear warhead production facilities from taking place, in violation of international law.

Hot food was brought over from Reading, tents and tarpaulins were erected, and people took turns to sleep and stay awake to maintain the block. The words STOP TRIDENT were stencilled onto the road. Many people were dressed in red paper suits to indicate a red line and make the link between the military and climate change. Meanwhile, in London the words "Trident is a war crime" and "Stop Trident Replacement" were projected onto the Ministry of Defence and the Houses of Parliament.

A month of creative actions at Construction Gate followed. The Scottish action saw activists parading around in kilts to the music of bagpipes, with a



massive green monster 'Nessie' who was presented as the 'good' monster, whilst Trident was the evil monster in the Loch. The International group attached 'Nukes of Hazard' placards both to the fence and to various posts on the approach roads. The Welsh group used cycle locks to attach themselves to a 16th-size replica of Trident made from panels of plywood.

On one hot day, activists stripped off to highlight the case being brought against the UK Government by Bikini Island and the Marshall Islands, for damage resulting from historic nuclear weapons tests. The sight of topless women and bikini-clad men got more cheers from passers-by than any other action.

The entrance to the 'North Mearings' road, which leads to the Main Gate, also saw creative actions. On 7 June, four activists locked themselves to a vehicle parked across this roadway, preventing the movement of any other vehicles to this gate. All four were arrested, but three of them were Finnish, and they left the UK upon release. The fourth was Helen Swanston, a 42-year-old milliner from Cromer, Norfolk.

In court, Helen pleaded not guilty to obstruction of the highway, arguing that she had only obstructed vehicles heading *off* the highway onto a private road to the base, and that she had acted to prevent a greater crime. District Judge Khan ruled that she had in fact obstructed a highway and that there was no imminent threat that the nuclear weapons would be used. However, he remarked on the depth and sincerity of her convictions, even stating that 'he did not want to punish her'. He gave her a one-year conditional discharge and ordered her to pay £200 in costs.

In the early hours of 28 June, Mary Millington, a 68-year old retired schoolteacher from Glasgow, made her way to Reading Road, the main road on the western side of the base. She got out two cans of spray paint, and promptly painted the words 'Stop the Deadly Convoys' across the road so as to be clearly visible to road-users. Within minutes, she was apprehended by the police. When the police found that she was also in possession of a large pair of bolt-croppers, she freely admitted that she intended to cut a hole in the fence of the base.

In court, Mary argued that she had both reasonable and legal excuse in seeking to raise awareness of the nuclear warhead transport convoys, and in preventing a greater crime. Again, the magistrates dismissed these arguments, and found her guilty of making unauthorised road-markings, and going equipped for criminal damage. Like the district judge, they considered the sincerity of her beliefs and gave her a two-year conditional discharge. They also ordered her to pay £200 in compensation to West Berkshire District Council, but this was a fraction of what the prosecutor had asked for.

On another day, a contingent from London held a Mad Hatters Tea Party, with people transformed into Hares, Red Queens and playing cards, and eventually sitting down to tea. Banners read 'Mad to spend £205 billion on Trident', 'Mutually Assured Destruction', and 'We are mad hatters, they are mad bombers'.

On the final day around 30 people arrived at various places around the perimeter fence and put up big red Xs to signify a massive NO to Trident Renewal. As the day drew to a close, the red paper suits that people were wearing were also pinned to the the fences – a sinister reminder of the 'shadows' left behind when the Hiroshima bomb burnt people away, leaving only their shadows on the ground.

Construction Gate remained closed for the rest of June. Even though the camp outside it was all but gone after two weeks, a local contact observed that the

gate was still locked and deserted. Officials have admitted that work on the new facilities was delayed; indeed, it appears that construction workers were told to take the month off. There were other arrests too, and further trials will take place at Reading in December and January.

Civil resistance to Trident is needed now more than ever, and we hope that people will form affinity groups in their local area to plan and execute unannounced actions. Trident Ploughshares can help with equipment, ideas and planning workshops – just visit [www.tridentploughshares.org](http://www.tridentploughshares.org) for more information. Ω

### **Spoken at Tavistock Square on Hiroshima Day 2016:**

Mahatma Gandhi said on 1st July 1946 at Poona: “So far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. There used to be the so-called laws of war, which made it tolerable. Now we know the naked truth. War knows no law except that of might ... I assume that Japan's greed was more unworthy. But the greater unworthiness conferred no right on the less unworthy of destroying without mercy men, women and children of Japan in a particular area. The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs, even as violence cannot be by counter-violence. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence. Hatred can be overcome only by love”.

Prayer for peace

Na mu myo ho ren ge kyo

With palms together in prayer

Rev G Nagase



Lanterns at the Battersea Pagoda on Nagasaki Day

# Book Reviews

## **Mahatma: Gandhi's Life in Colour** GandhiServe India Trust 2016

This is a mighty book in every sense. It is A3 sized, weighs over 6.5 kg and runs to nearly 700 sumptuous pages. You will certainly need an extra large, reinforced book shelf or coffee table to display this publication, but its wonderful, unique content very much justify these physical dimensions.

Gandhi's youngest son, Devadas, had the dream to document his father's life by photographs day-by-day. It is only now, 59 years after his death, that his dream has come true.

The book vividly tells the story of Gandhi's life through a collection of beautiful, often breathtaking, photos, which you could find yourself spending many hours studying, and getting totally mesmerised by. The images are also very effectively blended with archival material, such as newspaper articles and political cartoons, narrative and quotations, to give a detailed portrait of the Mahatma.

I have been very privileged to see many of the images in the book before, through various contacts and collaborations with GandhiServe India over the years. However, this book brings them wonderfully together in colour for the first time.

This collection of photos took me on a rollercoaster ride of powerful emotions, in a similar way Attenborough's Gandhi film did; from the intimacy of Gandhi's interactions with friends, confidants and small groups of followers, to the determination and bravery of satyagrahis faced with the aggression of South African or British authorities, and the fear and desperation of villagers that confronted Gandhi when he toured areas torn apart by communal violence in the run up to partition, such as Noakhali.

The dust jacket describes this book as 'an Interdisciplinary project' in which 'Gandhi scholars, historians, photo experts and graphic designers joined hands in order to turn black and white photographs into colour images, thus making them true documents of history'.

The foreword has been written by eminent sociologist and social reformer, Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak, who is also the founder of Sulabh Sanitation Movement.

The result of this painstaking collaboration is an extremely comprehensive, striking exposition which will bring the history of Gandhi and his message to life in a uniquely powerful, emotionally moving way.

*Mark Hoda*

Apart from various online stores the book can be ordered through its website [www.mahatmabook.com](http://www.mahatmabook.com).

More information are also available from <https://www.facebook.com/colourfulgandhi>

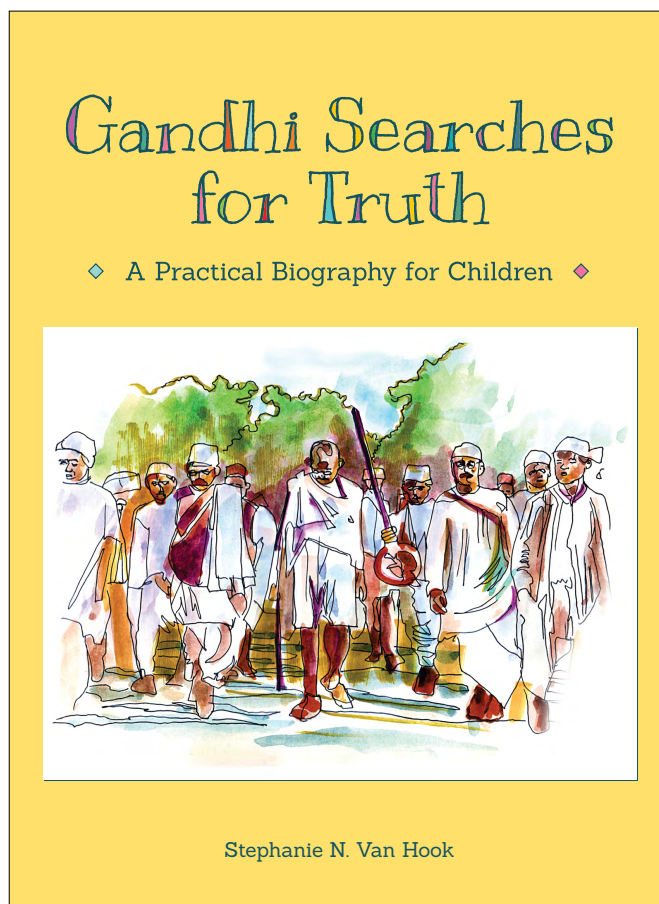
***Gandhi Searches for Truth: A Practical Biography for Children*** by Stephanie Van Hook. *(The book can be ordered from Amazon)*

### **Who wrote it?**

Gandhi searches for the truth was written by Stephanie Van Hook, and illustrated by Sergio Garzon, in 2016. It was published by Person Power Press for the Metta Center for Nonviolence (<http://mettacenter.org/>)

### **What is it?**

Gandhi Searches for Truth is an illustrated E-Book, exploring what the stages of Gandhi's life and his quotes mean to us and how children can follow his principles in their daily lives. Each page of writing develops a theme and explains its meaning, and gives a story as an example. It focusses on key ideas and explaining what things mean.



### **What is it like?**

This new book about Gandhi tackles well the ups and downs in Gandhi's life, and the problem of British rule using a theme of freedom. It is thoughtfully written and will interest and grip young people who want to be aware about the world, though the passages may overwhelm smaller children who are just starting the idea of Gandhi and world peace as it has complex words scattered in the text.

### **Who is it for?**

This book is a perfect match with Mylo Schaaf's 'Our Gandhi: Child of Fear to Man of Freedom', which is a lively story for smaller (and older!) children who are beginning on who Gandhi was and his background and life. Mylo Schaaf's book is good read out loud for smaller children by parents and independent readers. 'Gandhi Searches for Truth' is a more intense thought provoking backup for older children, maybe 9+, which inspires new creative ideas.

### **Review by Linnet Drury (13)**



## Antony Copley 1937-2016

The Gandhi Foundation was fortunate indeed to have Antony Copley as its Academic Adviser. He joined the management committee of the Gandhi Foundation around 1990 and, in addition to being a generally active member, the readership of *The Gandhi Way* in particular greatly benefitted from his knowledge of modern Indian history.

Antony was the son of Alan, a solicitor, and Iris, and after prep school went to his father's old school, Gresham's in Norfolk where he displayed athletic ability and set a school record for the long jump. His parents divorced while he was still at school. From school he decided to do his national service, in the navy, before taking up a scholarship at Worcester College, Oxford. As a young naval officer he was involved in the Cyprus and the Suez crises of 1955-6.

He chose modern history at Oxford and after graduation was elected to a fellowship at St Antony's College. At Oxford he met fellow historian Martin Gilbert who became a prolific writer whose books included a biography of Churchill and several works on the Holocaust, and they remained lifelong friends. Antony went on to become a lecturer at the University College of North Wales in 1963 and in 1967 moved to the new University of Kent at Canterbury where he stayed until retirement as Reader in History in 2001. He was awarded an Honorary Professorship in 2015. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Asiatic Society.



Beginning his career as a modern European historian Antony wrote his first book on the subject of the liberalisation of sexual morality in France between 1780 and 1980. He travelled often in his career becoming visiting academic at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Ibadan University in Nigeria, and Nankai University in China; later a visiting professor at Hyderabad, Bangalore and Paris. He wrote and edited several books on aspects of Indian religion and he took a special interest in the politician and colleague of Gandhi, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, popularly known as CR, who was the subject of two of his books. (A review by Antony of the first volume of the collected works of CR appears below.) Of particular interest to readers of this journal is his *Gandhi: Against the Tide*, a very concise introduction to Gandhi published by Blackwell in 1987.

Antony became an editor of the *Indo-British Review* and on his suggestion a collaboration between that journal and the Gandhi Foundation

resulted in a large wide-ranging collection of essays under the title *Gandhi and the Contemporary World* being published in 1997 in hardback followed by the paperback. *The Indo-British Review* distributed it in India and the Gandhi Foundation in Britain and other countries. It was the biggest publishing and distribution project undertaken by the Foundation.

Antony was a tall man with a distinctive drawling manner of speech. He was the inspiration for Magnus, an important character in the three comic novels by Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok called *Campus Trilogy*.

In retirement he wrote *A Spiritual Bloomsbury: Hinduism and Homosexuality in the lives of Edward Carpenter, E M Foster and Christopher Isherwood*. Finally, Antony published *Historian and Homosexual*, a memoir of his early life revealing that he had had a traumatic experience as an undergraduate which must have left a mental scar of which few were aware. In 1959 homosexual acts between males were illegal and police often used entrapment which is what happened to Antony when he was approached by a policeman in plain clothes. He pled guilty, partly on the advice of his father, and was fined. However the experience resulted in a mental breakdown and confinement in a psychiatric hospital where he was given ineffective insulin shock therapy. Antony lived long enough to see a true revolution in attitudes to same sex relationships. He supported a petition to the Government to issue a general pardon to the 49,000 men who suffered similarly. The Government has now agreed to present such a bill. The decision of the Gandhi Foundation to offer its International Peace Award for 2016 to Peter Tatchell would have delighted him, although it should be added that Tatchell's gay rights campaigning is not the only reason for the Award.

Antony's interests were many and music was one of the most important, something he shared with his late sister Georgina who was a talented musician. His last book was *Music and the Spiritual*, a study of some 20th century music and musicians, particularly from Russia and Eastern Europe, some well known such as Prokofiev and Shostakovich, others less so such as Schnittke and Gubaidulina. It is a book that displays his original interest in modern European history as well as music as an experience of the spiritual.

Antony had suffered from prostate cancer for a number of years but the fact that he was aware that he was unlikely to see this year's end he accepted with equanimity and tranquility. He died on 18 July 2016.

*George Paxton*

## Review

**Selected Works of C Rajagopalachari Volume 1** Edited by Mahesh Rangarajan, N Balakrishnan, Deepa Bhatnagar, Hyderabad, Black Swan 2014 pp.xxvi, 432

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, familiarly known as CR or Rajaji, is the latest choice by the Nehru Memorial Library for their series of selected works

of eminent twentieth-century Indians. The Editors see him as “one of the most enigmatic personalities in post-Independent Indian politics” (p.xvii). There was an attractive maverick side to CR that led me to become one of his biographers. Included is a measured brief biographical sketch by his grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi. This the first of ten volumes covers the highly dramatic years 1907 to 1921 when the raj responded to nationalist pressure by a series of constitutional reforms, the Morley-Minto of 1909, the Montagu-Chelmsford of 1919, together with the nefarious Rowlatt Act of 1919, and when the nationalist movement, largely if not exclusively led by the Indian National Congress, initially divided between Moderates and Extremists, came under Gandhi’s leadership, first in the Rowlatt *satyagraha* of 1919, then the non-cooperation and Khilafat campaign of 1920-22. In this superbly edited volume the editors largely restrict themselves to Who’s Who like entries on every person named in the documents with but minimal commentary on events. They cannot restrain themselves from directly linking the Rowlatt Act to the Amritsar massacre, and attempting their own explanation of the Moplah rebellion, “the tenant movement got entwined with the Khilafat agitation” (p.261). Through the acute clarity of CR’s thought and his lucid, adamant prose this reads brilliantly as a way of following India’s macropolitics but proves less accessible for the micropolitics of the Madras Presidency.

CR was only ever likely to be a voice that was heard after moving on from his role as *vakil* and Chairman of the Municipality in provincial Salem to Madras, capital of the Presidency in 1919. But the future measure of the man was clearly evident in his mordant critique of the planned Advisory Council of the Morley-Minto reforms: “the chief function of a Notable will be to eat dirt and say *ditto*” (p.13). There is a teasing contrariness in this early political phase, still preferring Tilak’s candidature – “the very name carries with it a message” (p.82) – over Gandhi’s for the Presidency of Congress right through to Tilak’s departure for London in 1919, much opposed by CR, and this hints at an early sympathy for the Extremists over the Moderates. Yet there is always also the suspicion that deep down CR was driven by an ambition to take on the role of government, even of his being a closet ‘responsivist’, ready to raise the quality of government by working through the constitutional machinery on offer. As Chairman of the Salem Municipality he had to work with the raj bureaucracy and, indeed, far preferred that the local Legislative Council, managed the *abkari* revenue, fearing that local bodies would take the soft option of raising revenue by granting more arrack licenses. He was not an entirely natural convert to Gandhi’s strategy of non-cooperation.

But early on he had recognised Gandhi’s stature, in 1913 declaring, “he must be ranked with the Avatars” (p.21). Once converted, he became the toughest expositor of his ideas. Gandhi must have been amazed to find someone better able to express his ideas than himself and, indeed, came to see him as ‘his conscience-keeper’. One half wonders if CR, so intellectually headstrong, did not invert the role of guru and disciple as we now gather from

Ramchandra Guha that Gandhi did with Gokhale, until we come across such extraordinary exchanges of humble-pie in 1920 as this, all over the rather mysterious relationship between Gandhi and Debendranath Tagore's granddaughter: "my dearest master ... I was no doubt harsh ... been amply and deservedly punished by your forgiveness" (p.232). The Editors do not explain. If CR nursed any doubts over his response to the Montford reforms they were set aside by the Rowlatt Act, with "its permanent disablement of national life": "Congress has at last been able to throw off the incubus of false policies and unreal compromises" (p.100). There is a wonderful evocation of Madras during the Rowlatt *satyagraha*: "one saw everywhere as if by magic the whole city stilled by silent prayer" (p.111). Characterising the raj's refusal to let Gandhi enter the Punjab as "not sportsmanlike" (p.112) CR perfectly reflects the peculiar moral nature of the confrontation between Empire and nationalism in India. CR recognised the relationship had reached breaking point by 1919. He denied, however, that Gandhi's protest had been the catalyst for violence in the Punjab, indeed, to the contrary, it had moderated resentment. Despite a familiarity with Irish nationalism CR refused to see the possibilities in 1919 of independence by a more violent struggle. Nor would he draw clear boundaries between the strategies of Moderates and Nationalists: "it is dynamic in nature and cannot be fixed down by any formula" (p.167) indeed at this juncture CR drew up a formidable legislative programme for any future Forward party administration. But Rowlatt proved a moment of epiphany on the demise of the moral authority of the raj and CR was now wholly committed to *satyagraha* as the means for national regeneration.: "the History of the Punjab this year has given the final death blow to the Bureaucracy" (p.176). Only "a big agitation in India is capable of pulling back the Christian bigots of England" (p.201).

So he became the leading theorist of the non-cooperation and *khilafat* campaign of 1920-22. He urged boycott of elections for the new Legislative Councils: "refuse to accept an opiate in place of justice and liberty". "There is a tide in our affairs now", he prophesised, "which, if you lose, will never come to us again" (p.243). There is a millenarian feel to his rhetoric. International capitalism was breaking down and if India was not to be engulfed by social anarchy it had to break free. Given the costs of the campaign CR found himself in the role of fund raiser for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Rather nicely he proposed that newly married couples should set aside 100 rupees from their marital expenses. But he was accused of financial impropriety, the strain began to tell, and his asthma returned.

Another millenarian aspect of his rhetoric was his exceptional investment of belief in the *khilafat* movement as an expression of the permanent reconciliation between Hindu and Muslim: "if India has a mission of its own to the world it is to establish the unity and truth of all religions". The embrace between Hinduism and Islam would also, he forecast, emancipate Christianity "from the lust for power and wealth"; the true Christianity of the Gospels will be established" (p.322-3). But such illusions



were to be shattered by the Moplah rebellion. A conflict between a Muslim tenantry and Hindu landlords in Malabar deteriorated into a communal bloodbath: “it is no exaggeration to say”, CR ruefully recognised, “that the events have inflicted a mortal wound on the movement” (p.304). CR was still able to give a very perceptive analysis of the various parties in the rebellion.

When his arrest came at Vellore, December 1921, CR joyously anticipated jail, expecting to benefit from an improvement in his health there, only regretting that he was abandoning Gandhi still on the outside. He anticipated that the campaign would step up to a higher level of civil disobedience. We will have to wait for the next volume for his remarkable Jail Diary and how he dealt with Gandhi’s controversial suspension of the campaign following violence in the United Provinces.

Behind the all-India campaign lies far more tactically driven rivalries in the politics of the Madras Presidency. Such gifted historians as Christopher Baker, David Washbrook, David Arnold, Eugene Irschick, in often Namierite ways, tried to unravel these disputes. Future volumes will have to provide fuller explanatory notes on CR’s role in this micropolitics. CR was appalled at the prospect of a mutually destructive conflict between the non-Brahmins, represented by the ascendant Justice party in the new Legislative Council, and his own Tamil Brahmin community. There was a rancorous dispute within the local Congress party on strategy, some favouring a ‘responsivist’ one to the new reforms, and CR would not have prevailed, to the extent that he did at the time, over the likes of S Satyamurthi but for Gandhi’s authorising his leadership from outside.

Beyond the political lay CR’s vision for India’s economic, social and cultural future. Here the volume points to a larger contrariness, for CR’s often radical programme was seriously at odds with his future Conservative agenda for the Swatantra party launched in 1959. Drawn into an industrial dispute in a local aluminium company, CR found himself justifying the right to strike, if encouraging workers to appeal to the conscience of the Directors. Labour should be enfranchised. Primary education was a particular obsession. He confessed: “one of the most constant regrets of my life has been that I did not take up the role of schoolmaster” (p.204). Back in 1907, appalled by the standard of teaching in primary schools, he feared that the prospects of “free primary education will, instead of being a boon, be a general massacre of all Indian children by the organised society of intellectual assassins known as the primary schoolmasters” (p.8). Yet the future moral health of India lay in their hands: “the work of the elementary Schoolmaster is the most political of all political work in the country” (p.207). Huge expectations were placed on the *vidyalayas*, the new national schools of the non-cooperation campaign. Yet primary education was to prove his Achilles heel, a proposal, seemingly to introduce caste education, forcing his resignation as Chief Minister in 1954. Intriguingly, there was an anticipation of this in 1920: “more time should be allowed to be spent in excursions to local weavers’ looms, blacksmiths’, tinkers’, and carpenters’ workshops” (p.206). Language proved awkward

choices for CR. For someone so deeply versed in English culture it must have been difficult to recommend that Indian vernacular languages should take precedence over English in the humanities in higher education, though he recognised the need for the continuing use of English if Indian science was to flourish. He recommended Hindustani, and significantly not Hindi, for open sessions of Congress, all too aware that most delegates could not follow debates in English, though would retain English for the Subjects Committee. As a concession to South Indians with their own languages he recommended that they be used whenever Congress sessions were held in their areas. Rajmohan Gandhi intriguingly suggests that it was CR's failure to master Hindi that in part prejudiced Gandhi to favour Nehru over CR as his successor.

CR was at his most profound in thinking through India's social and religious future. He was not at one with Gandhi's apologetics for a mere traditional Hindu culture in Hind Swaraj. The restrictive norms of the *Mitakshara*, the eleventh-century Sanskrit book of law, had to change. He was a passionate opponent of early marriage, robbing girls as it did of their adolescence, and sought an overall improvement in the status of women. This was of a piece with his critique of caste, strikingly asserting "that the essentials of Hinduism are independent of caste" (p.150). Possibly the message was mixed: "I cannot find words adequately to express the strength and depth of what I feel in respect of the national importance of the unification of castes and putting an end to the custom of early marriage of girls" (p.149).

And here the private man overlaps with the public. In 1920 at the outset of the Non-Cooperation campaign CR's father fell terminally ill. In a very suggestive letter to Devadas Gandhi he confided: "I am glad to tell you that in spite of all this my mind has not yet rebelled against God's will as it did some years ago (which looks like yesterday)" (p.189). He was referring to the death on 22 August 1915 of his wife Alarmelu Mangammal at the age of 26. They had married in 1898, his wife but 10, CR 20. CR was filled with remorse at her early death, no doubt the outcome of her giving birth to five children at so young an age. Surely here was the dynamic in his public life.

I saw CR as a moralist in politics. The late S Gopalkrishnan, biographer of CR's Andhra rival, T Prakasam, to the contrary, saw him as devious and cunning, indeed an immoralist. In 1962 for the first time CR travelled abroad to visit Kennedy in America and Rajmohan Gandhi claims that his was a significant influence on the July 1963 Test Ban Treaty. Whatever the verdict on CR as a politician he stands out as one of the most remarkable commentators on the cultural and moral values of his times.

Antony Copley

This review first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol 24 Part 3*

## George McRobie 1926 – 2016

I first met George McRobie in 1966 when he was visiting Dr E F (Fritz) Schumacher, my future father-in-law. Schumacher was then Economic Advisor and Director of Statistics at the National Coal Board Headquarters in London where George also worked, and George was introduced as “My right-hand man”. George and Schumacher set up the Intermediate Technology Group (ITDG) in 1965 to research and supply appropriate tools and technologies to very poor and marginalised people in third world countries. Subsequently I was lucky enough to meet George, his wife Sybil, and sometimes their two sons on various informal occasions.

After Fritz’s sudden death in 1977, George stepped into the leadership role of many of the organisations which Dr Schumacher had initiated or supported. These included ITDG (now Practical Action), and the India Development Group (now Jeevika Trust), both of which Fritz was Honorary President. He was an important contributor to the other Economical Summit (TOES) conferences and later became chairman of the New Economics Foundation (*nef*) which were both initiated after Schumacher died, and were largely inspired by his holistic thinking on economics, development and sustainability. I had the privilege of being a founder member with George of the last three charities, during which time, I came to know and greatly admire him as a fellow trustee and co-worker.

Although George had developed and, with others, taken forward so many of Fritz’s ideas as witnessed in his book “Small is Practical”, (a third book which Fritz had intended to write), he remained very much his own vibrant person. He had a robust personality, full of Scottish wisdom and humour, with a sharp wit and deep compassion for the outcasts and deprived members of society, as well as an acute sense of social justice.

I shall always remember George for his kindness and ability to think laterally when confronted by a seemingly intractable problem. Also for his skilful chairing of meetings of the different environmental committees on which he served, and where the various trustees often appeared to be at loggerheads (not an infrequent occurrence amongst dedicated idealists!). Although unafraid to confront controversy, “Blessed be the peacemakers” seems a fitting epitaph for such a fighter for economic and social justice.

Thank you, George, for your steadfast determination, in trying to make this world a better and more secure place for the rest of humanity.

*Diana Schumacher OBE*  
Founder Member of the Gandhi Foundation

We regret to report that **Arya Bhardwaj** whom quite a few readers will know from attending the Summer School in past years has died. An appreciation of his life will appear in the next issue.

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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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