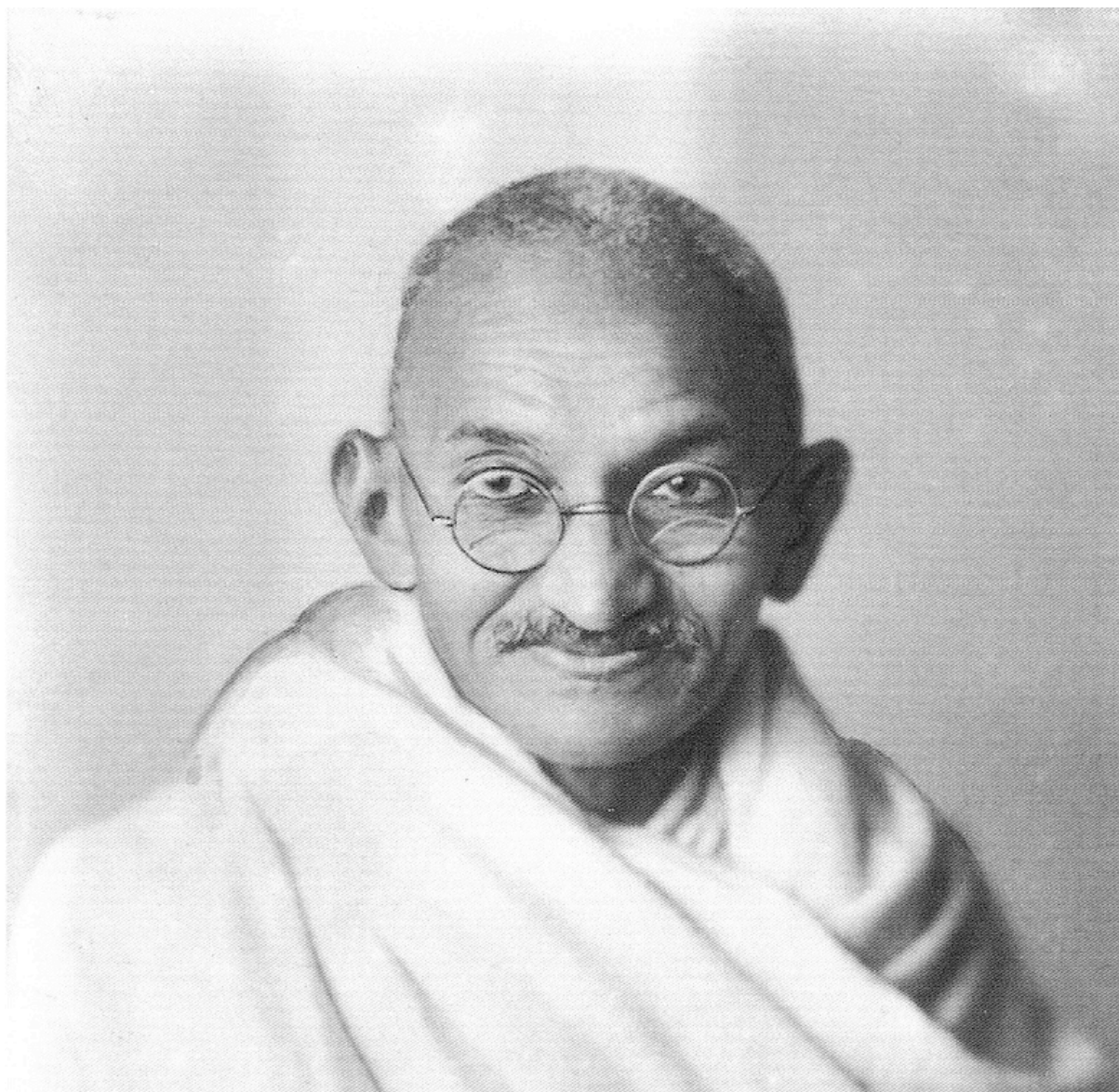


The Gandhi Way



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Gandhi 150th Anniversary Conference

Friday 27 September 2019

10am-5.30pm

Global Co-operation House (Brahma Kumari's HQ)
65-69 Pounds Lane, Willesden, London NW10 2HH

The conference will explore a range of themes central to Gandhi's thought and how they can be applied and implemented in our modern world. In particular, we have selected three policy issues/areas to explore in detail:

- The environment, climate change and sustainability
- Non-violent resolution of conflict
- Co-operative political economy alternatives to capitalism and communism.

Speakers include –

Andrew Simms

political economist and environmentalist

Sister Jayanti

Brahma Kumaris

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Peoples (See also pages 19-20)

Bruce Kent (invited)

Movement for the Abolition of War

Bhikhu Parekh

President of the Gandhi Foundation

Further information and registration: contact@gandhifoundation.org

Free admission Lunch will be provided

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Atonement in Politics

Perspectives from Gandhi

Gopalkrishna Gandhi

The GF Annual Lecture delivered 31 May 2019 in the Nehru Centre, London
Part 1

“Short-horn cattle”, it is said, “are highly effective in bestowing their characteristics on their progeny”. Put simply, this means the young of short-horned cattle will turn out to be short-horned cattle. High-minded human beings are highly *ineffective* in bestowing their characteristics on their progeny. Put simply, this means that the descendants of the high-minded will turn up with minds of opposite height. And so anyone speaking about a great ancestor has to be just about as impressive as an earthworm speaking about the earth.

In inviting me to give this lecture in the strong and strength-giving name of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Professor Lord Bhikhu Parekh and members of the Gandhi Foundation have put me to a hard test. I do not know whether to marvel at their optimism in asking me or at my audacity in accepting. Be that as it may, I offer to them my sincerest thanks and my deep appreciation for the high honour, and I offer to those present, my assurance that I will speak not as a Gandhi descendant but as one who finds Gandhi’s mind fascinating to partner one’s thoughts with, to share hopes and fears with. And I will try – not easy ! – to do this in his spirit of faith which included faith in the saving grace of humour. Sitting his Matriculation examination as a ‘lad’ of seventeen, Mohandas was given a deck of subjects from which to choose one for his English essay. He chose to write ‘On the Advantages of a Cheerful Disposition’. That essay of his has gone to dust – a great pity for our times in which cheer, as an emotion, is severely challenged, though laughter at other’s expense thrives especially in the world of competitive politics.

Atonement for Gandhi

Another text written by Gandhi, of which the original has also gone into the dust of evanescence, is a letter he wrote to his ailing father. He was fifteen and wrote it in his first language, Gujarati, which was the only language his father, a wise and brave man, knew. And it sought forgiveness for what Mohan, as he was called at home, regarded as amounting to a theft he had committed on behalf of his elder brother. “I wrote it on a slip of paper”, he writes in his autobiography. “In this I not only confessed my guilt but I asked adequate punishment and closed with a request to him not to punish himself for my offence. I also pledged myself never to steal in future.” His father,

Mohandas writes, read the letter silently as tears welling up in his eyes flowed onto the paper he held in his forgiving, blessing, cleansing hands.

That was Gandhi's first recorded act of atonement, one of many to follow.

And it has three notable ingredients: First, a clear admission of culpability. Second, a request for punishment – external punishment. Third, a promise of non-repetition of the guilt. A fourth is hinted as well: that the one addressed might transfer the expiation to himself, hurt himself, become one with the guilty one. Atonement, after all, is at-one-ment, fluxing the guilt, the guilty, the one causing wrong or pain, the one wronged or pained with the wrong and pain in one at-one-ness.



Gopal Gandhi, Lord Parekh, Bhikkhu Nagase at the Nehru Centre

A sense of responsibility which is allied to a sense of accepting guilt, of feeling regret, remorse, of wanting to do penance, even to hit himself which he urged his father not to do but which he himself did, as a young father, were all integral to Gandhi. As were his resolves to fast, something he did on more than thirty occasions in the period 1914 to 1948, totalling about 150 days, as penance or self-purification, or to make his 'target' feel a need to atone, the idea of just reparation, and atonement. They were integral to him from just how he was made. The Jaina influence on his mother, and hers on him had I

am sure much to do with this. But it was, basically, Gandhi himself, growing with a deep sense of right and wrong, of the importance of going beyond expressing regret in words to atoning through corrective action for errors, his own and those of others he felt responsible for or connected with. And as he moved inexorably into a life of politics, atonement became part of his politics which played itself out through a war – the Boer War – he participated in as a non-combatant and World Wars I and II in both of which he was directly involved, first as an enthusiast, then as an opponent both of the wars' specifics and then of war itself. And, most importantly, in the nonviolent war he waged for the freedom of India from British rule. His ahimsa – nonviolence – implied just and fair means for just and fair goals. And self-punishing for lapses stayed part, a critical part, of the proceedings.

Atonement in politics

Its freedom, in 1947, blood-stained by partition saw India vivisected, homes broken, shattered peace, left about 14 million displaced either because they were Hindus or Sikhs in Muslim areas or Muslims in Hindu-Sikh areas, an estimated 2 million dead and nearly 80,000 women abducted. 'Nearly' and any round figure to describe the abduction of women are outrageous. Each abduction has to be, and was, in that grim theatre, an epic tragedy. How India and Pakistan have lived with and are living with that guilt on their consciences passes understanding. An agonised Gandhi, at 78, was in Bengal and Bihar as India inched through the mayhem and murder of Partition at the time. "Kill me, kill me", he said to a mob that came to Gandhi's dwelling in Calcutta, looking for the outgoing Premier, Suhrawardy, "I say, why don't you kill me?" and then fasted, in Calcutta, to atone, to restore peace, sanity. He had just about achieved it, to Governor General Lord Mountbatten's astonished appreciation, when another crisis, for him an existential one, arose in Delhi.

Under the terms of partition, India was to pay Pakistan as its share of the undivided balance in the national exchequer, Rs 750 million. Of this, India paid up, as a first installment, Rs 200 million. Before it could remit the balance of Rs 550 million, Kashmir was invaded. Prime Minister Nehru and Deputy Prime Minister Patel felt giving the second installment would only fund fresh armed action from Pakistan and so held the installment back. This was to Gandhi dishonourable, intolerable. "Pay up", he told the Government, his own, the Government of India. When it demurred, he resorted to his tested mode of atonement, self-punishment. He began a fast for what he said was for the honour of India. It almost looks like he knew this was to be his last fast. Not because he thought he could not, would not, fast again but because he was assassinated, the payment of Rs 550 million to Pakistan being pointedly cited by his assassin as a motivating trigger. Those three bullets sounded like an encore to the ballistics of World War II.

Atonement and war

So much has happened , so much of it so violent, across the globe in recent times that even World War II has receded from active political memory. The restrictions and reparations it called for are now the subject of historians' study, not general, active interest. But we are still living under the shadow of that war and its long after-shock, the Cold War.

As self-punishment for all that happened at the hands of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, Article 26 of the 1949 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, amended and extended to all of the country after unification in 1990 and therefore, very alive even today, said: "Activities tending and undertaken with the intention to disturb peaceful relations between nations, especially to prepare for aggressive war, are unconstitutional. They shall be made a punishable offense". In addition to military curbs the Potsdam Agreement required Germany to pay the Allies US\$ 23 billion in machinery and manufacturing plants. Article 11 of the Constitution of Italy required it "to repudiate war as an instrument of offence against the liberty of other peoples and as a means for settling international disputes" and "agree, on conditions of equality with other states, to such limitations of sovereignty as may be necessary to allow for a legal system that will ensure peace and justice between nations". The US-authored Constitution of Japan sounds more stringent. It says "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised".

To describe these Constitutional provisions for self-restraining reparation as acts of political atonement may not be quite right, for they were virtually dictated to the countries concerned but to do so would not be that wrong either for they still are active as expiations, internationally-determined and monitored acts of self-regulation.

Germany, Italy and Japan, prominent nations otherwise, have as a result remained out of the United Nations Security Council all these seven decades and more. The nations keeping them out having, of course, established their own shining records of the "use of the right of belligerency". Beyond atoning which the world 'made' Germany undergo, a deep existential moment arose within that country. The name of Conrad Adenauer will not ring too many bells today. The leader of the Christian Democratic Union party and the first post-war chancellor of West Germany, Adenauer did what would have been considered unthinkable by all those who had imposed Potsdam on Germany. He went into negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion for another reparations agreement. This was not just a matter of the heart. It needed investments. Adenauer is unlikely to have known of Gandhi's fast over the Rs 550 million owing to Pakistan. And yet he was speaking in Gandhi's voice. Seeking his parliament to approve the

financial arrangement, Adenauer spoke of the debt Germany had to pay: “Unspeakable crimes”, he said, “have been committed in the name of the German people, calling for moral and material indemnity.” His Government, he said, was prepared to offer a “solution of the material indemnity problem, thus easing the way to the spiritual settlement of infinite suffering”. There was opposition to the move and his own finance minister was against it. But Adenauer pressed on, driven primarily by what can only be called the imperative urge to atone. I would not underestimate pressure on him from NATO and also perhaps the Jewish lobby in the United States but Adenauer’s was a moral putsch.

When a man or a woman is brave, wise, he or she is seen as being lofty, noble. Activists, writers, philosophers get to be seen as such. If they stand for – as Americans would put it – run for office and are lucky enough to lose, they are then seen as being all that raised to an even higher plinth. In Gujarati or Hindi they would be *charitravan*, having ‘character’. And that would be that. But when a politician says something wise or does something brave, the observer turns cynical and asks: ‘What is the *chakkar* in this ?’, what is her or his game ? The politician is invariably regarded as being intelligent in the guise of being wise, smart, in the shape of being brave and a Gujarati or Hindi word comes into play – *chatur*, ‘clever’. Unfair, I would say, to politicians. Bravery, wisdom and why, even nobility can be and should be political for every idea and every step in the public sphere or the *polis* is political.

Elton John’s song on the word ‘Sorry’ is music and also lies at the deepest core of politics. Similarly every politician being owner of a feeling brain and thinking heart can be, and should be, wise, sensitive, human for every political act being concerned with human beings is about humanity.

Than the Emperor Asoka’s edicts of 2000 years ago or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in our times there can be nothing nobler, also nothing more political. It is good to be smart, smarter to be good – so much the better for smarter, so much the worse, alas, for goodness.

That Adenauer was no freak of faith but was made of politics’ wisdoms is borne out by subsequent events. On December 7th, 1970, there took place an event that belongs not to legend, not to lore but to the history of pain, remorse, atonement. The then German Chancellor Willy Brandt was in Warsaw, Poland (then part of the Eastern Bloc) and visited the monument there to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. After laying his wreath, to the surprise of all present, he did something unexpected. He knelt. And remained silently in that position for a short time – half a minute – by the clock but an eternity in atonement. The photograph of that act is of the stuff of Michelangelo’s sculptures and indeed has been carved in stone on a tablet that stands by the monument. The sculptor Wictoria Czechowska-Antoniewska is 90 this year. Gandhi once said if he only had time he would spend hours, days, studying the art treasures of Europe. He would have gazed at her depiction of Kniefall von Warschau long and lovingly.

But it is important to know that Brandt's gesture was not about that physical gesture alone; he signed on that visit the politically vital Treaty of Warsaw between Germany and Poland, guaranteeing German acceptance of the new borders of Poland and easing tensions between East and West during the Cold War. Equally important is the fact that Kniefall and the Treaty were not immediately accepted 'back home' in Germany. Only a narrow majority of the people of Germany backed him and as with Adenauer, there was opposition within Brandt's own party. *Der Spiegel* reported at the time that 48% of all West Germans thought the Kniefall was excessive, 41% said it was appropriate and 11% – bless them – had no opinion. It was only later, in April 1972, that Brandt after winning a vote of confidence in Parliament by only two votes that he went on to win in the next elections, in late 1972.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel recalled, during a visit to Japan in 2015 a 1985 speech by the then West German President, Richard von Weizsacker who called Germany's wartime defeat, his own country's defeat, a "day of liberation". And speaking for herself Chancellor Merkel said: "We Germans will never forget the hand of reconciliation that was extended to us after all the suffering that our country had brought to Europe and the world".

Another name that would ring few if any bells today is that of Nobusuke Kishi, a war-crime accused but also postwar leader, twice Prime Minister of Japan and maternal grandfather of the present Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Japan's war crimes in China, Burma, Indonesia are not in need of any repetition. The Nanking massacre is part of the darkest history of inhumanity. It is not forgotten. But we do not remember or at any rate do not remember the enormity of the fact that the United States was in occupation of Japan until as long or late as 1952, withdrawing only after Tokyo signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty and accepted the verdict of the Tokyo trials. On December 22, 1948, Tojo and six other Japanese leaders were hanged while sentences of the remaining 18 were commuted to imprisonment lasting over 400 years. Bearing in mind the torture and killing of Burmese nationals at Japan's hands, Prime Minister Kishi said in 1957 to the people of Burma: "The Japan of today is not the Japan of the past, but as its Constitution indicates, is a peace-loving nation". And adds: "We view with deep regret the vexation we caused to the people of Burma in the war just past. In a desire to atone, if only partially, for the pain suffered, Japan is prepared to meet fully and with goodwill its obligations for war reparations".

As with Warsaw and Brandt, Yangon can have a plaque for Kishi. Successive Prime Ministers of Japan have apologised, expressed remorse, offered and provided reparation for its war crimes including to its own daughters who were forced to work as 'comfort women'. I do not think atonement can ever find anywhere a parallel to match Japan's.

Each act of atonement is, however, *sui generis* for atonement is daughter to remorse, which is personal, the child of conscience which is as personal, as private, as anything can be. Among those who helped end the Cold War from positions of power, by using it redemptively, Mikhail

Gorbachev stands tall. He is a tragic, lonely and yet compelling figure. He was troubled in his hugely powerful office, he was restless to set several wrongs right. As a recent study by Werner Hertzog shows, his predecessors who were ‘Soviet’ and his successors who are ‘Russian’ did and have done very similar things with their people, with their adversaries. Gorbachev stands apart from them, wanting, like Bernie Sanders tries to do today to turn a harsh, aggressive society towards being just, incorporative. Gorbachev failed in many senses but in his very failure, in the solitude of his tragedy, lies his stature. His form of atonement has been giving up without fuss, power, vast power or what Sanskrit would call an *ahuti*, a sacrificial offering to humanity.

The second and concluding part of the lecture will appear in the next issue of The Gandhi Way.

News

Poverty in Britain

A report commissioned by the United Nations (released 22 May 2019) contains a number of damning conclusions about both the level of poverty in the UK and its causes.

Policies pursued by the UK Government have led to the “systemic immiseration” of millions across the UK, according to Professor Philip Alston, the UN’s Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights and one of the report’s authors. Following an official fact-finding visit to the UK in November 2018, Alston has argued that the results of the “austerity experiment” are now “crystal clear” – millions living in poverty, record numbers of hunger and homelessness, failing life expectancies among some demographics, fewer and fewer community services, and increasingly restricted access to legal aid for lower-income groups.

Commenting upon the report Alston argued: “The imposition of austerity was an ideological project designed to radically reshape the relationship between the Government and the citizenry.”

Two quotations from the report:

“Almost 60 per cent of those in poverty in the United Kingdom are in families where someone works, and a shocking 2.9 million people are in poverty in families where all adults work full-time. According to the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, 10 per cent of workers over 16 are in insecure employment. And 10 years after the 2008 financial crisis, employees’ median real earnings are, remarkably, still below pre-crisis levels.”

“In England, homelessness rose 60 per cent between 2011 and 2017 and rough sleeping rose 165 per cent from 2010 to 2018. The charity Shelter estimates that 320,000 people in Britain are now homeless, and recent research by Crisis

suggests that 24,000 people are sleeping rough or on public transportation – more than twice government estimates. Almost 600 people died homeless in England and Wales in 2017 alone, a 24 per cent increase in the past five years. There were 1.2 million people on the social housing waiting list in 2017, but less than 6,000 homes were built that year.”

Employee ownership

Julian Richer, CEO & founder of Richer Sounds, the hi-fi and TV retail chain of 53 stores, is transferring 60% of his shares into a John Lewis-style trust. His staff will also receive £1,000 for every year they have worked for the retailer. The company also donates 15% of profits to charity.

The Labour Party wants to go further and legislate for all companies with more than 250 employees gradually to move into employee ownership.

(Financial Times through Alison Williams)

Nuclear weapons violate the Right to Life

On 24 October 2018, the UN Human Rights Committee adopted General Comment 36 on the Right to Life, affirming amongst other things, that the threat or use of nuclear weapons “is incompatible with respect for the Right to Life and may amount to a crime under international law”.

General Comment 36 also held that States Parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have an obligation to end the production of weapons of mass destruction, destroy existing stockpiles and provide adequate reparation to victims of their testing or use.

The significance of this development is that it:

- applies directly to the nuclear-armed states all of whom are States Parties of the ICCPR (except China which has signed but not yet ratified the Covenant);
- clearly and comprehensively affirms the illegality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons
- applies personal responsibility (criminality) to nuclear weapons policies
- applies human rights and engages human rights constituencies.

(Association of Swiss lawyers for Nuclear Disarmament; info@baselpeaceoffice.org)

Nonviolent action stops arms to Saudi Arabia

In May 2019 a Saudi ship, *Bahri-Yanbu*, is believed to have loaded weapons at Sunny Point, USA, then loaded arms at Antwerp and then proceeded to Le Havre where, however, a scheduled loading of arms was cancelled. This was due to protests by ACAT who argued in a legal challenge that this contravened a UN treaty because the arms might be used against civilians in Yemen. The *Bahri-Yanbu* then sailed to Santander in Spain where it picked up weapons to put on display at a trade exhibition in the United Arab Emirates and then returned to Spain. Dock workers in Italy however prevented loading of some cargo, including electricity generators, in case it might be used in the Yemen war.

(Civilisation 3000 newsletter)

British Arms sales to Saudi Arabia declared unlawful

The UK Court of Appeal ruled on 20 June 2019 that UK arms exports to Saudi Arabia for use in Yemen are unlawful.

Lord Wood of Anfield, UNA-UK chair said:

“First and foremost this is a victory for the Yemeni people who have suffered directly from what we now know to be the illegal transfer of UK weapons to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is also a victory for sustained campaigning by a broad range of groups and individuals working for this outcome for years.

The ruling makes a mockery of the UK’s claim to be a supporter of the international rules-based system and a champion of international peace and security. It is unacceptable that it has taken a court case, brought by NGOs, to force the Government to do what is morally and legally right. Now we need a public inquiry to find out how we got into this mess.

The UK must immediately cancel all arms export licences and transfers of weapons which might be used in Yemen and end all assistance it is giving to parties to the conflict.”

The case, brought by the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, found that the UK failed to adequately assess whether UK exports might be used to breach international humanitarian law in Yemen and are therefore unlawful. The ruling also found that it was unlawful for the UK to dismiss a wide range of credible evidence provided by UN bodies and human rights organisations.

The UK’s often repeated claim to “operate one of the most robust defence export control regimes in the world” has been thoroughly discredited by this ruling.

This landmark decision undermines the UK’s ability to play the role of a champion of the rules-based global system, and in particular of the Arms Trade Treaty – the bedrock of international law governing arms trading.

Furthermore, it damages Britain’s credibility in UN and international forums. Only a thorough, public investigation into the shortcomings of the process, and a fundamental rethink of the UK’s role with respect to the war on Yemen, can help rebuild the UK’s reputation.

In the meantime the UK should immediately handover its “penholder” responsibilities for drafting Security Council resolutions on Yemen to a member state with more credibility on this issue.

More broadly, the ruling sends a strong message to fellow EU nations who are subject to the same EU Common Position on arms exports, on which this judgement was based, that have not already halted exports to Saudi Arabia.

However the Government has already launched an appeal against this ruling !

Gandhi and Savarkar ?

In a review of A P Nazareth’s new book *Gandhi: The Soul Force Warrior*, K P Fabian (in Frontline Magazine) tells us that in the Central Hall of Parliament in New Delhi there is a portrait – no surprise – of Gandhi. But would the innocent visitor have expected to see the portrait opposite ? It is of V D Savarkar, the intellectual who gave his blessing to Nathuram Godse, assassin of Gandhi.

Events

Hiroshima Day

Tuesday 6 August 2019 memorial gathering at 12noon in Tavistock Square, London, organised by London Region CND. (Tel:020 7607 2302)

Nagasaki Day

Friday 9 August an ecumenical service 6.30-7.30pm organised by Pax Christi in the Crypt Chapel, Ambrosden Avenue, behind Westminster Cathedral in memory of Franz Jagerstatter, executed in 1943 for refusing to serve in the German army; followed by a *Peace Walk* to London Peace Pagoda, Battersea Park for a Lantern Lighting Ceremony at dusk. Contact: 020 7228 9620.

DSEI Week of Action 2-8 September

Opposition to this large arms fair, Defence and Security Equipment International, is organised by Campaign Against the Arms Trade. It is held at the Excel Exhibition Centre in Newham, London. www.caat.org.uk Tel: 020 7281 0297

Why a new life of Gandhi ? Talk by Gandhi biographer Ramchandra Guha on Tuesday 10 September 2019, 7pm at the British Library, Euston Road, London. Tickets £15, £10 concession. Booking: 01937 546546; boxoffice@bl.uk

A small display of materials relating to Gandhi is on show in the Treasures Gallery.

School student walkout

On Friday 20 September school students around the world will walk out of school to urge their governments to take more rigorous action to stop global warming. This will be three days ahead of the United Nations Climate Summit in New York. This is the movement started by Greta Thunberg who held weekly protests outside the Swedish Parliament after large fires destroyed much of the country's forests. The Royal Scottish Geographical Society presented her with its Geddes Environment medal in July. (The "i", 20/7/19)

Call for adults to join the students in a Global Climate Strike

Support is growing for adults to come out on strike on 20 September in support of the aims of the student protests. See *Peace News* August-September issue for details.

Gandhi's 150th Birth Anniversary

Wed 2 October in Tavistock Square 11am at the Gandhi statue organised by the India League and the Indian High Commission.

NoWar2019

World BEYOND War's fourth annual global conference on the abolition of war will be held on Saturday and Sunday, October 5th and 6th, in Limerick, Ireland, and include a rally on the 6th at Shannon Airport, where US military forces routinely pass through in violation of Irish neutrality and of laws against war.

We'll be marking the completion of the 18th year of the endless war on Afghanistan, as well as the 150th birthday of Mohandas Gandhi.
Travel costs can be paid.



World BEYOND War is a global network of volunteers, activists, and allied organizations advocating for the abolition of the very institution of war.
info@worldbeyondwar.org

Animal Rebellion

In partnership with Extinction Rebellion, Animal Rebellion intends to mobilise 10,000 people for a mass movement for animals for a two-week Rebellion in London beginning on 7 October 2019. Using nonviolent civil disobedience their long-term aim is to end animal agriculture and fishing industries, halt mass extinction and halt global warming. <http://animalrebellion.org>



Global action Jai Jagat 2020 – A march for justice

In connection with 150th anniversary of Mohandas and Kasturba Gandhi the Jai Jagat 2020 is a long march based on Gandhian principles, that will begin on 2 October 2019 from Rajghat Delhi and arrive in Geneva one year later on the 26th September 2020. The march will travel through 14 countries and cover approximately 10,000 kilometres. This long march will bring Gandhi's talisman 'Think of the poorest and weakest' with the United Nation's message under sustainable development goal that **No one left behind**.

<https://www.jaijagat2020.org/>

Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and the Nonviolence Synthesis

Joseph Geraci

A new anthology, *To Shape a New World* (edited by Tommie Shelby and Brandon M. Terry), proposes an interesting thesis about nonviolence, namely that Martin Luther King Jr., while embracing Gandhian nonviolence for his civil rights campaigns, did not merely imitate Gandhi's methods and philosophy so much as create a new nonviolence synthesis. (1) And yet, despite the extensive literature on King's life and civil resistance campaigns, King's nonviolence political philosophy has gone relatively unstudied. (2) As the editors state in their Introduction, "But despite King's having been memorialized so widely and quoted so frequently, serious study and criticism of his writings, speeches, and sermons remains remarkably marginal and underdeveloped within philosophy, political theory, and the history of political thought . . . These dual phenomena of ritual celebration and intellectual marginalization are, we believe connected . . ." (p. 2)

Including an Introduction and Afterword, the seventeen essays cover a range of topics such as integration, slavery, race consciousness, and gender. At the same time each of the essays integrates nonviolence into its discussion. The entire volume thus becomes an exploration of the range and possibilities of nonviolence, with an emphasis on comparisons with Gandhi and especially on King's synthesis of Gandhian nonviolence (*satyagraha*) and Christian nonresistance to evil.

The historical argument is stated simply. After the assassination of Gandhi (1948), with the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, Martin Luther King became the presumed leader of the international nonviolent civil resistance movement. Nor can King's embrace of Gandhian nonviolence be seen as an historical accident. A number of Black leaders and theologians, including Howard Thurman, Benjamin Mays, and Mordecai Johnson, had visited India and Gandhi. Mays was King's tutor at Morehouse College, and it was a lecture by Johnson in 1950 on Gandhi that sparked such an interest in King that he went out and bought "a dozen books about Gandhi." (p. 81) In fact, Gandhi could be said to have predicted the American nonviolent movement. In a 1936 conversation with Harold Thurman, Gandhi was reported as saying, "It may be through the [US] Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world." (3) As hard as it may have been in the 1930s to visualize nonviolence beyond India, equally impossible is it now, after King, to imagine nonviolence as anything other than a global phenomenon.

Two of the anthology's contributions are of especial help in making sense of this. Karuna Mantena's essay, "Showdown for Nonviolence: The Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Politics" (pp. 78-101) aims "to convey what

was *important* and *original* in King's contribution to the theory and practice of nonviolent politics." (p. 79; italics in original). It is an exemplary summary of the issues involved in studying Kingian nonviolence. Martha Nussbaum's, "From Anger to Love: Self-Purification and Political Resistance" (pp. 106-126), is a challenging and not entirely satisfactory discussion of Gandhi's and King's attitudes to self-defense and emotions.

As Karuna Mantena describes it, nonviolence, for King was a Christian reworking of nonresistance to evil, not as passive resistance but as a call to nonviolent resistance as a form of action rather than inaction. She quotes King as stating, "Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the message . . . I came to see that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom." (pp. 80-1) Gandhi had taught King that, "true pacifism is not non-resistance to evil, but nonviolent resistance to evil." That is an evil resisted with, "as much vigor and power as the violent resister, (which Gandhi) resisted with love, instead of hate." (4) The Montgomery bus boycott was to be his testing ground as much as the Salt March was for Gandhi.

Mantena further distinguishes "three kinds of arguments for nonviolence: moral, strategic, and tactical," common to both King and Gandhi, which both were to integrate into their various campaigns. As she says, "The imbrication of the moral and the practical/political is one of the most original and striking features of nonviolent politics." (p. 85) She is also particularly good at seeing that, whereas the differences between King and Gandhi seem only matters of emphasis, that emphasis is crucial to the understanding of the workings of their nonviolent civil resistance campaigns.

Gandhi's struggle was for full Indian independence from a colonial, occupying power; King's goal was integration of the black and white communities, with an emphasis on reconciliation; his civil resistance campaigns were "a movement of a minority against a majority bent on 'massive resistance' to its empowerment. And yet the political fate of that minority was thoroughly intertwined with that same recalcitrant majority." (p. 90) And she adds the interesting comment that, "Integration, King realized, would be 'more complicated than independence.'" (p. 90) King's embrace of nonviolent civil resistance as a force for integration can also be seen as a harnessing of nonviolence for democratic civil change. As she observes, "Democratic politics make nonviolent direct action both necessary and demanding." (p. 91) In a democracy, it is nonviolence that is the "ultimate form of persuasion," that is, the "the persuasive power of *direct action*." (p. 92; italics in original) "What King made apparent was that nonviolent reconciliation was not just a Christian imperative but also a *democratic* one." (p. 91; italics in original)

From the beginning of the Montgomery boycott, King embarked on his radical synthesis of Gandhian nonviolence and Christian agape. Christian love (agape) was a rendering of the Sermon on the Mount's command to "turn the

other cheek”, until King’s synthesis often interpreted as a non-resistance to evil bearing striking similarities to Gandhi’s initial use, and early rejection of “passive resistance”, a term Gandhi felt was wholly inadequate to define his new form of civil resistance. Gandhian *satyagraha*, especially as King applied the term, might be described as an active, nonviolent response, not just not responding to violence and aggression, but actively responding without violence or aggression. Kingian nonviolence is an act or action; a way of acting, which for neither King nor Gandhi precluded nonviolence as an interior effort or state. As Mantena makes clear, what attracted King was the spiritual call to react forcefully with means that did not sacrifice or compromise his Christian faith or principles.

Certain criticisms are also raised of both King and Gandhi, one such linking Mantena’s essay with Martha Nussbaum’s “From Anger to Love: Self-Purification and Political Resistance.” Mantena writes that, “Gandhi and King readily conceded the moral attractions and legitimacies of violence, especially in circumstances of self-defense,” although surely we might question “readily conceded”? (p. 84). In the same vein Nussbaum writes that, “self-defense is not morally equivalent to aggression.” (p. 118) She acknowledges that while King is “usually understood to have had an unequivocal Gandhian commitment to nonviolence,” King nonetheless “often acknowledges that there is a morally legitimate role for violence — self-defense being the general rubric he uses.” (p. 118) And, in her discussion of King’s attempts to distance nonviolent civil resistance from passive resistance she cites King as labeling his method “dynamically aggressive.” (p. 121) There is a lack of clarity here of the terms “violence” and “aggressive”, which would need to be sharper were the argument to be more convincing.

Another difference between Gandhi and King that Nussbaum mentions lies in their attitudes towards emotions. Whereas Gandhi did not “cultivate the type of personal love and friendship that would naturally give rise to deep grief and fear,” (p. 114) she finds that “King has no interest in counseling a complete extirpation of emotion.” (p. 123) She cites no evidence to support the claim that Gandhi did not feel deep grief, say, over the death of his wife Kasturba, or over the troubles with his son Harilal, and relies heavily here on Richard Sorabji’s, *Gandhi & the Stoics*. Sorabji writes, for example, “[Gandhi’s] love for all seems to have been somewhat detached, except for the warmth he showed to his closest workers . . . Gandhi learned about emotional detachment from the Bhagavad Gita.” (Sorabji; p. 28) And Sorabji asks, “How can Gandhi or the Stoics square emotional detachment with family love or universal love, for is not love an emotion?” (5) Nussbaum does not think that Gandhi did square it.

Yet, there is evidence, from first-hand accounts and correspondences, of Gandhi’s feelings for close friends such as Madeleine Slade (Mira behn), the poet Sarojini Naidu, and the architect Hermann Kallenbach. Rajmohan Gandhi’s biography of his grandfather grapples in a clear-headed way with Gandhi’s relationship and troubles with his eldest son Harilal. And

biographies by Erick Erickson and Joseph Lelyveld analyze Gandhi's emotional life with varying degrees of success. Indeed, Lelyveld's controversial depiction of Gandhi's warm friendship with Kallenbach has received a good deal of attention. (6)

Nussbaum would question Gandhi's emotional detachment, and finds in King the more appealing model. As she writes, "And in the two areas in which [King] departs from Gandhi — his qualifications about violence in self-defense and his refusal of a total Stoicism about emotions — [King] appears to me to have the more philosophically defensible position." (p. 126) And yet, was Gandhi's attitude so total? And less "philosophically defensible"?

In the light of the significance of King's synthesis, it is surprising that Kingian nonviolence has not been more extensively studied. One possible reason raised by this anthology is that putting nonviolence at the heart of a politics upends the normal way in which political theory is constructed, that is as rooted in theories of violence. Nonviolence demands a new set of political assumptions. But above all the anthology challenges us to consider King's synthesis as a defining moment for nonviolence, reinvigorating it and demonstrating its global reach. With King's synthesis, nonviolent civil resistance moved beyond Gandhi and national borders or identities to become a cross-cultural phenomenon, and a force more creative, adaptable, and universal than had been previously thought.

ENDNOTES:

(1) Tommie Shelby and Brandon M. Terry (eds.), *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King Jr.*; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.

(2) There is some literature on King's nonviolence political theory and practice. The following biography centers on his nonviolence: David Levering Lewis, *King: A Biography*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1970; the revised 3rd edition of 2013 was consulted. There are also first-hand biographical accounts of King and his nonviolence campaigns. Of these see especially Vincent Harding, *Martin Luther King: The Inconvenient Hero*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996. See also Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought: Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

(3) Shelby and Terry; p. 79. The original source is M. K. Gandhi, "Interview to American Negro Delegation (1936)", in M. K. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 68:237-238.

(4) Martin Luther King Jr., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, (edited by Clayborne Carson) New York: Time Warner Books, 1998; p. 26. This is also quoted in Chakrabarty, op cit.; p. 58.

(5) Richard Sorabji, *Gandhi and the Stoics: Modern Experiments on Ancient Values*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; p. 23.

(6) Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1969; Rajmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007; Joseph Lelyveld, *Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle with India*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001; for the friendship with Kallenbach see especially pp. 87-99. There is also, Shimon Lev, *Soulmates: The Story of Mahatma Gandhi and Hermann Kallenbach*, Himayatnagar, India; Orient Black Swan, 2012; and, Isa Sarid and Christian Bartolf, *Hermann Kallenbach: Mahatma Gandhi's Friend in South Africa*, Berlin: Gandhi Information Center, 1997. In 2012 it was reported that Kallenbach's archive, including his "complete correspondence from Gandhi," was sold at Sotheby's to the Government of India for deposit in the National Archive in Delhi.

Joseph Geraci is the Director of the Satyagraha Foundation for Nonviolence Studies, and Editor of their website; satyagrahafoundation.org.

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## Review

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### *Building a More Peaceful World*

**How Not to go to War: Establishing Departments for Peace and Peace Centres Worldwide** by Vijay Mehta, pub. Catapult, New Internationalist 2019 £9.99 ISBN: 978-1-78026-522-3

Vijay Mehta, Uniting for Peace chair and author of *The Economics of Killing* (global arms trade) and *Peace Beyond Borders* (European Union peace-making), takes an imaginatively fresh angle on peace-building in his new book *How Not to go to War*. He proposes society's pro-war institutions be countered by new institutions dedicated to promoting ideas, activities and programmes to advance peace across the spectrum, from anti-violence and harmony in local communities to peaceful relations internationally, with national government Departments for Peace in a pivotal role.

Mehta sees the latter institutionalising peace within the public sector by "dragging the prevention of violence and conflict to the centre of the policy agenda" (as environmental concern has risen up national agendas in many states). Internationally, such institutions could engage in conflict prevention and resolution, disarmament, and non-military security. Within a country, defence diversification, creating trust between alienated minorities and the state, eg. running de-radicalisation programmes (instead of interior ministries), generally building a 'culture of peace' – especially among youth – and alerting government to social tensions, would be priorities. Most desirable but certainly more difficult, is the hope they would "act as catalyst in

stopping the military's engagement in violence and permanent wars" (albeit public opinion currently seems to have halted the latter).

Such peace-building would necessarily be complemented by a network of Peace Centres providing many education, recreation and sports facilities to benefit local youth and encourage community harmony. One would surely want such facilities open to all ages, especially socially excluded like unemployed and lonely elderly. [Mehta envisages a Labour-led Britain moving to a four-day week with four-day schooling and Peace Centres offering the fifth day]. I would also see such centres as foci of local peace activism. Mehta envisages Social Business Enterprises and peace-linked entrepreneurs as a parallel force to strengthen a peace-based society, transforming the Military-Industrial Complex into a Peace Industrial Complex.

Balancing disturbing facts of today's militarised world with challenging ideas and hopeful vision of "the world as it might be", Mehta offers a deeply informed, radical and very relevant blueprint of ways forward towards a truly peaceful world. This book is essential reading for all peace activists and anyone concerned for the global future. My only caveat is that a *moral revolution* is needed for his proposed peace structures, once in place, to fulfil their lofty purposes – one calling for the coming together of people of different faiths and humanist philosophies for the sake of all humanity.

*Rev. Brian Cooper*

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The Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award for 2018
will be presented on 27 September 2019 at the 150 Conference
as Ms Tauli-Corpuz was unable to manage to the UK in 2018.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, is the first female indigenous UN Special Rapporteur for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victoria_Tauli-Corpuz).

Ms Tauli-Corpuz is from the Phillipines, where she faces considerable harrassment, as does the organisation Tebtebba, with whom she has worked for years (<http://www.tebtebba.org>). She has done extraordinary work on behalf of indigenous peoples and nature-based communities who face constant pressures from land mafias and 'developers', but who play an increasingly important role in safeguarding the ecosystems that future human life depends on.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz was appointed on 2 June 2014 as the third United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of indigenous Peoples by the Human Rights Council in 2014. In the fulfilment of her mandate, she conducts fact-finding missions and reports on the human rights situation in specific countries, addresses cases of alleged violations of the rights of indigenous peoples through communications with Governments and others, promotes good practices to

implement international standards concerning the rights of indigenous peoples and conducts thematic studies on topics of special importance to the promotion and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples.

She is an indigenous leader from the Kankana-ey Igorot people of the Cordillera Region in the Philippines. As an indigenous activist, she has worked for over three decades on building movements among indigenous peoples and as an advocate for women's rights.

Ms. Tauli-Corpuz is the former Chair of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2005-2010) has served as the chairperson-rapporteur of the Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations. As an indigenous leader, she was actively engaged in drafting and adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. She has founded and managed various NGOs involved in social awareness raising, climate change and the advancement of indigenous peoples' and women's rights and she is a member of United Nations Development Programme Civil Society Organizations Advisory Committee.

In her capacity as the United Nations Special Rapporteur Ms. Tauli-Corpuz has provided expert testimony before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and policy advice to *inter alia* the World Bank and the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO).

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Obituaries

Ellen Moxley 1935-2019

Ellen Moxley, who was presented with the Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award jointly with her partner Helen Steven in 2004, has died at the age of 83. Helen died in 20016 (her obituary in *The Gandhi Way* No.128 can be viewed on www.gandhifoundation.org).

Ellen was born in Nanjing, China, in 1935 and she and Helen met when they were working in an orphanage in Vietnam in the 1970s. They settled in Scotland, Helen's home country, after returning from Vietnam with their adopted daughter, Marion. Both had joined the Society of Friends and they spent the rest of their lives as peace campaigners in Britain and abroad. They founded Peace House, financed by the Iona Community and Quakers, in Perthshire in 1985 where they ran many courses on justice and peace issues, including especially direct action against nuclear weapons establishments.

Their particular focus was the British nuclear submarine base at Faslane. It was in June 1999 that Ellen joined two other women, Danish citizen Ulla Roder and Angie Zelter, to try to get aboard a research barge which amazingly they did. They then began throwing scientific equipment into the loch. They were not detected for more than 3 hours when they were then arrested and spent 4 months in prison on remand until their trial at Greenock Sheriff Court in October.

Charged with maliciously damaging the barge and equipment, the defendants' case was that they were justified in doing so because the nuclear weapons system was illegal in international law. This was based in part on the 1996 ruling of the International Court of Justice. The remarkable outcome of the trial was that Sheriff Margaret Gimblett directed the jury to find the accused not guilty.

Needless to say the British Government continues to deploy nuclear weapons. Advances towards abolishing weapons of mass destruction are slow but the passing of the Treaty for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons in 2017 – still going through the ratification process – is one further step.



When Ellen and Helen retired from running Peace House and the Scottish Centre for Nonviolence in Dunblane they settled in the far north-west of Scotland but continued to travel south to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Faslane and other places for demonstrations – and to meet their many friends and peace campaigners. Ellen and Helen were a remarkable partnership.

George Paxton

Negeen Zinovieff 1950-2019

Negeen Zinovieff, who was at one time a frequent contributor of articles to *The Gandhi Way*, has died in London on 25 April 2019 at the age of 69. In recent years she was also a very generous donor to the Gandhi Foundation.

Negeen was of Iranian origin but studied and worked in a number of countries including France, USA, Russia, Ireland before settling in the UK.

Her brother Abteen Sai recalls their childhood:

She was also the smartest of us four. She introduced me to Dostoyevsky when she was only 15 and the two of us read voraciously all the works of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. She loved everything Russian. Later I came to think of Negeen as Prince Myshkin, the character in Dostoyevsky's book, The Idiot, that critics have described as a Jesus-like character. If anyone were to turn the other cheek it would be Negeen.

Abteen continues: *Negeen finished her A levels at the English school of Paris aged 16 and, being too young to be accepted at university she spent a year at the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, an incredibly brave thing to do for a 16 year old in 1966 at the height of the Cold War. When she returned to Paris she rebelled against the affluent life of our stepfather who was ambassador in Paris and led a hippy lifestyle at University of Essex and married a nice boy, Nick Zinovieff, doing his Masters at Essex. Nick was a quintessential beatnik, intelligent and smart and from a good family but a dropout from society.*

... Fleur was born to Negeen while at university when she lived with Nick in a caravan in a field with no running water in the middle of winter. Can you imagine a 21 year old with a new born baby determined to be independent of her family. She was determined to make her marriage work and tried very hard to take Nick with her on this journey but he was on his path to rebellion which didn't include fatherhood. Her constant struggle to make her marriage work resulted in a mental breakdown and she suffered from mental illness for the rest of her life. I cannot begin to describe how nobly Negeen dealt with this incurable illness. Her souls constantly tortured her but she suffered them in silence and with dignity throughout her life.

After graduating Negeen went to Iran with Fleur and took a masters degree in comparative literature at Tehran University before continuing further studies in the USA and France.

Born a Muslim, Negeen was baptized into the Christian church and was equally at peace in a church as well as a mosque. She loved Mother Theresa and worked with the Sisters of Charity in Queens Park. Negeen was a huge admirer of Gandhi calling him Gandija and took inspiration from his works.

Many years ago Terry Graham and Negeen worked as journalists in Tehran reporting on cultural events for the English-language newspaper Keyhan International. They covered art exhibitions, opera, ballet, music and films. Most importantly were the festivals held in different centres around Iran

where the performances and displays ranged from the ultra modern to the traditional Persian. Terry recalls her qualities:

The spiritual dimension was always important for us. It was not enough for Negeen and me that a performer be merely skilled. That person could be appreciated fully only if such a one gained inspiration through the transcendent dimension, as well.

We both felt that Sufism is the highest of all spiritual paths, because it is firmly practical, on the one hand, while founded utterly upon love, on the other. Negeen lived the Sufi life perfectly, a model for all of us. She was always giving, kind and generous, caring for others, putting others before herself.

..... Negeen's goodness of heart and purity of nature constantly prompted her to favour good causes that promoted peace, love and unity amongst all humankind. She put this virtue of purpose to practice in her charitable work, notably in supporting the local centre for the mentally disabled, called The Hub. In the past she has served other charitable organisations, like Mother Theresa's Sisters of Charity, where she regularly brought food from which she prepared delicious and nutritious meals for the homeless and needy.

..... Negeen had the wisdom of a sage, a prophetess, a Sybil, but she was too self-effacing, too modest, to let any of this be revealed, indeed, to be reduced to mere words. This was her true Sufism, having a spiritual power which was completely hidden. She was what the Sufis call a 'rend', someone who has spiritual knowledge but comes on as an ordinary human being, with a depth no one could suspect.



The words of Negeen's beloved daughter Fleur:

*We are blessed to have had you in our lives.
I am proud to have had you in my life
I am proud you were my mother
I will treasure our time together, a relationship that is so rare in this world of ours.*

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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.

George Paxton, 2/1, 87 Barrington Drive, Glasgow G4 9ES
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