

**The Gandhi Foundation  
International Peace Award 2011**

will be presented jointly to  
**Dr Binayak Sen and Bulu Imam**  
for their humanitarian work and practice of nonviolence  
The House of Lords on 12 June 2012  
6 - 8 pm in Committee Room 4a  
*To reserve a seat please email John Rowley on  
[festival.of.nonviolence@gmail.com](mailto:festival.of.nonviolence@gmail.com)  
These seats will have a Reserved notice on them only  
so first come, first served.*  
The presentation was postponed from last year

**Gandhi Foundation Summer Gathering 2012**

Saturday 28 July - Saturday 4 August  
The Abbey, Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire OX14 4AF  
Theme: ***The Power of Nonviolence***  
A variety of accommodation is available including camping  
Contact: Trevor Lewis, [lewiscolony@gmail.com](mailto:lewiscolony@gmail.com)  
2 Vale Court, Oatlands, Weybridge KT13 9NN

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# Gandhi and The Deep Ecology Movement

*Patrick Vincent*

Having attended Schumacher College in South Devon in 1998 in the company of Arne Naess, with 3 weeks studying 'Deep Ecology – Ecological Wisdom for the Modern Age', I thought that readers might be interested to learn more about this social movement, and the key role Gandhian philosophy has played in its development.

The term Deep Ecology was coined by the famous and somewhat eccentric Norwegian professor of philosophy and rock climber *par excellence*, Arne Naess (1912–2009) back in 1973. He used it to draw attention to the distinction he saw between the Shallow or Reformist Movement and The Deep Ecological Movement, and to highlight the plight of the unfolding ecological crisis. Essentially, the Shallow Ecological Movement promotes carrying on with the current industrial blueprint of 'business as usual', with some tweaking in a green direction hopefully to redirect us to the path of true, long-term, ecological sustainability. Its main concern is with reducing pollution and resource depletion for the sake of the health and affluence of those in the developed countries.

Conversely, The Deep Ecological Movement believes that we are now way beyond such a fortunate position which might have existed shortly before the Industrial Revolution, and that we now urgently require a much more radical and rapid response of industrial retreat (coupled with the application of technological innovation) if we are to have any realistic hope of saving the essential character and ecological diversity of planet earth. At its core is the very way in which we view or place ourselves in the web of life.

This latter approach is much more along the lines employed by the maverick independent scientist James Lovelock in the development of his Gaia Theory; Gaia being the self-regulating system of life on earth which relies intimately for its very survival on the interaction between the biosphere, lithosphere, hydrosphere and atmosphere. Lovelock believes that it is the planet *itself* which has maintained a dynamic equilibrium suitable for life on earth, despite an increase in solar output of 1/3 since life began 3.5 billion years ago. This has been achieved through a series of feedback loops. However, with the wholesale degradation of the ecosphere (largely as a direct result of human activity) which in the past has cushioned the effects of glacial and tropical interludes, runaway positive feedback loops are now much in evidence. One prime example is the warming of the climate from increased levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide which threaten to ignite the Amazon Rainforest within the next 2 degrees centigrade rise in average temperature; this will lead to a release of yet more carbon dioxide, leading to increased atmospheric temperatures and so it goes on.

Naess gave up his active duties as professor of philosophy at the University of Oslo (a position he had held since the age of 27), in order to dedicate himself fully to the ecological crisis. There have been two major influences in the development of Naess' ideas – the writings of Baruch Spinoza (1632-1637), particularly in his 'Ethics' in which he refers to the Anima Mundi or the soul of the earth, and the writings of Mahatma Gandhi in terms of truth and nonviolence as an essential approach to tackling the ecological crisis. Much as Gandhi would have done, Naess concentrated on the means to achieve the desired end as being of the utmost importance, and not on the likelihood of a favourable end result. Maybe this will prove fortunate !

Naess spent in the order of 11 years living high up on the Hardangervidda Plateau in Norway, at the base of his beloved mountain, Hallingskarvet, in a hut that he built himself, Tvergastein (or place of the crossed-stones). Naess viewed the mountain as a benign father figure in a vein similar to many animist traditions. His simple dwelling, with its associated magnificent views (being the highest privately-owned hut in the Nordic countries) was to allow Naess to follow the Gandhian principle of living a life 'simple in means but rich in ends'. For example, the richness that he felt from using water drawn from under the surface of a frozen lake, or the warmth derived from a couple of logs that he had carried up from further down the mountain below the tree line, should not be underestimated in relation to its influence on the development of his life's philosophy. Interestingly, he viewed this not as we might term labour, but as "joyful energy consciousness". Naess maintained a joyful relationship with all of life, much like a child, and developed a system of Self-realisation using his wise and mature feelings and intellect, far removed from a position of 'frightened little selves' which it is all too easy to develop in industrial technological society.

Fundamental to this process, high up in his hut away from the distractions of 'civilised society', he developed his ideas about wide identification. It was during one normal day whilst he was using a microscope outside his hut to study a slide (he marvelled at the reactions and colours he could generate with his home-made chemistry set) that a flea leapt from a dead lemming that was lying on the table. The flea landed on the slide in a pool of acid, and Naess watched, helpless but captivated, as the flea struggled but with its fate sealed in that moment. He felt a degree of empathy with the flea which he could not rationalise but which he concluded was there because we all share something fundamental in the condition called *life* – he termed this connection Wide Identification. Such wide identification can be rolled out to include all life, and lead to a change in our human-centred way of viewing our time on planet earth; it can also lead to a transformation about the world of environmentalism where the separation between us as an individual, and the 'out there' becomes blurred and, essentially, one of the same.

One meaning of the word philosophy is 'one's own personal code of values and a view of the world which guides one's own decisions'. This becomes the development of an individual's Ecosophy (a Naess term) when applied to questions involving ourselves and nature.

There have been numerous attempts to discredit the work of Naess, (including by the industry-backed Wise-use Movement), mainly because people have misunderstood what Naess has been saying. For example, there are those who consider it to be misanthropic which could not be much further from the truth; at one level he does view us as just one more species in the web of life, but at another, he sees us as very special in being the first species in the history of life on earth that has the ability to comprehend the unfolding of the universe. Naess would see us as now having a very special responsibility in trying to help all species to develop and approach their own self-realisation. However, he would view all life as possessing 'intrinsic' value, that is, value outside the narrow confines of utilitarian uses to the human race. And as for 'life' ? Well, he would be keen to employ the somewhat more inclusive definition, more familiar with indigenous cultures, to include things which we might at first glance view as inanimate, such as rocks and landscapes. To exemplify, a developer might view the acreage of forest removed during a road building project as so small as to be insignificant, whereas there are others who would see the 'heart' of the forest as having been removed.

Supporters of the Deep Ecological Movement share, in the main, certain views, which as a list may serve to focus our efforts to maximum effect. These are shown in the Deep Ecology Platform below:

1. All life has value in itself, independent of its usefulness to humans.
2. Richness and diversity contribute to life's well-being and have value in themselves.
3. Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs in a responsible way.
4. The impact of humans in the world is excessive and rapidly getting worse.
5. Human lifestyles and population are key elements of this impact.
6. The diversity of life, including cultures, can flourish only with reduced human impact.
7. Basic ideological, political, economic and technological structures must therefore change.

8. Those who accept the forgoing points have an obligation to participate in implementing the necessary changes and to do so peacefully and democratically.

Point 8 underlines the importance of engagement in the process of working towards a solution to the ecological crisis. The Deep Ecological approach, emanating from Deep Experience and Wide Identification, suggests a cycle of ever-deeper questioning as to why society behaves in the way it does; this leads to a deeper commitment from us to engage with the process, following our strengths and maximising our influence possibly in the arena of political activity, which in turn leads us back to deeper questioning.

Curiously, there appears to be an exponential relationship between increase in scientific knowledge, one of the main driving forces behind political decision making of the industrialised nations, and the amount of questions that arise from this increase in knowledge. Deep Ecology requires more emphasis to be placed on 'the precautionary principle' in developing patterns of wise use of technology. Essentially we are looking at putting people before profit in securing a sustainable future.

This may lead us, in the words of Immanuel Kant, to commit 'beautiful acts' in accordance with heart-felt inclination, rather than with any sense of moral duty or obligation. I feel that Gandhi himself would have endorsed this sincere and deeply honest and pragmatic approach.

**Patrick Vincent** is Director of Green Mantle (Ecosophy) Ltd (a company dedicated to using the teachings of Gandhi to advance the careers of those trying to safeguard the biodiversity of Britain, and to promote Gandhian communication, particularly in matters of conflict resolution: [www.green-mantle.co.uk](http://www.green-mantle.co.uk)). He is Treasurer of VINE, Values in Nature and the Environment, [www.vineproject.org.uk](http://www.vineproject.org.uk), providing a 'safe' place of inspiration to explore why we are doing what we are doing in the nature conservation profession here in the UK.

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## The Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award 2011 Recipients

The Peace Award to Dr Binayak Sen and Bulu Imam will be presented by **Professor Bhikhu (Lord) Parekh**, Vice President of the Gandhi Foundation. Dr Felix Padel will also speak.

**Dr Binayak Sen** is a Bengali [pediatrician](#), [public health](#) specialist and activist. He is the national Vice-President of the [People's Union for Civil Liberties](#) (PUCL). He originally started working as a [pediatrician](#) extending health care to poor people in the rural-tribal areas of the Chhattisgarh state, doubling up as a [human rights](#) activist. While working with the state on health sector reform, he strongly criticized the government on human rights violations during the anti-[Naxalite](#) operations advocating nonviolent political engagement instead.

In May 2007, he was detained for allegedly supporting the outlawed Naxalites, thereby violating the provisions of the [Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act 2005 \(CSPSA\)](#) and the [Unlawful Activities \(Prevention\) Act 1967](#). The evidence presented against him included his meetings with the jailed Naxalite leader Narayan Sanyal and certain documents allegedly supporting his links with the Naxalites. Soon after his arrest, Sen applied for bail before the [Raipur Sessions Court](#) and then the [Chhattisgarh High Court](#) but was only granted bail by the Supreme Court of India on 25 May 2009 following a huge outcry across India and abroad. [Amnesty International](#) made him a [Prisoner of Conscience](#).



On 24 December 2010, the Raipur Sessions Court found him guilty again of helping the Naxalites, charged him with ‘connections with a banned organization’ and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Another huge outcry ensued. On April 15, 2011, the Supreme Court of India granted him bail which is still in force. Last year he received the Heinz R. Pagels Award and the Gwangju Prize, both for his work on human rights.

**Bulu Imam** comes from one of India’s most distinguished families which has produced a steady stream of intellectuals over the past two centuries. His great grandfather Nawab Syed Imdad Imam was given the title Shams-ul-Ulema or Poet Laureate by the British in the late 19th century and his

grandfather Syed Hasan Imam was President of the Indian National Congress in 1918.

Bulu Imam is a human rights and cultural activist who is the Convener, Hazaribagh Chapter, INTACH since 1987, campaigning to save the upper Damodar Valley (Karanpura) from opencast coal mining. In 1991 he brought to light the first rock art shelter of Jharkhand at Isco and thereafter another



one dozen newly painted rock shelters. He started the Sanskriti Museum, Hazaribagh in 1992 to preserve the tribal culture of Jharkhand, and established the Tribal Woman Artists Cooperative (TWAC) in 1993. The Cooperative has already held 50 international exhibitions and highlighted opencast coal mining in Jharkhand. He has made several films on tribal culture and art. He was shortlisted for the Goldman Award, USA, in 2006. TWAC under his guidance has led teams to major mural painting events in Australia, Germany, Italy, UK and France. He submits annual reports to ICOMOS World report on Monuments and Sites in Danger, Paris (2001-7). Bulu Imam has written several monographs on ethnic

societies, rock art, archaeology, tribal art as well as recently the definitive Antiquarian Remains of North Jharkhand and other major books.

He devotes himself to writing, poetry, painting and research, and work on conservation projects. He lives with his family at the Sanskriti Centre at Hazaribagh.

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**Felix Padel** is an anthropologist educated at Oxford University and the Delhi School of Economics. His first degree at Oxford was in Classics (Latin & Greek, ancient history, literature & philosophy), giving him an enduring interest in a long view of human history, especially through friendship with the eminent classicists Eric Dodds and George Forrest. After a year's diploma in social anthropology, he went to Delhi University and did an MPhil in sociology under the guidance of several eminent social scientists, including J P S Uberoi, Veena Das, Andre Beteille, and A M Shah – a privileged initiation into Indian society.

While doing his doctorate in social anthropology, he continued to be affiliated at the Delhi School of Economics, and has lived half in India ever since. His first book, originally *The Sacrifice of Human Being: British Rule*

*and the Konds of Orissa* (Oxford University Press, Delhi 1995) was based on his PhD, and initiated an approach of 'reverse anthropology', analysing the British invasion of tribal areas from the viewpoint of tribal villagers he met during the 1980s and 1990s, asking: who were the British who came to India? How did they behave? Who were the missionaries? What are the underlying beliefs and values that pervade colonial anthropology?

Within Britain Felix moved in 1992 from London/Oxford to Southwest Wales, for the sense of community-in-nature there, that led him to become a member of Plaid Cymru. In 1998, he went to stay in Banares to learn Dhrupad from vocalist Ritwik Sanyal, and in 1999, he married a woman in West Orissa, which became another home.

From 2002-10, he worked on a new book with Oriya activist, writer and film-maker Samarendra Das: *Out of This Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (Orient BlackSwan, 2010) – a book which was swiftly read and appreciated by many intellectuals, including several senior members of the Indian Government, and which has formed part of a profound opening in how many people view the adivasi and mining situations in India. At the same time, his first book was republished as *Sacrificing People: Invasions of a tribal landscape* (OBS 2010).

Felix is also a violinist, learning as a youth in London from Sheila Nelson and Emmanuel Hurwitz, and now playing many styles, with a passion for Bach. He takes inspiration from his great great grandfather Charles Darwin, for his holistic vision of man-in-nature.



## **Shun Evil Don't Embrace It**

*Negeen Sai Zinovieff*

Since time immemorial mankind has been blessed by God's prophets as to the existence and struggle between evil and good.

Satan or Ebliss was planted in the Garden of Eden to try mankind's loyalty and obedience to God.

The following quotations are from the Qur'an.

In Sura 29 verse 10, we read when there are men such as say we believe in God but when they suffer oppression in the cause of God they treat men's oppression and wrath as it were from God.

In Sura 38 verse 76, Ebliss said "I am better than he. Thou created me from fire and him you created from clay".

In Sura 85, Ebliss says that "I will certainly fill hell with those that follow error".



When Ebliss claimed to be superior to Adam God told him “then get thee out from here for thou art rejected, accursed (Verse 77) and God says to Ebliss “my curse be upon thee till the Day of Judgement. That I will certainly fill hell with thee and those that follow thee”.

God says “Ebliss, what prevents thee from prostrating thyself to one whom I have created with my hands”.

The earliest scripture about good and evil comes to us through Zoroaster who believed in the supremacy of goodness over bad and evil called Ahuramazda (the One of Light) and Ahriman the expression of evil. Evil is accepted as God-sent misfortune in order that mankind might shun it and reach perfection, the noblest desire of mankind.

Jesus Christ not only exorcised people and brought demons out from the believer but he himself was tempted for 40 days in the desert.

In literature and the holy scriptures it is said that God chastises his people through natural calamities and worldwide diseases such as aids, malaria, plague etc.

Milton introduces the guile and the conniving of the devil in his wondrous work, *Paradise Lost*. Dostoyevsky treats the devil as part and parcel of daily living. In *Crime and Punishment*, Roskolnikov is sitting in his bed and challenging the devil.

Of course Dante’s *Divine Comedy* speaks of the devil and how to shun him.

In the Qur’an it says the hardest striving and fighting are needed to combat evil and hypocrisy – the good must shun all evil as unclean and gladly welcome all chance of service and sacrifice. (Sura 9 verse 73).

Although the story of the fallen angel Ebliss is far gone and done away with evil does not cease to exist. Evil arises from selfish pride and rebellion against God’s law – but it has no power over God’s servants.

God has given man the right to determine his own destiny. The Prophet said that God tells how His aim in creation was beneficence: “I created so that they might benefit from Me and so that they might sample sweetness. God thus creates evil, darkness, so that His Light may be seen and become obvious to mankind.

Rumi, the great Persian, mystic poet said “from the wrath and mercy of God was born the world of good and evil”.

By recognising that evil exists one strives to uproot it from one’s self and one’s family and one’s country and the whole of creation.

Gandhi’s weapon against all acts of violence is nonviolent measures. He says violence breeds violence. Gandhi found answers on how to grapple with evil through passive resistance and acts of faith and endurance – fasting as necessary acts in the pursuit of God’s appeasement. Through protest and acts of cognition one can become closer to God – which is the desired end and purpose of all worship of the Unique God. One must fight the promptings of the carnal self with an informed mind that chooses the good from the evil. Freud called this fight the “Id” or base-self trying to assert itself against good

and noble traits and by purifying oneself one comes close to the Beloved Lord. C G Jung called this battle between good and evil the acts of purification – against the “shadow”.

It is clear that one must stand up to what is right and fight what is evil and thus attain spiritual progress and hopefully sainthood.

Fervent Christians believe that one should answer evil with good and turn the other cheek when one is assaulted. They even claim that one must forgive 7 times 70.

And always embrace evil as also the creation of God. Such a philosophy does not permit change and progress. If the more you turn the other cheek the more you are hurt then it is obviously time to fight against the evil traits. Ebliss belongs to the past. Today’s satanic people are those like Bin Laden and the oppressors of African people. One must struggle against Bin Laden’s people and not embrace them in the name of God.

One must forever sing God’s praises and ask divine understanding so as to be able to fight when necessary or to turn the other cheek when necessary.

As Gandhi said unless one sees evil traits in oneself one cannot see evil in society and fight it. Goodness will always prevail over evil because man’s nature is good and full of kindness. If the Indian population rose out of their inertia and belief that God wanted them to be poor or sick or uneducated they might struggle hard and attain a better society rather than blaming it all on God.

Hazrat Mohammad and Gandhi both believed that man’s destiny was partially predetermined but that through the courageous fight against evil one becomes purer and close to God. Mohammad quotes God as saying: there is no God but I, therefore worship and serve Me.”.

It is this belief that God wants us to recognise Him and that He created us out of pure love that incites the heart and soul of the believer today.

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## Developments at Kingsley Hall

*Shaheen Choudhury Westcombe*

In the current climate of austerity measures and cut backs, Kingsley Hall like all other voluntary organisations is struggling. Without the commitment and goodwill of the staff and volunteers, it would not be possible to keep the centre running. The various activities provided at the centre caters for the diverse community of Bow and users from a wide range of age groups.

The Three Bees Cafe started last year runs once a week. It provides healthy food at a reasonable price and is popular. During the early days Mosaic offered help and advice. Their worker has been busy and there

has not been any contact for several months. As in other years, volunteers from the Gandhi Foundation helped on the day of the Open House in September and had a stall and various displays.

For some time, the Trustees have been discussing about the need to renovate and refurbish the building. Nick Ray, an architect from Cambridge has been involved. A digital survey of the building has been undertaken and plans prepared. There have been dialogues with the local authority and English Heritage. The building works will require a significant amount of funding. Kingsley Hall is hoping that the Gandhi Foundation will help in fund raising.

One of the major achievements of Kingsley Hall has been the launch of the Lester Sisters' Archives at Bishopsgate Institute recently. The collection includes documents, letters, photographs, speeches etc of the two amazing sisters. It was a long and difficult task.

Kingsley Hall plans to open the building during the Olympics for 2 weeks. The Gandhi Foundation has been involved in the discussions. There has been liaison with the Children's Home and they are interested in joining. Brijesh Patel will be displaying his pictures of the Salt March and Jim Kenworth will be presenting a play, *When Chaplin Met Gandhi*. There will be other exhibitions and activities. The cafe will also operate. Kingsley Hall hopes to have the centre open for another week during the Paraolympics.

As the Gandhi Foundation representative on the Board of Trustees of Kingsley I have been involved with various activities and sub-groups (Building, Heritage and Olympic). I also did a presentation at the launch of the Lester archives. The link with Kingsley Hall is important and has been valuable. The legacy left by the Lester sisters and Gandhi must live on.

***When Chaplin Met Gandhi***

A play by Jim Kenworth

performed by professional actors and local children  
in Kingsley Hall, Bromley-by-Bow, London

Wed 8 Aug - Sat 11 Aug at 7.30pm

Fri 10 Aug - Sun 12 Aug at 2pm

*Telephone enquiries: Jim Kenworth 07957 112932*

## Comprehensive Internet Archive on Mahatma Gandhi Launched

GandhiServe, a Germany based enterprise has launched **GandhiMedia** ([www.gandhimedia.org](http://www.gandhimedia.org)) with the aim to virtually "bring Mahatma Gandhi to life". GandhiMedia is an authentic and comprehensive online archive

created after 30 years of research and contributions from scholars, associates and family members of Gandhi. The user is able to view and download rare photographs, films, footage (film clips), letters, cartoons, newspaper clippings, documents and art work on Gandhi and India's independence movement.

Mahatma Gandhi's youngest son Devadas had a dream: to visually document his father's life day-by-day. In the 1950's he contributed to it by putting together the first major collection of film footage and photographs on his father for the Gandhi Films Committee, which made for the later production of Vithalbhai Jhaveri's cinematographic venture MAHATMA and Richard Attenborough's film *Gandhi*.

Today, it is GandhiServe's mission to carry on and complete the task of Devadas Gandhi and Vithalbhai Jhaveri. Over the past decades audio visual material on Gandhi has been gathered from over 600 sources all over the world with the help and support of many, many friends and well-wishers. Kanu Gandhi, grand-nephew of Gandhi, was with the Mahatma for the last 12 years of his life. He was the only one allowed to take Gandhi's photograph at any time. He was thus able to capture the Apostle of Nonviolence in all his moods and moments. His entire collection, including films and documents, can now be viewed and downloaded for the first time, and so can the works and collections of Jagan Mehta, Datta Khopker, Vithalbhai Jhaveri, Cousins Brothers and many others.

GandhiMedia operates as agency for people who own material and media on and by Mahatma Gandhi and India's freedom struggle. It also offers an affiliate system to website and blog owners who help to promote GandhiMedia.

In an interdisciplinary project 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. After scanning, all photographs have been cleaned digitally and colourised by skilled hands according to the historic settings. The actual colourful scenes were reduced to black and white photographs due to technical limitations of those days. Now in a complex process experts try to add the missing colours. With this GandhiServe's intention is not to manipulate or adulterate pictures but to bring them closer to the colourful image the photograph documents. The family of Mahatma Gandhi has contributed to it as well as Gandhi's associates, archives, museums and leading researchers in India and abroad.

GandhiMedia's images can be used to create custom products, such as t-shirts, business cards, invitations, in addition to a variety of custom gifts.

As Indian freedom fighters made precious and rare material available as well as journalists, Gandhi's associates, followers and common people, GandhiMedia forms the specific legacy of the generation of India's independence movement to the present and coming generations. GandhiServe has dedicated its prime service, GandhiMedia, to the conscience of humanity with the hope to help alleviate conflicts and the conviction that the ethics of nonviolence, as practiced and cultivated by Mahatma Gandhi, live on, regardless of national or political boundaries.

### **GandhiServe**

GandhiServe ([www.gandhiserve.com](http://www.gandhiserve.com)) was established in Berlin, Germany in 1998 with the aim of promoting Gandhian values throughout the world. GandhiServe offers products and services relating to Mahatma Gandhi and India's independence movement. It is GandhiServe's policy that all surpluses are to be used to further the promotion of Gandhian values. Practically, it serves as the commercial wing of the charitable GandhiServe Foundation ([www.gandhiserve.org](http://www.gandhiserve.org)). The foundation funds its educational and research activities largely by the financial support of GandhiServe. One of the foundations prime web activities is the Gandhian social network GandhiTopia ([www.gandhitopia.org](http://www.gandhitopia.org)). CEO of GandhiServe and also the founder and acting chairperson of GandhiServe Foundation and web admin of GandhiTopia is Peter Ruhe ([peter.ruehe.org](http://peter.ruehe.org)), a Gandhi scholar, who has been working in this field for the past 30 years.

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## A New Exhibition on Gandhi

*Antony Copley*

Friends of the Gandhi Foundation will be interested to learn that the Nobel Peace Center in Oslo are planning an exhibition to be held in their Main Hall on Gandhi, 21 September 2012 till 17 February 2013. The organisers, Jessica Angstreich and Liv Astrid Sverdrup, approached the

Gandhi Foundation and in my capacity as Academic Adviser to the Gandhi Foundation I was invited to be their Expert Consultant. “The Nobel Peace Center wishes to inspire visitors”, to quote its plan, “to reflect upon Gandhi’s methods and make them relevant in modern society”.

One means of realising this objective is an exhibition of the remarkable photographs of Henri Cartier-Bresson, in India at the time of independence and partition, and to meet Gandhi but hours before his assassination. Their display will be split into those of Gandhi during his last days and of an India he photographed on other visits. Cartier-Bresson started out as a painter but it was a year long visit to the Ivory Coast in 1933 that converted him to photography. He saw the camera as “an instrument of intuition and spontaneity”. Not all will know that he was active in the French resistance. In time he returned to painting and drawing. He only died 3 August 2004.

Another means of conveying information on Gandhi is by way of using the letters of the alphabet, an ABC of Gandhi, as a prompt for describing aspects of his life and ideas. Obviously some letters have proved less tractable than others. I have been involved in compiling this alphabet and it is an ingenious way of seeing Gandhi in the round. The letters will be mounted with the captions underneath.

Cleverly the organisers plan interactive installations. In one, for example, linked to M and Marches, each visitor will walk on a ‘treadmill’, this will be recorded and added to a video of all those on the march.

The exhibition space can be adjusted to hold seminars for up to 200 participants.

The provisional title for the exhibition is The Missing Laureate. A major reason for holding the exhibition is by way of compensation for Gandhi being thrice short-listed for the Award, and nominated on two other occasions, but never being awarded the Prize. Given the indebtedness of other recipients, such as Martin Luther King, the Dalai Lama and Aung San Suu Kyi, this is a seemingly inexplicable oversight. The mind of the Committee at the time has been explored by Øyvind Tennesson in his essay *Mahatma Gandhi: The Missing Laureate*.

In 1937 the committee’s adviser, Jacob Worm-Müller, saw Gandhi as a mixed leader, a Christ one moment but then a mere ordinary politician. He saw Gandhi as inconsistently pacifist: campaigns could deteriorate into violence and terror, and cited that example which Gandhi had himself so deplored, of violence at Chauri Chaura in 1922. He also argued that Gandhi had focused on Indians to the exclusion of blacks in his satyagraha campaigns in South Africa. If renominated in 1938 and 1939 he was only to make the



short list again in 1947. This time the adviser was a historian, Jens Arup Seip, who, in contrast, saw Gandhi as consistently pursuing nonviolence between 1937 and 1947. But the diary of the Chairman, Gunnar Jahn, reveals divisions within the Committee, some reluctant to award the prize to Gandhi in the midst of the partition, and grave disquiet at Gandhi apparently encouraging war against Pakistan to win justice for India. Was this, the Committee speculated, just to deter Pakistan's own aggression? Three of the Committee decided against giving Gandhi the Prize and the Committee awarded it instead to the Quakers. Of course in retrospect all this is staggering given that Gandhi lost his life above all through trying to do justice to Pakistan, to the furious anger of militant Hindus. Once again he was on the short list in 1948, nominated by the Quakers, but this time posthumously. With Gandhi representing no organisation and leaving no will, it was unclear who could receive the prize money and this appears to be one reason why his candidature again failed. But no award was made that year. Would not Gandhi have received the prize, the author speculates, had he been alive? One conclusion made strongly by the author is that at no point did the Committee take its decisions to appease Britain.

The exhibition will clearly correct this historical oversight.

A pleasant day was spent showing Jessica and Liv Astrid around Kingsley Hall.

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## Book Reviews

**Going Native: Gandhi's Relationship with Western Women** Thomas Weber Roli Books 2011 406pp ISBN 978 81 7436 830 1

Although there were quite a few women involved in Gandhi's political campaigning in India, such as Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Aruna Asaf Ali, and Sarladevi Choudhurani, a larger number of women, including almost all those from the West, were in Gandhi's ashram communities and involved in his community work. In contrast, in Gandhi's earlier phase, in South Africa, there were a number of notable Western women involved in the political movement.

Thomas Weber's latest study of Gandhi's world, *Going Native*, examines exclusively Western women who were drawn to Gandhi for a variety of reasons. As Weber points out the political Gandhi is only a part of the complete Gandhi which must include his religious quest, and what he called the constructive programme. In these, women feature strongly. Weber profiles about 30 women who came from Britain, South Africa, USA and a few other European countries. In personality they ranged from the 'aristocratic' Madeleine Slade, through the down-to-earth Mary Barr, to the flamboyant Nilla Cram Cook.

Gandhi's attitude to female and male gender was that they were different but equal. Women should have the same access to education as men as they are as capable; on the other hand they have qualities which make them better as mothers and homemakers. In some respects he considered women superior to men, eg more capable of sacrifice. This is not a modern feminist view, on the other hand he saw women as forming the core of future nonviolent brigades, and large numbers of women came out of seclusion (purdah) to demonstrate during the Salt Satyagraha in particular. During his early days in South Africa he gave responsibility to his young secretary, Sonja Schlesin, to manage his legal office and then take a leading role in the satyagraha campaigns, as well as supporting her application (rejected) to train as an attorney. His admiration for the suffrage movement in Britain is also revealing. As in other matters Gandhi's views were complex. What was unusual is that he sought to develop his 'feminine' qualities and took a great interest in tasks associated with women such as spinning, nursing, and the minutiae of everyday living. Thus women found him easy to talk to and he in turn enjoyed their company.

Some of the women profiled are well known to readers of Gandhi biographies, such as Madeleine Slade, renamed Mirabehn by Gandhi; Annie Besant, a well known figure in her own right both in Britain and in India; Muriel Lester the pacifist with whom Gandhi stayed in London in 1931; Millie Graham Polak who wrote a fascinating memoir of the period when she and her husband Henry lived with the Gandhis in South Africa.

Esther Faering



Anne Marie Petersen





Less well known (at least outside Scandinavia) were some Danish women who were attracted to Gandhi. Elen Horup was a feminist, pacifist and a radical journalist. She went to India to meet Gandhi in 1929. She became an active supporter of Indian Independence and promoted Gandhi for the Nobel Peace Prize. She continued as a staunch supporter of the Independence movement but later drifted a little from Gandhi himself as she felt his feminist stance was not as radical as she would like.

Two other Danes, Anne Marie Petersen and Esther Faering, were missionary teachers, Petersen coming to India in 1909 and Faering in 1915. Both women made a tour of Indian educational establishments including Gandhi's ashram at Ahmedabad in 1917 where Faering was captivated by Gandhi and his ideals. She considered leaving the mission but was persuaded by Gandhi to stay on. They began to exchange frequent letters but Faering's position as a foreigner sympathetic to the Indian cause was an embarrassment to the Danish mission. By 1919 she was being threatened with deportation because of her association with Gandhi. Gandhi wrote to the authorities requesting that Faering be allowed to stay at his ashram where she would not be involved in matters political. In the meantime she had met a young Hindu medical student, Kuhn Menon, and became engaged to him. Both the missionary society and the Hindu community were outraged by this. She resigned from the missionary society and in October 1920 was given permission to settle in Gandhi's ashram, although Gandhi was frequently not in residence so they continued their contact by correspondence. In 1921 Faering and Menon married in Denmark with Menon converting to Christianity and they returned to India at the end of the year. Although Gandhi had suggested a celibate marriage their first child was born in 1923 and a second daughter in 1926. Unfortunately Esther's health became increasingly troublesome and she eventually returned to Denmark with her children. She wrote a biography of Gandhi which was published in Denmark in 1930 and she also arranged the publication of Gandhi's letters to her.

Anne Marie Petersen also resigned from the Danish Mission Society but both women remained staunch Christians. Petersen managed to establish her own Christian girls' school in south India in 1921 with Gandhi laying the foundation stone. She died in India in 1951. Both women found that their sympathies to the Independence movement brought the suspicion of both the Raj and various authorities in Denmark and they had to struggle with resulting problems. But Gandhi remained an inspiration to them throughout their lives.

Nilla Cram Cook was born in the USA of parents who lived a Bohemian lifestyle which must account in part for her own unusual life. At the age of 15 she went to Greece where she married when she was 16. At 22 she divorced her husband and set off for India with her son Sirios. By this time she had learned to spin and weave and had become a vegetarian so she was at least in some respects equipped for life in a Gandhian ashram. At first she moved among princes and lectured on Greek theatre and philosophy at university,

but then she tried to remake herself and became involved in agitation for temple entry for untouchables. She also cleaned the streets of Bangalore apparently in a state of ecstasy. In 1932 she made contact with Gandhi who encouraged her work for untouchables and looked forward to meeting her. However information started to reach Gandhi that she had large debts, that she neglected her son, and that she had had many lovers. He met her but doubted the truth of some of her tales. Although she was supposed to have changed her ways he began to doubt it. She went to live in a Harijan village and then moved to the Sabarmati ashram. Gandhi had decided to establish a new ashram at Wardha in central India in 1936 and he took Nilla with him. But she was very temperamental and one day she took off for Delhi and then on to Mathura the birthplace of Krishna. Gandhi more or less gave up on her. A few months later she and her son were repatriated to the USA. On board ship she met a young man in poor health and promised to marry him which she did after the ship docked at New York but the marriage was soon annulled. Her life after Gandhi continued to be out of the ordinary. She became correspondent for *Liberty* magazine, covering the war in Greece, then in 1941 she escaped to Turkey, still with her son, and then on to Iran where she became cultural attaché at the American Embassy. There she reorganised the theatres, ballet and opera houses. She founded an organisation to revive the Classical Arts of Iran which company she took on tour in 1947 to many of the countries around the Mediterranean. She converted to Islam and completed a translation of the Qur'an in 1945. She made one trip back to India when she lectured on the problems of Kashmir. This most unlikely of Gandhi's followers was described by Mirabehn as "a sprite, a spirit, dancing and singing her way through life like a bird."

In contrast to Cram Cook was Mary Barr, whom Weber calls the ideal disciple because although drawn to Gandhi's personality and wishing to be close to him, nevertheless realised that she could be most useful to Gandhi and to Indian aspirations if she worked in the field. In her case it was mainly constructive work in the village of Khedi which was about 100 miles from Wardha. Mary Barr had already been teaching in a mission school for a decade before she met Gandhi. It was only when she was on leave in Britain at the same time as the Second Round Table Conference that she began to take an interest in him. By chance she took the same ship as Gandhi's party back to India and although Gandhi's party travelled 'deck' and she was second class she was aware of them and was especially impressed by the amount of laughter from the group. She decided to spend her last two days of leave at the Sabarmati Ashram. This led to her decision to resign from her mission and work for Gandhi. She visited him in prison and corresponded with him. Barr lived at Sabarmati for a period and then at Wardha in preparation for settling in Khedi where she was to spend eight years teaching spinning to the women and children and developing a vegetable garden. Attacks of ill health were common among the European women and Barr was no exception but it was a shock when another helper, Mary Chesley, who had come to Khedi, died

after a short illness. In 1939 Barr's mother died and she went out to South Africa to look after her father. She returned to Khedi in 1941 but family responsibilities took her to South Africa again in 1943 and she did not see Gandhi again. In 1946 she was imprisoned for her opposition to racial discrimination. After her father's death in 1951 she returned to India, eventually settling in south India with two other Gandhian Quakers, Marjorie Sykes and Alice Barnes.

These glimpses of a few of the Western women who were drawn to Gandhi give an idea of the variety of personalities he attracted. Weber suggests we can discern three categories of women. There are those who came for spiritual solace and many of these women did not stay long, Mirabehn being an exception. The second group recognised that Gandhi was doing similar work to themselves at home but on a grander scale. They came to learn from Gandhi but also to share their ideas with him and then return to continue their work. They included Muriel Lester, Agatha Harrison, Maude Royden and Ellen Horup. The third group were those who had come to India to bring Western values, usually through teaching, but then began to question the value of their work and moved to a position of support for Independence and for Gandhi and his constructive programme. These included Mary Barr, Mary Chesley, Esther Faering, Anne Marie Petersen, Marjorie Sykes. Weber also deals with a few who came to criticise rather than learn from Gandhi; these included Katherine Mayo who wrote a book *Mother India* which became notorious for its negative depiction of Indian society, and Margaret Sanger the birth control promotor who failed to win Gandhi for her programme.

When one recalls that most of Gandhi's women associates were Indian, not Western, one can hardly fail to be amazed at how much time he gave to individual women when he was deeply involved in political work as well. Weber's book includes many fascinating biographies of Western women whose lives were touched by Gandhi. Gandhi obviously valued friendship, with women and men, highly. *Going Native* is a thoroughly researched study of a relatively neglected area of Gandhi studies and is a delight to read.

*George Paxton*

**Civil Resistance and Power Politics:** The Experience of Nonviolent Action from Gandhi to the Present Eds Adam Roberts and Timothy Garten Ash OUP 2011 pp448 ISBN: 0199691456 £16.99 PB

An extremely rich and informative publication. Every chapter contains useful information on both civil resistance and power politics. A publication that every worker on peace should have read and have used for his or her activities.

The study contains roughly twenty descriptions of nonviolent activities from all over the world ranging from Gandhi's to the Burmese monks' actions.

Although such actions existed in earlier times, modern means of communication have spread knowledge of it and increased acceptance of these modes of action. However, acceptance of this type of power politics is still limited to a relatively small group of peace activists.

The study is introduced by Adam Roberts and April Carter, and Timothy Garten Ash concludes with some lessons learned from a century of civil resistance and asks some questions. The book does not provide a theory of civil resistance but rather describes its causes, courses and consequences. Firstly, it offers a definition of civil resistance suggesting why it is appropriate to describe the phenomena under investigation. Secondly, it describes how the term ‘power politics’ is understood in this study and how the phenomena it describes – though often viewed as discredited – have proved to be enduring. Thirdly, it looks critically at three intellectual and political traditions that see civil resistance as replacing force in all its forms. Fourthly, it outlines some of the ways in which civil resistance, rather than being a total alternative to force, has had a complex relationship with it. Fifthly, it discusses the hazards of ‘universalism’, that is seeing civil resistance as a panacea, or else as a universal threat, and supports a view of it as locally rooted but able to draw strength from international norms. Timothy Garten Ash in his conclusion shows that civil resistance has become an increasingly important factor in world politics.

Some people may doubt whether civil resistance will ever replace power politics as it is still used in most decision making processes. In response Ash quotes a Indian scholar who said: “Can you dethrone the King-Emperor by boiling seawater in a kettle ? The answer from a century’s experience of nonviolent action would seem to be Yes, given the right combination of strategy, circumstances, time and luck”.

This book is about what these combinations are. It offers no simple lessons. History never does !

*Piet Dijkstra*

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## **John Hick 1922-2012**

John Hick was a Friend of the Gandhi Foundation for many years. The following appreciation of his life is by fellow philosopher **Margaret Chatterjee**.

John Hick who passed away in February 2012 was one of the most influential philosophers of religion in the English-speaking world and a very faithful propagator of Gandhi’s ideas. His autobiography, published in 2002, closes with an unusual epilogue in which he wrote his own ‘pre-obituary’, and contains this:

*He was involved in inter-religious dialogue, particularly Jewish-Christian-Muslim and Buddhist-Christian, and also in race-relations work, including threats from the Neo-Nazi National Front in Britain and the banning in South Africa of his account of apartheid, based on time spent there. The biggest influence on this side of this life was Mahatma Gandhi.*

It was John Hick who invited me to write *Gandhi's Religious Thought*, published by Macmillan in their Library of Philosophy and Religion of which he was General Editor, in 1983. His Foreword identifies at least four areas, in his view, in which Gandhi was 'importantly relevant': religious pluralism,



liberation movements in Southern Africa, South America and elsewhere, the deepening ecological crisis, and 'Gandhi's exhibiting – without consciously intending to – a viable style of sainthood. Gandhi is also described by him as 'a great witness to Truth for other times and place'.

In 1984 The Claremont Graduate School held an inter-disciplinary colloquium on 'Mahatma Gandhi and his Significance for Today'. The proceedings were edited by John Hick and Lamont C Hempel and published by Macmillan in 1989. Hick's introduction to Part I, Gandhi the Man, speaks of Gandhi's life as enlarging 'our understanding of the human potential and is thus a source of hope for

many'. In introducing Part II on Gandhi on Religion and Ethics he mentions that 'in his dictum that Truth is God, Gandhi was freeing the idea of God from particular images of the ultimate in the form of Vishnu or Shiva or Allah or the Heavenly Father etc, and was saying that God is **sat**, the Real'. He further says that 'what has made Gandhi's ideas such a powerful field of force, spreading through the world and becoming more widely influential today than when he was alive, is the fact that they were incarnated in his life'.

Archbishop Tutu pays tribute to Hick when he says 'He has never been scared of controversy in advocating justice, equity, and especially religious pluralism in the face of an orthodox, far too often fundamentalist, exclusivism. How deeply indebted we are to him'.

Like Gandhi, John Hick incarnated his beliefs in his life. During the Second World War he served as a conscientious objector in the Friends' Ambulance Unit in Europe. He had been ordained as a Presbyterian Minister, but his thinking impelled him towards a more liberal theology, and he eventually found his spiritual home within the Society of Friends.

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## The Gandhi Way

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

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