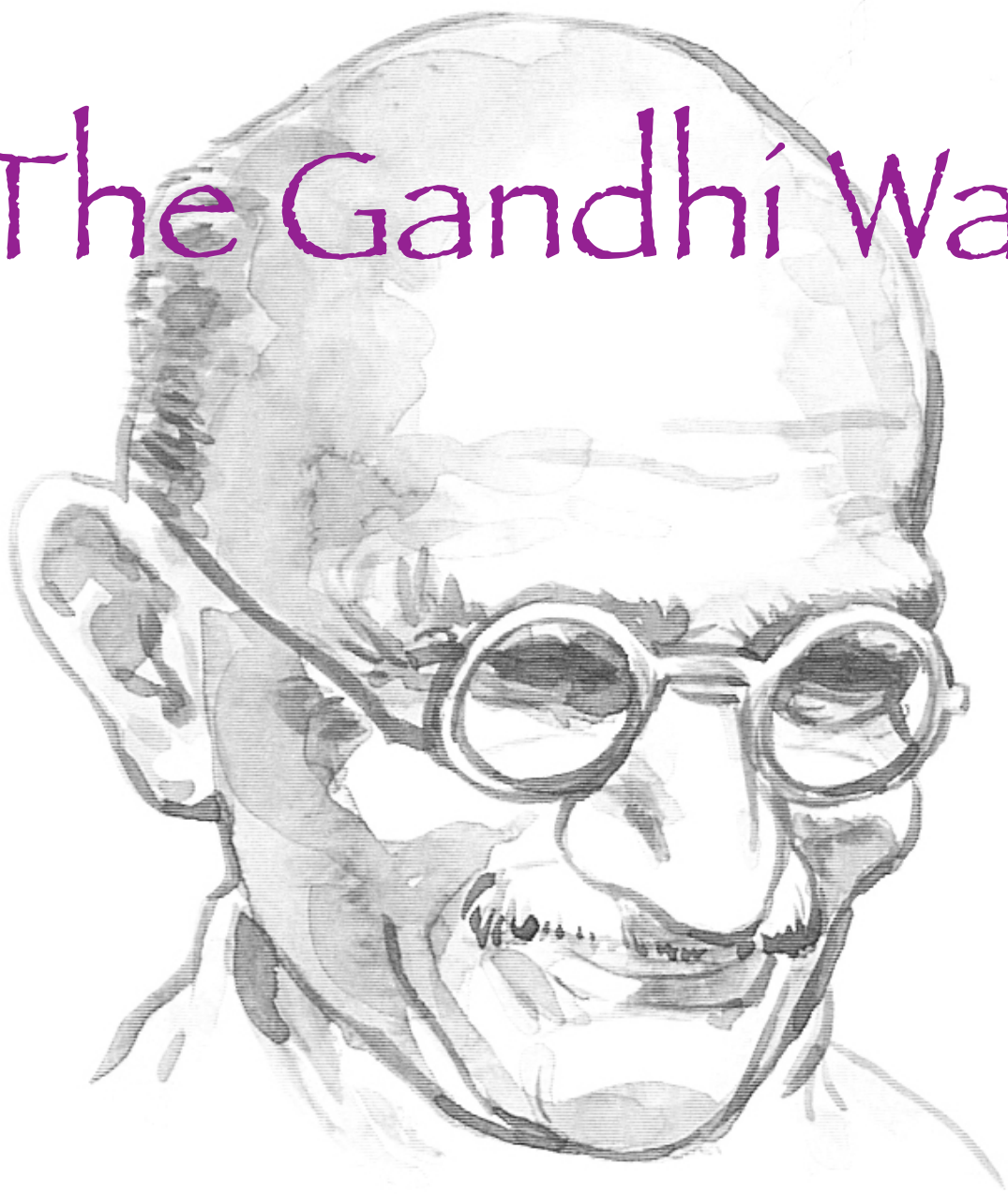


The Gandhi Way



Newsletter of the Gandhi Foundation

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GF Annual Lecture 2022

We are pleased to announce our lecturer for 2022 will be
Dr Alexandre Christoyannopoulos
of Loughborough University
on the vital topic

Peacefully preventing and stopping war: some challenges to conventional wisdom

It is provisionally 27 October but will be confirmed later.

There may be a panel of speakers also after the lecture.

More information on the lecture and the lecturer are on page 10

The Gandhi Foundation AGM 2022

will be held on Saturday 1 October

at Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bromley-by-Bow, London E3 3HJ

The Exhibition of Natural Fibres which was postponed from last year

Is expected to be held there at that time also.

Further details in the next issue



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War in Ukraine

Could there have been a nonviolent solution?

George Paxton

Humanity has entered a period of extreme challenge – dealing with the greatest pandemic for a century, a growing awareness of the seriousness of global warming, and now war. The impact of the Russo-Ukraine war may be small in comparison to the first two, assuming that a compromise is reached, but it has been a shock to see a large country attack a smaller neighbour in Europe. The effects of millions of refugees fleeing their homes and their country, and also seeing the destruction and death daily on our TV brings it closer than other recent wars. Personally I think this may be a good thing as seeing the effects of war as it really is in all its brutality will hopefully bring a change in perception. There is also a tendency to heap all the fault onto the aggressor – or simply the enemy which is those on the other side – but war itself, I believe, is really the enemy. True, most people don't want war but do think that there are certain things that must be defended, and defence they equate with armed force.

So how did this situation in eastern Europe come about ? We have to go back to the ending of the Cold War in 1988-90 due to Gorbachev's liberalising influence on what was the Soviet Union. In 1991 the Warsaw Pact, the military alliance led by Russia, was dissolved and a promise was given (by various western leaders to Gorbachev) that NATO would not be expanded through accession of the former Communist countries. At the end of 1991 the USSR ceased to exist. At this point it would have been wise to negotiate disarmament and the dissolution of the West's military alliance but the opportunity was not taken. In opposition to the Russian government, NATO was opened to new members and in 1996 Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were admitted. Surprisingly, in 2000 Russia requested to join NATO but Putin did not like the conditions laid down. In 2004, seven other European countries were admitted with a few others following later.

Vladimir Putin has held power either as President or Prime Minister since 2000. He has been allowed to increase his formal power by stages. Maintenance of the (much reduced) military and economic power of the Russian empire is of great importance to him, as it probably is to most Russian people. Russia's GDP places it only 12th in the world now. It is no longer a super-power except in regard to possession of a large nuclear arsenal.

Belarus, lying to the north of Ukraine, is ruled by its authoritarian President Lukashenko, and remains in the Russian orbit. In contrast, Ukraine looked to the European Union and NATO. However when President

Yanukovych was elected in 2010 he decided to strengthen links with Russia rather than the EU which provoked strong protests. This in turn led to pro-Russian insurgents taking control of government buildings in Crimea in 2014 and a referendum, rapidly held, resulted in a vote for joining Russia and thus the annexation of Crimea. Pro-Russian protests spread to other parts of eastern Ukraine and Ukrainian forces then counter-attacked resulting in virtual civil war in the eastern provinces (Donbas) ever since, with Russia supporting one side and the USA supplying arms to the government side. [A somewhat similar situation occurred in smaller Georgia in 2008 over its desire to join NATO and involving the breakaway area of South Ossetia. There was a brief war between Russia and Georgia which was fortunately ended by negotiations involving France and USA.]

Volodymyr Zelensky was elected President of Ukraine in March 2019 with a large majority. Zelensky's first language is Russian but he looks westwards. A major promise during the campaign was to end the conflict in the Donbas peaceably but it proved impossible to get any agreement between supporters of Russia in Ukraine, Putin and the Russian Government, and Ukrainian nationalists. He personally met members of extreme Ukrainian nationalist groups, whom the Russians call neo-Nazis, in the vain hope of getting them to surrender their weapons. In December 2019 Russia and Ukraine agreed to meetings mediated by France and Germany and Zelensky and Putin met face to face but without effect.

In April 2021 a build-up of Russian forces became apparent along the Ukrainian border and Zelensky urged President Biden to speed up Ukraine's application for NATO membership. Putin claimed Russia had no intention of attacking Ukraine. In February 2022 Russian forces invaded Ukraine.

Mistakes and consequences

It is clear that after the loss of several parts of the former Soviet Union Russia felt weakened militarily especially when some of these territories joined NATO. With the Ukrainian government expressing a desire to join NATO but many Ukrainians in the east of the country being pro-Russia it was natural that Putin's government gave practical support to the Russian-speaking insurgents there.

The collapse of Communist Russia in 1991 gave the West an opportunity which it should have grasped with alacrity. Unfortunately the political class, and indeed the populations, were too firmly tied to the idea that states should always be militarily stronger than their potential enemies – that keeps the peace. Except that it doesn't in reality. Russia had suddenly become weakened and to those who attach importance to 'strength' as conventionally understood it suffered humiliation. The consequences of Germany's defeat in

the First World War were not remembered, or ignored, and that reaction is by no means unique.

Not only did the Western states keep their military power they encouraged the former Soviet countries, now free, to join their military alliance which most of them happily did, believing as they did in the assumed security of military might. Nor was this might confined to conventional weapons but included American nuclear weapons which are stationed in Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, and Turkey as well as the British and French nuclear missiles on submarines.

The ending of the Cold War was an ideal opportunity for both sides to come together to begin disarmament and so reduce fear and also put the resources saved into positive useful fields of endeavour. In the last three decades we have regressed rather than advanced. And now once more human beings have succumbed to using extreme brutality towards fellow human beings.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has the potential to develop into general warfare in Europe – even nuclear. Fortunately the USA and NATO saw the danger and they have avoided direct engagement with Russian forces in spite of pleas by the Ukrainians. They have however poured weapons into Ukraine thus prolonging the misery and destructiveness of the war. On their side the Russians have made reckless threats of using weapons of mass destruction.

Initially a less destructive method of trying to influence the outcome of the conflict led to the application of economic and other sanctions against Russia. There is something to be said for this but it is not easy to apply these without indiscriminately affecting the population of the instigator country, particularly with regard to trade. Sanctions should try to focus the effect on the government agencies and supporting individuals and not the general public and to an extent that was done. Sanctions have a role to play although decisive effects are often uncertain and slow.

Something that has been raised in the conflict, and might well be even more important in the future, is threatening to bring leaders of the aggression before the International Criminal Court. This intention will have little effect on the ongoing war as legal processes are slow but it could possibly act as a deterrent to future aggression. Many times in the last few weeks the expression ‘war crime’ has been used – of the Russian side. A more realistic recognition is that war itself is a crime. Atrocities are a normal part of warfare, and it would be remarkable indeed if none were committed by ‘our side’ even if the bulk are by the invader. One has to remember too that the NATO countries have in the past committed war crimes. That American governments have refused, in principle, to allow American citizens to be

brought before the International Criminal Court demonstrates how little they believe in international law, unless it suits them.

Could nonviolent defence be a better way ?

There is however a radically different approach to defence and that is the one advocated by Gandhi as well as an increasing number of people around the globe.

In both countries, Russia and Ukraine, there has been spontaneous nonviolent action – by Russians opposed to their country's actions and by Ukrainians opposing the Russian soldiers. Thousands have demonstrated against the war in Russian cities in spite of risk of arrest and imprisonment and in spite of government propaganda. More unusual opposition has been expressed too such as the TV employee who held up a placard behind a newsreader. In Ukraine, individuals and also groups of people have stopped tanks and other military vehicles on the roads. Attempts have been made to speak to Russian soldiers to convince them that they are invaders and not liberators. Road signs have been turned to face the wrong direction. It is this nonviolent approach that has great potential. The Ukrainians actually have fairly recent experience of People Power in the Orange Revolution (winter 2004-5) forcing a rerun of a rigged election.

Greater knowledge of this way should be the way forward. Although nonviolent resistance of a population to its own government has become quite familiar, resistance to invasion by another country is less often considered. Some smaller countries in Europe have given consideration to NVR and during the breakup of the Soviet Union the Baltic countries used this successfully. From an ethical point of view NVR has the great advantage of not killing the opponent or the innocent. But there are other advantages, such as almost certainly fewer casualties on the defence side, less destruction, and a greater likelihood of a democratic state at the conclusion.

There are innumerable forms of action that can be used. As invading troops cross the borders or enter a town they can be met by demonstrators with banners, placards and leaflets to show the intention of the populace to resist occupation but only nonviolently. Noncooperation would follow and this could involve virtually the whole occupied population in their own localities or places of work. Resistance in one's occupational position would be important. One also needs to discriminate when to cooperate with the invading forces and when to be uncooperative. The resisters would aim to keep essential services operating such as in food supplies, health, water and electricity, but invading personnel and military hardware should be blocked. Resistance of the whole population simultaneously is impossible to maintain long term and activity by different sectors and groups needs to be coordinated

and staggered in time. The resistance would almost certainly need to be lengthy but no government can survive indefinitely without a great deal of cooperation by the general population. The resistance requires courage and determination as well as imagination in methods to be used. The great scholar of nonviolent action, Gene Sharp, identified 198 methods but this has been expanded to over 300 by others. The use of mobile phones is a relatively new consideration in resistance situations but will have negative aspects as well as positive for the resisters.

Although it needs to be clear to the occupiers that they are not welcome as invaders they should ideally not be treated with hatred as individuals. Violence, whether deliberate or spontaneous, should certainly be avoided as it undermines the effectiveness of nonviolence. Gandhi always emphasised the importance of discipline by the resisters – the satyagrahis.

Gandhi never had the opportunity to develop a plan of defence to invasion, although the Japanese intended to occupy India. He decided that the people of Orissa, where the Japanese were likely to land in 1942, were unprepared for a nonviolent defence. He did give some advice on how to treat Japanese soldiers but not much more. He did believe that nonviolent defence could be used as a substitute for military defence as he advocated it to the Ethiopians when they were attacked by the Italians, and to the Poles, French and British against the Germans.

The growth of nonviolent action over the last century has shown that there is an alternative form of fighting that is not only more moral but that is actually more effective. The research of two American academics, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, demonstrates that nonviolent action on a large scale is more effective than violent action in removing oppressive governments. Neither type of resistance is guaranteed success but the balance in favour seems to be on the nonviolent side and moreover it is highly likely that the cost in terms of death and destruction will be significantly lower with NVR. The faith that most people have at the present time in armed defence is unjustified.

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Most of the research by Chenoweth and Stephan was published a decade ago as *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (Columbia University Press). A more recent book by Chenoweth is *Civilian Resistance*. Lectures by Chenoweth can also be found on line.

My own more modest attempt at considering NVR as a response to invasion and occupation by a ruthless enemy is published as *Nonviolent Resistance to the Nazis* (YouCaxton Publications). The book also suggests what a Gandhian response to the Nazis might look like.

## Dental Care project in Sierra Leone

Sohair Hayat is a dentist and a certified trainer who works for a practice in London which has started a small dental charity to provide dental procedures in Sierra Leone. "We chose Sierra Leone as it is one of the poorest countries in the world."

Sohair is the wife of Omar Hayat who is a Trustee of The Gandhi Foundation and he will be accompanying the team travelling to Sierra Leone in May for 3 weeks. They will be providing dental treatment mainly to the rural population.

There are no dental facilities accessible to the rural population, resulting in people developing chronic infections, significantly impacting their health. These chronic infections can be prevented through early basic intervention. The aim is to precisely do this so that minor problems can be resolved before chronic conditions develop.

Sohair will be assisting the dental charity in establishing a local urgent dental care and training centre for the population and training some locals in dental procedures. These trainees will then be able to be certified by the medical board in Sierra Leone. This, of course, has the benefit of developing longer-term locally sourced dental treatment and giving the trainees an income stream to continue the clinics.

The UK dentists involved in this charity provide their expertise free of charge and all expenses associated with personal travel and living are also paid for personally by the dentists. No charity money is used for this purpose. All charitable donations will be used to assist the local population directly. If you would like to help with this project you can donate on the website below.

[https://www.gofundme.com/f/urgent-dental-care-training-clinic?utm\\_source=customer&utm\\_medium=copy\\_link\\_all&utm\\_campaign=m\\_pd+share-sheet](https://www.gofundme.com/f/urgent-dental-care-training-clinic?utm_source=customer&utm_medium=copy_link_all&utm_campaign=m_pd+share-sheet)

### Urgent Dental Care Training Clinic



Sohair Hayat is organising this fundraiser.

## Inequality and Taxation

Last year the oil company BP made more money in two minutes than a middling British family makes in a year. The company made £9.5 billion profit in 2021. At the same time, the latest figures show that BP paid no tax on its North Sea oil and gas business. Instead the UK Treasury paid BP a subsidy of £35 million.

A system of generous tax breaks means that BP has paid no tax on its North Sea business. In fact, it's effective tax rate is a whopping minus 54%. The revelation came from climate campaign group Uplift. They've done great work uncovering the generous tax arrangements given to oil giants like BP. Big oil companies are making bumper profits and are receiving subsidies from the government.

In 2021 Shell made a profit of \$19.3 billion and paid no tax. It received \$120 million in subsidies from the UK Treasury.

Yet many families struggle to pay gas and electricity bills and food banks have recently experienced a decline in donations.

During the pandemic corporation profits in general have increased 50-100%. Hence increased spending on luxury items such as art works, expensive whiskey and space exploration.

[taxjustice.uk](https://taxjustice.uk) has joined Uplift, and other campaigning organisations, in calling for a windfall tax on the big oil companies. This would help fund proper support for families struggling with higher energy bills.

An Oxfam report on wealth says that the ten richest men in the world increased their wealth during the pandemic by 70%. A new billionaire was created almost every day while 99% of the population got poorer. Ethnic minorities and women were worse affected. In the last 30 years the level of wealth has ballooned while taxes on wealth have hardly changed. However it is good to know that 102 millionaires/billionaires have called for increased taxation on those with very high incomes. Church Action for Tax Justice would agree but so do the IMF who advocate this to encourage economic growth – but remembering the environmental impact of growth it depends on what sort of growth is desirable.

The recent publicising of the Chancellor's wife's 'non-dom' status brought attention to the large number of, mostly wealthy, non-domiciled residents there are in the UK. It has been estimated that there are about 75,000 people in this position who can thus reduce their income tax to be paid. The nationalities of these non-doms are mainly USA nationals, followed by Indian and then French. This draws attention to the need to close down the various tax loopholes used by the rich and powerful, locally and internationally.

## The Gandhi Foundation lecture for 2022

### ***Peacefully preventing and stopping war: some challenges to conventional wisdom***

Here is the theme of the **Lecture** by Dr Christoyannopoulos:

Today's conventional wisdom is that the best we've got when it comes to preventing and stopping war is the Just War Tradition and its associated framework of international law and institutions (the UN Charter and the Geneva and Hague conventions). Yet these conventional tools keep proving insufficient. In this lecture, three factors which might explain these insufficiencies and point beyond our current setup will be explored: the widely-shared yet increasingly questionable assumption that violence can be an effective instrument to achieve political ends; the deep institutional dynamics which incentivise a chronic slide towards systemic militarism; and the very structural foundation of our international order.

#### **The Lecturer**

Alexandre Christoyannopoulos is Reader in Politics and International Relations at Loughborough University. He is the author of *Tolstoy's Political Thought* (2020), *Christian Anarchism* (2010), as well as a range of journal articles and book chapters on Leo Tolstoy and on religious anarchism. He is the Editor-in-Chief of the [\*Journal of Pacifism and Nonviolence\*](#). A full list of academic publications as well as podcasts and written contributions to outlets such as *The Conversation* is available on [his website](#)



## **Recommendation**

by Thich Nhat Hanh

Promise me,  
promise me this day,  
promise me now,  
while the sun is overhead  
exactly at the zenith,  
promise me:  
Even as they  
strike you down  
with a mountain of hatred and violence;  
even as they step on you and crush you  
like a worm,  
even as they dismember and disembowel you,  
remember brother, remember:  
man is not our enemy.  
The only thing worthy of you is compassion –  
invincible, limitless, unconditional.  
Hatred will never let you face  
the beast in man.  
One day, when you face this beast alone  
with your courage intact, your eyes kind,  
untroubled  
(even as no one sees them),  
out of your smile  
will bloom a flower.  
And those who love you  
will behold you  
across ten thousand worlds of birth and dying.  
Alone again,  
I will go on with bent head,  
knowing that love has become eternal.  
On the long, rough road  
the sun and moon will continue to shine.  
Man is not the enemy. Our enemy is hatred, anger, ignorance and fear.

I wrote this poem in 1965 especially for the young people in the School of Youth for Social Service who risked their lives every day during the war, recommending them to die without hatred. Some had already been killed violently, and I cautioned the others against hating. Our enemy is our anger, hatred, greed, fanaticism, and discrimination against men. If you die because of violence, you must meditate on compassion in order to forgive those who kill you. When you die realizing this state of compassion, you are truly a child of the Awakened One. Even if you are dying in oppression, shame, and violence, if you can smile with forgiveness, you have great power.

Rereading the lines of this poem, I suddenly understood the passage in the Diamond Sutra that speaks about kshanti, endurance or tolerance: “Your courage intact, your eyes kind, untroubled (even as no one sees them), out of your smile will bloom a flower. And those who love you will behold you across ten thousand worlds of birth and dying.”

If you die with compassion in mind, you are a torch lighting our path. Before burning herself, Nhat Chi Mai one of the earliest Tiep Hien members, read this poem into a tape and left it for her parents.

Alone again I will go on with bent head in order to see you, know you, remember you. Your love has become eternal. *“On the long rough road, the sun and the moon will continue to shine.”* When there is a mature relationship between people, there is always compassion and forgiveness. In our life we need others to see and recognise us so that we feel supported. How much more do we need the Buddha to see us! On our path of service, there are moments of pain and loneliness, but when we know that the Buddha sees and knows us, we feel a great surge of energy and a firm determination to carry on.

Thich Nhat Hanh

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### **AHIMSA**

A brilliant new award-winning feature length documentary on Gandhi is now available for screening by associations and organisations in the UK interested in the Mahatma. The film is in English and is aimed at a global audience. It was first shown at the United Nations in New York.

It narrates how iconic leaders in Africa, America and Europe were inspired by and followed Gandhi's method of nonviolent resistance. They include Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Dalai Lama, Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel. Barack Obama also features in the film as do Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, and Lord Peter Hain.

The film is a must watch! The 75th anniversary of Indian independence this year – achieved under Gandhi's remarkable leadership – the intolerance and polarisation in various parts of the world, not to mention the war in Ukraine, make it compulsory viewing. Further details including hiring from [ashiscray@gmail.com](mailto:ashiscray@gmail.com)

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Two of **Jane Thomas's** feathered friends  
The abstract photo on page 2 is also by Jane

# The Angel of Love – aka ‘That Bloody Woman’

*Jane Sill*

‘The Angel of Love’ is the title given by Frank Beer to his book about the life of a largely forgotten but hugely influential and pioneering peace and social activist, Emily Hobhouse.

Born in 1860, in St Ives near Liskeard, Cornwall, to a rector of the local parish church, her mother was a descendant of Bishop John Trelawny immortalised in the Cornish anthem, ‘And Shall Trelawny Die?’ Bishop Trelawny was another strong voice who refused to comply with the King’s order to have the Declaration of Indulgence read in church. This led to his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower of London in 1688, and the threat of 20,000 Cornishmen marching on London if he were executed.

Emily was the second youngest of 8 children. From a young age she became involved in local parish affairs, including assisting with youth work and organising visits to the sick and elderly on behalf of her father, and giving support to destitute families. As her father aged, Emily began reading *The Times* to him which aroused an awareness and interest in national and worldwide affairs. When her father died, Emily spent time with her younger brother, Leonard, in Oxford where she was further exposed to liberal and progressive ideas. Leonard joined the *Manchester Guardian* in 1897 and went on to become Professor of Sociology at London University. He had a strong interest in trade unionism and wrote ‘*The Labour Movement*’, published in 1893, as well as other books on politics and philosophy. Both he and Emily became members of the Adult Suffrage Society at a time when Women’s Suffrage was gaining momentum. Emily was to become very involved in the struggle for women’s emancipation.

After a brief spell in America where she had travelled to support the pioneer mining communities, including many émigrés from Cornwall, Emily returned to London where she made friends with Kate Courtney, wife of Leonard Courtney, a Liberal MP. There she became involved in writing reports about the social conditions of the age, including a 5,000 word document describing the plight of female London Dockland refuse workers. Meanwhile, Emily kept in close contact with her brother at the *Manchester Guardian*. Like other Liberals of the day, both were strongly opposed to the imminent South African Boer War.

Frank Beer explains the complex historical background to the conflict, which was further complicated by the discovery of gold in the Rand in 1866 which led to a rush of prospectors, followed by the discovery of diamonds in 1871 at Kimberley which led to the involvement of rich industrialists, such as Cecil Rhodes. The ensuing conflict caused huge losses, particularly amongst the

British who were using traditional tactics against the Boers who were on home turf. During the action, a young Mahatma Gandhi, member of the Natal Indian Congress Party, acted as a volunteer stretcher bearer. New strategies were embarked by the British in the form of burning farmsteads, confiscating cattle and crops and incarcerating mainly women and children, victims of the burning, as well as their local workers, into a series of concentration camps built specifically for the purpose. Conditions were appalling and the death and sickness rate very high. News began to filter back to the UK of this mass death by starvation. Emily who had already become aware of conditions, embarked on the organisation of a relief fund named 'The South African War Distress Fund for Women and Children'. The fund was described as 'Character: Benevolence, Non Party, Political or Denominational. Aim: To feed, clothe, shelter, rescue and help, without wounding self-respect. Scope: Women and children in all areas affected by the War, irrespective of Nationality or race. Distribution: The aim, not only to succour, but also to soften embittered feelings ...' Against this, was a background of jingoistic war mongering and patriotism. Emily and her supporters, who addressed a meeting in Liskeard along with Lloyd George, were heckled and drowned out by renditions of the national anthem. In spite of this, the opportunity was taken to distribute 'Conciliation' leaflets. As a result of her opposition to the war, Emily lost many longstanding family friends but her Relief Fund



received generous support from The Society of Friends. In fact, Emily was described by General Smuts' son as a 'middle aged Quaker lady'. While her views on nonviolence and reform were closely aligned to the Quakers, Emily was not a member.

Emily decided to embark on a trip to South Africa to see conditions for herself and to take material relief. On the same ship was Joshua Rowntree who was travelling with his wife and nephew en route to Natal. Emily had with her a letter of introduction to Sir Alfred Milner from her aunt, Lady Hobhouse, which she used to obtain permission for the necessary passes to visit the refugee camps. Emily was shocked by what she found: overcrowding, inadequate diet, poor sanitation and lack of medical facilities. Child mortality was high, with frequent outbreaks of dysentery, with no access to soap or clean water. Emily worked tirelessly to bring the situation to the attention of the public back home and tried to improve conditions by negotiating with the powers that be, countering the claim that the conditions were due to the 'lack of cleanliness and ignorance' of the inmates themselves. The Mansion House Fund was set up to help the refugees and Emily won the respect and affection of the many families who she sought to help by arranging supplies of clothing, medical supplies and other items of aid. Although some sympathy was expressed to Emily in private by those in power, change was not forthcoming. Emily thought she could achieve more by returning to Britain and embarking on a public campaign. Her accounts were dismissed or ridiculed in papers, such as *The Times*, with *Punch* even publishing a report that conditions in the Camps were so poor that 'the supply of hairpins was wholly inadequate' and 'only 5 bottles of Violettes de Parm' had been found. Undaunted, Emily continued to attend various meetings, including one in Bristol chaired by Joseph Fry.

Finally, on 22 July 1901, a Committee of Lady Visitors was announced to attend and report on the Boer Concentration Camps. The leader of the group was Milicent Fawcett who had pro Government imperialist sympathies. The situation was raised in Parliament and fierce criticism made against the inhumane practices employed in South Africa. The result was a series of recommendations, most of which had been made earlier by Emily.

Emily tried to return to South Africa again but was refused permission to disembark because of the embarrassment she had caused by her reports, giving rise to the epithet 'That Bloody Woman' by Lord Kitchener. Emily's health was failing having been kept confined to the ship for the outward and return journey. The Reverend Walter Hobhouse, Editor of an Anglican paper, *The Guardian*, wrote, 'Never before in British history has the whole machinery of Empire been brought to bear against a single, unprotected woman'. The article concluded that Emily had 'simply spoken the truth'.

Sadly, the condition of local, South African, prisoners in the infamous camps was never assessed as permission to visit was refused. Death rates due to starvation and disease in these camps were far greater.

Emily took time out by Lake Annecy to recuperate and composed an account of her findings, 'The Brunt of the War and Where It Fell' which was published in 1902. When peace was declared, the general public preferred to forget about the war and the book did not enjoy large sales.

Named 'The Angel of Love' by those she had sought to assist, Emily continued to organise material supplies to those in need, particularly supporting the replanting of crops destroyed during the conflict. In 1904, concerned for the young Boer women who were living in poverty in isolated farmsteads, Emily developed an interest in home industry occupations such as tapestry, lace making and weaving by which they could earn a living. Emily met Alice Green with whom she travelled to Ireland to study home industries there, including the making of blankets, rugs and dress materials. She also took a great interest in the construction of spinning wheels and looms. After meeting Margaret Clark, a young Quaker, Alice and Margaret travelled to South Africa in 1905 where they began the Weaving and Craft School. Maybe news of this reached the young Gandhi who was later to champion a similar enterprise in India.

On her return to England, despite poor health, Emily attended two important public meetings in support of Women's Suffrage, the first being at the Queen's Hall followed by one the next day at the Albert Hall where once again she shared the stage with David Lloyd George. A heart condition was diagnosed and Emily moved to Italy in 1909 to benefit from the warmer climate. During this time she remained in regular correspondence with General Smuts and in 1912 was invited by Free State representatives of the South African Federation to unveil a national monument in Bloemfontein the following year. Many thousands were in attendance and Emily was invited to speak. Unfortunately, Emily was not well enough to appear and her speech was read out by Charles Fichardt in both English and Afrikaans. Printed copies were also widely distributed. In her speech, Emily spoke of the need for reconciliation and forgiveness and to avoid 'hatred of others which was like a rust corroding away the soul of individuals and nations', a precursor of the Truth and Reconciliation which was to follow so many decades later. She also commended 'noble character' rather than material prosperity on behalf of leaders as being the basis of a great nation and berated the vast sums of money being spent on weapons of destruction in the pursuit of land and gold. Frank Beer suggests that Gandhi would have been one person who would have been greatly impressed by Emily's speech. Resident in South Africa at this time, Gandhi had become a civil rights campaigner on behalf of his fellow Indians. In 1906, he travelled to England to plead the cause of South African Indians and organised a campaign of passive resistance the following year, along with a large group of Chinese, for which he was arrested for a year. Gandhi sought the help of Emily at this time because of her contact with influential people such as General Botha, President Steyn and General Smuts.

Both shared similar ideals and peaceful means of resistance while both remaining resolute in the face of governmental and public opposition. Although in frequent clashes with General Smuts, they shared a mutual respect and Gandhi made the General a pair of sandals while he was imprisoned in Pretoria.

When World War One began, Emily voiced her strong opposition. She had moved to Bude in Cornwall and became actively involved in anti-war activities. In spite of her health, Emily moved again to Italy and Holland where she was appointed Secretary for the Women's International Bureau in May 1915. On 1<sup>st</sup> May 1916, an anti war demonstration was organised in Berlin, led by Karl Liebknecht who was imprisoned for 4 years by a military court. As a mark of solidarity, 50,000 munitions workers downed tool in support. Other protests took place at great personal risk. While in Switzerland, Emily planned to visit German occupied Belgium to talk with other women supporting peace. She also wanted to visit a German camp for British internees near Berlin. The German Minister, Baron von Romberg, gave her passes for both countries on condition that she sleep every night during her visit in Brussels. In spite of the outrage which would be triggered back home, Emily went ahead with the visits and witnessed the extreme hardship of innocent victims caused by the war. She was also given permission to visit Berlin and paid a visit to Dr Alice Salmon, a well known nutritionist. Emily noted that while the material provisions in terms of diet and shelter were reasonable for the British internees, there was another severe problem in terms of mental strain and anxiety, especially amongst the older men. The trip was remarkable especially in view of the fact that another English woman, nurse Edith Cavell, had been arrested and executed the previous year by German firing squad. Emily's visit brought her attention again in the English press to which she responded that she had visited Germany openly, in her own name, with a humanitarian pass 'in the interests of humanity, peace and truth'. Subsequently, a new regulation was invoked to prohibit any such future visit.

Emily went on to campaign, unsuccessfully, for the repatriation of all internees over the age of 45 and proposed that all those of military age should be moved to a neutral country. At the end of the war, there were severe food shortages in Britain due to the naval blockade by U Boats, while in Europe, especially in Germany, cases of acute malnutrition and even starvation were widespread. Emily set about raising funds for the Swiss Relief Fund for Starving Children and also the Russian Babies Fund. She was also a member of the Fight The Famine Council which campaigned for justice for people in Europe suffering the privations from post war blockades. From this grew the Save the Children organisation. Emily inspired many individuals and organisations to assist while Deutsche Bank mobilised further aid, helped by a group of American Quakers. In 1925, Emily was presented with a decoration

by the German Red Cross Society, and a marble bust was put on display in the Rathaus in Leipzig.

Emily's health continued to decline and she passed away in June 1926. Her funeral took place at St Mary's Church, Kensington, and her final wish was granted that her ashes be returned to South Africa where they were interred with public honours at the base of the Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein. The event was attended by a vast procession of dignitaries, school children, students and former soldiers. Her casket was carried by 6 girls to its final resting place where a flock of white doves were released as a sign of peace and goodwill. Jan Smuts gave an eloquent speech in her honour. Later, Gandhi was to remark that Emily was 'one of the noblest and bravest of women'. He urged Indian women to follow her example.

- 'The Angel of Love' by Frank H Beer, Charaton Books, Liskeard, ISBN 0-9543364-0-2, 2002.
- Plans were unveiled and permission granted in 2020 by Cornwall Council for a museum at the birthplace of Emily Hobhouse at St Ive, near Liskeard.

Bloemfontein Women's Memorial (sculptor – Jean Doyle, Cape Town)



By Carlviloria - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=28167158>

# Book Review

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## Pentecostalism - A Global Religious Phenomenon

**Beyond Belief: How Pentecostal Christianity is taking over the world** Elle Hardy Pub. Hurst £20. ISBN: 9781-1-78738-553-5

In the taxonomy of world religions, Christianity customarily had three branches: Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism. However, recent years have seen a fourth added: Pentecostalism. This charismatic form of Christian religion, focused on direct experience of the Holy Spirit in 'signs and wonders' – most notably 'speaking in tongues' ('spiritual language') – now accounts for 25% of world Christians – a four-fold increase since 1980. This extraordinary faith phenomenon is explored in depth with personal reportage by journalist Elle Hardy, who researched across twelve countries notably South Korea, USA, Nigeria and South Africa, meeting TV evangelists in 'megachurches', exotic faith healers in humble shacks, and even undercover missionaries.

'Pentecostal' is an umbrella term covering many churches and movements, often omitting the 'P' word from their titles (presumably some potential adherents might be put off). Their gatherings, lasting two to three hours, have common features: very emotional, even ecstatic, worship led by Gospel choirs; long, exhortatory sermons; spiritual healing sessions; much physicality, with hands raised and dance-style movement; spontaneous prayer. Donations are very important, for Pentecostals believe God rewards financially those who give generously to their church. (This 'Prosperity Gospel' is seen as heretical by other churches.) Offering a strong sense of community, hope and meaning, and promising wealth and success, the appeal is especially to the marginalised, dispossessed and immigrants.

For South Korea, Pentecostalism has been truly a transformative force. From 1950s, amid post-Korean War reconstruction, charismatic Presbyterian and other churches promoted fundamentalist evangelical Protestantism and a zealous patriotism. It proved a heady mix, engaging millions and helping drive the country's economic miracle. Dawn mass prayer meetings blossomed into Seoul's megachurches with global TV ministries. Yoido Full Gospel Church, packing 12,000 into each of its several Sunday services, and with 200,000 attendees and 800,000 members worldwide, makes claim as world's largest congregation. In South Korea, 100,000-strong megachurches are normal. Very remarkably, the second half of 20th-century saw it become one of Asia's most Christian nations. (Except for Australia and Philippines,

Pentecostal influence otherwise in Asia has been limited, though many thousands of Chinese are believed to worship in illegal charismatic churches.)

Africa's poverty, thin state welfare and deep belief in supernatural forces, has proved very fertile ground for the Pentecostal promise of miraculous healing, financial success and direct access to the Divine. Spirit-centred churches are supplanting ex-missionary Catholic and Protestant ones as dominant expression of African Christianity. Reinhard Bonnke's *Christ for All Nations* claims 79 million conversions across Africa. 40% of South Africans, over half of Zimbabwe's populace, 35% of Kenyans, and 25% of people in Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia, attend Pentecostal churches. Even if inflated, such figures testify a remarkable religious development. The ultra-busy Lagos-Ibadan Expressway is lined with megachurches; pioneer preacher Enoch Adeboye's huge Redeemer Christ Church of God packs 100,000 worshippers. Across Africa, Pentecostal faith healers blend traditional folk medicine with Spirit-focused prayer and music in often bizarre rituals, seeking to fill the gaps in state welfare - sometimes with apparently beneficial results.

The millions participating in Pentecostal Christianity presumably do so because they find it beneficial, but its darker side in some countries cannot be overlooked. Much Pentecostal energy is devoted to preparing the world for the Second Coming of Jesus, and can even involve violence. Guatemala in 1982-3 saw dictator Rios Montt, a convert to Pentecostal Gospel Outreach, murder 86,000 people – mostly indigenous Mayas – in deliberate 'spiritual warfare' for apocalyptic 'cleansing'. Notions of End-Time Christian Dominion are used to justify such outrages benefiting rich elites. In similar vein, 53% of white American Pentecostals deem President Trump 'anointed' by God, especially praising his moving the US Israel embassy to Jerusalem, bizarrely seeing this fulfil Revelation prophecy! Uncritical backing for Israel is a key tenet.

The author fascinatingly documents all this and much more, but has one surprising omission: Black-led Pentecostalism in Britain. A remarkable grassroots endeavour of recent decades, well-established with many churches noted for strong community engagement, vibrant Gospel choirs and joyful worship, it now leads inner-city Christian renewal in key urban areas. With this caveat, I strongly commend this most valuable contribution to understanding today's global religious scene.

Rev Brian Cooper, Inter-Faith Secretary, Uniting for Peace

## Eirwen Harbottle

Eirwen Harbottle, a Patron of the GF, has died about a year after celebrating her 100th birthday. Eirwen was a life-long promoter of peace and human rights. She was a founder of the World Disarmament Campaign and, with her husband Brigadier Michael Harbottle who established Generals for Peace during the Cold War, they travelled extensively in the cause of disarmament. It is particularly poignant at the present time as this organisation for a period brought together high ranking military men in Russia and in NATO countries to promote better relations between the two sides.

Later, Eirwen had the idea of a musical for young people to be played by young people called *Peace Child*. This was inspired by the book of that name by Bernard Benson, and with music by David Gordon a performance of *Peace Child* directed by David Woolcombe, Eirwen's son-in-law, was premiered in the Albert Hall to acclaim. It was then performed around the world.



Eirwen received the first Gandhi Foundation Peace Award, with Michael posthumously, in 1998. A fuller tribute to Eirwen appeared in *The Gandhi Way* No.148 Summer 2021 in celebration of her 100th birthday, written by another Patron of the Foundation, Diana Schumacher. This can be viewed on the Archives section of the GF website.

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## The Abbey Sutton Courtenay – Its Future

Many readers will be familiar with the Abbey which was used for the GF's Summer Gathering for many years. The Abbey is now in need of partners to sustain its future and **Scott Blum** describes the situation here.

The Abbey Sutton Courtenay was founded some 40 years ago by two visionary Christian priests, Bishop Stephen Verney and Fred Blum. They created a centre to provide opportunities for people to engage with a renewed vision of life in community based on deep spiritual practice and psychological insight.

The Abbey is a Grade I listed building with extensive grounds and a purpose-built guest house. It is possibly one of the oldest continuously occupied domestic buildings in England. It is situated in the village of Sutton Courtenay, about 5 miles south of Oxford.

The Abbey Sutton Courtenay is a registered charity. For many years the public benefit of The Abbey has been in providing a space for group and personal

retreat and an education programme, however, that vision has floundered in recent times.

A point has been reached in the growth of The Abbey where there is a need for an infusion of a new energy to take forward the vision of the charity, through renewal of contemplative life in the world. There is also the building itself and grounds and a question as to how this can best serve the charity and the broader community. We feel that new energy can best be found in developing a partnership with an organisation with greater resources in terms of youth and enthusiasm. It may be that a partner has a different outlook and purpose, it may be that The Abbey charity continues its work alongside a partner or altogether separately, all options are open for discussion with interested parties.

### **The Abbey Facilities**

The Abbey is presently used for conferences, seminars, retreats, individual retreats, for special hire and for receptions. It is set in its own expansive grounds, in the village centre. The Abbey's comfortable fully serviced facilities can be seen online.

The Great Hall can be used for intimate or larger scale events and accommodates up to 60 people. A smaller ground floor meeting room seats up to 12-15 people in comfortable sofas and armchairs, with a beamed ceiling, an open log-fire, and views over the labyrinth lawn. Yet another meeting room seats up to 12 people in large sofas and armchairs, on the first floor with a high ceiling and timber beams, an open log-fire, and views over the medieval courtyard.

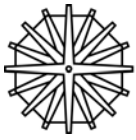
There is even a library seating up to 14 in soft armchairs and is also on the first floor, in the oldest part of the building, where the original magnificent stained-glass windows offer wonderful views over the grounds.

Accommodation is in comfortable bedrooms offering simplicity and warmth; 14 rooms are available, six twin-rooms and eight single-rooms, accommodating a maximum of 20 people across the Guest House and Main House.

### **Models for Partnership**

The present constellation of supporters of The Abbey project is now not strong enough to continue its work on its own and must renew its purpose and deliver a public benefit. A partnership with another organisation is sought to allow the development of The Abbey. The charity itself has a purpose associated with it being a centre for the renewal of contemplative life, but this could be carried out alongside other purposes, in association with them, or separately to them on the same site, or removed or indeed even disbanded if there is not the interest to continue with this purpose.

If your organisation is interested in discussing partnership options or indeed can suggest an alternative beneficial use for this fabulous building, please contact me directly [blumblooms@hotmail.com](mailto:blumblooms@hotmail.com) or the Chair of Trustees, Brad Strachan by email [brad.strachan2@gmail.com](mailto:brad.strachan2@gmail.com)



# The Gandhi Foundation

The Foundation exists to spread knowledge and understanding of the life and work of Mohandas K Gandhi (1869-1948). Our most important aim is to demonstrate the continuing relevance of his insights and actions for all of us.

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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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