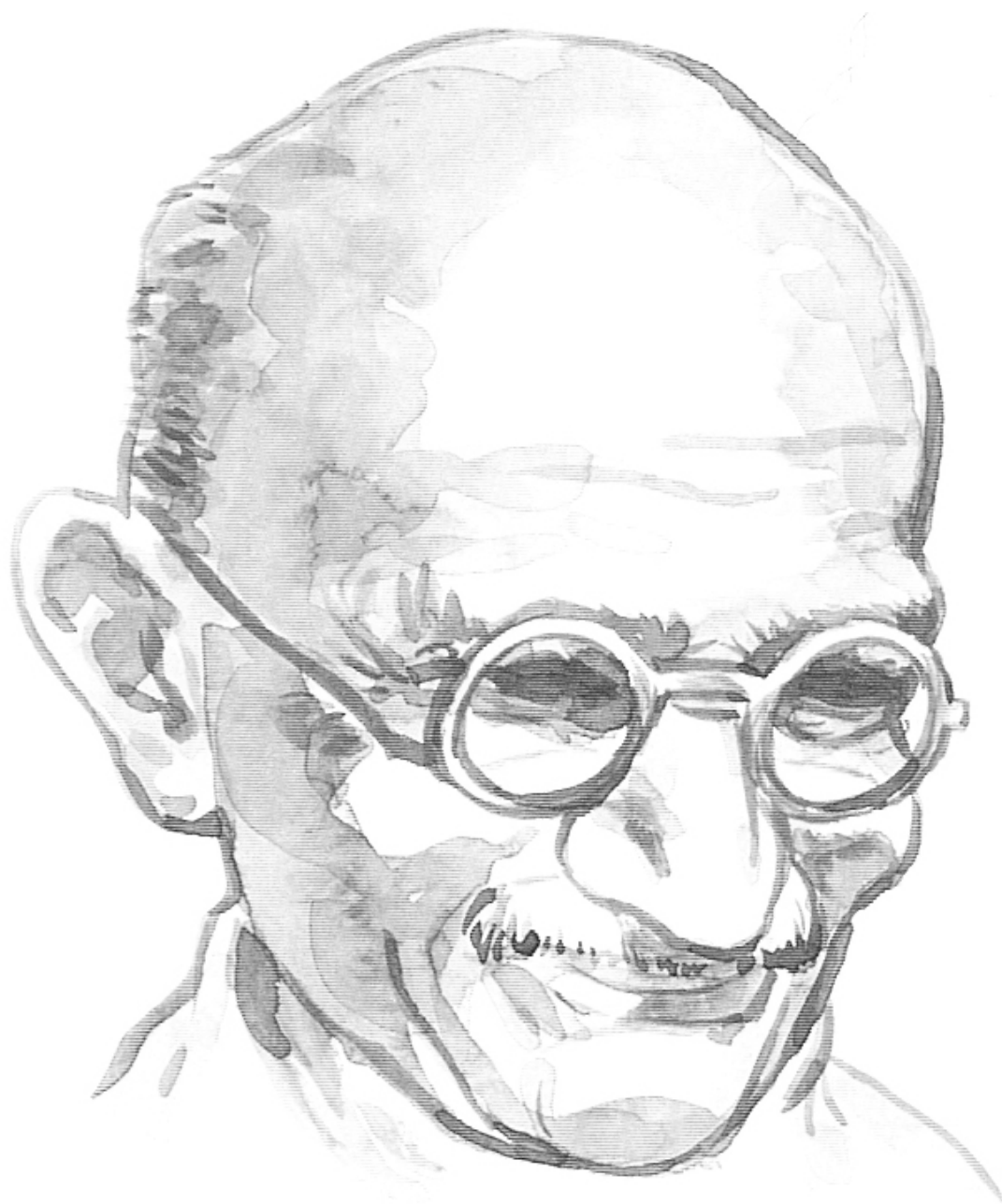


The Gandhi Way



Newsletter of the Gandhi Foundation
No.158 Winter 2023-4 ISSN 1462-9674

Gandhi Foundation Multifaith Celebration 2024

There is No Way to Peace - Peace is the Way

Saturday 3 February 2024 3pm-5pm

Golders Green Unitarian Church, 31 1/2 Hoop Lane, London NW11 8BS

There will be an opportunity to light a candle in remembrance.

Light Refreshments will be offered at the end. All welcome.

This event will also be transmitted on Zoom

[https://us02web.zoom.us/j/83123128983?
pwd=a0JlMlhBaGRmbVhvWjVmamJoSHRIUT09](https://us02web.zoom.us/j/83123128983?pwd=a0JlMlhBaGRmbVhvWjVmamJoSHRIUT09)

Meeting ID: 831 2312 8983

Passcode: 216313



An unusual photo composition by Jane Thomas
It is droplets of paint poured over an old compact disc and left to dry.

Contents

'Becoming Gandhi'	Paul Bazely
Raja Rammohan Roy ('Father of Modern India')	Jane Sill
Assassination of a Sikh leader in Canada (<i>Letter</i>)	Thomas Daffern

Becoming Gandhi

The Gandhi Foundation Annual Lecture 2023 by Paul Bazely

Dear Friends, thanks for doing me the honour of asking me to speak to you today. Whenever I'm asked to do something like this, something I've not done before, I always feel a stab of fear and my shadow-self tells me that I'm not qualified to do it. Whether its to be the trustee of a peace charity or play Gandhi or speak to a group of eminent people such as yourselves. But I also have a practice of trying to say yes, whenever the Universe presents me with an opportunity or challenge so here I am.

I have just finished playing Gandhi in the National Theatre's production of Anupama Chandrasekhar's wonderful play *The Father and the Assassin*. The play begins with Nathuram Godse (Gandhi's assassin) suggesting that if we hear his version of events, we will end up building temples in his honour. (Something that is actually happening in present day India.) In one way the play is an examination of what might turn someone into a premeditated murderer. But I also like to think of it as an anti-polarisation, anti-cancel culture play. It asks us to put aside our prejudices and to genuinely stand in this young man's shoes. In the way that Gandhi always asked us to. Then it suggests we make our own minds up.



Mark Hoda offering Paul Bazely a portrait by Shailendra

I've been asked to talk a little about what brought me to the place of playing Gandhi, how I prepared, how I used the practice of spinning to deepen my performance and what I learned from this process.

A little bit about me. My parents are both from Chennai and moved to England in the early 60s I was born in 1968 in South London and grew up in a very humble, unartsey family setting. There were no books in my house, but a lot of delicious Indian food and a family that spoke of this magical place that I had never visited. The India of the 50s and 60s that they described seemed to be colourful, vibrant and alive in a way that the dull England of the 70s was not. Actually I think my parents and aunties and uncles were just mourning their youth and bemoaning middle age, but that passed me by as a child. I was a timid boy who was not sporty and suffered from a malaise that many second generation immigrants felt. I felt that I didn't quite belong and was not welcome in the only country that I had ever called home. And that this difference was very easily spotted because of the colour of my skin. I also felt an unsettling fear of lots of things. The dark, death, bullies at school, the disapproval of authority figures.

One of the seminal experiences of my childhood was of our family going to the Odeon in Croydon to see the Richard Attenborough film, *Gandhi*. I was 14. It was unusual for a number of reasons. Firstly I was taken with my Mum AND Dad. My Dad never went to see films. Secondly we were at the cinema on a weekday evening and there were only adults in the audience. Thirdly there was a lot of other Indian people in the audience, beautiful saris and turbans etc. Finally the subject matter indelibly marked me. Ben Kingsley's beautiful performance captured a small frail man who wielded a power that was not violence, but that could ultimately overcome it. To a child brought up on Star Wars and Tom and Jerry this was absolutely revolutionary. I felt changed but had no idea what to do with the information I'd received. I was still scared of the boys at school, I didn't know that Gandhi's teaching and methods could be learned and applied to my own life.

I sought sanctuary in drama. Here was a relatively safe world where I felt I was seen for the first time without being at risk from that visibility. I soon realised that people also seemed to like what I was doing. I could make people laugh or move them. It was addictive. Being from an immigrant family I had no conception that one could make a living from this kind of activity. My Dad was very keen for me to go into computing. And so was I really. But at sixth form my rebellious streak finally started to match some bravery in me and I decided to go to drama school. From there an acting career developed. I've had some very lean times but I've also been lucky enough to work at the very highest levels with some of the most talented people in the world. My wife (who is a script writer) and I have also managed to pay the bills and bring up two children.

But I was always missing something. My parents are Christian and my Dad loved to sing in the choir so I was often at church as a kid. I loved the idea of Jesus but couldn't make sense of the fact that, according to the Church, my

non-Christian friends would not be allowed into heaven. I just didn't buy it, so left it at the age of 18. After a few years of hedonism and acting-as-religion (I wouldn't recommend it) I rediscovered the spiritual world. I had always been drawn to environmentalism and finally found a review of a book called *Your Life is your Message* in Satish Kumar's *Resurgence* magazine. It was a book by the meditation teacher Eknath Easwaran about Gandhi's life and message. I was hooked. I began to meditate straight away and started my journey to learn more about Gandhi, his life and his philosophy. Easwaran had also written what is to me the most important book I've read about Gandhi. It's called *Gandhi the Man* and is an examination of how Gandhi transformed himself from a timid child and average lawyer, into the man who overcame an Empire without firing a shot. His spiritual journey rather than his political one.

Western culture likes to keep Gandhi in the box of politician, brilliant strategist etc. It absolutely does not like to consider the spiritual source from which his strength and inspiration came. But to me all the greatest leaders of the last century are people who are essentially powered by spirit. Desmond Tutu, Martin Luther King, the Dalai Lama, etc. I met one of Easwaran's students, a professor called Michael Nagler who taught a course on Gandhian nonviolence at Berkeley University and now runs the Metta Center for Nonviolence. I took his lecture course remotely and so began to learn an awful lot more about Gandhian philosophy, particularly the two branches of Constructive and Obstructive program. I also started to voice some of Easwaran's books as audio books (Easwaran had left instructions that his books should only be voiced by a long term meditator). I voiced the book *Gandhi the Man* and his meditation book, *Passage Meditation*. But I also voiced his biography of one of Gandhi's great followers Abdul Gaffar Khan or Badshah Khan who led the Pathans and set up the first ever nonviolent army – the Kudhai Kidmatgars. And I also voiced Easwaran's translations and guide to The Bhagavad Gita, The Upanishads and the Dhammapada of the Buddha. I started to understand the Vedanta, the philosophical underpinning of Gandhi's world view.

I wanted to *practice* Nonviolence. So I took a course on Nonviolent Communication or NVC developed by Marshall Rosenberg. It was completely transformative. For the first time I started to feel that I might be able to personally meet the challenge of conflict and even violence in my own life, without resorting to violence myself. My wife and I started to attend a Quaker Meeting where I was eventually asked to sit on a committee that allocated resources to grassroots peacebuilding initiatives led by local people in countries in East Africa. Through my NVC I was also asked to be a board member of a small peace building charity called OpenEdge Transforming Conflict.

I never thought I would *play* Gandhi. I was then too young and am still too tall. But time passes and when the director of *The Father and the Assassin*, Indhu Rubasingam, asked me to play him at the National Theatre last year, I realised that maybe I had spent decades preparing for the role without ever knowing it. It was a daunting prospect but I knew that I had to do it. Still, I warned the director that if she cast me I would be a constant thorn in her side. Gandhi was bigger than us or any play, so we had to be sure that every single word he spoke was in keeping with our best understanding of Gandhi and his philosophy. I was lucky that Anupama is a very generous playwright. She was open to collaboration during rehearsals and I was constantly approaching their desk with a copy of Gandhi the Man in my hands, in order to suggest a change or a cut or a more spiritual version of the same words. Indhu was more interested in the political side of him so we had many lively discussions, but in the end we managed to meet in the middle. One exchange that summed up our discussions was the day that Indhu suggested that the scene in which we are preparing for the Salt March was too long. She suggested we cut the line “our Cause is just, our means are strong and God is with us” as they didn’t really add anything to the plot. I countered that they were the most important lines in the whole play and that she could cut anything else but that! The rest of the cast grew accustomed to having to sit around while we thrashed it out.

So how did I prepare before rehearsals began? I knew that an impersonation was not going to be enough or satisfying for the audience. I needed to portray something of the essence of Gandhi as a human being, not an icon. What is a saint anyway? The West is uncomfortable with them, they either want to pull them down or keep them safely on the shelf as a myth. Or there is the devotee’s view that a saint is perfect and cannot be portrayed in any other way. But if someone is perfect then how can we hope to empathise with them or more importantly emulate them in any way? A favourite technique of cancel culture is also to smear a figure from history so that we no longer have to consider their views or teachings. (I’m afraid that the modern Left is probably more guilty of this than people on the Right these days). But if this is the case then we have to discard most of the knowledge of history. For instance Einstein was in an abusive relationship with his first wife, does this mean we have to discard his theories of Relativity?

One of the interesting things about Gandhi is that I discovered that you can mention him to literally ANYONE and they know who he is. They might know nothing else about his life and message but they can see a picture in their minds of the little man in the loin cloth who talked about peace. Is that because his image is so memorable and easy to copy? Or is it because of something deep in his message and the revolutionary nature of his life and achievements? Maybe a bit of both. So how to find a human being behind that image?

I started by avoiding any portrayals of him or commentaries on him. I wanted to return to the source. I read *My Experiments with Truth* and read and reread *Hind Swaraj*. I couldn't believe how prescient and modern *Hind Swaraj* felt. I found in it a man who I believe was literally a hundred years ahead of his time but whose source document and inspiration was the ancient Bhagavad Gita. His story of the world seemed diametrically opposed to the modern Western one.

The philosopher Charles Eisenstein talks of the fact that we are occupying a space between stories as a culture. The still dominant story of the West that has spread through the ruling classes of the world, but is now hollowed out and teetering, is the Story of Separation. It is the story of Empires and our attempt to dominate nature and each other through history. In this materialist view you and I are forever separate and what is good for you may not be good for me and vice versa. In this world view it is inevitable that I should try to maximise my good at your expense. It is a world where the only kind of force is physical and the more of it you have, the more powerful you are.

Eisenstein then identifies a New and Ancient Story that is springing up all over the world. It is, as Thich Nhat Han calls it the Story of Interbeing. You and I and all beings are essentially one. Different expressions of the same underlying consciousness. What harms you must eventually harm me and what is good for you must eventually be good for me. In this world view there are other powers in the Universe than plain physical force. This is the world view of Ahimsa, that Gandhi brought back into the modern world. Nonviolence. In English it sounds like a negative of something. But in Sanskrit the word has a wholly positive implication, more like the English words Flawless or Priceless. The Upanishads say that Ahimsa is the highest Dharma of the Universe. Gandhi discovered this and set about applying it to the modern world. It is a worldview where as BR Nanda said, "you can lose every battle but still win the war". **For Gandhi, there was no distinction between the moral choice and the most effective or practical choice.**

So here was his philosophy, but what was he like physically. Who did that make him as an embodied individual?

I found the wonderful documentary *Mahatma*, produced by The Gandhi National Memorial Fund in cooperation with the Films Division of the Government of India in the year I was born 1968. It's five hours long but absolutely absorbing. It contains virtually all the footage we have of Gandhi. Of course most of the footage is silent but what you see is someone who is always laughing. Always reaching out physically to friends and opponents alike. And someone who seems to be able to make those around him laugh whether it was Nehru or Jinnah or the Viceroy. I discovered a direct quote of

his that says “If I did not have a sense of humour I would have killed myself long ago”. This image of the laughing sage very strongly brought to mind my images of the Dalai Lama and Desmond Tutu. I found a wonderful documentary about them called *Joy*. The South African Government would not grant the Dalai Lama a visa to visit his old friend, so Desmond Tutu went to spend some time with the Dalai Lama in India. I think it was the last time they were together in their physical bodies. The documentary shows two people who never stop laughing but who can in the next breath be talking about deep spiritual truths and how they apply to the modern world. How much more fun they seem than the clever Western materialists who dominate our modern culture. Would you rather be stuck on a desert island with Desmond Tutu or Richard Dawkins? There is a beautiful moment when the Dalai Lama is asked what Tutu means to him. He quietly says that when he is on his deathbed he will think of Tutu. Tutu is clearly overcome and just holds his hand. The next minute they are laughing together again.

So their voices and physicality and especially their laughter were what I wanted to bring to an embodiment of Gandhi.

Of course on stage we have less of the real world to work with than on film. We are not in the heat of India in a real village. But one of the main physical things we do have is costume. When you move from the rehearsal room to the dress rehearsal onstage, to step into costume can have a visceral effect on you. We were lucky enough that the designer Rajha Shakiry had insisted that we use Khadi for our costumes. Khadi is the traditional handspun cloth that Gandhi championed. She teamed up with Khadi London who supplied us with all the Khadi we needed. Suddenly I was on stage wearing a short dhoti and shawl made from beautiful Khadi. The effect was dramatic. I realised that Gandhi gained a great deal of power from wearing very little. When he visited Buckingham palace in his shawl and Dhoti, Churchill was enraged. When he was asked about it, Gandhi said, “The king was wearing enough clothes for both of us”. Humour without any malice behind it.

It was the same as when Gandhi stood in front of a crowd of Pathans in the Border region all with Rifles slung over their shoulders. He asked them “What are you afraid of that you have to carry guns? I fear nothing”. They all threw their guns to the ground.

Even onstage to wear so little seemed to be a challenge to my own sense of self and definitely had an effect on the actors around me. The genius of Gandhi was that he would enact his principles physically. By deciding to only wear two items of clothing, to insist that everyone spend time creating their own cloth, to be vegetarian. Whatever the action, it spoke greater volumes than any preaching could. And coupled with his words it could move mountains. Anupama’s grandmother saw him speak at a park as a little girl. And to this day she only owns four saris.

And so this brings us to spinning. It was a surprise to me when I was told that a Khadi expert was being brought in to teach me spinning. I didn't realise I was doing it in the play and also didn't know that our antique spinning wheel prop even worked. When Asha Buch arrived I immediately felt that effect of someone who has been living their principles for decades. She quietly and calmly taught me to spin. Those of you who spin know that it takes less than half an hour to learn, but probably years to master. She showed me how simple the machine was to maintain and how even a child could do it. And yet the technology is beautiful, elegant and clever. Gandhi took an ancient, village grown, technology that anyone could do, and realised that with it he could challenge the terrible injustice of the British Empire, where Indians produced the cotton but then had to sell it to British traders to pay their taxes and then pay again to buy back the cloth once it had been made into clothes in British industrial mills. His Obstructive program was to make the British Empire less and less profitable. His Constructive program was to have everyone from the Prime Minister to the sweeper spinning their own cloth. It encompasses localisation, decentralisation, and common people owning the means of production of essentials and thus freeing them from unjust power structures.

More than this it reconnected people to the soil, to a sense of place. For centuries Western Culture has been moving in the direction of devaluing the soil, the land, people who work with their hands. The most highly valued members of our society are those who work with the pen or the laptop. The class that found Lockdown so pleasant because they could sit in their nice gardens tapping away on their laptops and getting their food and other necessities delivered to them by the working classes for whom lockdown was a luxury they could not afford.

The person who actually grows food or carves wood or spins cloth has become a looked-down-upon addendum to 'real' society. And yet Gandhi argued that if you are dependent on someone else for your food or clothing or shelter, then you are actually the lower class person. I'm not a very handy person. I have grown food for myself and I like to have my hands in the soil but I have never really made anything myself. I soon realised the power of spinning. I knew it intellectually, I had done my online courses in constructive program after all. But to sit with a handful of cotton fibres and watch them become thread in front of your eyes with just the help of a simple Charka, was a lesson that you cannot learn on a laptop. The same as planting a tiny tomato seed in the spring and having handfuls of tomatoes in September.

I also realised that spinning was tricky and addictive. I needed to practice if I was to do it on stage so I started spinning every day in rehearsals whenever I wasn't needed. The company would laugh at Gandhi spinning in the corner, but they all came one by one over the weeks to marvel at this thread appearing out of nowhere.

We have become so dislocated from the land, from a sense of belonging, from a sense of empowerment. We are so impoverished by this. It also marks the insanity of our culture. We grow apples in Kent and then ship them to China to be polished, then ship them back again (this is literally true), we are destroying our habitats our fellow species and our own happiness. It doesn't make sense. But of course it does make sense because every skill that we lose, is more money in the pockets of big business people who, like the Empire before them, deskill us so that they can sell us back the things we used to be able to make for ourselves. Now even our childcare and entertainment are sold back to us to give us more time to work for money to pay back the debts that we have all accrued in order to keep the system growing.

Spinning cloth was Gandhi's symbolic and actual rejection of this system. So I was spinning, I was wearing Khadi I was visualising the laughter and body language of Tutu and the Dalai Llama. We had settled on the right words. It was very important, for instance that we had a definition of Ahimsa that was not just 'not being physically violent'. Peace is not just a state of permanent cease fire. We settled on the term "a complete lack of ill will" for if you bear no other person or creature ill will, if their welfare is genuinely important to you, then all else will follow.

Finally I would ask Gandhi to join me every evening. I firmly believe in the Greek concept of the Muses. We as artists are not making these things as Western materialism would have you believe. We are not just regurgitating ideas from our past experiences like a clever AI. I believe that all art is a channelling of creative powers that lie outside ourselves. The singer, the sculptor, the actor, the writer. On stage I am a channel for Anupama who is a channel for Gandhi who is a channel for Krishna. To the extent that we can lose ourselves we can then let in those creative powers that can then flow through us. So every night in the wings I would invite Bapu to walk with me and keep me grounded. Sometimes I would see my own shadow on the floor with my bald head and the walking stick in my hand and physically feel him there with me.

I try to do that with any character fictional or real. To invite them in. To meet them. In this case it was a blessing and a privilege to walk some distance with him.

From audience feedback I can report that some of them felt that presence too. The play certainly brought Gandhi to the attention of a lot of people, particularly young people who really knew nothing of him. And I know from my own 14 year-old self, that once he's in your head, all sorts of wonderful things can happen.

So what can we learn from Gandhi and apply to today? What have I learnt from this process?

Gandhi envisaged an India organised around Village Democracy, not a system where the great and the good decide what's best for the little people – a trait of both capitalism and socialism. Gandhi trusted the people. Is this unrealistic? Nehru, Patel and Jinnah certainly thought so and took India and Pakistan in the opposite direction. And I do believe that had Gandhi lived he would have possibly ended up back in prison. His great lieutenant Badshah Khan spent more time in prison under the Pakistan Government than he did under the British. To be fair he did live till he was 98 and never stopped attempting beautiful mischief.

So his idea of Village Democracy may seem unrealistic, But Barcelona in the 30s made a go of it. And today the Kurds have taken advantage of the chaos of the Syrian civil war and have formed a small state called Rojava, where village democracy is the organisational heart. Interestingly both these experiments have naturally placed women at the centre of decision making. David Graeber and David Wengrow have shown us in their excellent new book, *The Dawn of Everything*, that contrary to popular belief, humans have constantly experimented with incredibly exotic (to our eyes) ways of organising ourselves. There is nothing inevitable about our current, top-down system.

Tyson Yunkaporta tells us in his book *Sandtalk*, of the completely different world view of the Aboriginal people of Australia. A world view where people belong to the land and act accordingly. Again the opposite of what we do. What Gandhi did is show us that even in our complex modern world, these ideas can be reintroduced. Just because something hasn't existed, doesn't mean that it cannot be dreamt into being. This is the beauty of the human species. We can imagine something and work together to make it happen.

Now I'm not expecting our so-called leaders to lock the doors of the Houses of Parliament, declare the nation-state a failed experiment and hand power back to the people any time soon (although anything is POSSIBLE). We need to oppose their excesses with Obstructive Program. But let's also talk about Constructive Program. One of Gandhi's gigantic contributions was to realise that if we only oppose, we have nothing to put in the corrupt system's place. Think of the Arab Spring.

Khadi was the cornerstone of his constructive program. Could we introduce spinning into every household in Britain or even in Middle Class India? It's possible. But at the heart of the philosophy of Khadi is a return. A return to the land, a return to localism and non-hierarchical organisation. A return to a sense of belonging to place. I believe that farming might be a major part of the Constructive Program that we need. We have become disconnected from our food and clothes to a degree that Gandhi could not have imagined. Look at the work of modern Gandhians like Vandana Shiva and Satish Kumar.

We all need to start to grow food. Its something that everyone, young and old, can do. It is symbolic but it also can be eaten. Home grown food tastes great and empowers. Whether you have a garden with chickens or a pot of basil on the windowsill of your flat.

I volunteer on a Regenerative farm in Sussex. Lovebrook Farm. A lot of people come just for their mental health. Why does it make you feel so good? It's something that Western culture completely discounts. *Regenerative* farming also sequesters mind boggling amounts of carbon in the soil, it holds water in the land, it employs people in creative land work rather than the back breaking menial labour of agribusiness. And of course regenerative agriculture means the growing and local production of the clothes that we wear. Khadi London's skills will come to the fore after all.

Our culture has trapped us in the notion that to save the world we have to GIVE UP something, we have to stop being such greedy mean evil people. We need to wear hair shirts and live in poverty without all our pretty toys. Isn't that what Gandhi had to do?

The message of Gandhi is that all our pretty toys, our cars and phones and TVs, are masking a deep hunger *that they can never satisfy*. The things that we have lost are the things that materialism can never meet. We've lost connection to the rest of Nature, the more-than-human world, and this isn't just spiritual. Studies have shown that our gut microbiome is a shadow of a hunter gatherer in the Amazon for instance. Chronic illness has increased exponentially since the 50s. How many people do you know are on some kind of anti-depressant?

The root of the Sanskrit word Maya is 'that which can be measured'. Western culture only values what can be measured. In fact it doesn't believe that anything else even *exists*. But what do humans really value? Companionship, joy, music, laughter, love. All unmeasurable, all priceless.

Our new Constructive Program needs to show people that they don't need to give up anything. Its a win-win scenario. The drug addict doesn't lose anything when he gives up the drugs that are killing him. Instead he gains real community and meaning.

In the modern world, people are having to go to greater and greater lengths to have any sense of adventure or meaning. Free climbing perilous mountain slopes, rowing solo across the Atlantic, developing Virtual Reality that will make you feel like "you are actually there". Could we find that meaning and sense of adventure, in our own homes and communities? Remember the joy of Gandhi. when asked why he never took a vacation he said "I am always on vacation."

We look at the world this week and we may be tempted to say that Gandhi failed. The violence, the suffering, the terrible polarisation. But of course these stories are only part of the human experience. The part that the media loves to show us to keep us helpless and afraid.

To quote Gandhi:

“History (and the news), is a record of an *interruption* of the course of nature. Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.”

All the millions of people this very moment, loving their families, overcoming difficult conflicts peacefully, caring for a dying loved one with no external reward or even recognition. The daily acts of heroism without which we would have gone extinct millennia ago.

To quote Gandhi again:

“As a Satyagrahi I hold to the faith that all activity pursued with a pure heart is bound to bear fruit, whether or not such fruit is visible to us.”

And of course the fruit is all around us even if we can't see it immediately. There are the large figures who were inspired by him. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela etc. But there are also the smaller, less easily seen figures. The students of the Nonviolent Revolution of Serbia that brought down Milosovic, the People Powered protests of Philippines that translate Satyagraha as “Offering Dignity”. One of the best definitions I have seen. The protests of Occupy Wall Street or XR, in fact pretty much every activist organisation these days has Nonviolence as a central tenet. That was unthinkable before Gandhi. And what about the countless tiny Constructive Program movements all around the world who may have been inspired by him or one of his followers?

His work has spread in a million different directions like a wave of tiny ants. There are too many of us for the authorities to stamp on, no matter how much they extend the powers of control. And as an army of ants can bring down an elephant, our nonviolent army is unstoppable. I think Gandhi would say that we have already won. The powers that be just don't know it yet. And maybe we don't quite believe it yet too. And of course there will be only winners in this revolution. The Corporate CEO and the secret policeman will have the joy of turning in their toxic riches and weapons, to discover the community and belonging that *we* already know is possible.

So as we look around us let us use our knowledge of Gandhi.

Local action, community empowerment and education, producing at least some of the things we need ourselves.

We can't all work on the scale of Gandhi. The real question that we need to ask ourselves is: What is *mine* to do?

For instance, I sometimes think that I should give up acting to work on my friend's farm full time, or to retrain to work full time for OpenEdge as a peace worker. And maybe one or both of those things are in store for me. But at the moment I seem to also be called to be a story teller. And a father and child to my elderly parents. And to play Gandhi will very possibly be the highlight of my storytelling career.

As the Gita says: Do the work that is before you, leave the results to God.

I will leave you with one last quote from the Mahatma:

“The cause is great, the remedy is equally great; let us prove worthy of them both.”



Paul Bazely with Asha Buch, Jo Salter of Khadi London



Ashna Patel showing GF President Bhikhu Parekh part of the exhibition



Jo Salter, Kishore Shah, Omar Hayat, Asha Buch

Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833)

Jane Sill

“... No sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer or hymn [should] be delivered or used in worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the universe, to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds ...”

These words form part of the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj which was co-founded by this pioneering, influential, highly educated and rational figure who foreshadowed the universalist ideals of Rabindranath Tagore whose forebears were close associates of Rammohan Roy and who may be seen as the precursor of the liberal democracy created by Indian Independence whose values may be seen in danger of being eroded today.

Rammohan Roy was born into a wealthy, high caste Hindu *zamindari* or landowning family in West Bengal. Tutoed in sciences and arts, he became proficient in many languages, including Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali, as well as English, Greek, Hebrew and Latin. This enabled him to be able to read widely and to appreciate his own cultural and religious heritage as on an equal par to that of the latest arrivals to the subcontinent: the British and, more specifically, the East India Company. This was a cusp in Indian history, and Rammohan found himself at the meeting point of two cultures which allowed him a greater degree of critical insight into both. This led to an independence and originality of thought. While translating many of



the ancient scriptures into English, and in the early days enjoying a more equal exchange with his European counterparts, Roy criticised the very system of *zamindar* which gave him the wherewithal to have the time and resources to pursue his investigations. This system had been introduced by the Mughals replacing what he considered to be a far more equitable Hindu system of *panchayat*, a jury of 5 elders and *ryotwari*, landowner farmers, who organised the collection of revenues. In his view, the Mughal system was only to be made worse by the English.

As Bruce Carlisle Robertson, editor of a fine selection of his writings and speeches, states: “Raja Rammohan Roy categorically rejected the European presumption of world supremacy in religion, learning and civilisation as narrow cultural parochialism, though he acknowledged the advancement of European technology”. At the same time, Rammohan was careful not to claim superiority of the ancient Vedic system over other traditions. In fact he voiced strong criticism of certain practices, eg of sacrificial offerings as a form of worship and especially the inhuman practice of *sati* or widow immolation which he said was a total misrepresentation of the scriptures and which led to inhumane cruelty and suffering. While not criticising the widow of the deceased to choose self immolation voluntarily, he was outright in his condemnation of enforced immolation which was the common practice at that time. Interestingly, the practice was most widespread in those states, including Bengal, where land rights were more equally divided among women and men, as opposed to those states where inheritance of property passed solely through the male line. This opposition brought Rammohan in conflict with those sections of traditional society who supported *sati*.

While in the early days, there seemed to be a greater degree of dialogue between the Crown and the existing local rulers, the rise in power of the East India Company and annexation of lands rather than association as trading partners, brought a very different relationship which Rammohan was to criticise strongly in many of his speeches and writings. Rammohan had hoped that a mutually fruitful interchange, in terms of adopting more enlightened, rational views, including the banning of *sati* and blind adherence to superstition, would allow a modernisation and improvement of the life for many. A bill banning *sati* was put forward but a lobby backed by traditionalists opposed it. With the aim of pursuing a counter-petition to the House of Commons, and with his life under threat, Roy set sail for London in November 1830, stopping off briefly in Cape Town en route, before arriving in Liverpool in April 1831. There he attended the Unitarian Chapel, his first public appearance in the UK before taking up residence in Regent Street, London.

In April, Rammohan wrote to C W Wynn to see whether he may be eligible to stand for Parliament, and in June called on the Marquis of Lansdowne to present a counter petition against the pro-*sati* petition to the House of Lords. His time in London was a busy one, meeting with influential figures, giving addresses and attending dinners in his honour, including one organised by the East Indian Company. Moving to a residence in Regents Park, he attended a Royal Asiatic Society meeting in July, and attended the coronation of William IV in September, being seated amongst the ambassadors in Westminster Abbey. He was later presented to the King and took an active part in the cultural life of the city, sitting in the Duke of Devonshire’s private box during a performance of a play featuring the acclaimed Shakespearian actress, Fanny

Kemble. Rammohan was also presented as an ambassador to King Louis-Philippe in Paris on more than one occasion. During this time, Rammohan was also very active with his writing, translating a number of the Vedas into English, as well as publishing a text examining the 'Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems in India' in 1832, 'Responses to Queries on the Salt Monopoly' in March of the same year, a precursor to Gandhi Ji's famous highlighting of the infamous Salt Tax, and a text exploring 'The Settlement of India by Europeans' published in July. Characteristically, Rammohan's arguments in each case are always measured, offering a balanced view, refusing to be drawn into simple generalities.

In answer to a question raised as to the physical condition of the Indian peasantry in Rammohan's reply was that 'India is so extensive a country that no general statement on this subject will apply correctly to the people of the various parts of it. Concerning the 'moral condition of the people', his response was that opinions were divided amongst visitors from Europe: 'Those Europeans who, on their arrival in the country, happened to meet with persons whose conduct afforded them satisfaction, felt pre-possessed in favour of the whole Native population, and respected them accordingly; others ... who happened to meet with ill-treatment and misfortunes, occasioned by the misconduct and opposition, social or religious, of the persons with whom they chanced to have dealings or communication, represented the whole Indian race in a corresponding light; while some, even without being in the country at all, or seeing or conversing with any Natives of India, have formed an opinion of them at second hand founded on theory and conjecture.' Sound familiar! Tellingly, Rammohan goes on to include a 'fourth class of persons, few indeed in number, who though they seem unprejudiced, yet have differed widely from each other, in many of their inferences from facts, equally within the sphere of their observation, as generally happens with respect to matters not capable of rigid demonstration'. Rammohan therefore 'feels great reluctance in offering an opinion'. However, he feels impelled to state his 'impression from a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants from various parts of the country, and in every condition of life ... that the peasants and villagers who reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country'. The more remote the area, the 'greater the honesty, simplicity and independence of character ... resting chiefly on their primitive simplicity and a strong religious feeling which leads them to expect reward or punishment for their good or bad conduct, not only in the next world but, like the ancient Jews, also in this'. This contrasts with those in the cities or urban areas who have close involvement with courts of law, zamindars, 'foreigners and others in a different state of civilisation'. Rammohan goes on to say that class is not necessarily the deciding factor. 'I have met a great number in the second class engaged in a respectable line of trade who were men of real merit, worth and character ... Even among the

third class I have known many who had every disposition to act uprightly and some actually honest in their conduct’.

In remarks concerning the ‘Settlement in India by Europeans’, Rammohan again offers a balanced view stating that certain scientific knowledge, eg in agriculture might well be advantageous, also the awareness of ‘rights belonging to the subjects of a liberal Government and the proper mode of administering justice’, introducing ‘improvements in the laws and judicial system’, so too the greater connectivity with Europe in terms of trade, education and cultural exchange. However, such advantages would only be felt if they took place in an atmosphere of genuine exchange and sharing. As he observed, ‘European settlers may be apt to assume an ascendancy over the aboriginal inhabitants, and aim at enjoying exclusive rights and privileges, to the depression of the larger, but less favoured class ... and, being also of another religion, may be disposed to wound the feelings of the natives, and subject them to humiliations on account of their being of a different creed, colour and habits’. This was most likely to happen amongst the lower echelons of settlers, and so Rammohan suggests that in the first instance those who ‘were of the higher and better educated classes, less disposed to annoy and insult the natives’ should be invited to settle for the first 20 years. He advocated the introduction of ‘equal laws, placing all classes on the same footing as to civil rights, and the establishment of trial by jury (the jury being composed impartially of both classes)’ which ‘would be felt as a strong check on any turbulent or overbearing characters amongst Europeans’. Other disadvantages were also clearly delineated with possible remedies. This outline was written in London in 1832. Rammohan had started his campaigning much earlier. In 1823, he had co-signed, along with members of the Tagore family and Hurchunder Ghose, a petition to Sir Francis Magnaghten, Acting Judge of the Supreme Court in Bengal, speaking for the continuation of a free press by ‘Native Authors and Editors’ enabling a free discussion to take place. The letter warned against the maxim adopted by Asiatic Princes, that ‘the more a people are kept in darkness, their Rulers will derive the greater advantages from them’. This was pointed out to be short-sighted and counter productive, for ‘we find that often an ignorant people when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their Rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequences, whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good Government from which they experience just and liberal treatment, must become more attached to it’.

The Bill outlawing *Sati* was passed. Sadly, the wise advice concerning a just rule in India was not. Rammohan remained in India for a further year, passing away after a short illness in Bristol where his body was interred in the grounds of Beechwood House where he died, to be re-interred by his friend, Dwarkanath Tagore, on 14th October 1843 in a cenotaph which he sponsored

in Arno's Vale cemetery. The statue which is pictured above, was erected on College Green, between the Council House and the Central Library, and was inaugurated by the then Indian Ambassador, Dr L M Singhvi, to mark the 50th anniversary of Indian Independence in 1997.

• *The Essential Writings of Raja Rammohan Roy*, edited by Bruce Carlisle Robertson, Oxford University Press, 1999, ISBN 0-19-564731-9.

• A descendant of Raja Rammohan Roy, Swami Shivapremananda who followed his ancestor's great love for and interest in Vedanta, the search for truth, while being thoroughly modern and outspoken, was a frequent visitor to the UK and Europe. His writings, including articles originally published in *Yoga & Health* magazine, appear in book, *Insight into Yoga*, which can be downloaded for free from <https://swamishivapremananda.com/>. The website, created by Centro Yoga Vedanta del Argentina which Swami Ji directed for many years, also contains writings in Spanish.

~~~~~

## Employee Ownership Businesses

Research unveiled in the UK parliament on 18 October reveals employee and worker owned businesses are 8-12% more productive, are more profitable and more beneficial for employees, communities and the planet than non-Employee Ownership peers.

The study report links the productivity uplift to various factors, including that EOBs:

- Return twice as much in bonuses and dividends to employees
- Were five times less likely to make people redundant in the last three years
- Tend to pay higher minimum annual wage by roughly £2,900 and are over twice as likely to hold accreditation for fair pay
- Provide more supported access to private healthcare, mental health resources and flexible working
- Invest on average 12% per annum (£38,000) more in on-the-job training and skills

*Graeme Nuttall, of law firm Fieldfisher, contributed to the report. Graeme delivered the GF Annual Lecture in 2020.*

*Employee ownership can be regarded as a form of Gandhi's concept of Trusteeship.*

~~~~~


Kingsley Hall Welcomes School Visit From Pinner

A group of 30 lively and very well informed 10 and 11 year olds from a primary school in Pinner spent a productive morning at Kingsley Hall in early October, coinciding fortuitously with the Week of Prayer for World Peace and a few days after Gandhi Ji's birth anniversary. The visit was jointly organised by Peace Education in Action and World Peace Flame Foundation who have created 'World Peace Pathways' in many locations around the world, including in the grounds of Kingsley Hall. The Gandhi Foundation were invited to speak to the children about Gandhi.

The morning began with a very interesting talk about Kingsley Hall and its founder, Muriel Lester, with a Q&A session at the end. The children were then divided into 3 groups, each taking turns to visit the small room where Gandhi Ji stayed while attending the Round Table Conference. The children were thrilled to see the actual spinning wheel which he used and had many questions to ask. They also enjoyed hearing how Gandhi would welcome crowds of local children who would accompany him on his early morning walks, and wondered where he kept his goat! During this time, the other groups created some beautiful cards with messages for their families and also took part in a short guided meditation.

After a welcome lunch break, the group met outside and formed a circle around the World Peace Pathway, each holding a LED candle which they were invited to place on the map of the world where they felt most help was needed to find a peaceful solution to conflict.

Jane Sill



Assassination of a Sikh leader in Canada

The following letter concerns the killing of Hardeep Singh Nijjar, a Sikh human rights activist and Canadian citizen on 18 June 2023 in British Columbia.

Dear Sam Pitroda[1] and assorted Indian friends[2],

Since I am a dual Canadian and British citizen, I would like to comment on the Trudeau-Sikh-Modi issue.[3]

1. The first point to make is that I doubt very very much that Trudeau would have announced this in the Canadian parliament unless he had absolutely crystal clear proof of Indian intelligence involvement in this assassination.

2. I think he ought to be wise and refer this matter to the International Court of Justice[4]. it is against international law, surely, to arrange for the assassination of citizens of another country, just because you don't like them. If we all start doing that, international law and order, justice and morality, completely break down and we revert to the law of the jungle. Maybe Modi will come for me next, or for Sam, or maybe we'll send in the Canadian SAS to take him out?? Kant's categorical Imperative rules out this kind of immoral behaviour. Can we at least agree that?

3. So instead of this being fought out in the worldwide media, and rapidly going downhill as a "you're either with India and the South and Modi or you are with the North and Canada and the NATO oppressors of humanity" – this should be, for us intellectuals, a clear example of a duty to suspend judgment, to practice epoche, or what the Jains called Anekantvada. I simply don't know whether Modi personally ordered this killing, do you? But I would sure like to find out. And if he did, I think he needs to face consequences, don't you?

4. So frankly I think that it would have been a greatest sign of intelligence from Rahul Gandhi to comment on this matter: "Let's wait and see what comes out about the cause of this assassination; for the moment let everyone keep calm. India and Canada have always been good friends and allies. Let's keep it this way. Let international and national legal processes investigate and let all evidence be shared with the necessary authorities, including the international court of justice. Above all let's get to the truth about all this. The Congress Party above all stands for bringing truth back into politics, so let it start here". Rather than simply join in the mob hatred against Trudeau being whipped up in the right wing press everywhere, especially in India, I think Rahul Gandhi should show true statesmanship by issuing a statement along these lines.[5]

5. I am very uncomfortable with the extreme right wing hatred against Trudeau of Trump supporters like Bannon and their ilk, ever since he won the

Canadian general election. He is a bulwark of genuine liberal democratic values in a dark and dangerous world.[6] When he was elected leader instead of the Trump leaning Conservative leader, liberal Canadians like me heaved a sigh of relief. Canada has acted as a haven for countless refugees from Syria, from Ukraine, and other war torn countries, and yes from India as well, and it is a generous and beautiful country I know and love well, and also my ultimate homeland. I admire Trudeau as a statesman and as a liberal politician leader. If people want to join in Modi's right wing demonisation of him, and use this tragedy as an excuse to attack him, then count me out. Shame on them.

6. Instead of mobbism, I propose we use international law to get to the bottom of this. But like I said, I doubt very much Trudeau would have announced this unless he already had crystal clear proof that Indian intelligence was behind this. But of course, it might also have just been a rogue RSS cell.[7] I note that Canada is now about to expel the RSS. Why haven't they been declared a terrorist organisation years ago by Canada, Europe and the USA is beyond me. Indeed, they are the very grandfather of religious terrorist organisations, surely? But like I say, I suspend judgment. Let judicial investigation find out and reveal the truth.

Sincerely,

Dr. Thomas Clough Daffern,

Chair, World Intellectuals Wisdom Forum - <https://worldintellectualforumeurope.weebly.com>

[1] Sam Pitroda is one of India's most important recent technological and engineering innovators. He serves on the board of the World Intellectual Wisdom Forum (which I have the honour to chair), and lives in Chicago. He recently helped organise a meeting of Rahul Gandhi to Paris, where Rahul gave several talks, and I was invited also to attend and meet them both. See for details: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sam_Pitroda

[2] This letter has been shared with a group of leading intellectuals who by and large share a commitment to seeing the Congress Party replace Modi's BJP at the next Indian general election in 2024. Among Sam Pitroda's many duties is organising the International Wing of the Congress Party, which is the left leaning party of Indian politics, run by Nehru as India's first independent PM, and supported by Mahatma Gandhi. It was founded in the 1890's by the cooperation of Anglo-Indians as well as Indians who all wanted to see independence and self-governance for India.

[3] Canadian PM Trudeau in the Canadian parliament on Monday 18 September, 2023 where he stated that India assassinated a Sikh activist in British Columbia, based on surveillance of Indian diplomats in Canada. Trudeau's accusations concerned the June 18, 2023 killing of Hardeep Singh

Nijjar, a 45-year-old Sikh human rights activist and Canadian citizen which would never have been made in parliament unless Trudeau had absolutely cast iron proof of their veracity, such being the parliamentary protocol. The PM's statement of Indian government involvement in the gun murder, were based in part on intercepted communications between Indian government officials and Indian diplomats in Canada id est intelligence.

[4] The Court, based in the Hague, may entertain two types of cases: legal disputes between States submitted to it by them (contentious cases) and requests for advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by United Nations organs and specialized agencies (advisory proceedings). Canada is therefore entirely justified in referring this case to the Court under the first type of case.

[5] Rahul Gandhi is an Indian MP and was until recently the leader of the Indian Congress Party. On 23 March 2023, he was convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment by a corrupt court in Gujarat for a 2019 speech made against the Prime Minister Narendra Modi on ridiculous defamation allegations related to his surname; the conviction resulted in his disqualification from the Parliament. His friends were shocked at how blatant the Modi government was misusing its power, for its tentacles reach into all areas of Gujarat, the home base of Modi. However, in August 2023, the Supreme Court of India finally stayed his conviction, which allowed him to contest the next election and to be reinstated as an MP for Wayanad. On 7 August 2023, he was reinstated as Member of Parliament. I met him in Paris on September 8 and 9th 2023, a month later. His supporters have explained to me that one of the main ways Modi holds onto power in India, is by using the corrupt law courts to bring false prosecutions against anyone who opposes him, which then disables their work as genuine political opponents. Likewise, cultural or intellectual opponents, including in academia, will get threatening phone calls warning they will be denied funding if they speak out against Modi. Likewise, if they still fail to get the message, mobs can be galvanised to attack their neighbourhoods or supporters in the streets. The situation in India is far worse, and instead of being the world's largest democracy, it is now being called the world's largest authoritarian state by informed observers. There has also been a huge clamp down on the freedoms of NGO's inside India, especially if they are working as the local wing of international bodies. Groups targeted have included such well known "radical organisations" as the BBC (which had its offices raided for broadcasting an important documentary on Modi's history of rabble rousing against Muslims see here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eUEpii1Ywhs>

[6] As if reading my mind, Trudeau has recently hosted an important summit progressive left-centre political leaders from around the world: see [Global progressive leaders join Trudeau at Montreal summit to discuss threats to democracy, human rights - The Globe and Mail](#) and also [Revealed: Keir Starmer held secret Brexit talks with Emmanuel Macron \(msn.com\)](#)

[7] RSS stands for Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh ('National Volunteer Organisation') which is an Indian far-right, Hindu nationalist[volunteer paramilitary organisation. Historically it was founded on 27 September 1925, and the initial impetus of the organisation was to provide character training and instil "Hindu discipline" in order to unite the Hindu community and establish a Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation). Drawing its inspiration from European fascist movements and groups such as the Italian Fascist Party (as did the Zionist movement at the time) the organisation aimed to spread the ideology of Hindutva to "strengthen" the Hindu community and promote an ideal of upholding Hindu culture and its civilizational values. After independence, it grew into an influential Hindu nationalist umbrella organisation, spawning several affiliated organisations that established numerous schools, charities, and clubs to spread its ideological beliefs. It was banned in 1947 for 4 days, and then thrice by the post-independence Indian government, first in 1948 when Nathuram Godse, a member of RSS, assassinated Mahatma Gandhi; then during The Emergency (1975–1977) when PM Indira Gandhi warned it was a dangerous and corrosive influence in the politics of India); and for a third time after the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992. In the 21st century, it has grown into the world's largest far-right organisation by membership, has links to other far right groups worldwide including Netanyahu's Zionist Likud party, Trump's Republican factions, Steve Bannon and his fascist Brexit and Trump supporters, Putin's Russian fascist hegemony in Russia and his assault on European and world democracy, the Tory Party and its fanatical Brexit hegemony, and an assorted rag bag of extreme right organizations worldwide. It misuses the wealth of India to seduce and bribe international politics worldwide into thinking it is only a pleasant moderate nationalist body. But sometimes the mask slips. See *The Saffron Swastika: The Notion of "Hindu Fascism"* (2001) by Koenraad Elst and also here: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashtriya_Swayamsevak_Sangh

*To conclude, anyone who wants to understand the complex history of Sikhism and why it is an important and sacred spiritual tradition in its own right, independent of Hinduism and Islam both, and something of a mediator between them, should read the Guru Granth Sahib. This is the Bible of Sikhism and is now the recognised Guru, or supreme spiritual authority, of all Sikh religious devotees. A brilliant oral version has been recorded of the entire scripture, which is now available on Audible as **Siri Guru Granth Sahib: The Complete Sikh Scriptures Read in English**, produced by Sikh Net. I recommend that Modi and other RSS Hindu nationalists who want to pick a fight with Sikhism should listen to it and learn something. There is still time to stop and pause before Hindu-Sikh-Islamic relations are further deteriorated. The solution has to be that the people of India should come to their senses and vote out the RSS/BJP Government of Modi at the coming general election in India, and put back into power the Congress party, which surely deserves another time in government.*



The Gandhi Foundation was represented at the **Mahatma Gandhi 154th Birth Anniversary Celebration Service at Manchester Cathedral** on 2nd October. The event was attended by hundreds of guests and began with a wreath laying ceremony and a period of silence at the Gandhi statue just outside the Cathedral.

The service was an interfaith celebration of Love, Peace and Unity organised by Shrimad Rajchandra Mission in conjunction with the Cathedral that included readings, singing, dancing and prayers led by civic dignitaries and members from different faiths traditions. The idea was to celebrate Gandhi's life and to promote his vision of nonviolence and satyagraha (holding firmly to the truth) and to work for a free, just, inclusive, peaceful and democratic society.

Following a reading of Commitment and Pledge, candles representing Peace, Unity and Love were lit in a moment of quiet, as all those present were challenged to work towards upholding these values and putting them into practice.

The diverse all-age gathering shared food and conversation after the event and leaflets promoting the Gandhi Foundation were offered to some of the attendees. This was a very happy and thoughtful occasion.

Revd. Bob Day, Retired Minister of the United Reformed Church





SAD NEWS

It is with deep sadness that we report the passing of long time and active Gandhi Foundation member, **Brian Parker**, after a long illness. A full tribute will appear in the next issue of The Gandhi Way. A great loss to all who knew him. May he rest in deep peace.

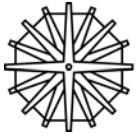
Photo: Taken at The Abbey during a Summer School break – Brian with a cuppa in hand.

A Message from Michael Nagler, President, Metta Center for Nonviolence, USA
Once in 1942 an impatient satyagrahi asked Gandhi, 'What will it take now to really get rid of the British?' He answered, "Phenomenal progress in spinning."

When we read Gandhiji, whom we rightly revere as a spiritual icon, we are always impressed by his groundedness in the solid practicalities of life, material and economic. As we know, freedom for him, real *swaraj*, meant not mere political independence, not even only mental and spiritual freedom from the planet- and soul-destroying world of frantic manufacturing, buying, and selling, but *living* the simplicity that liberates from that world and eases us instead into *constructive programme*. With his genius for communication, he knew that even his cogent, straightforward explanations of what he was doing and why were not enough to impress the key principles on most people; he had to, again, live them. He also knew that while a whole alternative world of work and human relationships were brought into being there also had to be a single, concrete symbol for the whole worldview. Enter Khadi. Its evocative power, backed by the very concrete reality of home-manufactured cloth, a basic necessity of human dignity, drew people from all stations – and drew them together. Khadi London and the Gandhi Foundation are not just carrying on but embodying his legacy, in one essential component.

As I write, the papers and politicians are crying out for an answer to the destructive force unleashed in Israel-Palestine. They do not realize that nonviolence and 'the other side of the coin,' constructive programme, is their answer. May your work help them to realize it!

Your efforts will be well served by our distinguished friend, Paul Bazely, who, like the Mahatma whom he often represents on the stage, can communicate with such dignity and power. Seated as I am a quarter of a globe away (no pun on the famous theatre intended, Paul) I wish the very best for your efforts from the bottom of my heart and hope the miracle of modern electronics may serve the ancient arts of working fiber and almost as ancient arts of drama so that others like myself can catch some inspiration from your project.



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.

Founder President: Richard Attenborough

President: Bhikhu Parekh

Patrons: Navnit Dholakia, Denis Halliday,
Diana Schumacher, Mark Tully, Sandip Verma

Members of Executive Committee:

Shaheen Choudhury-Westcombe, Omar Hayat,
Mark Hoda (Chair), Trevor Lewis, George Paxton, William Rhind, Jane Sill

You can become a Friend of the Gandhi Foundation for a minimum subscription of £20, or a concession rate of £10, or be a Life Friend for a donation of £200. As a Friend you will receive the quarterly newsletter The Gandhi Way and notices of events organised by the Foundation.
Subscriptions to the Editor (address at bottom).

General inquiries to
contact@gandhifoundation.org
www.gandhifoundation.org

Registered office: Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bromley-By-Bow, London E3 3HJ
Charity Number 292629

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.

George Paxton, 2/1, 87 Barrington Drive, Glasgow G4 9ES
Tel: 0141 339 6917; email: gpaxton@phonecoop.coop
The deadline for the next issue is the end of January 2024

Printed on recycled paper using vegetable based inks and 100% renewable energy
by www.hillingdongreenprint.co.uk
Tel: 020 8868 7852