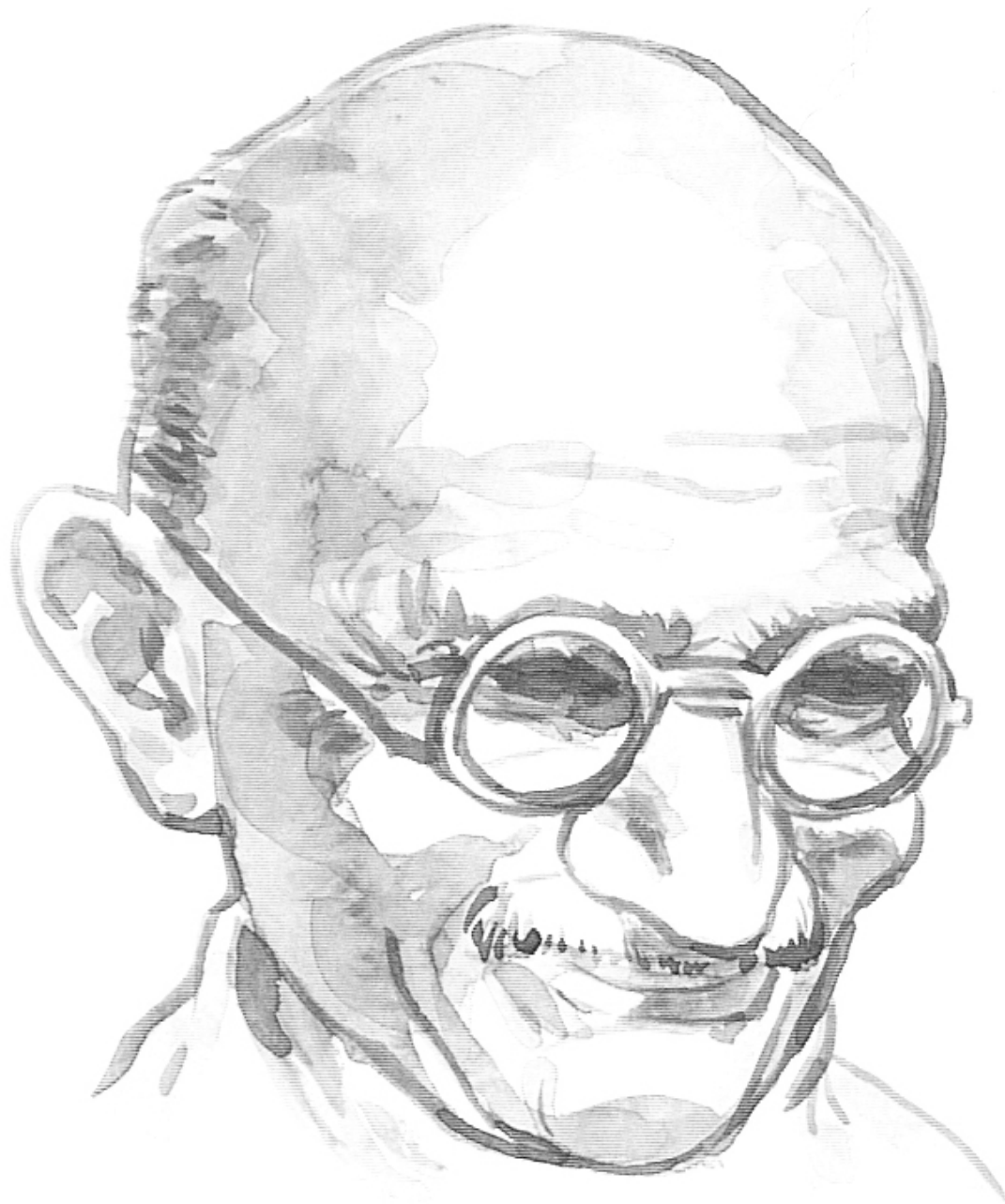


The Gandhi Way



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Gandhi Foundation Annual Lecture 2024

Wednesday 9 October at 4.30 - 6pm

House of Lords Committee Room 3a

Professor Lord Bhikhu Parekh

*The President of the GF will deliver a Gandhian perspective
on the recent race riots in the country*

Please register by emailing markhoda@gmail.com

(We plan to broadcast and record the lecture)

GF Multifaith Celebration 2025

Saturday 8 February 2025

Golders Green Unitarian Church, London

Details to follow

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The Gandhi Foundation International Peace Award for 2023 to Ben Parkinson of Chrysalis Uganda “The Butterfly Project”.

The award ceremony was held at Kingsley Hall on the 6th of June 2024. It was not held last year as Ben’s commitment to his project in Uganda meant that he could not come to the UK.

The award was chaired by Lord Bhikhu Parekh who welcomed the audience and explained the significance of Kingsley Hall. Kingsley Hall is where Gandhi stayed in 1931 for several weeks, and the room where he stayed has been maintained, and attracts many visitors.



The ceremony was attended by a small group of people and amongst them was Mrs Saroj Anjaria, mother of GF friend Asha Buch. Saroj Anjaria is 95 years old and met Gandhi when she was a little girl! It had been a desire of hers to visit Kingsley Hall and pay her personal homage to Gandhi. The Peace Award ceremony gave her the perfect opportunity to fulfil that dream. Saroj had also weaved a garland made from cotton and asked for it to be placed around the bust of Gandhi in Kingsley Hall.

Omar Hayat then explained, on behalf of the Trustees, why Ben Parkinson was chosen to receive the award. Ben, who was born in Australia but grew up in the UK, set-up the Butterfly Project in Uganda. The project:

- develops young social entrepreneurs (changemakers), recruited from disadvantaged young people, living in poverty, in remote rural areas and slum districts;
- provides extra-curricular training including: leadership development, IT, ethics, social project development, international citizenship, public

speaking, problem-solving, climate change, conflict resolution, human rights, educational visits and films;

- finds sponsors across the world to support the secondary education for these children.

The project aims to develop unselfish attitudes already present in many young people. It individualises the training and encourages them to develop new social projects for themselves and through this develop their confidence, experience and ability to become changemakers. The project also gives international experience to these young people by using digital technology to enable world class institutions to share their knowledge and skills.



Most of these young people would not have received a secondary education, without the sponsorship of the Butterfly Project, but almost all of them took advantage of their Butterfly training and 'A' level qualifications to go on to further education at degree level.

The Gandhi Foundation Trustees also thought that the route taken by Ben and his associates will result in lower rates of social conflict and when they do arise then better social conflict resolution would be possible given the training these young people have received.

After the explanation of why the award was given, Lord Bhikhu Parekh, who had specially come from Hull just for the day, gave the award to Ben Parkinson. Ben's acceptance speech included a PowerPoint presentation of the work being done. He gave multiple examples of the success stories and also of the difficulties in setting up the project and funding its continuation. Following the presentation, there was 15 minutes of Q&A followed by light refreshments where the guests could mingle and speak at leisure.

The Gandhi Foundation also wishes to thank David Baker, who helps to run Kingsley Hall, for organising arrangements and the audio/visual equipment on the day.

For further information on Chrysalis Uganda and The Butterfly Project please visit: <http://chrysalisuganda.wordpress.com> *Omar Hayat*

[Nominations for the yearly GF Peace Award can be made to the coordinator, Dr Omar Hayat, at ohayat@ceamd.co.uk
Further information on the Peace Award can also be found on page 21 of the Spring 2024 issue of *The Gandhi Way*.]



Mark Hoda, Bhikhu Parekh, Ben Parkinson, Sangeeta Waldron, Kishore Shah, Siddharth Mukne, Morgan Martin

Peace with Justice for Israel and Palestine – an Action Plan

Alison Williams

The Balfour Project, a charity founded in the centenary year of the notorious 1917 Declaration, presented the Action Plan to achieve its objectives at a conference on the 6th of June this year. A brief reminder of the historical background first: in 1915, the British government promised the Arabs a state stretching across the Near East and including Palestine. In 1917 that promise was broken. Foreign Secretary Balfour, responding to Zionist influencers, said the government would do all it could to facilitate the achievement of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine “it being clearly understood that nothing may be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine...” Failure to act on what was “clearly understood” is the most flagrant on a list of contradictory promises listed on the History section of the Balfour Project’s website: <https://balfourproject.org/the-contradictory-promises/>.

The preamble to the Action Plan summarises the context from which “the latest and most devastating episode of a sequence of recurring violence” emerged: “76 years of the Nakba starting under the British mandate; 57 years of occupation, 17 years of Gaza blockade, suppression of all means of peaceful resistance and the continuing denial of Palestinian rights including the right of self-determination”.

To avoid the danger of a “forever war”, the universality of International Law and accountability for those who breach it must be re-asserted, urgently, by a broad coalition of states. The Balfour Project’s strategy is evolving in response to events on the ground and it was hoped that those attending the conference might help improve it to provide a template for actions to be taken.

The plan has 7 bullet points under the heading Immediate requirements; 2 Priority Actions for the UK Government; 6 for UK actions to end collusion in war crimes in Gaza; 2 for UK actions to ensure accountability for war crimes and finally 5 for UK actions to ensure the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State..

The situation and the Action Plan were addressed by diverse and highly qualified speakers. After a welcome from Adam Sutcliffe (Professor in European History at Kings College London) and Andrew Whitley (Chair of the Balfour Project) three speakers addressed The Challenges Ahead.

Daniel Levy (US/Middle East Project) expressed anger and frustration at the “criminality” of Israel’s allies, above all the US. Despite the “maximum plausibility” of claims that Israel was violating international law, when Israel protested the US “caved in” and “let Israel off the hook”. They – with the UK

and few others – failed to use their political leverage and “retired to their comfort zone”.

Daniel Levy was the first of several to address the “Day After” question. All trace of the occupation must go; the existing Palestine Authority was totally discredited and recognition of the state of Palestine would only be meaningful as a start. There must be a ceasefire and Israel must be held accountable for its violations. There should be no more talk of normalisation with the Arab states unless Palestinians were engaged. Israel could not continue to silence opposition with accusations of anti-Semitism.

Nour Odeh (National Democratic Assembly, Palestine) was visiting London from her home in Ramallah. She had lived in Gaza and shared in the collective agony of the traumatised people: fearful of waking to hear bad news of family, friends and colleagues; feeling abandoned by those who *knew* what was going on and failed to act. Israeli tactics familiar in Gaza are now common on the West Bank too, including house demolitions and the murder of journalists (80 so far).

What was the sense of “Day After” discussions unless the Palestinians took part in them? In 2021 she was a candidate in elections no one in the West wanted to happen. They fear “the wrong choice” would be made and they are “willing to sacrifice their own standards in favour of Israeli exceptionalism”. Palestinian politics were “totally disintegrated”; opposition to Israel’s occupation was the only issue but Western powers want a Palestinian government which “keeps the oppressor safe”.

Addressing the Day After question, she said the people had learned there was something worse than dying: having nothing to live for. She wants the British to leave “the cowboy politics” of the US and take a consistent stand with International Law. Palestine was “thrown under the bus” 75 years ago to enable Israel’s supremacy with impunity and ensure Western civil servants get paid. She hoped governments eager to discard failed policies might find a way forward but feared acceptance of the US saying the solution was to get back to the situation in 6 October 2023.

Agnes Callamard (General Secretary of Amnesty International) gave the keynote address on The UN, Human Rights and Gaza. On the 9th of December 1948 the world got the Genocide Convention and the following day the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Now, she said, Human Rights commitments were weakened and blurred; faced with heartless justification in the name of self-defence.

She holds Israel, Hamas and international institutions responsible for the current mess. Institutions and mechanisms which should have protected the

Palestinians failed to do so. The attack by Hamas on the 7th of October was horrific and their firing rockets indiscriminately at Israeli residential areas were war crimes. But they do not justify the collective punishment of the people of Gaza and the West Bank. She listed the all-too-familiar statistics of Israel's violations: some 2 million people forcibly displaced, most several times and with nowhere safe to go; food, water and medical supplies denied; places of refuge and hospitals repeatedly bombed. But despite all the evidence of war crimes and a genocidal intent Western governments have ignored the 1948 conventions and accepted Israel's claim of "military necessity" as justification. The architects of those conventions now ignore Human Rights.

She recalled the American response to the 9/11 attack: a War on Terror, loosely defined and widely applied; the Terrorist Threat was allowed to pervert, erode and dismantle all protection from International Law. The language of anti-terrorism supposedly justified all subsequent violations in retaliation.

It is easy to despair or to allow anger to lead to further violence but that is not the answer. She spoke of the amazing resilience shown by the Palestinian people and the families of Hostages. Along with Civil Society actors and legal scholars they call for a ceasefire and the Rule of Law, week after week. International Law is breaking down but never have so many called for it: in addition to the above there are the UN General Assembly, the International Court of Justice and finally the International Criminal Court too.

She urged us all to go on the offensive in support of International Law. The 1948 system has not worked as the architects hoped but it is precious and many have died for its values. When the powerful break the law others must fight back. South Africa has done so on this occasion and recently Vanuatu as well, asking for an advisory opinion on the obligations of states regarding climate change. We should re-imagine the structures of global governance including the UN; think creatively and don't leave it all to a few super-rich individuals and institutions. Re-commit to the Rule of Law applying to everyone for the benefit of all, excluding none. "There are very many good people in this world."

The next presentation had four young people from the Balfour Project Peace Advocacy Fellowship discussing how the young might bring about change: two men and two women. They agreed on the need to engage, listen, educate themselves and have the courage to speak up. People don't know enough about Britain's historical responsibility. They spoke of educational videos on TikTok and an Arms Suspension Project inspired by young people.

The conference ended with a discussion on What our next Government must do to uphold equal rights. It was chaired by Vincent Fean (a former diplomat,

now a Balfour Project Trustee) and included the Director of the Council for Arab-British understanding, the Director of Human Rights Watch-UK, the Vice Chair of the Balfour Project and Nour Odeh, the Palestinian speaker earlier in the conference.

Since Gandhi's lifetime, the world has evolved a UN of near-universal membership and a body of international law with a court for states (the International Court of Justice, part of the UN system) and another for individuals (the International Criminal Court, not a UN body but set up by a treaty negotiated within the UN.) The UN should mark its 80th anniversary next year though we live in dangerous and uncertain times. To get Peace with Justice for Israel, Palestine and the rest of the world let's respond to the urging of Amnesty International's Chair and the Balfour Peace Advocacy young people – educate ourselves about international law and speak up for its implementation.

Alison Williams feels she grew up with the United Nations as her father began working for its Department of Public Information while the Organisation was taking shape in London in 1945. She was a tour guide at UN headquarters for a few months after graduating from High School and has always been a member of the United Nations Association. She joined the Gandhi Foundation when it was founded and contributed an article to the 1997 GF publication *Gandhi and the Contemporary World*.

Martin Luther King Anniversary events

A series of special services and events will be held to mark the historic 60th anniversary of King's visit to St Paul's Cathedral on 6 December 1964. King preached to a congregation of 4,000 on a flying visit on his way to Norway to collect his Nobel Peace Prize. The first event is a talk by Rev Raphael Warnock on *Three Dimensions of a Complete Life* on Tuesday 3 September at 6.30pm (free). Dr Warnock is senior Pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta where King also served; he is also an elected Senator.

For other events see stpauls.co.uk

Radical Love: Documentary on Satish Kumar

Showing at the Curzon Bloomsbury Thursday 5 September at 6.30pm

Known for his 8,000-mile peace pilgrimage, Satish is an Indian pacifist, activist, author and educator who has been inspiring global change for almost 70 years.

Between his home in southern England and a profound experience in India, *Radical Love* captures Satish Kumar's transformative journey. From sessions at his Devon ecological institute, Schumacher College, to visits with his friend Vandana Shiva, this intimate portrait follows Kumar as a living demonstration of a life imbued with the powers of simplicity, collaboration and love.

Followed by a Q&A with Satish Kumar and Director Julio Hey.



Woodpecker by Jane Thomas

My Approach to Gandhiji

Artur Domingo Barnils

I was born in 1953. Like many young people of my generation, starting from a Christian-Catholic education, around the age of 17 my concern for social justice – inherited from my education and environment – as well as my interest in freedom, in the context of the Franco's dictatorship that Spain suffered, and also the defence of the cultural and linguistic rights of Catalonia, repressed by Franco's regime, brought me closer to the protest movements that emerged especially since the events of May 1968. Within these movements the ideology that had most influence at that time was Marxism, in its various versions, although in a minority way at that time there was also an influence of anarchism, as well as pacifism.

Thus, at the age of eighteen I joined a Marxist group with a Trotskyist orientation. In my case, I think it was fortunate, since within the most radical Marxist currents, Trotskyism offered a critique and rejection of Stalinism and the dictatorship prevailing in the Soviet Union, and it also disagreed with Maoism, which was fashionable in some environments, at that time. The party in which I was a member enjoyed considerable internal democracy, there was no general secretary to impose his criteria and there was interest for debate and permanent study. And the existence of various currents and tendencies within the organisation was also allowed.



Artur Domingo Barnils - photo credit Opinion Magazine

I think that Marxism is an ideology that has contributed really valuable aspects to the fight for social emancipation. As a historian, I also believe that it has fostered an understanding of the dynamics of human history and the processes of transformation. Furthermore, it must be taken into account that various Marxist schools have existed and still continue to exist.

However, starting in the mid-eighties of the last century, I began to consider, along with other people, that Marxism could not explain or respond to all the problems facing the world – and also my country – and that it was necessary to pay attention to other ideologies and currents that were increasingly present in Europe and the world. Specifically, I became interested in environmentalism, since a powerful Green movement and party had emerged in Germany in the mid-eighties. And I also became interested in feminism, not only because of what it implied in vindicating women's rights, but also because of the implications it had in valuing the issues of daily life and human relationships. Within Marxism I was also interested in what was known as Freudo-Marxism, based on readings by Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm and other authors. It was therefore a period of reflection and search.

In this vital context, during a holiday, I happened to attend a screening of the film *Gandhi*, by Richard Attenborough. I must admit that the film made a strong impression on me, probably because of the moment I was in. For the first time, I was getting to know in some detail the personality and work of Mahatma Gandhi. Obviously, I had had previous references but, given my ideological choice, I had not previously taken them into too much consideration, although with some sympathy, based on some Catalan fighters, as Lluís M Xirinachs, who claimed him. Furthermore, Indian culture had always interested me, although I had not yet studied it in any depth. I always explain that a film, a reading or an experience, can have more or less impact depending on the vital moment in which it arrives, and that was probably an appropriate moment for me.

From then on, I began reading about Gandhi, starting with a brief biography of the historian George Woodcock that I found in a second-hand market, continuing with the biography written by Louis Fischer, which was the basis of Attenborough's film, and moving on to read Gandhi's autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, which fascinated me. Successively the biographies and works on Gandhi by Stanley Wolpert, Judith Brown, Camille Drevet, Romain Rolland and Erik Erikson, among others, combining these readings with some selections of Gandhi's texts, published in Catalan, Spanish, English and French by various publishers. I also read his *Letters to the Ashram* (from *Yeravda Mandir*), *Satyagraha in South Africa*, *Hind Swaraj*, etc. And thus I decided to make Gandhi and his legacy the centre of my study activity and also disseminate it through articles, collaborations, talks, colloquiums and conferences. Due to my work obligations as a high school teacher, my dedication at first was necessarily limited.

In order to better understand Gandhi's work and legacy, I have made several trips to India, visiting, among other places and cities, the Sabarmati Ashram and Sevagram Ashram, where I participated in a conference on Gandhiji, in 2017, in which I presented a paper entitled "Promoting the legacy of Gandhi for the 21st century: A European point of view."

I have recently visited Kingsley Hall in London, the centre where Gandhiji stayed in 1931 when he attended the Second Round Table Conference. I was able to visit Kingsley Hall thanks to the arrangements and kindness of Asha Buch and the Gandhi Foundation, and I was accompanied on the visit by Morgan Amber. As always, it was touching to visit one of the places where Gandhi lived.

I am currently finishing writing a book about his life, his ideas, his action – taking into account the context of India and the British Empire – and about the relevance and usefulness of his legacy in today's world. This has led me to deepen my study of Indian history, as well as reading new works on Gandhi, such as the complete biography and study of Ramachandra Guha and, especially, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. I have also consulted the works of Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar, among others, and several more current collaborations by other Indian and foreign authors. As well as several reflections by his contemporaries, Indians and those outside India. The bibliography is inexhaustible.

My vision and my works on the life, work and legacy of Gandhi are not based on a hagiographic or uncritical conception of the Mahatma. It is a critical and analytical vision of his legacy, which in my opinion makes it more useful. I consider that a hagiographic and uncritical vision is less useful because it would distance the character and personality of Gandhi from the people who may be interested in his message. Gandhi was a human being, in all the complexity, with his contradictions, doubts and errors. But he was a human being of an unusual ethical and human dimension, as Einstein and so many others recognised. And with a capacity for positive leadership that rarely occurs throughout history. In many aspects he offers a path to try to convert the planet we inhabit into a more humane, fair, harmonious and supportive world. In moments of crisis like those we face well into the 21st century, his contribution seems essential to me, and studying it and extracting the aspects that contribute the most to the present and disseminating them I think is a necessary and useful contribution.

I will point out just some of the aspects and contributions that I believe are the most useful of Gandhi's legacy:

* The ethical dimension of its message, based on his conception of Satya (search for truth) and Ahimsa (nonviolence). Ethics should govern all social, political and economic action.

* His conception of nonviolence. As a philosophy and conception of life, from the most intimate to the social and human relationships. And also, with

nature relationship. But moreover, nonviolence as an effective strategy and tactic in the fight for a more just and habitable world, covering all types of combat. And also, for relations between states, nations and communities. This is a fundamental and necessary debate in the face of a world plagued by violence. Some movements around the world have learned from the experience of nonviolent civil disobedience. In Catalonia, the message about nonviolent civil disobedience has had a great impact, and important experiences were carried out in this regard in 2017. This is a good legacy for the new generations who want to transform the world.

* His ecological vision ‘avant la lettre’, based on respect for nature and opposed to waste and predatory and destructive economic development of nature and at the service of the interests of dominant economic minorities. This fully connects with the ecological movement and the necessary fight against the climate crisis. Several proponents of current theories about degrowth have referred to Gandhi.

* The social content of his message, in favour of the poorest and most disadvantaged, which led him to the fight against untouchability in India, but also against the exploitation of peasants and workers, in favour of the equality of women and the various social and tribal groups. What has been defined as Sarvodaya and also as Gandhian socialism. His disagreements with orthodox Marxism refer to the use of violence, atheism and the conception of class struggle, to which Gandhi contrasted other concepts.

* His democratic conception and in favour of decentralised societies that make decisions from proximity, without avoiding the need for decisions of a state or international nature. His idea of necessary dialogue and coexistence and harmony between different cultures and religions, of which he gave great examples of his commitment throughout his life.

* A creative and effective method of struggle, based on satyagraha, nonviolent civil disobedience, non-cooperation, etc. And also, a non-authoritarian and receptive leadership style, based on exemplarity and simplicity that did not seek political power or positions, but rather positive influence.

* And, finally, his profound conception that social transformation and individual transformation and improvement are intimately and inextricably linked. This is, in my opinion, one of his most interesting and original contributions.

Of course, there are debatable aspects of Gandhi's ideas, practices and proposals, such as his excessive moralism, or some specific statements about some problems of his time, in India and around the world, which should also be analysed and kept in mind. We do not have to agree with everything Gandhi said or did. But this does not invalidate the enormous value of much of his message.

In my opinion, the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi should not be adopted as a dogma or an unquestionable truth. Its effectiveness, in the 21st century, will

be greater if it is brought into contact and in dialogue with other currents of thought, philosophical, economic and political, and with the experience of the social movements of our time, such as environmentalism, pacifism, feminism ... and the most useful contributions of more traditional currents such as Marxism itself – in its most humanist and democratic versions – socialism, as well as with all currents of thought, philosophies and ideologies that seek to make the world a better place, more humane, supportive and habitable.

The Perils and Promise of the Emerging Multipolar World

Jeffrey D. Sachs

The world economy is experiencing a deep process of economic convergence, according to which regions that once lagged the West in industrialisation are now making up for lost time.

6 Jun 2024 – The World Bank’s **release on May 30** of its latest estimates of national output (up to the year 2022) offers an occasion to reflect on the new geopolitics. The new data underscore the shift from a U.S.-led world economy to a multipolar world economy, a reality that U.S. strategists have so far failed to recognise, accept, or admit.

The World Bank figures make clear that the economic dominance of the West is over. In 1994, the G7 countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, U.K., U.S.) constituted 45.3% of world output, compared with 18.9% of world output in the BRICS countries (Brazil, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Russia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates). The tables have turned. The BRICS now produce 35.2% of world output, while the G7 countries produce 29.3%.

As of 2022, the largest five economies in descending order are China, the U.S., India, Russia, and Japan. China’s GDP is around 25% larger than the U.S.’ (roughly 30% of the U.S. GDP per person but with 4.2 times the population). Three of the top five countries are in the BRICS, while two are in the G7. In 1994, the largest five were the U.S., Japan, China, Germany, and India, with three in the G7 and two in the BRICS.

As the shares of world output change, so too does global power. The core U.S.-led alliance, which includes the U.S., Canada, U.K., European Union, Japan, Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, was 56% of world output in 1994, but now is only 39.5%. As a result, the U.S. global influence is waning. As a recent vivid example, when the U.S.-led group introduced economic sanctions on

Russia in 2022, very few countries outside the core alliance joined. As a result, Russia had little trouble shifting its trade to countries outside the U.S.-led alliance.

The world economy is experiencing a deep process of economic convergence, according to which regions that once lagged the West in industrialization in the 19th and 20th centuries are now making up for lost time. Economic convergence actually began in the 1950s as European imperial rule in Africa and Asia came to an end. It has proceeded in waves, starting first in East Asia, then roughly 20 years later India, and for the coming 20-40 years in Africa.

These and some other regions are growing much faster than the Western economies since they have more “headroom” to boost GDP by rapidly raising education levels, boosting workers’ skills, and installing modern infrastructure, including universal access to electrification and digital platforms. The emerging economies are often able to leapfrog the richer countries with state-of-the-art infrastructure (e.g., fast intercity rail, 5G, modern airports and seaports) while the richer countries remain stuck with aging infrastructure and expensive retrofits. The IMF’s **World Economic Outlook** projects that the emerging and developing economies will average growth of around 4% per year in the coming five years, while the high-income countries will average less than 2% per year.

It’s not only in skills and infrastructure that convergence is occurring. Many of the emerging economies, including China, Russia, Iran, and others, are advancing rapidly in technological innovations as well, in both civilian and military technologies.

China clearly has a large lead in the manufacturing of cutting-edge technologies needed for the global energy transition, including batteries, electric vehicles, 5G, photovoltaics, wind turbines, fourth generation nuclear power, and others. China’s rapid advances in space technology, biotechnology, nanotechnology, and other technologies is similarly impressive. In response, the U.S. has made the absurd claim that China has an “overcapacity” in these cutting-edge technologies, while the obvious truth is that the U.S. has a significant under-capacity in many sectors. China’s capacity for innovation and low-cost production is underpinned by enormous R&D spending and its vast and growing labor force of scientists and engineers.

Despite the new global economic realities, the U.S. security state still pursues a grand strategy of “primacy,” that is, the aspiration of the U.S. to be the dominant economic, financial, technological, and military power in every region of the world. The U.S. is still trying to maintain primacy in Europe by surrounding Russia in the Black Sea region with NATO forces, yet Russia has

resisted this militarily in both Georgia and Ukraine. The U.S. is still trying to maintain primacy in Asia by surrounding China in the South China Sea, a folly that can lead the U.S. into a disastrous war over Taiwan. The U.S. is also losing its standing in the Middle East by resisting the united call of the Arab world for recognition of **Palestine** as the 194th United Nations member state.

Yet primacy is certainly not possible today, and was hubristic even 30 years ago when U.S. relative power was much greater. Today, the U.S. share of world output stands at 14.8%, compared with 18.5% for China, and the U.S. share of world population is a mere 4.1%, compared with 17.8% for China.

The trend toward broad global economic convergence means that U.S. hegemony will not be replaced by Chinese hegemony. Indeed, China's share of world output is likely to peak at around 20% during the coming decade and thereafter to decline as China's population declines. Other parts of the world, notably including India and Africa, are likely to show a large rise in their respective shares of global output, and with that, in their geopolitical weight as well.

We are therefore entering a post-hegemonic, multipolar world. It too is fraught with challenges. It could usher in a new "tragedy of great power politics," in which several nuclear powers compete—in vain—for hegemony. It could lead to a breakdown of fragile global rules, such as open trade under the World Trade Organisation. Or, it could lead to a world in which the great powers exercise mutual tolerance, restraint, and even cooperation, in accord with the U.N. Charter, because they recognise that only such statecraft will keep the world safe in the nuclear age.

Jeffrey D. Sachs, Professor of Sustainable Development and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University, is Director of Columbia's Center for Sustainable Development and the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network. He has served as Special Adviser to three UN Secretaries-General [Kofi Annan (2001-7), Ban Ki-moon (2008-16), and currently serves as an SDG Advocate under Secretary-General António Guterres. His books include **The End of Poverty, Common Wealth, The Age of Sustainable Development, Building the New American Economy**, and most recently, **A New Foreign Policy: Beyond American Exceptionalism**. Sachs was also an advisor to the last leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as to the first president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin.

This article originally appeared on *Transcend Media Service* on 10 Jun 2024.

Some Personal Reflections on the UK General Election

George Paxton

At least one good thing resulted from the recent UK General Election – the removal from power of the abysmal Conservative Government. Hopefully much good will result from the new Labour Government but one can already see some weaknesses. A very large investment in our health and care system, alone, is essential yet the Government does not intend to raise more money through taxation. To depend on growth in the economy for the required surplus shows an amazing level of faith.

Another area is that of ‘defence’. There is an almost universal belief that the more armaments and human armed forces a country has the safer its population will be. (Do the facts actually show that?) Hence the three largest parties in England approve even of nuclear weapons. But there is some comfort in knowing that there are some dissenters among Labour and LibDem MPs. Sadly the SNP lost most of their MPs (partly justifiably) and hence their strong opposition to nuclear weapons weakens the opposition to that in Parliament. It was good to see the Greens get four MPs but far too few due to the lack of proportional voting at Westminster.

There appears to have been almost no discussion during the campaign of the wisdom of retaining nuclear weapons indefinitely. Yet earlier this year the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists set the Doomsday Clock at 90 seconds to midnight for the second year running. It remains the closest to annihilation from nuclear war since the clock's inception in 1947.

The Bulletin said the decision to keep the clock in place reflected “the continued state of unprecedented danger the world faces”. This includes the threat of a nuclear exchange over the war in Ukraine and the escalating crisis in the Middle East; a breakdown in global nuclear arms control; and an unprecedented three-way nuclear arms race between the US, China and Russia. They noted also that all nuclear-armed states were pursuing “extensive modernisation and expansion of nuclear arsenals.”

The UN’s High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Izumi Nakamitsu, recently said: “... the risk of a nuclear weapon being used is higher now than any time since the height of the Cold War and the architecture designed to prevent its use is ever more precarious”.

I don’t think our new Prime Minister has been listening to the right people. Meanwhile 93 states have signed and 70 states have ratified the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Hopefully, further advances will be made in the near future.

Wars are not inevitable

Jane Sill

The 39th anniversary of the London Peace Pagoda in Battersea Park took place in June, attended by representatives from the major faith communities and addressed by leading figures in the Peace Movement, including Carol Turner from London CND. Amidst a climate of rising tensions on a national and international level, the fears of possible escalation were highlighted. These were echoed with increasing urgency at the 79th commemoration of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima held at Tavistock Square close to the statue of Mahatma Gandhi. With speeches by the Mayor of Camden, Kate Hudson, General Secretary of CND, members of the faith communities and singers from Raised Voices, a London community based choir, along with poets and musicians active in the peace movement. A strong message of warning was relayed from the Mayor of Hiroshima, Kazumi Matsui as well as a note of hope:

“Let us not be resigned to pessimism about the chaotic world situation. Instead, let us be as determined as our forebears, and, united as one, with hope in our hearts, take collective action. Our unity will move leaders now relying on nuclear deterrence to shift their policies. We could make that happen. To extinguish the suspicion and doubt that create conflicts, civil society must foster a circle of trust through exchange and dialogue with consideration for others. We must spread beyond national borders the sense of safety we feel in our daily lives.”

Ven. Gyosho Morishita, Senior Priest of Nipponzan Myohoji in Europe
(Photos by Jane Sill)





Carol Turner, London CND speaking



Dr Desmond Biddhulph, President of the Buddhist Society
with Rev Feargus O'Connor, Unitarian Church



Kate Hudson, General Secretary, CND in Tavistock Square, London



Young activist and choir



Rev O'Connor and Peace Tree



Mayor Samata Khatoon and Rev Nagase Shonin

Disinvestment from Fossil Fuel and Arms Companies

Fossil fuel companies and arms manufacturers will no longer be able to advertise on Edinburgh council-owned assets or offer sponsorship for events or partnerships in Scotland's capital city after action from Green Councillors. New contracts will not be entered into which promote 'high carbon' products including airlines, petrol cars and cruise holidays, and relationships with arms manufacturers will also be prohibited.

Scottish Greens Councillor Ben Parker, who made the original call for disinvestment said:

"We're pleased the Council has taken a lead on the issue of fossil free advertising and sponsorship, and hope to see other councils across Scotland follow suit. It's just basic common sense that if the Council is serious about its commitment to climate justice, we cannot allow council advertising space to be used to promote fossil fuel companies."

Similarly, it is unthinkable that the council should enter into contracts with arms companies whose weapons – which in some cases are manufactured here in the city – are being used in the horrific and relentless bombardment of Palestine, at the same time as the Council has publicly called for a ceasefire."



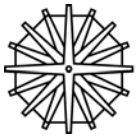
The launch of this beautifully illustrated children's book by Ela Gandhi based on an animated film of the same name took place on line in an event spanning 3 continents and multiple time zones – a fitting setting for its universal nature. A collaborative production with the Metta Center for Non Violence in California, Ela Gandhi in South Africa and the Gandhi Foundation, the event was introduced by Stephanie Van Hook and Michael Nagler from the Metta Center who spoke with Ela about the inception of the book and her memories of her grandfather. Gandhi Foundation Trustee, Omar Hayat, also spoke. A

question and answer session followed.

Fittingly, the launch coincided with the start of Phoenix Farm some 120 years ago where Ela spent her childhood days and where the incident related in the book took place. As Michael pointed out, *Abeya* or 'no fear' can be seen as the prime mover in transforming lives. Ela related how Gandhi's mother and later his childhood bride were pivotal in Gandhi's own transformation, teaching him how 'to be courageous and always to stand up and to do what he thought was correct'. From a timid child, frightened of the dark and with a deep fear of snakes, Gandhi learned how to confront his fear, thus beginning the development of the fearless exponent of nonviolence and change which the world remembers today. While not denying the reality of fear, or being ashamed of it, the lesson of how to deal with that fear effectively was experienced also by Ela who recounted being thrown into the back of a windowless police van after being arrested at a demonstration in South Africa. Frightened, she began to sing loudly, 'We shall overcome' which helped regain her courage as well as having an effect on the police guards. 'Once you shed all fear, then you can't be dominated'. As Ela explained, learning nonviolent means to overcome fear is an essential part of the peace process which needs to begin in childhood. This was the main driving force behind the animation and the book, offering children the tools to learn how to deal with the violence and bullying in their lives. The simple narrative of how Gandhi the child overcame his fear of snakes and the dark, is followed by a series of questions and activities. There is also a section on 'Getting to Know Snakes'!

Highly recommended for home or school settings, the book is available in hard back or on line from: mettacenter.org. The publication of the book was supported by the Gandhi Foundation.

An inspiring new film based on the book by Michael Nagler, 'Third Harmony' shows the efficacy of nonviolent means in the resolution of conflict in a variety of situations. Excellent.



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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