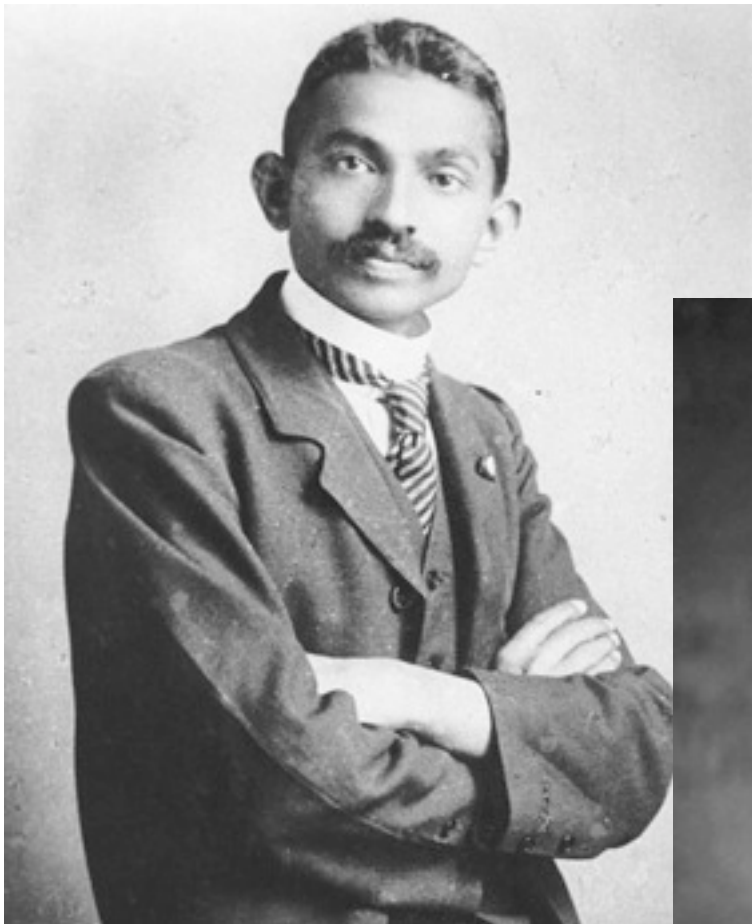


The Gandhi Way



Mohandas K Gandhi and Martin Luther King at around the same age
(King's photo: Nobel Foundation)

Newsletter of the Gandhi Foundation

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**The Gandhi Foundation
International Peace Award 2013**

We are pleased to announce that the award will be presented to

**Jeremy Corbyn MP for Islington North on
Tuesday 26 November 2013**

**at The Boothroyd Room, in Portcullis House,
Victoria Embankment, Westminster, London SW1A 2LW**

Time: 7pm to 9pm

Please allow 15 minutes to clear security

Nearest tube: Westminster

All welcome but please email your attendance to:

syedomarhayat@gmail.com

See biographical information on Jeremy Corbyn on page 14

Gandhi Foundation Multifaith Celebration 2014

Thursday 30 January 2014 in Central London

Details will be available on our website,
social media and email in due course.

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What Would a Gandhian Business Model Look Like?

This was the subject addressed by Rt Hon Vince Cable, Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills at the Inner Temple in London on 23 October 2013. We are unable to publish the address itself but we have two responses to the Annual Lecture of the Gandhi Foundation.

The first is by *Robert Fisher*:

At the recent Gandhi Foundation Annual Lecture, The Rt Hon Vince Cable MP spoke of Mahatma Gandhi as one of the three great 20th century political activists who along with Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King brought to the consciousness of humanity some of the injustices that human kind has heaped upon his fellow man / woman.

At the same time reminding us of three 20th Century tyrants who had brought humanity to the depths of evil and despair, Hitler, Stalin and Mao Zedong who collectively killed millions in their attempts to control the destinies of many with their ill conceived ideological objectives.

And of the legacies of these six individuals, exemplified by the election of Barack Obama as the president of the United States of America, the emergence of India and China as two of the great economic powers in the world and of the recent joint American and Russian intervention in Syria in bringing about the destruction of its chemical weapons.

The legacies of Hitler, Stalin and Mao Zedong are not forgotten, there are still many within global society who would kill with impunity anyone questioning their authority or ideological beliefs.

Whilst Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Nelson Mandela have undoubtedly helped to reduce the incidents of institutional racism and colonialism, sexism, ageism, classism etc. still exist and as was stated by Dr Cable, nonviolent direct action by all, wherever these incidents occur, will eventually bring these prejudices and injustices to an end.

It is noted that Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King and Gandhi were all individuals who fought against their political systems at the time to achieve their moral objectives.

The world of commerce and industry, based on mutual self interest has steadily moved on, perhaps providing some insight as to the way in which finding ways of working together can be more important than seeking to

impose one ideological view over another. Politicians around the world will be aware of the impact the Internet has had on the political landscape.

Dr Cable spoke of globalisation, of economics and of ethics and of cultural and subsequent ethical conflicts between those who are the wealth creators in society and some who retain it to create even more money and of the differences between great wealth and deep poverty, inequalities and injustices in society.

Within the bandwidth of ethics that allows for freedom of thought and deed, I believe different and deeper truths and cultural values will emerge as nations converge and collective society moves forward in what I imagine Gandhi's definition of Sarvodaya to be.

Globalisation, in this digital age, brings with it the hopes and aspirations of many and the potential for all cultures and nation states to collaborate in trying to address the many challenges that face humanity and earth's subsystems, and the many opportunities in so doing.

Just under 40 years ago the combined intellectual capacity of only a few motivated individuals addressed the challenge of taking humanity to the moon and back.

It is entirely plausible that the combined intellectual capacity of humanity, connected, motivated and focused on addressing the many challenges we undoubtedly will face as we all move forward in eliminating extremes of poverty and injustice in society and the degradation of the natural world will be achieved. Gandhi and those like him have shown the many what only a few can achieve.

True economics, articulated by Vince Cable as social justice, equality and the good of all is not only aspirational it is logical and demonstrable through the concept of mutual self interest.

Whatever our views of capitalism are, laissez-faire or some other form of capitalism, we are part of global economic community and what we do in one part of the world has an impact in another. Dr Cable in his Ministerial capacity in relation to business, innovation and skills will I'm sure be aware of the need of a fine balance between government (regulation, innovation), and economic (stimulation and equilibrium).

Dr Cable spoke of the liberalisation of the Indian economy and of the dismantling of state control of its planning processes and what would have been Gandhi's opposition in the protection of rural industries. I can see both sides to this argument, in the semi rural community within which I live I am

aware of a balance that needs to be kept in the development of any economy, local, national or international and of the need to support those whose aspirations are to the husbandry of natural / rural environments (you cannot eat software), and there is much more to true economics than generating GDP through irresponsible planning processes and ill thought through economic stimuli. I believe aesthetics and analysis both to be part of this liberalisation and planning process, soul with pragmatism.

The balance between materialism / consumerism / waste in a world of finite resources and the subsequent impact on global ecology I feel sure concerns the majority of people in society today and as set out in Vince Cable's view of true economics it will be the innovators, scientists, engineers, businesses, social entrepreneurs who will address these challenges, but perhaps equally as important the spiritual / moral dimension to be included in this equation will determine the society in which we all will eventually live.

Dr Cable then commented on the benefits of the "green revolution" and of the efficiencies gained in multiple cropping, fertilizers etc.

Those cultures who have tilled the land responsibly for centuries will already be aware of nature's natural and sustainable cycles, the green revolution will be nothing new to them. However irrigation and mobile telephony, in ways as yet to be imagined, will transform their lives forever.

Jevon's paradox however puts forward the view that efficiencies gained through technological progress in accessing resources, tend to increase the rate of consumption and if this is the case I believe humanity must define and find ways of living within a sustainable global budget.

Vince Cable then went on to elaborate on the meaning of Swadeshi, as self-reliant village communities, independent from their neighbours for vital wants.

All modern communities of which I am aware are reliant on some of their vital resources from others. Within my own village community I can see many benefits in the reduction of waste by providing within its borders a balanced local economy and employment for its residents, whatever their aspirations are. In all transactions going forward there should be benefits, financial, social or environmental, but no transaction should be at the expense of the other, the metrics and algorithm developed to measure impact, an important factor in creating a sustainable and equitable society, wherever it exists.

Community cohesion and social mobility, mentioned by Dr Cable, should mean something different to the emergence of ghettos in the city of London

for highly paid bankers, or traveling miles to get to work because a person in his or her chosen occupation cannot afford to live close to their employment. These are complexities any economic system will have to deal with, but not, I feel, insurmountable.

Personally I can see some merits in Gandhi's Swadeshi that should be nurtured, valued and protected, however this should be in a local / national / international / mutual self-interest context.

We have seen both positive and negative impacts of outsourcing our industrial and other capabilities since the 1970s to places such as the far-east and the impact of this short term bottom line thinking has had on the manufacturing skills base of the United Kingdom. There are now not enough engineers to rebuild our own critical infrastructures.

There is a comfort in the idea of British critical infrastructure being held in trust on behalf of its population by a British institution, built and managed by British engineers and if the money needed to build it comes from abroad I feel sure, within the concept of mutual self interest, this can be achieved.

Protectionism is not a viable option in modern day society, whichever industry people are in, but perhaps as is the current focus of Dr Cable's attention in the development of government economic policy it will include joined up thinking in areas such as education, infrastructure, employment and planning.

Dr Cable then went on to state that he saw little merit in British Swadeshi, and in terms of international trade I would agree that the sum of the whole, in an international context, is much greater than its individual parts. However I imagine in line with government policy, localism, the decentralization / devolution of government and the organic development of clusters of various activities at a local level will inevitably provide the international community with significantly more parts to the whole, which perhaps will propel all nations, including the United Kingdom, who adopt the same model, into an age of socioeconomic and environmental equilibrium.

Finally Dr Cable went on to state that he wanted to see businesses in the United Kingdom that were socially responsible to customers, supply chains, workers and to the exchequer, by self regulation, by naming and shaming. I would add, naming and shaming, if it is to be effective in the world of classic capitalism, transparency and accountability must be part of this process.

It was a good lecture and a shared vision for the future.



The Rt Hon Vince Cable addressing an audience in the Inner Temple, London on 23 October 2013.
The meeting was chaired by Lord Parekh, President of the Gandhi Foundation.
(Photos: Prem Prakash)



Where is the Gandhian Business Model?

Antony Copley

No Gandhian could disagree with Vince Cable's interpretation of Gandhi's approach to economics as far as his lecture went. He stopped short of Gandhi's late visionary hopes for the Indian economy, one that was to be taken forward by the left Gandhians, J P Narayan and Vinobe Bhave. No doubt, however, it would be naïve to expect a Secretary of State for Business to move beyond the conventional paradigms of the market economy and the overriding importance of economic growth.

Cable led us through a perfectly plausible account of the way Gandhi had to work within the constraints of a colonial economy, rejecting *laissez-faire*, the imperial policy which of course advantaged British exports, and a nationalist demand for protectionism, the wish of Indian business interests to play a significant role in shaping Congress policy. This would shelter emergent indigenous capitalist growth, a protectionism most strikingly expressed in the doctrine of *swadeshi*, the clarion cry of the nationalist movement in its outraged rejection of the partition of Bengal in 1905. I'm not sure if Gandhi ever actually endorsed *swadeshi*, his concern being to protect artisan industry against both foreign and Indian factory production. I think Cable's may be special pleading in speculating that Gandhi would have gone along with a globalisation that saw Indian handloom products being sold as luxury items abroad. It would be interesting to read his exposition of this in a jointly authored book with Gandhian L C Jain. But one can agree that Gandhi would have rejected the economic nationalism of the Hindutva movement and the BJP, despite their claims that he was one of their own.

And of course he is surely right to argue that Gandhi engaged in this debate not so much as an economist, for he was no expert in this field, but as a moralist. His concerns were ethical. Cable overlooks the profound influence of John Ruskin's ideas on Gandhi, above all on the sacred nature of work. Here was one reason for Gandhi's championing of *khadi*, his high evaluation of the skills of artisan workers through his constructive programme. The relevant concept here is *sarvodaya*. It was a policy that did indeed look to the self-sufficiency of the village community. This was nothing to do with the highly regressive programme of autarchy pursued by the Axis powers and such latterday totalitarian states as North Korea. Cable, at the end, advocates forms of decentralisation and here he is seemingly on Gandhi's wavelength. But something much more far reaching than local autonomy is encompassed in Gandhi's vision.

Maybe this late Gandhian outlook was never coherently expressed, with his life so tragically cut short. The left Gandhians teased out the quasi-socialist

implications of Gandhi's vision of a new social structure which would radiate outwards from the village, inspired by an oceanic, quasi-mystical sense. So Bhave took up a national crusade of land redistribution, the *bhoodan* movement, though this was to be on a voluntary basis, appealing to landlords to hand over land to the poor. Narayan of course moved into left-wing politics and was a critical figure in challenging Mrs Gandhi's increasingly autocratic rule that led to the Emergency regime of 1975-77. Sadly, Bhave and Narayan stood on different sides in that crisis. This possibly reflected the ambiguities in Gandhi's own outlook.

Arguably Gandhi's late vision represented a new paradigm on how the economy was to be based. All along he had opposed the liberal capitalist insistence on growth above all. His was an economic vision of reaching out to abject levels of poverty but seeking no more than the meeting of basic human needs, a view that rejected a merely materialist approach and was inherently ascetic. This was the way of life in his ashrams. Really and truly here lay Gandhi's new business model and Cable was way off target. Are Gandhi's *panchayats* [small elected body governing a village] indeed so irrelevant?

When the banking crisis struck in 2010 many believed this exposed the inherently flawed nature of capitalism and the opportunity to move from its endlessly preached mantra of growth to an entirely new paradigm of a sustainable economy. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, wrote eloquently of the need to respect our environment and not to exploit and abuse its resources. Of course all this was to tap into a long lament on such abuse from Rachel Carson to James Lovelock and many others. All this has taken on a horrible urgency with the recognition of the threat from climate change. A recent article in the *New Statesman* by Naomi Klein, 'Science says: Revolt!' (25-31 October 2013) describes how leading scientists reinforce this search for a new paradigm, the way government see the revolutionary implications of this new paradigm and are trying to suppress the scientists, and the need for direct action. In this context the ideas of Gandhi, far from seeming utopian, have an all too urgent relevance.

The way the Gandhian ashram and panchayat have been brought up to date and prove that they are not pie in the sky is demonstrated in an astonishing experiment in Gandhian-style communitarian living in Andalucia. In 1979 one Sanchez Gordillo was the first elected mayor of the pueblo of Marinaleda, today with but 2,700 citizens. In 1980 he led a hunger strike 'against hunger'. In 1991 the 1,200 hectare El Humoso farm was taken over by the Marinaleda co-operative. It chose to develop an agriculture which maximised the use of labour and provide much needed employment. It was a rejection of a wheat based economy that used little labour and pursued mere economic efficiency. Profits of the co-operative are used to create ever newer employment. It is an anti-capitalist example which is catching on. Neighbouring Somante has set

up its own co-operative on government owned land. Admittedly the Andalusian Workers Union were initially evicted in March 2012 but returned the next day and never left. Here, argues Dan Hancox, is just the kind of new economy that the *indignados* are seeking. (See his essay 'Since the Financial Crisis, the Spanish Economy has been on its Knees. But one Village Stood and Fought', *The Observer* 20/10/13 and his book *The Village Against the World*, Verso). Gandhi is certainly one source for Sanchez Gordillo's visionary new economy. (Others are Jesus Christ, Marx, Lenin, and Che Guevara.) Gandhi's attitude to labour, the need for both full employment and a shared labour within the community, is brilliantly realised in these two pueblos. It is of course equally a fulfilment of the ideals of Spanish anarchism.

Quite obviously Vince Cable could not have advocated such a radical new paradigm. He has no option but to stick with the mantra of growth. But here is in fact where a truly Gandhian business model lies.

A new venture

London Discussion Forum on Gandhi & Non-Violence

This is a forum to discuss about Gandhi and the relevance of his ideals, especially nonviolence in the contemporary world. Anyone who has an opinion on the subject or has read about Gandhi and wants to share her or his thoughts is most welcome to join. For that matter, this is a good opportunity for you to come in if you are simply interested and want to know more about Gandhi. This event will be hosted by The Gandhi Foundation. You can find out more at <http://gandhifoundation.org>.

Event Date & Time: Sunday, 17th November. 4-5pm

Location: To be confirmed (basis the RSVP) but would be somewhere in London, with easy access to transport. See –

<http://www.meetup.com/London-Discussion-Forum-on-Gandhi-Non-Violence/events/148494472/>

The Gandhi Way via the internet

If you are a subscriber to the GF and would like to receive The Gandhi Way via the internet let Diane Gregory know at contact@gandhifoundation.org

If you have an email address but don't receive GF notices by email and would like to in the future, please send an email to the above.

DEMAND4JUSTICE

"India has to be concerned not only with what can be done for women (important as it is) but also with what women can do for India" – This is what Amartya Sen has to say about India and its women in his latest book *An Uncertain Glory*. I agree with him that it's about time Indian women stand up for themselves and directly take charge of their affairs. Being far away from my mainland I used to hear horrifying tales of women being brutally assaulted and raped. The gang rape that happened in December in Delhi, followed by the gang rape in Mumbai in April, along with numerous others, jolted our conscience from within and prompted us into action.

A group of 6 friends including myself and my husband, Prem, along with Pooja, Anuj, Vikas and Maansi decided to start a signature campaign to demand changes in law in rape cases in India. Since juveniles were most cruel in the two prominent cases of rape in both Delhi and Mumbai, we asked for changes in the law so that the juveniles who are committing such grave crimes are not given lenient punishment on account of their age.

A summary of the key points of the petition follows:

"We, the undersigned, hereby petition the Government of India to ensure prompt justice to all victims of rape without any relaxation in sentences pronounced to juveniles. Also, some recent incidents have also forced us to question the legitimacy of verdicts given by lower wings of our judicial system like village and Khap Panchayats.

In light of the above, we hereby ask for changes to be made to the following:

1. *The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000*

- a. Compared to present stipulation under law considering anyone below 18 as juvenile, we petition to reduce this age to 16 years***
- b. Revise the current higher limit of 3 years imprisonment to juvenile offenders to 14 years depending on the severity of the crime committed***

2. *Jurisdiction of Panchayats*

- a. Khap Panchayats must be declared 'illegal' and their proceedings and subsequent pronouncements 'null and void'.***
- b. Cases pertaining to sexual assault/abuse/harassment/torture/violence against women including grievous crimes like; rape, acid attacks, female foeticide, dowry should be tried by a District Court, and no court or body lower than the District Court should have jurisdiction in cases related to any form of violence (mental and physical) against women/ girls. This demand is keeping in mind the strong and widely prevalent misogynist mindset in the country."***



Our journey started from Paddington station on 30th August, 2013. We stood outside the station with a poster demanding an end to violence against women and a table with our petition. From 50 signatures that day to 1157 signatures by 5th October, this has been one of the most incredible journeys so far! It is amazing to see how people cut across boundaries and divisions of class, race, religion and gender to unite and stand together for a cause. What was especially heartening was to see women who had suffered violence in some form, at home or outside, coming up to us to share their stories.

From Paddington we next went to Reading High Street, then Croydon High Street and Camden Market, Hounslow High Street followed, succeeded by Ealing Broadway station, Shephard's Bush Station, Bond Street and finally Trafalgar Square.

Social media also gave voice to people, not physically present to sign or show support. We have 608 'likes' on our Facebook page till date. Kiran Bedi, the first woman officer in Indian Police Service, a feminist and social activist lent her whole hearted support to us through email and on social media.

It is interesting to observe how different people react differently to this – some are empathetic, some don't care, some are pro-active, some get emotional, some angry...

From 'hang the rapists' rhetoric to more sensible 'taking reformatory and preventive' measure, people did come up with some interesting suggestions to tackle this problem.

On 5th October we concluded our 6 weeks long journey with a candle light solidarity event. Standing in the symbolic shadow of Gandhi in Tavistock Garden we lit a

candle each, in remembrance of the victims as well in the hope of a better future for our girls. More than 50 people joined us on this day. We also collected some messages for the victims, from the people present there, which we have sent to NGOs in India working closely with them. A small discussion was initiated on causes, problems and status of women in India. The event ended with singing of 'We shall overcome' and Gandhi's favourite bhajan 'Raghupati Raghav'. The Gandhi Foundation was supportive throughout this campaign, with Mark Hoda signing the petition and getting his friends to sign too, George Paxton writing to us expressing his immense sympathy on emails and Bryan taking the effort to join us in person for our event. The Foundation's website and Facebook page were actively used to encourage awareness on this critical issue.

Two members of our group, Anuj and Prem, went to the Indian Embassy in London to present this petition with supporting signatures and documents.

Public memory is unfortunately short and the intent behind this campaign was not only to demand change in laws but more essentially to drive awareness on the pitiable condition of women in India and in the world.

Twisha Chandra



Demand4justice conclude their campaign at the Gandhi statue in Tavistock Square

Jeremy Corbyn MP – Gandhi Foundation Peace Award 2013

We are pleased to announce that Jeremy Corbyn MP will receive the GF Peace Award for 2013. Jeremy has been an MP for 30 years and represents Islington North. Bruce Kent describes him thus: “He has been tireless (and self-effacing) in support of so many peace campaigns, concerns and interests. Not anti-war activity alone but activity in pursuit of the justice on which real peace has to rest.”

Jeremy voted against the Iraq and Afghanistan wars in Parliament. He also voted against the Labour Government more often than any other MP.

He prioritises “the needs of the poor and the human rights of all, at home and abroad. The need for more affordable housing for Islington constituents has dominated my work in Parliament for many years. The needs of minority groups, including asylum-seekers, have also been at the forefront of my work for the past 22 years.”

“In what I refer to as my ‘peacekeeping role’, I have attended and spoken at human rights peace conferences, including Beijing, Mumbai, New Delhi, Rwanda, UN/Geneva and other parts of Europe. Particularly since September 11th, I have travelled to many countries to speak out against military efforts to solve problems and in favour of negotiation. I continue to argue for the rights of the oppressed, in particular, the Palestinians, Chagos Islanders, and the Western Saharwi.” Jeremy has been Vice Chair of the All Party Human Rights Group. He is a Vice Chair of national CND.



***When Chaplin Met Gandhi* School Resource Pack**

The play *When Gandhi Met Chaplin* by Jim Kenworth has been performed in Kingsley Hall and other venues in East London. The participants were both professional actors and young people from schools in the East End. Now an Education Resource Pack inspired by the meeting of the two famous figures has been produced by the Royal Docks Trust, with some help from the Gandhi Foundation.

The Pack consists of material to be used in six Workshops and has already been successfully used in some London schools.

The six workshops are:

1. An Introduction to the characters
2. The East End in 1931
3. Gandhi's Philosophy of Nonviolence
4. Chaplin and Gandhi meet and debate – Materialism Vs Spirituality
5. Territory/ Post Code wars, gangs
6. Hopes and Dreams of the Future for East London

For further details: www.jimkenworth.co.uk

A Gandhi Alphabet

Starting with this issue of *The Gandhi Way* and continuing over the next two issues is a 'Gandhi Alphabet', a tool for studying Gandhi's life, his ideas and his historical impact. It has been written by George Paxton, Editor of *The Gandhi Way*, and Antony Copley, Academic Adviser to the Gandhi Foundation. As some letters of the alphabet lend themselves to such an enterprise much better than others it is hoped that readers will look with a tolerant eye on some of the more imaginative efforts.

A Ashram

Traditionally an ashram is an Indian religious community often centred on a guru. Gandhi founded four main ashrams, two in South Africa and two in India which differed in many respects from the traditional ashram.

The first was Phoenix Settlement, a farm which Gandhi was inspired to buy after reading Ruskin's *Unto This Last* on a train journey from Johannesburg to Durban. The farm had 100 acres and was some 14 miles north of Durban in Natal. All residents were expected to take part in the manual labour and the ideal was self-sufficiency although this was not fully achieved in any of the ashrams. An important reason for the establishment of Phoenix in 1914 was to house the printing press for the journal *Indian Opinion*. Phoenix was to have a long life as it continued after Gandhi left South Africa. With his many commitments Gandhi himself was frequently not in residence but his personality nevertheless shaped the character of the ashrams. The second ashram, 21 miles from Johannesburg, was financed by his great friend Hermann Kallenbach, architect and colleague in the human rights struggle, who named it Tolstoy Farm. It was principally to house the families of satyagrahis who had been imprisoned and functioned only from 1910 to 1913. It was about 1,100 acres in size and had about a thousand fruit trees: oranges, peaches, apricots, figs, almonds and plums.

On his return to India in 1915 Gandhi set up another in his home state of Gujarat but this time in the city of Ahmedabad. Known as Satyagraha Ashram or Sabarmati where it was located, the residents here were to take strict vows which included celibacy and opposition to untouchability. The ashram established basic schools in some surrounding villages. The development and promotion of homespun cloth became an important feature of this ashram and it was prioritised over agriculture. Unfortunately there were often personal differences at the ashram which Gandhi was frequently away from and his cousin Maganlal Gandhi whom he had put in charge was not universally popular. Maganlal later left the ashram to do constructive work in the villages and died suddenly in 1928 to Gandhi's distress. The celibacy rule was often a source of conflict there. The community suffered without the personal presence of Gandhi. Its highpoint was when the Salt

March began from there in March 1930. In 1933 the ashram was made into a centre for untouchables or Harijans as Gandhi called them.

The final ashram was not started intentionally. In 1936 Gandhi settled alone in the poor village of Segaon in the centre of India where he hoped to improve the lives of the villagers, but they were largely unresponsive. However friends began to gather around him and before long an ashram had developed although it was not as formal as Sabarmati had been, but no matter where Gandhi was people were drawn to him and various activities arose. The location of Sevagram (village of service) as it was named was unhealthy and illness often afflicted the residents. Great attention was paid to cleanliness, always a high priority with Gandhi. Combatting caste discrimination was given even more time and effort than at Sabarmati and here also Gandhi's idea of Basic Education was developed. It was based on the idea of teaching children a craft as a useful way of earning an income for the school and later themselves. Gandhi believed that a general education could be taught through crafts. Character development was of great importance and here the character of the teacher was central.

Alongside the constructive work of the ashram for Gandhi political activities continued as members of the All India Working Committee made the journey to Sevagram to consult him. The village was 6km from the rail station at Wardha where the Bombay-Calcutta and the Delhi-Madras lines met.

B Brahmacharya

Gandhi took a vow of celibacy (*brahmacharya*) in 1906, aged 36, after returning from serving with the Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps during a Zulu 'rebellion'. Gandhi had been for a number of years moving towards this decision for complex reasons, including Kasturba's ill health and the undesirability of more pregnancies. However brahmacharya is a long accepted phase in the ideal Hindu marriage after children have been born and the family has been catered for, even if not so widely practised. He also believed in the Indian traditional belief of sexual restraint leading to development of the spiritual life. In Gandhi's case he linked it to the belief that brahmacharya would give him the strength to conduct strenuous public activity. This belief grew stronger when he returned to India and, after a break, leapt to leadership of the Independence movement while continuing to conduct innumerable social experiments.

In the last decade of his life as he tried to deal with conflict between religious and political groups and differing personalities which tested him to breaking point he started to make controversial brahmacharya experiments in which he shared a bed with young female members close to him. He did this during two periods, one in the mid-1940s and the other in the late 1940s towards the end of his life. After complaints from close colleagues he broke off the first period and then resumed at a point of particular strain during the terrible

riots between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal in late 1946. He felt that he had to test the strength of his brahmacharya.

Gandhi's brahmacharya did not, unlike many such practitioners, involve distancing himself from contact with women and he always had close female friends and colleagues.

C Charka

The charka or spinning wheel became the symbol of the Independence movement and was used in the flag of the Indian National Congress until Independence in 1947. Traditional hand spinning and weaving in India had been undermined by factories in Britain who bought Indian cotton and sold cloth back to India at prices which hand production could not match. Gandhi's reason for reviving hand production was that poor Indians working on the land could not get sufficient income from seasonal work and hand spinning at home would give some added income. It also helped to establish the dignity of manual labour which was traditionally despised. Gandhi strongly encouraged leading members of Congress to spin daily as it would link them with the less fortunate. This he did himself and treated it as a form of meditation. It was also a criticism of factory production which created unemployment and concentrated profits in the hands of a few owners, just the type of technology that he disliked.

D Dandi and the Salt March

On 12 March 1930 Gandhi set out with 78 Sabarmati Ashram residents to march to Dandi on the coast 200 miles to the south. There he intended to prepare some crude salt from the shore. The idea had arisen that the tax on salt levied by the British Government was an easily graspable illustration of the unjust rule which he intended to bring to an end. Ten days earlier Gandhi had written a letter to be delivered by a young Englishman, Reginald Reynolds, to Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, telling him of his intention. Travelling at a fairly leisurely pace Gandhi addressed meetings in the villages along the route. This gave time for the news to spread around the country and for many to join the march. On 5 April Dandi was reached and the next morning the Salt Law was broken by preparing salt on the seashore. People around the country started to do likewise.

This caught the imagination of the world's media and the events were reported in many countries. On 3 May Gandhi wrote a second letter to the Viceroy announcing his intention to lead a nonviolent raid on the salt depots at Dharasana. The next day Gandhi was arrested and sent to Yeravda Prison. The raids were among the most spectacular satyagrahas of the Independence

campaign with great courage and discipline shown by the satyagrahis as they were beaten by the police. Many other Congress supporters were arrested and thousands were imprisoned around the country during the year-long satyagraha. On 5 March 1931 Gandhi and the Viceroy reached a settlement, the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement which included release of prisoners and modification of the Salt Laws, with the prospect of a Round Table Conference on the future of India in London.

D Development

Independent India became the leading case-study for development studies. Overshadowing the theory were the conflicting visions for India's future economy of Gandhi and Nehru. Gandhi thought in terms of a sustainable economy, looking to the rural sector, the peasantry and the village, putting his faith in handicraft over factory, reaching out to extreme poverty. Given their father-son relationship Nehru felt morally obliged to preserve some of Gandhi's vision and did protect handicrafts, but he was driven by a prospect of India's rapid development, looked to major public works' schemes, hydro-electric dams and steel mills, and, indeed, pointed the way to India's eventual status as a major capitalist economy and leading regional super-power. Gandhi was neither anti-capitalist nor socialist. He sought the reconciliation of employer and worker. His ideal was social harmony. It was left to his disciples, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, to tease out some of the more radical implications of his vision, with schemes for land redistribution, the Bhoodan movement, and a more socialist economy.

E Empire

Gandhi was a great believer in oaths and believed in Queen Victoria's pledge in 1858 to govern her Empire well. Throughout his early career he looked to the Colonial Office and Westminster to redress the grievances of the Indian minority in South Africa. One expression of his continuing loyalty to Empire was his forming an Ambulance brigade to support the British in the Boer and Zulu wars and his acting as a recruiting sergeant on his return to India during the First World War. It took the shocking massacre at Amritsar in April 1919 – Brigadier Dyer turned the guns on an unarmed crowd in the enclosed space of the Jallianwala Bagh – to finally disillusion him of the good intention of Empire and allow the adoption of his non-cooperation and civil disobedience campaigns.

┌ Family

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born to Karamchand and Putlibai Gandhi, the former being Diwan, or Prime Minister, in the tiny principality of Porbandar in Gujarat. They were Vaishnava Hindus. Mohan was married to Kasturba when they were 13 and their first child, Harilal, was born when they were 18. Gandhi left a few months later in 1888 for London to study law. Their second son, Manilal, was born after Gandhi's return from Britain in 1892. Ramdas and Devadas were both born in South Africa in 1898 and 1900 respectively. There were no daughters born to Kasturba and Mohandas.

Gandhi was a demanding father and husband. As he began to develop his radical social ideas while in South Africa and impose a strict moral standard on himself, he felt that his wife and children should be good examples also. Kasturba rebelled when she was asked to return gifts she had received as the wife of a leading figure in the Indian community. Gandhi's will prevailed and the gifts were given to the Natal Indian Congress but Kasturba resented it. While the two older sons took an active part in the civil disobedience campaigns and both served jail terms for their activities they found it difficult to accept that they could not receive higher education like their father. This was partly because Gandhi came to consider academic education as less important than practical and moral education, but also because he did not want to privilege his own family. The father also interfered with the sons' choice of wives and Harilal especially could not accept this and became alienated from his father. Manilal came round eventually and carried on the work his father had initiated by looking after the Phoenix ashram and editing *Indian Opinion*; he later became an active opponent of Apartheid as did his family. The younger sons settled in India and played active roles in the Independence movement. Ramdas promoted khadi especially and Devadas became a distinguished journalist.

┌ Fasting

Public fasting is an activity especially associated with Gandhi, and a controversial one too. He undertook 15 fasts, all but the first in India. The first was undertaken by Gandhi in response to a misdemeanour by young people in the Phoenix ashram for which he blamed himself. The second at the Sabarmati Ashram in 1925 was similar and he fasted for seven days in both cases as a penance.

A different type of fast concerned a wage dispute between the weavers and the owners of a mill in Ahmedabad. Gandhi gave support to the workers who were locked out by the owners for three weeks and when the mill reopened the workers went on strike. Gandhi laid down terms for the workers to return but after a few weeks they were weakening in resolve so the idea of a fast

came to him. Within three days both sides agreed to arbitration which resulted in a satisfactory agreement.

Other occasions in which Gandhi undertook fasts were when participants in his campaigns used violence, the first being when riots occurred during the Rowlatt Satyagraha in 1919. On seven occasions Gandhi used fasting to bring about a cessation of violence, the last being just before his assassination.

One of the most important of his fasts was over the intended introduction of separate electorates for the untouchable community. Gandhi was firmly opposed to this as it would entrench the community's separation from Hinduism rather than being absorbed into it. A 'fast unto death', unless the scheme was withdrawn, was begun on 20 September 1932 while Gandhi was in Yeravda prison. The leaders of the Hindu community then met with the untouchable leaders and reached an agreement which they presented to the Government which accepted the Yeravda Pact. After 6 days Gandhi broke his fast. The Pact had been drafted by Gandhi and acknowledged complete equality for the untouchables. The following year he began another fast focusing on the opening of Hindu temples to untouchables. This was a fixed 21 day fast to appeal to the hearts of the Hindu community.

In 1943 after the Quit India campaign was launched and all the Congress leaders had been arrested, Gandhi decided on a 21 day fast, prompted, it seems, by the Viceroy's accusation that Gandhi had been responsible for the violence that had broken out. It had no effect on the Government.

It is not always easy to see the purpose of Gandhi's fasts nor to judge their success but some at least brought about positive change, perhaps especially the fast in Calcutta in 1947 and that in Delhi at the beginning of 1948 which brought peace between the conflicting communities.

G Gokhale, G K

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a teacher of history and political economy and founder of Ferguson College in Poona. He was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1899 and was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1905. Gandhi adopted him as his political guru. In terms of early Congress politics he was a leader of the Moderates, a constitutionalist, embattled with the more radical Extremist leader, Tilak, who



was readier to embark on the full scale civil disobedience of the Swaraj movement of 1905. Gandhi showed interest in Gokhale's Servants of India Society, which emphasised social work over political. In 1909 at the INC session in Lahore Gokhale paid a glowing tribute to Gandhi: "... I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth." Gandhi expressed his disapproval of this excessive praise. However when Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* was published later in the year Gokhale privately said he thought it a foolish work. Nevertheless Gandhi drew Gokhale into his work in South Africa and Gokhale came there in 1912 to attempt to sort out the plight of Indian indentured workers. It was Gokhale who told him on his return to India in 1915 to take time out to refamiliarise himself with things Indian. His death at only 49 shortly after Gandhi's return in fact paved the way for Gandhi's own eventual leadership.

¶ *Hind Swaraj*

Gandhi wrote this short book on board ship on his way back to South Africa after his 1909 visit to London. He wrote it quickly in Gujarati using both hands, shifting to his left as his right became tired. It appeared in *Indian Opinion* in two parts and then in book form. The English translation, by Gandhi himself, appeared in March 1910 with the title *Indian Home Rule*, published at Phoenix, Natal. At about the same time the Gujarati version was banned in India as it was considered subversive.

The text is in the form of a dialogue between 'Reader' and 'Editor' the latter being Gandhi speaking and the former an Indian putting opinions which Gandhi refutes. The work is often regarded as a key work for understanding Gandhi's programme. It does however have a good deal of hyperbole with modern, or Western, civilisation being severely criticised and India's ancient civilisation (as he imagines it) praised. He attacks modern medicine, law and the railways which have been brought by the British, but he also attacks the the bad aspects of Indian civilisation which he sees as a corruption of an original simple ethically advanced society.

He refutes the arguments of the revolutionaries who believe only violence will remove British rule and puts forward satyagraha which he is evolving in South Africa as the correct method. He believes that swaraj (freedom) should not just be a change of regime from British to Indian but should entail the creation of a new type of society rooted in nonviolence and restraint without a never ending growth in material goods.

The work shows that Gandhi, while he still had another five years of active work in South Africa ahead of him, had thought deeply about India's future.

Pilgrimage to Nonviolence – Martin Luther King

Then I was introduced to the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force; satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. At that time, however, I acquired only an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, and I had no firm determination to organise it in a socially effective situation.

When I was in Montgomery, Alabama, as a pastor in 1956, I had not the slightest idea that I would later become involved in a crisis in which nonviolent resistance would be applicable. After I had lived in the community about a year, the bus boycott began. The Negro people of Montgomery, exhausted by the humiliating experiences that they had constantly faced on the buses, expressed in a massive act of non-co-operation their determination to be free. They came to see that it was ultimately more honourable to walk the streets in dignity than to ride the buses in humiliation. At the beginning of the protest, the people called on me to serve as their spokesman. In accepting this responsibility, my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. This principle became the guiding light of our movement. Christ furnished the spirit and motivation and Gandhi furnished the method.

From Pilgrimage to Nonviolence in *Strength to Love* By Martin Luther King, Fontana 1969

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Peace Museum in the Punjab

The [May newsletter](#) of the International Network of Museums for Peace brought information about a new peace museum.

It is being built on the Attari-Wagah border between India and Pakistan, in the Sarhad food and culture park. Sarhad celebrates the common architectural, cultural and culinary heritage of pre-partition Punjab in general, and Amritsar-Lahore in particular, its motto being

“FOR PUNJABIS HUNGER FUELS ANGER, FOOD PROPELS PEACE”.

The museum will celebrate the Punjab’s shared heritage. Amanbir Jaspal (a postgraduate from the Norwegian School of Economics) had visited Lahore in Pakistan and found a common desire for peace and friendship, especially among the youth on both sides of the border. The double-storeyed museum spread over 6,000 sq feet is expected to be opened early next year and will showcase items to dispel myths and promote peace. Amanbir explained: "It will help the youth understand strong bonds their elders shared before the Partition . . . (and) help people to forget the past and move ahead by touching hearts."

With the help of his father, D.S.Jaspal (until his retirement in 2012, a Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government in India), the idea found instant support and encouragement from leading political figures on both sides of the border. D.S.Jaspal hopes that the museum will highlight the bonds shared by different communities before partition with contributions from NGOs, universities, historians, young people and others.

The museum design is inspired by buildings in the walled cities of Amritsar and Lahore, reflecting the architectural heritage of exquisite design and craftsmanship in exposed brick work which still survives in some of the old buildings. The patterned tile floors are modelled on those in Amritsar’s Golden Temple and Dera Sahib Gurdwara. Pakistan’s internationally acclaimed truck artist Haider Ali has painted two Indian mini trucks at Sarhad and the museum will have exquisitely designed furniture and ceramic screens created by master craftsmen from Lahore.

On display will be maps of villages in undivided Punjab along with their brief histories. Jaspal’s wife, Sameena, who is helping her husband realize his dream, said they have proposed collaboration between universities on the either side to generate databases of these villages. They are collecting pre-partition cinema and railway tickets besides letters, revenue stamps, newspaper clippings, artefacts and video clips for the museum. “We don’t mind paying for these valuable possessions,” he said. “We have to buy certain video clips from the BBC and CNN from their archives.”

The Jaspal family and all those supporting the project hope that the museum will inspire peaceful co-existence and contribute to the healing of the traumas caused by partition.

The Gandhi Foundation

Charity number 292629

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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