REVIEWS

Tsering Woeser: Tibet on Fire

Verso Books, 2016

Reviewed by Chris Agripino Kennedy, *University of Massachusetts*, *Amherst*

Tsering Woeser's book, *Tibet on Fire*, covers the topic of Tibetan self-immolations in response to Chinese occupation. Woeser discusses self-immolation as acts of nonviolent resistance, arguing that they embody the practice of nonviolence and actively work as a form of resistance for the Tibetan people. Woeser argues that self-immolation is consistent with Buddhist nonviolence in that it brings no harm to other living beings and therefore is not violent.

Self-immolation is recognized by Woeser as a valid form of resistance, one that is actively serving the resistance movement in Tibet. Woeser notes 'In such a stifling environment, there is no longer any space for popular protests to develop,' leaving self-immolation as the drastic measure that is being taken to continue protests in the face of the Chinese Communist Party's repression. Woeser argues that the increase in surveillance, restrictions, repression, and violence against the Tibetan people leads directly to an increase in self-immolation as people are pushed to seek any outlet of protest.

Woeser seeks to answer the question of why Tibetan people are self-immolating, and offers several points of possible reasoning. Religious repression and the removal of spiritual leadership is a major influence, as argued by Woeser, on the resistance movement. The CCP conversely spins this argument by blaming the religious leadership in exile for self-immolations, claiming conspiracy. Other reasons cited by Woeser include ecological destruction, language replacement/erasure of culture, settlement and militant policing, and surveillance and control.

A potential point of weakness which could be argued for the book is the heavy bias of the author toward the resistance movement in Tibet and her highly critical view of the CCP. However, I would argue that this is a strength instead. With the significant level of surveillance currently seen in Tibet, there has been extremely limited media coverage of the resistance effort and daily repression of the people. Woeser's closeness to the movement and personal stake in the success of it offers the kind of close up view that is lacking in the general media. While reading the book, the passionate care Woeser has for her country and its people is ever present and clearly has a strong influence on her writing. While it is a factual account of the state of affairs in Tibet presently as well as in the past, many parts of the book read easily in an almost poetic way. This emotional and beautifully crafted style of writing makes reading about such a dire and intense topic much more digestible and accessible for non-academic readers.

Though Woeser's passion is encouraging and mostly beneficial, it does occasionally translate into a more negative tone of voice. Some of the text can sound commanding and even defensive of itself. The commanding tone of certain opinionated parts can lead to readers feeling as if they are being talked at, rather than brought into the discussion of the topic. The defensiveness of the tone can leave readers feeling put-off as well. At some points, the text seems as if it is defending itself from an unlabeled source of attack. The result is a feeling of misdirected aggression rather than passionate rage toward the oppressive CCP.

Overall, the book is an excellent account of data and narratives regarding acts of self-immolations and general repression in Tibet. It is not difficult to read as many academic texts can be, while it is also inviting and informational for readers who are otherwise unfamiliar with Tibet. The book is suitable for both academic and non-academic audiences and provides a complete scope of the current situation facing the Tibetan people.

Ather Zia: Resisting Disappearance: Military Occupation & Women's Activism in Kashmir

University of Washington Press, 2019

Reviewed by Emily Parker, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

In her debut book, Resisting Disappearance: Military Occupation & Women's Activism in Kashmir, anthropologist Ather Zia surveyed the deployment of government-sanctioned forced disappearance by the occupational forces of India in Kashmir. The focal point of her research centers around the utilization of grief-based resistance strategies by the families of those who

have been disappeared. Through this lens, Zia constructs for her audience a narrative that is often overlooked in the study of resistance movements; those voices of the mothers, wives, and daughters left behind to deal with the aftermath of these policies. It is through these kinships that the reader is introduced to the human side of occupation not hindered by the cold logic of statistics.

For this purpose, Zia conducted an ethnographic investigation of multiple case studies to highlight both the similarities and differences in experience for these groups. From the perspective of a mother losing her son to a wife losing her husband the gendered implications of the occupation of Kashmir become pivotal to comprehending the situation. This approach is spearheaded by these activists' individual and collective organizing methods. First and foremost, the employment of their bodies at the center of their protests grants these women the ability to reappear those who were disappeared. In their performance, they successfully provoke the countermemory of remembrance in the face of erasure.

Concurrent to this Zia provides insight into the paradoxical structure of these women's organizing. In their quest to speak truth to power these women find themselves occupying a new space in the public sphere that is closed to them in Kashmir. This is done through the traditional framework of presenting oneself as a good woman (*asal zanan*). In this process the mothers and wives of those disappeared foster a revolutionary atmosphere within the traditional culture of their society.

Throughout my reading of *Resisting Disappearance*, I found myself quietly admiring Zia's incorporation of each individual's story in a way that allowed for the emergence of a compelling narrative. In this work, Zia took the time to provide context through the inclusion of helpful definitions of useful words and key concepts. This was further strengthened by the addition of other contemporary examples of civil resistance to foreign military occupation.

The true strength of this work, however, lies in the immense level of respect evident in her telling of each woman's story. Each account included was written in a way that shows the reader the importance of the similarities that can be drawn between each experience but does not diminish any of the subject's autonomy as individuals in this movement. Zia, throughout the text, did not allow the significance of illustrating those corresponding features found within each story to diminish the very personal associations

of unique grief and anger felt by each woman. One of the best ways this was accomplished was through the inclusion of poetry at the beginning of each chapter. This granted the text the ability to provide a more humane perspective of this ongoing tragedy.

Despite this, there was, in my opinion, one small weakness present in this work. In chapter six the story of Jabbar Sharief's twenty-year search for his younger brother alongside his mother provided an insight into grief as experienced by siblings. Although the focus of this work was on the gendered implications of mothers and wives resisting in the public sphere, I believe a further look at the effects of this on siblings could provide additional nuance to the text's argument. Nevertheless, *Resisting Disappearance: Military Occupation & Women's Activism in Kashmir* by Ather Zia provides a fascinating look into the system of forced disappearance sponsored in the Indian government's occupation of Kashmir.

Baconi, Tareq: Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance

Stanford University Press, 2018

Reviewed by Yara Akkeh, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst* Summary

In *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*, Tareq Baconi discusses Hamas' role throughout its existence within the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Not only does Baconi provide an in depth and detailed timeline of Hamas' interactions with Israel, the Palestinian Authority, the PLO, and other factions and actors throughout the occupation, but he does so while explaining the strategic reasoning behind each actor's decision. He strives to describe Hamas' actions not as individual acts from a terrorist organization, but as acts of resistance and self-defense against an all-encompassing occupation that has threatened every facet of Palestinians' way of life.

Baconi begins his explanation of Hamas' pacification by providing context to the occupation, and elaborates on the British Mandate and Israel's seizure of 78% of historic Palestine in 1948. Baconi then discusses the

establishment of Hamas as a resistance organization that, at its core, stood for the liberation of historic Palestine against a brutal and crushing occupation. By describing the countless ploys, calculated attacks, operations, and diplomatic attempts throughout the occupation, Baconi illustrates Hamas' often violent resistance in Gaza and Israel's attempts to expand its occupation through extensive and deadly military intervention, while simultaneously explaining the strategy and effects of each decision. Ultimately, the occupation has used cycles of extreme violence and calm along with strategic political moves to steadily pacify Hamas, whose unwavering resistance to the occupation has continued to threaten Israeli security.

Analytical Comparison with Shock's Civil Resistance

When reading *Hamas Contained*, I noted a number of connections to *Civil Resistance Today* by Kurt Schock. The armed nature of Hamas' resistance and the numerous attempts at diplomacy between Hamas, Israel, and Palestinian government made me consider Schock's discussion of violence in relation to power and the use of mediators in conflicts, and how Shock's perspective on nonviolent resistance applied to the Israeli occupation.

Civil Resistance Today discussed separating violence from power, and what it says about one's power when they resort to violence. Schock references Hannah Arendt, a political theorist who 'suggests that rather than being an extreme manifestation of power, violence is the antithesis of power... [which] may destroy power, but cannot create it' (Shock 6). This seemingly clear statement certainly becomes more nuanced when applied to the Israeli occupation. Firing rockets into Gaza did not give Hamas any more authority or power, but instead worked to invalidate Israeli power by establishing fear in Israeli citizens, and therefore doubt in the Israeli government's ability to keep them safe. Additionally, Israel's operations in Gaza were extremely deadly and dealt blows to Hamas' power as Palestinian civilians faced enormous casualties. Although Hamas' resistance and dedication to the liberation of historic Palestine and its people were steadfast, it is true that Hamas has been steadily pacified throughout the years. This destruction of Hamas' power has certainly elevated Israel's influence, making it hard to believe that Israel's violence did not provide it with more power. Additionally, in Chapter 7 Schock states that mediators can often help different sides of a conflict to reach resolutions; however, Hamas has had numerous mediators between itself, Israel, Fateh, and others, and the agreements reached with these mediators all eventually fell apart as Israel resumed violence against

Palestinians in Gaza. Are mediators genuinely effective in resolving conflict, or is it situation dependent?

Critical Reflection

Hamas Contained was certainly emotionally difficult to read due to its honesty and clarity in describing the atrocities committed throughout the Israeli occupation. However, it was also incredibly informative, methodical, and educational as the book provided a refreshingly new perspective on Hamas and its role as a resistance organization, rather than immediately casting it as a terrorist organization. By organizing the book chronologically, I was able to follow along relatively easily considering the complexity of the events, which maximized my understanding of the material and genuinely helped me learn more about the major players within the occupation, as well as the occupation's effects on Gaza throughout its duration. Baconi was honest in his intentions with the book from the beginning, stating in the preface that Hamas Contained's purpose is to 'cover the major milestones that Hamas went through...[and] contextualize these developments within the broader arc of Palestinian nationalism as it explores Hamas's role within the Palestinian struggle for self-determination' (Baconi xxiii). Baconi additionally states that the text, as a counternarrative, is inherently from Hamas' perspective (xx); while this is true, he successfully acknowledges Hamas' weaknesses and presents as many facts as possible. While I wanted to read more about the effects of the occupation on the Palestinian civilians in Gaza, I understand that providing more detail perhaps would have gone beyond the scope of this book. Baconi's straightforwardness in his intentions with this book contributed to this understanding, as it provides the reader with clear expectations of what the text entails. He is direct in his explanations, and recounts the history with enough detail for the reader to gain understanding of the situation without overwhelming them with the facts. Overall, *Hamas Contained* contributes a new perspective on Hamas to the West, and allows readers to adopt a more nuanced view of Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation.

References

Schock, Kurt. 2015. Civil Resistance Today. Cambridge: Polity.

Rhodes Must Fall Movement, Oxford: Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonize the Racist Heart of an Empire

Zed Books, 2018

Review by Benjamin S. Case, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

The past several years have seen an explosion of activism ostensibly aimed at the removal of statues, namesakes, or other public memorials dedicated to racist historical figures. A catalyst for this recent wave was the #RhodesMustFall movement in South Africa, which mobilized around a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town, and quickly went global.

These movements generated sharp pushback and repression, indicating that activists were touching a nerve. Some campaigns have succeeded in removing their target monuments, such as the Rhodes Must Fall movement at the University of Cape Town, while others have not, such as the movement by the same name at the University of Oxford, Rhodes' main benefactor institution and the focus of this book. However, underneath these fights over physical markers is a much deeper fight over the legacies, histories, and logics of colonialism in higher education—a fight to decolonize the university. This book confronts us with ways colonial and racist legacies are baked into the university system and the very construction of higher education as we know it.

Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonize the Racist Heart of an Empire exposes the myth that modern higher education is a place for everyone via the experiences of black and brown students whose experiences tell another story, a story of colonial legacies painted over with façades of 'diversity,' 'equality,' and 'free speech.' Multiple chapters document how the rhetoric of fairness and open debate often function in an Orwellian inversion as their very opposites—to perpetuate imbalance, defend the political speech and acts of some in order to deny it to others, and ultimately to maintain white supremacist norms.

This volume is a collection of pieces by participants, allies, and stakeholders in the global movement to decolonize higher education,

focused on Rhodes Must Fall, Oxford (RMFO). The 32 chapters are by different contributors and take widely varying forms, from essays and articles to transcribed speeches and interviews, to song lyrics. Aspects of contributions are inward-looking, analyzing the politics and dynamics of the RMFO and elsewhere, while others are outward-looking, formulating a politics of decolonization for a new generation, and still others are experiences or analyses generally related to the legacies of colonialism in educational institutions. There is a preface written by Kehinde Andrews and a brief introduction by the editors, but other than that the editors, who are themselves movement participants, offer no overarching commentary, analysis, or conclusion, letting the assemblage of pieces speak for themselves.

If few movement books attempt to decentralize the explication of a struggle from within, even fewer attempt to do so by including the voices of sister movements. In this case, it was essential to include the voices of student activists at the University of Cape Town, which birthed the Rhodes Must Fall movement, but also included are voices from struggles at other universities geographically located elsewhere in Britain, South Africa, Ghana, India and the US. These situate the struggle at Oxford within a broader decolonial movement, and expand on the questions raised in Oxford in terms of breadth and depth. The result is a book that is part contemporary movement history, part archive, and part political-social theory. There is no narrative flow, which results in some redundancy and left me with questions. But as the reader is forced to explore the RMFO and other movements through differing views and experiences of individuals and groups, the collection extends perhaps a better sense of the overall movement than could be offered by an individual or small group authoring the book themselves.

Nevertheless, some of the chapters appear to fit together better than others in terms of content and tone. For example, the essay by Obádélé Kambon¹ at the University of Ghana, relating to a now-removed statue of Gandhi on that campus, stands out from the rest in its caustic tone, especially combined with being one of only three chapters in the volume in which the direct target is not European-based (there is also a chapter by Palestine solidarity activists in the US relating to Israel and a chapter by an exiled West Papuan activist in the UK relating to Indonesia). However, this too gives the reader a sense of the movement's scope and diversity of positions.

¹ In the book, this contributor's first name is spelled 'Odádélé'; I opted for the spelling Dr. Kambon uses.

Beyond its theoretical and historical contributions, this book unavoidably confronts the fallacy of the 'single-issue' movement. One cannot read this book and come away thinking that the Rhodes Must Fall movement is an anti-colonial or a Black movement without also understanding that it is a queer feminist and anti-capitalist movement. Intra-movement tensions and conflicts do not appear to be whitewashed, and we get accounts from multiple angles of both the messiness and power of a radical movement working through internal anti-Blackness, misogyny, transphobia, and class contradictions. This transparent and self-critical quality is consistent with several (excellent) student-written publications relating to 'Fallist' movements in South Africa,² formulating a picture of a radical decolonial movement that struggles to incorporate the politics and praxis of intersectional theory from the outset.

In this book, RMFO movement leaders, participants, defenders, and allies offer a nuanced look back at a seemingly short-lived yet widely influential movement. This book gives us both a theoretical and an on-the-ground exposition of such complex and heady issues as decolonization, the legacies of imperialism, structural racism, intersectionality, social movement dynamics, and multi-racial organizing. This is an important work for social movement scholars, university administrators and students of all kinds—particularly those from backgrounds directly connected to slavery and colonialism—activists, and anyone interested in the developing politics of decolonization.

References

Chinguno, Crispen, Morwa Kgoroba, Sello Mashibili, Bafana Nicolas Masilena, Boikhutso Maubane, Nhlanhla Moyo, Andile Mthombeni, and Hlengiwe Ndlovu, eds. 2017 Rioting and Writing: Diaries and the Wits Fallists. Johannesburg: Society, Work and Politics Institute, University of Witwatersrand.

Naidoo, Leigh-Ann, Asher Gamedze, and Thato Magano, eds. 2017. Publica[c]tion. Johannesburg: Publica[c]tion Collective + NewText.

² See Chinguno et al. (2017) and Naidoo et al. (2017).

Gandhi: The Decolonisation of British India, 1917-1947.

GMT Games, 2019³

Reviewed by Craig S. Brown, Journal of Resistance Studies

As a longstanding enthusiast of boardgames and a scholar of nonviolence, I have heavily anticipated the release of *Gandhi*, as a rare if not unique focus on nonviolence in this genre. As with the boardgame *Bloc by Bloc* reviewed in *JRS* (Volume 5 Number 1), such a treatment of resistance and all the risks it entails could easily convey commodification and reductivity. However, the development of *Gandhi* has clearly been undertaken with significant research and respect for its themes—both the Indian independence struggle and nonviolent resistance generally—and effectively reflects the spirit, strengths and shortcomings of broader resistance in the specific context. As with my other boardgame reviews in *JRS*, the discussion below will focus on the educational and training potential of *Gandhi* with regard to resistance.

A real strength of the developers' approach with *Gandhi* is the introductory material provided in the playbook, concerning the designer Bruce Mansfield's rationale for the game, an introduction to the Indian independence struggle and, most significantly for the uninitiated, nonviolence. The game's development was evidently not entered into lightly, with Mansfield explaining in the playbook (p.46) that the game began as 'an attempt to answer a question that I had long been thinking about: *Many games model violent conflict but few model nonviolent resistance; how could you model nonviolence in a board game?* [original emphasis]'. A selected bibliography is provided in the playbook, comprising of key texts on the British Raj in India, Gandhi, as well as 'strategic' or 'pragmatic' nonviolence in the main. Some of this material on nonviolence could be considered basic given the ongoing developments in the resistance field, although it is clearly intended as an introduction and may lead to players engaging more with theory and cases of nonviolent resistance.

As a researcher who has tried to expand knowledge and appeal of nonviolence among a wider audience, it was a pleasure to see information on nonviolence provided directly in *Gandhi*'s playbook (pp.49-50), in the

³ Currently available.

form of questioning three common myths about nonviolence: Myth 1: 'Nonviolence is just passive resistance. It is just the absence of violence. It is submission to oppression through inaction'; Myth 2: "Nonviolence is only for committed pacifists who adopt nonviolence solely for principled or moral reasons"; Myth 3: "Nonviolence only rarely works". Moreover, the event cards that can influence the game's progress—and that relate to actual historical occurrences in India significant to the independence struggle—are expounded in the playbook's 'event text and notes' section. This provides more information on British, Muslim League, 'revolutionary' and Indian National Congress-related activities, sometimes relating to nonviolent activity. This is interesting for the casual player and academic alike, as some of the events are somewhat obscure.

Significantly, GMT's boardgames are rather specialised and have a limited audience, so the likely impact of this game in terms of expanding knowledge of nonviolent resistance is probably restricted. This is all the more the case because of the rather prohibitive cost of the game. Thus, the majority of purchasers are likely to be experienced wargamers who often play through games focusing on violent conflicts, including others in GMT's COIN (counterinsurgency) series, which *Gandhi* is the 9th instalment of. Nevertheless, the US military has adopted some of GMT's games for military simulation purposes; as well as conveying the advantages of nonviolence to possible sceptics then, it remains that more experienced nonviolence academics and practitioners could use the game as an engaging educational tool.

Turning to some of the specific aspects of nonviolent resistance that are represented in *Gandhi*, firstly, it is notable that there is little precedent the game's dynamics can be compared to because of the scant portrayal of such resistance currently in the boardgame format. In the *Gandhi* playbook (p.46), Mansfield explains some of the prominent characteristics of the nonviolent factions (Congress and the Muslim League) developed for the game: 1) the factions needed to be distinct from insurgent forces; 2) they should act collectively; 3) they should not 'hide in the shadows', with protests being clearly marked; 4) they should be difficult for the government to counter other than when participating in resistance; 5) the factions' options should reflective political conditions (faction 'unity' and Raj 'restraint' trackers on the board); 6) nonviolent resistance activities should disrupt and thwart government activity and control; 7) nonviolent resistance's effects should endure across turns, compared to insurgent or revolutionary operations after

which the 'guerrilla' counter must go 'underground' before re-emerging in another game turn. This may mean little to a reader who has not played the game, while the characteristics of the nonviolent factions and resistance are not limited to the above. However, they show the attempts to reflect some of the more current developments in understanding nonviolent resistance, whether the advantage of mass support, unity and cohesion, as well as limitations of violent counter-activity in the risk of it backfiring.

Moreover, the contrast of nonviolent resistance with violent resistance in *Gandhi* is welcome—given the presence of the 'revolutionaries' faction in the game⁴—because this offers the opportunity to explore and play through some of the contrasts and indeed interactions of such resistance. Stephan and Chenoweth's (2008) work over the past decade on the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance clearly influenced Mansfield, when he suggests in the *Gandhi* playbook (p.49) that, 'Not only are historical nonviolent struggles underrepresented in gaming, existing games on violent resistance movements tend to cherry pick the most successful examples as models despite the limited successes of violent insurrection'. However, the Congress, Muslim League and Raj player all have the opportunity to collaborate and assist the revolutionaries, using revolutionary unrest for their own ends. This is an astute element to present given that it concerns the potential backfire of violence and complexities of resistance, because a shrewd revolutionaries player is likely to take advantage of any unrest for their own ends.

Alongside the relationship of nonviolent and violent resistance factions, *Gandhi* cleverly captures the intricacies of the specific context of India during the independence struggle, as well as the relationship of the Indian National Congress and Muslim League. The relationship between these two parties had an effect on the course of various resistance campaigns and ultimately the outcome of India's independence, thus being crucial to convey and highlighting the importance of context-specific variables affecting nonviolent resistance. Within the game, the number of actions the Muslim League can perform per turn is governed by the 'unity' tracker, whereas the Congress are governed by the 'restraint' tracker; the Congress player can assist the Muslim League player and vice versa, which increases unity and hence the combined potential of the nonviolence player. Yet paradoxically

⁴ The revolutionaries are intended to represent various groups active in India between 1917-1947, including the Indian National Army, while acknowledging they were hardly a cohesive force.

for the Congress player, increasing unity ultimately facilitates the Muslim League player's 'victory', the establishment of Pakistan. It is very illuminating for players to have the inherent tension in the Congress-led nonviolence campaigns represented in this manner. Meanwhile, to infer that the Muslim League were inevitably working towards disunity in the form of partition, or that in-game the Congress player could eschew unity and cooperation with the Muslim League in the pursuit of their own aims, goes to the heart of some controversial aspects of the Indian independence struggle and Gandhiled campaigns during it. This expands the educational value of *Gandhi*, as players consider the diplomatic and strategic elements of resistance.

Without giving excessive information on my several play-throughs of Gandhi, adhering to the traditional roles or doctrines of certain factions and building a strategy for a long game seemed to draw out more of the variables being portrayed in terms of resistance. Thus, as an 'insurgent' faction, the revolutionaries were able to establish themselves more effectively in remote provinces further from Raj-controlled cities, stretching the Raj player's commitments, then exploiting protests and unrest as they arose in cities. For the Congress player, the combined level of opposition to the Raj in each province, city and state governs their victory condition. The most effective way of enhancing such opposition includes the game's representation of Gandhi's 'constructive programme', which is an oft-overlooked yet crucial aspect of Gandhian nonviolence. There is a specific counter representing Gandhi in the game, who can move flexibly and establish activists in locations as he moves around India, usually through the combination of the 'non-cooperation' operation and satyagraha. If this is combined with strikes and occupations on the railway network to hinder Raj movement to counter activist presence, during the game's campaign round, the dedicated 'constructive programme' stage for Congress allows opposition to be built very easily. Modelling such constructive resistance is novel, however abstracted, and could certainly act as a basis of introducing such ideas during an educational application of the game.

Although it is not possible to cover all of *Gandhi*'s intricacies, considering the Raj's representation through the game is illuminating in terms of resistance dynamics. The Raj player does seem to face an insurmountable task of maintaining support (counter to Congress building opposition) in the face of a united nonviolent opposition. Maintaining their resources to enable a strong troop and sepoy presence on the board and judicious use of 'martial law' is likely the best strategy, although the almost inevitable backfire

of this violence is modelled into the game. The other possibility it that 'divide and rule' comes into play and the other factions' conflicts go some way to removing the Raj's burden of control. Additionally, in the game Gandhi is able to remove unrest and protests; this is beneficial if there is a shortage of protest counters to place in more strategically important locations, while removing unrest can prevent the revolutionaries from gaining the upper hand. This invokes Gandhi's individual control historically over Congress campaigns, attempts to maintain nonviolent discipline, and perhaps his efforts to counter communal rioting particularly in the run up to India's partition. However, there is plenty of scope to critically assess Gandhi's role in this regard. Moreover, despite the potential for *Gandhi* to have had an excessive focus on his role, the game's exploration is of nonviolence generally to a greater extent and the broader independence struggle, which is helped by the varied event cards.

Concluding remarks

It must be acknowledged that overall, *Gandhi* is a complex game, both in terms of the rules and play dynamics. On the latter point, this lends itself to a very insightful and illuminating experience—something that I would suggest would expand with each play through—particularly if *Gandhi* was used as an engaging foundation for a broader seminar or informal discussion on nonviolence during the Indian independence struggle. On the former point, the complexity may be an obstacle to its use in an educational context, although this might be mitigated if individuals familiar with the game could guide others. Having not played any other games in GMT's COIN series, but having played the similarly initially complex *Twilight Struggle*, I can confidently say that gameplay gets easier and quicker with familiarity.

References

Stephan, M. J. & Chenoweth, E. 2008. 'Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict'. *International Security.* **33**(1), pp.7-44.