
UNIT 13 GANDHI ON STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Structure

- 13.1 Introduction
 - Aims and Objectives
- 13.2 Conflict and Violence
- 13.3 Direct and Indirect Violence
- 13.4 Structural Violence
- 13.5 Cultural Violence
- 13.6 Gandhi on Structural Violence
- 13.7 Preventing Structural Violence
- 13.8 Summary
- 13.9 Terminal Questions
 - Suggested Readings

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Mahatma Gandhi's life and work embodies a unique vision of peace and non-violent activism. He not only abhorred wars and killings under any guise but also addressed the insidious ramifications of indirect violence embedded in the societal structures and cultures. His absolute disavowal of violence amid gravest of provocation makes him the most inveterate proponent of non-violent methods to achieve peace. Peace, he insisted, can only be brought about by the peaceful means. Unsurprisingly, the Gandhian vision led to multiple streams of thinking and action research in contemporary peace and conflict studies. In this Unit, we would take a closer look at some of his ideas, which exemplify his notion of peacebuilding as well, provide range of pedagogical tools to detangle peace studies and conflict analysis. One of the most significant Gandhian insights that has given a new dimension to our understanding of conflict and violence analysis is the notion of Structural Violence which continues to inspire new thinking in the area.

Gandhi took a comprehensive view of violence and expanded its scope to include oppressive structures, which erode and damage human dignity and prevent human beings from achieving their full potentials. He included untouchability, racialism, communalism and gender-based discrimination as acts of violence against humanity. The deprivation and impoverishment for him were ready markers of an unjust and violent social order. Conceptualised as 'Structural Violence', this indirect type of violence has been conceptualised lately by the Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung - a pioneer of peace studies. However, it is in the Gandhian thoughts that one finds a quintessential elaboration of structural violence – a fact admitted readily by Galtung himself. The Unit deals at length with Galtung's interpretation.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- The anatomy of violence- both direct and indirect
- The notion of structural violence
- The importance of these concepts to understand the central ethos of Gandhi's vision of peace and non-violent activism.

13.2 CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

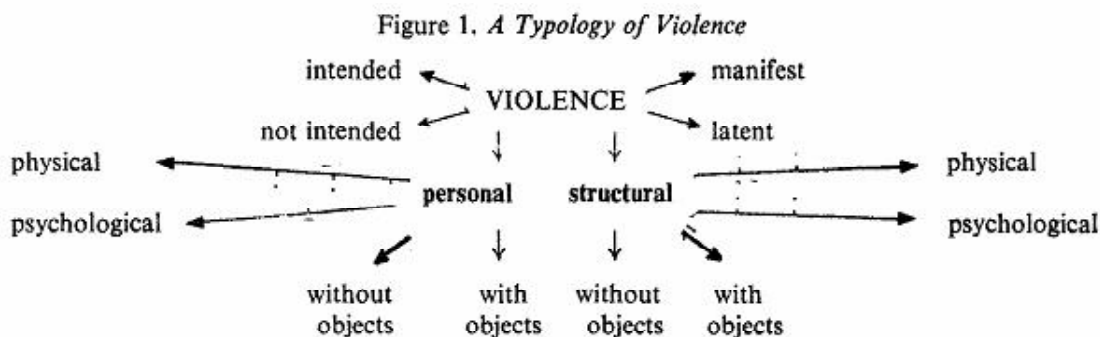
What is violence? Is it different from conflict? These queries preface any discussion on the subject. There is an obvious overlap between the two concepts as conflicts have a propensity to evoke violence. But as such these are two different phenomena. Conflict per se refers to competing social interests or differences or incompatibilities. They can be both functional and dysfunctional. Some conflicts can even spell a positive influence for social change and progress. In fact conflicts, in their different stages, offer ample opportunity to be managed peacefully through a negotiated settlement. Marx saw conflict not only as a matter to be resolved, but also as a driving force of change to new relationships. Gandhi also welcomed conflicts as an opportunity to know and negotiate with one's opponent. Gandhi was emphatic that the generic causes of conflict need to be addressed for its long-term solution.

On the other hand, violence in common parlance stands for war or collective killing, and bloodshed committed by a persona or collectively. Such direct violence is an instantly recognisable form of violence, which creates victims of conflict- through death, injury and psychological damage. Violence has been justified on various grounds including at times, for bringing peace and security. But Gandhi never approved of the use of violence under any circumstances. So he said: 'I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent.'

13.3 VIOLENCE DIRECT AND INDIRECT

Violence- both direct and indirect- is among the leading causes of death for people aged 15-44 years worldwide, accounting for about 14% of deaths among male and 7% of deaths among female in that age group. Since it is so pervasive, violence is often seen as an inevitable part of the human conditions. In popular imagination violence and human aggression seem to run in the human blood. However many scientific studies have discounted this biological linkage. The Seville Statement signed by 22 leading scientists in 1994 has demonstrated that peacefulness is as much intrinsic to human physiology as is the possibility of his acting otherwise.

The following typology of violence is an easy way to show the intend and contend of violence, and its ramifications. What is noteworthy is that both at personal and structural level one can see the same process, causation and expression. Violence undertaken by an actor (person) intentionally or unintentionally falls in the category of direct violence and when such physical or psychological violence is felt due to a structure in a manifest or latent manner, then it is called an indirect violence.



As compared to indirect violence, the direct violence is easy to describe. It involves wars, mass killings and other episodes of bloodshed. But if we consider the indirect forms of violence then the loss is unimaginable. By a World Health Organisation estimate, such violence results in more than 1.5 million people being killed each year, and many more suffer non-fatal injuries and chronic, noninjury health consequences, and interpersonal violence (domestic violence, child maltreatment, elder abuse and sexual violence. See URL: www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention).

While Gandhi always remained concerned with wars and organised killings and nuclear weapons, he also warned us of those hidden forms of violence, which are more insidious than any other form of direct violence. The Gandhian emphasis on everyday violence ingrained in the very structure of the society paved the way for new thinking in this area. Gandhi defined violence as anything which would impede the individual from self-realisation, whether by his progress, or by keeping him at a moral standstill. Therefore, the violence of the 'evil-doer' includes its effects in setting the 'evil-doer' back himself; violence can be self-inflicted, and not just inflicted upon others.

Following the Gandhi's lead, Johan Galtung created a violence typology based on a broader understanding of violence. Violence, according to Galtung, is "the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or, to put it in more general terms, the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible." Thus in its expanded scope, violence includes not only the intentional use of physical damage but also its threat which might result in injury, death, psychological harm and also in various forms of maldevelopment, deprivation and disempowerment. Such comprehensive vision of violence corresponds closely to Gandhi's own understanding of violence.

13.4 STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

While the content of structural violence was well amplified by Gandhi in his writings, Johan Galtung, a peace researcher, developed pedagogy around the concept of structural violence which is not inflicted physically on another but is hidden in structures.

Indirect violence, according to Galtung, includes both Structural and Cultural violence. He defined it as a violence that does not hurt or kill through fists or guns or nuclear bombs, but through social structures that produce poverty, death and enormous suffering. Structural violence may be politically repressive, and exploitative; it occurs when the social order directly or indirectly causes human suffering and death. When people starve, for example, even though there's enough food for everyone, the distribution system is creating structural violence. However, the direct violence is noticed quickly as it injures or kills people instantly and dramatically often resulting in early remedial response.

Galtung argues that violence is built into unequal, unjust and unrepresentative social structures, which produce social groups who have low incomes, low education, low health, and low life expectancy. The human and social costs of this kind of silent, indirect violence are often higher than those of direct physical harm. Such systemic violence denies the larger population from meeting their basic human needs.

Racialism and untouchability are two stark instances of such structural violence. In both cases the societal, political and economic structures are employed to oppress and exploit the victims of structural violence. Spread of poverty and underdevelopment also inflict the

humanity with worst kind of violence. Petra Kelly, the founder of the German Green Party, wrote in 1984:

A third of the 2,000 million people in the developing countries are starving or suffering from malnutrition. Twenty-five per cent of their children die before their fifth birthday [...] Less than 10 per cent of the 15 million children who died this year had been vaccinated against the six most common and dangerous children's diseases. Vaccinating every child costs £3 per child. But not doing so costs us five million lives a year. These are classic examples of structural violence.

The episodes of structural violence are less perceptible as they remain embedded in the exploitative, hunger and illness-producing structures. Disempowered and marginalised people suffer and die in silence due to structured inequities- local, regional or may be global. It is easy to correlate the inaccessibility of health care and life-saving systems to unequal and unfair distribution of society's resources.

There is of course a two-way relation between the structural violence and direct violence. The structured inequalities easily ignite organised armed conflict. Those who are chronically oppressed resort to direct violence, often to seek remedial measures. Most of the ethnic conflicts of recent past were either ignited or exacerbated by the continued disparities and deprivations. Be it Northern Ireland or Sri Lanka or Rwanda – one finds that unabated structural disparities provided justifications for the violent conflict.

The enormous resources consumed by armament and militarisation denies a large chunk of population from meeting their basic human needs for adequate food, health care, and education. The nexus between market forces, arms production and politicians ensure that precious resources in poor countries first go to the buying of arms rather than to alleviate the misery of teeming millions suffering from poverty, hunger and marginalisation.

The UNDP Report of 1998 estimated the annual cost to achieve universal access to a number of basic social services in all developing countries: \$9 billion would provide water and sanitation for all; \$12 billion would cover reproductive health for all women; \$13 billion would give every person on Earth basic health and nutrition; and \$6 billion would provide basic education for all. These social and health expenditures are just a fraction of the annual military budget for the United States alone.

Clearly, the unchecked growth of militarism in the world is the single most constraining factor in helping out people in the situation of human insecurity. This has led to a rising discontent in the impoverished and deprived youth in the developing and the less developed countries against the rich, powerful, and the imposing West making them an easy prey to the siren song of extremism.

The globalisation, with its differential character, is further promoting powerful multinational conglomerates that derive huge profits off under-paid labourers in developing countries. The result is horrific structural violence to workers who toil under brutal conditions. It also produces a monoculture, in which people throughout the world learn that the good life consists of convenience products, western dress, and western values of individuality and consumerism. The invisibility of injustice to labourers in the global market economy parallels the invisibility of injustice to indigenous people.

13.5 CULTURAL VIOLENCE

The structural violence enforces the powerlessness of its victims, entrenched in the psyche of the society. Galtung, in course, supplemented the notion of structural violence to include the concept of cultural violence. According to him, Cultural Violence describes the ideologies, convictions, traditions and systems of legitimation, through which direct or structural violence is made possible, justified and legitimised.

Violence can be cultural, which occurs when beliefs are used to justify either direct or structural violence. For example, when a person justifies the deaths of starving people by blaming them for their situation (called blaming the victim), that person is engaging in cultural violence. The earlier discussion on structural violence has shown the faultlines in the cultural traditions that permit and even rationalise the violence in its structural forms. In India the notion of *Karma* assumes that the victims of social inequity must, in some way, deserve their plight. But certainly it is easy to see that young children do not deserve to be victims of structural violence.

Infact the structural inequities, in course, become a part of a powerful cultural mechanism which then legitimises the continuation of such subtle violence. Discriminating cultural and religious beliefs, rituals, art, language and ideologies are constructed to carry on the structural inequities and oppression in a routine manner. Whether it is the theorem of a superior race (Herrenvolk) or the notion of untouchability – all are products of such cultural violence. The theory of cultural violence corresponds closely to the two basic points in Gandhism, the doctrines of unity of life and of unity of means and ends.

13.6 GANDHI ON STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Gandhi's comprehensive approach to non-violence has a close bearing on the contemporary discourse on peace and conflict. Many researchers find his ideas as important to understand the concept of structural violence. Johan Galtung, by his own admission, learned the basics of structural violence through an exploration of Gandhian philosophy during his time at the Gandhian Institute of Studies in Varanasi in 1969. He labelled Gandhi as a 'structuralist' for establishing the distinction between a person and a structure.

Through Gandhian lenses, Galtung saw how violence is built into social structures, and not into the persons. Gandhi intuitively understood the violence perpetrated by oppressive social structures and political institutions. He was unequivocal in saying that the evil was in the structure, not in the person who carried out his obligations. Elsewhere he said that 'the essence of nonviolence technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonisms but not the antagonists themselves.'

Gandhi justifiably found the colonialism as a quintessential case of structural violence. Colonialism, according to Gandhi, was thus an oppressive structure and so was the caste system within which people acquired their consciousness and performed their assigned duties and roles. In Gandhi's schema, an evil is an offshoot of the social structure. For Gandhi, economics that is destructive of the moral well-being of any individual or nation is immoral, and a political structure bereft of religion and morality cannot bring about the dignity, inner freedom and justice of the citizens. Thus Gandhi highly disapproved of capitalism, not the capitalist; racialism, not the white men; and modern civilisation, not the Western people living in it.

Aware of the systemic imperatives of oppression, Gandhi stated emphatically that the sheer replacement of colonial white regime by brown rulers would not bring any succour to the suffering masses. He was apprehensive that the new rulers would still follow the same objectives, principles and commitment of the 'so called' modern (western) civilisation, which according to him, is founded on the premise of a ruthless competition and unbridled individualism. He said:

Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. Willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well being of the whole society, enriches both the individual and the society of which one is a member (Harijan, May 27, 1939).

In his foundational oeuvre, 'Hind Swaraj', he severely condemned the 'modern civilisation' which corrodes the dignity and the soul of human beings. According to Gandhi, the unbridled quest of human consumption, wants, and addiction to technological solutions, would further divide the society and inflict psychological damage to the underprivileged sections of the society. Gandhi found the practices of modern civilisation ruthless and aggressive which puts a premium on ambitious, competitive, tough men whose only mission is to maximise their wealth and power. The blind pursuance of modernity tends to undermine the shared bonds of a true community and indulges in structural violence often in tandem with an oppressive state.

13.7 PREVENTING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Gandhi wanted to demolish such norms and institutions that justify discrimination, exploitation and dehumanisation. No wonder that his notion of non-violent activism far exceeds the narrow understanding of violence confined to direct injuries and bloodshed. In fact Gandhi's Ahimsa focused as much on the system-generated structural violence as on actor-oriented direct violence.

The Gandhian vision on structural violence has found greater relevance in recent times. While the episodes of direct violence between the states have diminished, there is an unprecedented surge of civilian violence – people killing their fellow beings and violence perpetrated by the state against its own citizens. The violence against the weaker sections has also increased whether it is against the women or against other ethnic, caste or communities. In India the growth of naxalism is often attributed to the long drawn exploitation, oppression and dehumanisation of the tribals in a systemic manner.

Gandhi did not approve of the modern territorial state as a panacea to end the structural violence for the same reasons he discounted the modern civilisation. His ideal of social organisation was the family which could encompass the whole world (*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*). Gandhi's non-violent activism was based on a social order in which there is no dehumanisation and each one is treated with dignity in the spirit of shared humanity. In his ideal society, free from structural violence, he visualised that people would be content to fulfill their basic human needs and would not hanker for more. In a much-cited speech he said:

If I take anything that I do not need for my immediate use, and keep it, I thief it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this

world, there would be no dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality, so long we are thieving.¹

Clearly then Gandhi highlighted the norm of shared responsibility and accorded the community of ensuring the fulfillment of each one's basic human needs. He chided those who craved for the surplus at the cost of depriving others of meeting their basic human needs.

As mentioned earlier, Gandhi feared that colonialism not only engages in political and economic exploitation but also fabricates a cultural mindset conducive to subjugate its targets. He apprehended that the philosophical and moral worldview of the colonisers would persist despite India achieving its independence.

Gandhi's epic treatise 'Hind Swaraj' is in fact a critique of structures and cultures that persist in Structural Violence. He wanted new structures and norms to replace the colonial legacy in independent India and doubted how the elite steeped in the western culture can do so. He was opposed to the usurping and abusing of political power by a few authorities. He instead called for the capacity-building of the masses so that a truly representative democracy could emerge.

Unless there is a total shift in the way we look at the concept of progress and development, India will witness greater intensity of structural and cultural violence. To rid India from the structural and cultural violence, the Gandhian precepts of Swaraj and *Swadeshi* offered ways to liberate our people from systemic violence. Realising that structural violence is ingrained in the profit-seeking capitalist world, Gandhi's non-violent social order entailed limiting the consumption as well as such new technology, which promotes exploitation, inequity, centralisation of power and authority.

Gandhi had an innate sympathy for the poor and deprived. He believed that capitalism is an economic order and had roots of all exploitation. The relentless pursuit of profit led to discrimination, oppression and exploitation. There is always enough in this world to meet the basic human needs of its people. The misery of poverty and deprivation arise because of the possessive individual who thrives on the labour put in by others. Only if people could take from the system only as much as they need, then there will be an end to misery and violence that it entails. 'In this country of semi-starvation of millions and inefficient nutrition,' Gandhi said, "the wearing of jewelry is an offense to the eyes."

Gandhi therefore talked about self-sufficient village and indigenous mode of development. Gandhi visualised the philosophy of Sarvodaya to usher in economic equity reaching down to the last and the least without ruthless compulsion and violence. His answer to structural violence was thus Ahimsa and Sarvodaya. While Ahimsa would heal, Sarvodaya would spell the sense of unity, a 'oneness' among all without any distinction, high and low, rich and poor, strong and weak, even the good and the bad.

13.7.1 Untouchability as Violence

Gandhi found untouchability as the blatant case of structural violence and a worst crime against humanity. The question of eliminating untouchability to him was more critical than even the quest of political independence. So he wrote in 'Young India' as early as in 1921 that "Swaraj is a meaningless term if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection... Inhuman ourselves we may not plead before the Throne for the deliverance from the inhumanity of others." Again in 1928 Gandhi declared untouchability as an

“inhuman boycott of human beings” and thought that its removal was a prerequisite for the attainment of home-rule.

Gandhi not only reclaimed the dignity of untouchables by renaming them as Harijans - ‘God’s children’ but also integrated them in his personal life and work. He himself started cleaning the public toilets along with the Harijans to set an example.

Gandhi was highly grieved not only among Hindu untouchables, but also among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and all other different religions about the caste system and found it to be a social evil, but untouchability to him was a sin.

Gandhi worked relentlessly to elevate the social status of the untouchables in India. He wanted penance for crimes of discrimination that have been perpetuated for thousands of years as he wanted society to work hard to relocate the untouchables on an equal footing with the other members of society.

Gandhi went on a fast until death after the proclamation of the elections based on communal identity in 1935. He could not tolerate the non-accommodation of the untouchables within the fold of the Hindu community. Gandhi was instrumental to a great degree to make the Indians conscious of the evils of untouchability. In an attempt to persuade the orthodox Hindus to wipe out the “blight of untouchability”, Gandhi undertook fast in the summer of 1933 for three weeks. To him his battle against untouchability related to the larger question of unity communities.

13.7.2 Modern Education

Gandhi often referred to the hardheartedness of the educated and lamented that the modern education does not teach compassion or empathy for the poor and the disempowered. He reflected on the insensate pedagogy of western-inspired education which is wholly inadequate to understand the misery of those who are subjected to a systemic or structural violence. For instance he scoffs at model building and other economic analysis which has no feel of the real world of poor people and reduces poor people into a series of numbers and abstractions. In all this, the meaning of ‘poverty’ itself never gets interrogated.

13.8 SUMMARY

The concept of Structural violence expands the scope of violence from inflicting direct physical damage to a range of situations which disallows humans to attain their full potentials in terms of actual somatic and mental realisation. By bringing out this indirect and subtle nature of violence, Gandhi brings on board the misery of teeming millions who suffer in silence inflicted by the oppressive structures. Gandhi was upfront in declaring that any division in society would lead to inequality and which in turn would lead to violence. He also emphasised that poverty and deprivation are the most widespread manifestations of structural violence. And unless these exploitative structures are dismantled, there would be no sustainable peace.

This conceptual expansion has endowed peace and conflict studies greater insights into the generic causes of violent conflicts. Many recent initiatives like human development and human security have highlighted the core issues of Structural Violence. Thus human security is defined as freedom from fear and freedom from want, which include safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repressions, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

The responsibility of eliminating structural violence eventually rests on the concerted efforts to promote political and economic institutions which consider the fulfillment of basic human needs as their primary goal. Many imperatives, which according to Gandhi, violated human dignity are now being attended within the ambit of human security and human development including increasing poverty reduction programmes, support for women's education, health, and family welfare; sustained efforts to use forests, water, and soils which support rural economies; and measures to ensure effective citizenship.

Gandhi also spells out the ways to mitigate structural violence. While his vision of *Ahimsa* heals, the human governance as conceived in *Swaraj* alleviates and eventually eliminates its effects. He calls for deep reforms in the way we define and organise development and governance. Gandhi was skeptic about the state's intention and capacity to deal with core issues of structural violence and exhorted the civil society to take the lead in understanding and eliminating the curse of oppressive structures. Gandhi was also emphatic that it is only by redressing the malefic effects of structural violence which impact the majority of people that India could grow as a healthy and happy nation.

13.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What is Violence? How is it different from Conflict?
2. Differentiate between Direct and Indirect Violence.
3. Define Structural Violence. What are its main features?
4. How did Gandhi inspire the thinking on Structural Violence?
5. How, according to Gandhi, can Structural Violence impact poor and powerless?
5. Give some examples of Structural Violence.

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(Endnotes)

¹Speech on “Ashram Vows” at Y.M.C.A., Madras’, *Indian Review* (February 1916).



UNIT 14 SATYAGRAHA AS A MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Structure

- 14.1 Introduction
 - Aims and Objectives
- 14.2 Meaning of Conflict Resolution
- 14.3 Meaning of Satyagraha
- 14.4 Gandhi and Satyagraha
- 14.5 Techniques of Satyagraha
- 14.6 Satyagraha as a Tool of Conflict Resolution
- 14.7 Satyagraha in the 21st century
- 14.8 Summary
- 14.9 Terminal Questions
 - Suggested Readings

14.1 INTRODUCTION

During his stay in England, where he had been to study law, Gandhi was influenced by Christian moral precepts like the *Sermon on the Mount* and the idea of civil disobedience of Henry David Thoreau. He was also influenced by Edward Carpenter's critique of modern industrial civilisation and Leo Tolstoy's views on non-violence, where the two were much in agreement. Gandhi advocated and emphasised nonviolent direct action because India had had a strong tradition of Ahimsa. Ahimsa had been a central principle in both Jainism and Buddhism. The notion of Ahimsa was based on the tenet of unity of all life, which was a key feature of Hinduism as well. All these cultural and spiritual ideas had been a major influence on Gandhi. These influences were instrumental in the formation and development of Satyagraha- the most systematic and developed mode of nonviolent action and conflict resolution.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The meaning and techniques of Satyagraha;
- The application of Satyagraha as a tool of conflict resolution; and
- The relevance and applicability of Satyagraha in the 21st century.

14.2 MEANING OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The term 'conflict' has a range of applications. It ranges from the individual person who tries to allocate scarce resources (e.g., time and money) to competing ends between individuals and groups to two nations/states pursuing the same value, for instance, world hegemony.

There are several mechanisms for dealing with conflicts across all levels – interpersonal disputes to international armed engagements. These processes make use of a variety of problem-solving methods to resolve incompatibilities in needs and interests; they also embrace overlapping methods and activities. However, variations in both the methods used and outcomes achieved characterise the differences between conflict resolution and other processes, such as conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict settlement.

Conflict resolution generally refers to a process for ending disputes. It is a nonviolent process that comprises a range of approaches and tools, such as those of negotiation, mediation and facilitation, to resolve conflicts, to promote mutually acceptable agreements and to build new and lasting relationships between hostile groups.

Conflict resolution is rooted in a normative framework that sees conflict as a normal part of human interactions. A successful conflict resolution process is one that is productive and maximises the potential for positive change at both the personal and structural level. The resolution strand sees conflict as essentially a subjective phenomenon that focuses on subjective relationships between parties by emphasising on improving communication and by facilitating the development of trust and cooperation. Resolution must, therefore, involve analysis and reconstruction of perceptions of beliefs about, and attitudes towards, the other side.

Conflict resolution emphasises on participatory processes and integrative solutions that will be controlled by parties and can be self-enforced. Typical aspects of the conflict resolution process include getting both sides to listen to each other, providing opportunities for parties to meet each side's needs, and finding the means to address both sides' interests to reach a mutually satisfactory outcome.

The term “parties” is defined broadly. This includes people directly impacted by the conflict, or those who could be impacted by potential solutions (referred to as stakeholders). Narrow definitions of parties, limited to decision-makers or power-brokers, are insufficient because they ignore parties who can block decisions or who, if excluded, may choose to wage their own round of the conflict.

Getting to resolution also requires the use of participatory processes in which parties have both voice and vote. Third parties may help facilitate a process, but parties should maintain control over both the development and selection of viable solutions. Conflicts may be settled or regulated when powerful third parties dictate or enforce solutions, but this seldom results in eliminating the causal factors. Conflict resolution also requires addressing the deep-rooted causes of the conflict. Processes that address symptoms rather than underlying causes may temporally manage a conflict, but they do not result in resolution. Although there can be significant trade-offs in the agreement, these must not sacrifice the key issues and needs. The final criterion for achieving the resolution of a conflict is building of integrative solutions. Both parties must have at least some, if not all, of their underlying needs and interests satisfied.

14.3 MEANING OF SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is a compound word that consists of two words- *Satya* and *Agraha*. The word *Satya* “is derived from *sat*, which means being, abiding, right, wise, self-existent essence, as anything really is, as anything ought to be.” *Satya* does not simply mean truth or veracity. It has a variety of connotations such as real, sincere, existent, pure, good, effectual, and valid. *Satya*, thus as derived from the root *sat*, was taken by Gandhi to mean that “nothing

exists in reality except Truth, everything else is illusion.” Truth, for Gandhi, was a higher law that was just. The word *Agraha* is derived from the root *grah* which means “to seize or to grasp, to get hold of, to grapple with”. Literally, these refer to the “insistence on Truth” or “holding on to Truth”.

Satyagraha combines the concepts of firm and truth to mean, factually, “standing firm for truth” or “a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth.” In March 1921, Gandhi declared that Satyagraha is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, “truth-force or soul-force.” To hold on to the truth, it is essential to first discover the truth. Thus Satyagraha is an active technique of action in a conflict situation which consists of a search for the truth and a struggle for its vindication. In simple terms, the Gandhian method of conflict resolution is known as Satyagraha. Satyagraha, however, has been variously translated as ‘passive resistance’, ‘nonviolent resistance’, ‘nonviolent direct action’, ‘nonviolent action’, and even ‘militant nonviolence’. For the resolution of conflict, Satyagraha resorts to institutional means (e.g. petitions, courts etc.) if possible, or to non-institutional means (e.g. protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, civil disobedience etc) if necessary.

14.4 GANDHI AND SATYAGRAHA

Gandhi had a holistic vision of human life that could be lived only morally. This morality permeated all aspects of his life- the individual, political and social. Satyagraha is Gandhi's technique of nonviolent activism. However, for Gandhi it was not only a method of conducting conflict but also a way of life, of living in Truth, a birth-right as well as duty. It was not just a political technique but a complete programme of existence, which included proper food, dress, vegetarianism, celibacy and sanitation among others. Gandhi used the technique of Satyagraha to bring about social and political change.

In elaborating his theory of Satyagraha, Gandhi placed heavy emphasis on the fundamental unity of the universe. He viewed human beings as basically ‘good’ and endowed with divine powers. True Satyagraha can ignite the divine spark which will awaken the conscience of the opponent leading to his moral persuasion. However, this is possible only when the satyagrahi confronts the opponent with non-violence by conviction (Satyagraha) rather than non-violence by expediency (Passive Resistance). This is the distinction that Gandhi made between what he calls the ‘nonviolence of the strong’ (Satyagraha) and ‘nonviolence of the weak’ (Passive Resistance). The latter did not exclude the use of physical force of violence to gain one's end. Satyagraha, on the other hand, was a weapon of the strong and excluded the use of violence in every form.

The principle of self-suffering is central to the Gandhian conception of non-violence and thus to his approach to conflict. In *Young India*, Gandhi wrote on August 11, 1920, ‘Satyagraha is self-suffering and not inflicting violence on others.’ It is essential for the satyagrahi to be willing to suffer the violence of others without inflicting ‘himsa’ (violence) either by word or deed and suffering in return. This will not only result in less loss of life but will also be morally enriching for humanity as a whole. Elaborating further on this point, S. Shridharani said in 1962 that suffering by protesting citizens would influence the entire atmosphere within which the conflict takes place:

‘The basic assumption of Satyagraha (is) that self-sacrifice releases psychological and physical energies which influence the sufferer's surroundings and contemporaries.’

The satyagrahi must endure self-suffering for a just cause. S/he must do so without hatred

toward anybody and in the belief that the opponent can be converted to seeing the truth by touching his or her conscience. The perpetrator of violence generally makes a life-or-death judgment on the assumption that s/he has knowledge of the truth. However, writing in *Young India* on 23 March 1921, Gandhi had said that Satyagraha excluded the usage of violence because no one is capable of knowing the absolute truth and is, therefore, not competent to punish.

Self-suffering has to occur in the appropriate context and thus Gandhi warned the satyagrahi from treating the opponent roughly by compelling them to inflict punishment as this would “drag down” the satyagrahi too. The satyagrahi must show “exemplary self-restraint” regardless of provocation and repression, “even at the risk of being charged with cowardice.” Thus, Satyagraha was essentially a self-purification process which sought to inspire a sense of justice in the adversaries by subjecting the “self” or the “spirit” in the human body to suffering. This made spirituality central to the idea of Satyagraha. Gandhi constantly strived to bring justness even in the British policies and legislations. For him, these political acts were spiritual too, for they uplifted the human spirit of every person offering Satyagraha.

Gandhi saw an inherent relationship between just demands and the absence of violence. Satyagraha can be successful only if the demands are right and just; if the demands are unjust, Satyagraha cannot succeed. Moreover, if the demands were unjust, the cause could still be weakened or it could be lost by resorting to untruth, violence or coercion.

A real grievance is a fundamental prerequisite for Satyagraha. The satyagrahi is required to openly and civilly break a law because it is unjust and obedience to it is dishonourable. However, s/he must be willing to submit to any penalty for this course of action.

One of Gandhi’s soft used tactics was to undergo fasts to compel his opponents to act quickly or else have his death on their hands. By doing so Gandhi committed himself to a course of action while the responsibility for his life rested with the opponent. Thus, the opponent was compelled to choose not just issues and their ‘pay-offs’, but also life or death for Gandhi (and obviously being a well known and widely respected man, the opponent could not risk Gandhi’s death). This affected the opponent’s pay-offs. However, Gandhi once said, ‘You cannot fast against a tyrant.’ This is so for the simple reason that the tyrant “will act from his own principles, deducing his actions from them and not from changes in pay-offs.” Moreover, Gandhi could not put his death in the hands of an opponent who is a tyrant “because to him Gandhi’s death and its consequences would mean nothing.”

Therefore, for Gandhi, even a few protestors of sufficient ‘purity’ could guarantee success of the Satyagraha movement. What actually mattered in such circumstances was the firmness of the satyagrahi.

Certain characteristics or components are necessary for the success of Satyagraha. First and foremost, the Satyagraha movement must have a large popular base. In 1906, he said in a mass meeting in Johannesburg:

“... I can boldly declare and with certainty that so long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can be only one end to the struggle – and that is victory.”

Second, the movement should comprise of true believers. Gandhi’s Satyagraha had its origin in several sources, one of which was Hinduism. Hindu texts such as the Vedas and the Bhagavad Gita contained notions of non-violence and sacrifice. Satyagraha hence had a religious origin and this not only gave it credibility but also attracted “a large popular

following of true believers by connecting the tactics with the religion of the masses.” Thirdly, the Satyagraha movement must act as a single player. Unity of will is necessary along with firmness in principles and composition. This would require not only ‘pure’ and steadfast satyagrahis but also a dynamic and charismatic leader like Gandhi. Lastly, personal purity of the satyagrahi – chastity, poverty, autonomy and disinterestedness are imperative.

Gandhi recognised the fact that violence does not entail only bodily or physical harm to the opponent. He therefore wrote in *Harijan* on April 13, 1940, ‘There is surely often more violence in burning a man’s property than doing him physical injury’. Thus Satyagraha tactics like boycotts, sit-downs, marches, and other non-cooperation measures could end up inflicting property damage even to innocent third parties. Moreover, tactics employed in Satyagraha movements could even result in massive lawlessness and violence. Gandhi was well aware that nonviolent resistance could have disastrous consequences as is evident from the following passage he wrote in *Harijan* on 8 July 1939:

“This narrative clearly shows that the atmosphere is surcharged with violence. I hope it also shows that non-violent mass movement is an impossibility unless the atmosphere is radically changed. To blind one’s eyes to the events happening around us is to court disaster... If any mass movement is undertaken at the present moment in the name of nonviolence, it will resolve itself into violence largely unorganized ...”

The campaign to secure basic human rights for Indian labourers in South Africa in 1906 was Gandhi’s first experiment with Satyagraha. This was the first time that the term Satyagraha was used by Gandhi. This Satyagraha campaign was directed against a bill which imposed a £3 tax on indentured Indian labourers by the Transvaal government, which demanded the registration and fingerprinting of all Indian residents. The bill required ex-indentured Indians to leave for India on the termination of the indenture (agreement) or enter into further indenture. For Gandhi, the bill was intended to make people continue to live as slaves or force them back to the country from which they had come, only to avoid starvation. Describing the tax as a “blood tax,” he argued for civil disobedience against the bill.

In India, the events in Champaran, the Ahmedabad Mill incident, the agitation against the Rowlatt Act of 1919, and the Civil Disobedience Movement highlighted the practice of Satyagraha as a means to voice protest against the tyranny of laws. The agitation against the Rowlatt Act was the first occasion in which Gandhi experimented nationally with the philosophy of Satyagraha. The Rowlatt Act extended wartime powers and sought to restrict civil rights by providing for a system of special courts, arbitrary arrest and detention without trial for a period of two years. This was deeply resented by Indians. Gandhi then proposed a practicable form of protest, which initially involved volunteers courting arrest by public sale of prohibited items but later took the form of a nationwide strike. There were peaceful but massive strikes in different parts of the country and the British found it difficult to control them.

From 1920 to 1922, Gandhi directed a Non-Cooperation Movement. He believed that the continuation of British rule was based on the cooperation of Indians and therefore the thrust of the present movement was to oust the British by withdrawing the cooperation of Indians. The Movement included non-cooperation activities such as resignation from the army and bureaucracy and the boycott of foreign cloth, elections, law courts, and government schools. It had a remarkable impact on the masses. However, Gandhi withdrew the Movement in 1922, when a mob led by Congress volunteers killed twenty-two Indian police constables. On the other hand, the British also retaliated with force and ruthlessness- indiscriminate

arrests, torture and special tribunals. Nevertheless, Gandhi was unmoved in his faith in abstention from violence and reaffirmed his commitment to non-violence being a core tenet of Satyagraha.

Gandhi started the civil disobedience campaign when Congress's demand for dominion status was rejected by the British. The tax on salt was chosen by Gandhi as symbolising colonial injustice. He led a march to Dandi on the Gujarat seacoast, drawing massive crowds on the way to protest against a law that gave the British a monopoly on the production of salt. The British government arrested Gandhi but the protests continued with thousands going to jail. These protests were met with brutal reactions on the part of the British authorities, which further created mass support for Gandhi's cause. This was exactly what Gandhian Satyagraha intended to achieve.

Gandhi reiterated his conviction in Satyagraha towards the end of his life. He wrote in *Harijan* in 1946 that Satyagraha is a law of universal significance as well as

“a process of educating public opinion such that it covers all the elements in the society and, in the end makes itself irresistible. Violence interrupts the process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole structure.”

14.5 TECHNIQUES OF SATYAGRAHA

During his life, Gandhi gave much thought to the tactics as well as modes of Satyagraha. Satyagraha can be practised by several methods such as fasts, cessation of work, protests, and public demonstrations and can be used by people, either singularly or jointly, to resist unjust laws. Gandhi's Satyagraha varied from small labour strikes to nonviolent demonstrations to secure better sanitary conditions for entire cities.

Describing the various methods or techniques of Satyagraha, Raghavan N. Iyer wrote in 1973:

“The methods of *satyagraha* may be broadly classified into four categories: purificatory, penitential devices; forms of non-cooperation; methods of civil disobedience; the Constructive Programme.”

There is an overlap in theory as well as practice between the four categories. All four can be employed by individuals, groups or mass movements in the political as well as social sphere. Moreover, the elements of truth, justice, morality, non-violence, and self-suffering are common to all the four categories.

The purificatory, penitential devices include pledges, prayers and fasts. “The pledge is a solemn public declaration of one or more *satyagrahis* that he or they will abstain from, or perform certain acts to combat untruth (in themselves or others) or recognized injustices.” Prayers involved “the invocation of “soul-force” or of external spiritual agencies as an act of “purification and self-surrender.” A pledge could take the form of a prayer or a prayer could precede pledge-taking. Besides, short duration fasts could be undertaken “for the purpose of atonement or introspective meditation over a specific issue.”

Non-cooperation means renunciation of the benefits of a system with which we are associated. It involves voluntary suffering in the process of resisting evil. Forms of non-cooperation include *hartal*, boycott, strikes, fasting unto death, and *hijrat*. *Hartal* is a temporary strike with advance notice about its duration. It involves “closing down of shops

and businesses and sometimes the halting of the work of administration.” Boycott of public institutions such as government schools, colleges and law courts is intended to protest against or even paralyse an unjust political system. It can also be employed against a particular institution indulging in corrupt or discriminatory practices. Strikes are declared with the aim of redressing a wrong so as to cease to take part in the wrong and enable the wrong-doer to see the folly of continuing the wrong. Fasting is to be undertaken voluntarily and it should have no trace of coercion over others; fasting unto death is a Gandhian weapon for self-purification and atonement of sins. *Hijrat* is voluntary migration or temporary withdrawal out of the boundaries of a State. Gandhi advocated it to the peasants of Bardoli in 1928. However, by 1931 he changed his mind and did not consider it to be a necessary part of the purest form of Satyagraha.

Civil disobedience consists in defying and disobeying laws that are unjust. It is an act of civility since it is opposed to all forms of violent and uncivilised behaviour. Methods of civil disobedience constitute picketing, marches, non-payment of taxes and deliberate defiance of a specific law. Gandhi considered the non-payment of taxes as one of the quickest methods of overthrowing a government; however, it should not be undertaken without the necessary discipline.

Gandhi stressed on the Constructive Programme and saw it as the most novel mode of Satyagraha. He wanted the satyagrahis to engage in silent, active, constructive work of reform and social service. Taking over of the government machinery was just “a shadow” for Gandhi; it was only through the “Constructive Programme that a system of nonviolent self-rule could emerge,” and a new social order could be built. The Constructive Programme involved “working toward communal unity, the removal of untouchability, a program of adult education and village improvement, peasant uplift and the development of nonviolent labor unions, economic and social equality, decentralized economic production and distribution through the promotion of cottage and small-scale industries, and the abolition of various social evils.” A couple of days before his death, Gandhi emphasised that political freedom was meaningless to the individual citizen without the attainment of economic, social and moral freedom.

14.6 SATYAGRAHA AS A TOOL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

In 1992, Galtung, a pioneer in the field of peace and conflict studies, summarised Gandhi's conflict norms, which are a part of the integrative approach to conflict resolution as well. The first norm is that one should act in conflicts, define the conflict well and have a positive approach to conflict. Gandhi thus sees conflict as a positive thing, as an opportunity to transform the self and the society. Secondly, one should act nonviolently in conflicts and act in a goal-consistent manner. Further one should not cooperate with evil; neither polarise the situation nor escalate the conflict. Gandhi's statement reflected these norms, for he wrote in *Young India* on 8 August 1929, “A *satyagrahi* must never forget the distinction between evil and the evil-doer.” Finally, conflicts should be solved by insisting on essentials (rather than non-essentials) or principles or basic human needs; one should admit mistakes and be aware that one may be wrong; be generous with opponents and most of all aim for conversion rather than coercion. On 25 March 1939, Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, “The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer.” In conflict situations, Gandhi advocates the adherence to non-violence in thought, word and deed. The goal here is to reach the truth by undergoing self-suffering.

In 2001, Thomas Weber enlisted the following propositions as key aspects for those wanting to work with conflict through the method of Gandhian Satyagraha. First, humiliation or provocation of opponents will lead to violence. Secondly, a would-be satyagrahi is less likely to have a violent attitude if he or she is clear about the essential elements of the case and the purpose of the conflict. Next, opponents should be provided with a full understanding or information about one's case and conduct. Additionally, common interests between opponents should be clearly formulated and cooperation should be established on this basis. Besides, opponents should not be judged harder than the self- one must show love towards them. Further, opponents must be trusted. In addition, the likelihood of converting the opponent decreases if one is unwilling to compromise on non-essentials. However, in 1928 Gandhi said that one should be prepared to "make large concessions on all points except where a principle is involved." Thus the satyagrahi should be willing to negotiate a settlement which does not compromise basic principles. Next, personal sincerity can further the conversion of an opponent. Then, if one wants to convince an opponent of sincerity, the best way to do so is to make sacrifices for the given cause. Finally, one should not exploit a position of weakness in an opponent or take advantage of an opponent's weak moments.

The above propositions of Gandhian Satyagraha are in tandem with the essentials of the field of conflict resolution that aims to achieve win-win solutions. In fact the Gandhian Satyagraha goes beyond the process of conflict resolution to conflict transformation as it advocates integration at a deeper level and the transformation of the self and the other. Satyagraha entails the process of achievement of self-realisation and the unity of existence, for human beings are interrelated with each other.

Gandhian Satyagraha and conflict resolution seem to disagree on some issues. One such issue is the usage of third-party intervention. Conflict resolution involves the usage of problem-solving methods and third-party intervention tools such as negotiation and mediation. Gandhi opined that third party intervention should generally be rejected. He saw conflict as a medium through which the parties could develop a higher degree of awareness of themselves as well as of the other party and third-party intervention would rob the opponents of this opportunity. Moreover, resolution was just one of the desired outcomes of conflict; establishment of a new social structure and 'higher level of self-purification in both actors' or 'conversion' was much more desirable. Besides, the discovery of the Self is the most important task of life in Gandhian thought. However, this cannot happen if parties go for third-party intervention instead of being responsible for the disputing process. Additionally, Gandhi wanted the negotiation process to be a bilateral one, where the two parties are the decision-makers.

The modern conflict resolution process also stresses on a bilateral approach in negotiation and mediation for it gives the parties the opportunity to maintain control over both the development and selection of viable solutions. So ultimately the parties are the decision-makers. Besides, it emphasises on improving communication and developing trust and cooperation. This would then involve analysis and reconstruction of beliefs about, and attitudes towards, the other side. Change in attitudes would lead to change in behaviour- in Gandhian terms, this would lead ultimately lead to 'conversion'. In the field of conflict transformation, empowerment of the disputants is a key aspect and the third-party's role is more of a facilitator (responsible for the process rather than the outcome) than a mediator (a much more active role in comparison to that of a facilitator).

The field of conflict resolution had not developed during the days of Gandhi and therefore he may not have been aware of all the techniques, methods, tools and approaches of

conflict resolution that we have the privilege of knowing today. However, essentially the aim of the Gandhian method of Satyagraha was the resolution of conflicts at the individual, social and political level – the ultimate purpose being transformation of the individual and the social and political structure.

14.7 SATYAGRAHA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Post-Gandhi, Satyagraha method has been applied in India and in different parts of the world. In India, the Sarvodaya and Bhoodan movements were organised in the 1950s. In the 1970s, Jayaprakash Narayan led the 'total revolution' campaign against several issues, corruption being one. There were anti-liquor movements in several parts of India such as in the present state of Uttarakhand in the late 1960s and early 70s, in Maharashtra in the early 1970s and in Andhra Pradesh in the early 1990s. Another significant movement was the Chipko Andolan against deforestation led mainly by women and Sarvodaya workers like Sunderlal Bahuguna. Since the 1980s, Narmada Bachao Andolan, a campaign led by Medha Patkar, has been protesting against the construction of a huge dam on the Narmada River. The campaign met with partial success in 1992 when the World Bank withdrew financial support. However, the struggle continues as the construction of the dam has not stopped.

Outside India, several campaigns have been inspired by Gandhi. Notable among those are the African-American struggle in the USA led by Martin Luther King Jr. King adopted the methods of Satyagraha in his fight against racial discrimination and in favour of civil rights in the 1950s and 60s. Another major campaign was against Apartheid in South Africa led by Nelson Mandela. Here, however, the campaign was not entirely non-violent – there was a separate underground military wing as well. Although, Mandela was not in favour of strict non-violence, he, however, "understood that a struggle that created bitterness between opponents made it harder in the long term to reach a lasting solution to a problem." A new era ushered in South Africa in 1994 with the transition to black rule. Once in power, Mandela worked towards healing and reconciliation rather than seek revenge against the whites.

Most nonviolent campaigns in the post-Gandhian phase had charismatic moral leadership. These leaders had uncompromising honesty of politics and moral activism and exhibited tact and strategy. Most of them understood that it was a slow process, but would eventually succeed. However, violence, oppression and exploitation also took its toll several times, leading to the murder of the moral activist. But that has not been a deterrent – David Hardiman wrote in 2003, "There is hope, however, for people of such ethical power have again and again merged to pose the questions in new ways and to suggest new answers..."

Gandhi has influenced and continues to influence new social movements in India – of environmentalists, anti-war campaigners, feminists and human rights activists among others. As mentioned earlier, some prominent figures led nonviolent campaigns in the 20th century; some others continue to do so in the 21st century. Prominent among the latter is Aung San Suu Kyi. Since 1988, Kyi has led a sustained non-violent protest against the ruthless military junta of Myanmar. She has been under house arrest for several years and was the first person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991, while still in detention. The Dalai Lama too continues to wage a nonviolent resistance against the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

The 21st century Satyagraha campaigns like those led by Kyi and Dalai Lama have not met with success. This does not mean that Satyagraha is irrelevant or non-applicable in the 21st

century. The shortcomings do not lie in the principle of Satyagraha but rather in the people who practise it and who have to do so in an imperfect world. Perfect non-violence is in any case not possible in this physical world as life itself entails violence. Life is in essence a choice between violence and less violence; the latter sometimes expressed through the medium of nonviolence. Satyagraha was “designed as an effective substitute for violence.” Therefore, in Gandhian terms, nonviolent struggle is an effective (it can resolve conflict) and ethical (it does not subvert the moral autonomy of the opponent) way of exercising political power in an imperfect world. However, we all must endeavour towards the ideal of non-violence.

14.8 SUMMARY

Conflict resolution is a nonviolent process that aims to forge lasting relationships between hostile groups. Gandhi’s Satyagraha is essentially a unique conflict resolution method based on the principles of non-violence, truth, justice, morality, spirituality and self-suffering. Gandhi dealt with practical problems as they arose and sought solutions for them within the context of these principles. He formulated and demonstrated the major tenets of Satyagraha in action in South Africa, in India in Champaran, against the Rowlatt Act of 1919, the Non-cooperation Movement from 1920 to 1922, the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1929, to name a few. During these Satyagraha campaigns Gandhi employed the various techniques of Satyagraha such as prayers, fasts, boycotts, strikes, picketing, marches, non-payment of taxes, deliberate defiance of laws and constructive programme and demonstrated that Satyagraha could be used to deal with conflicts in both the political as well as the social (includes economic) sphere. There may be doubts about the efficacy and applicability of Satyagraha in the 21st century but Gandhi has inspired and continues to inspire individuals and movements fighting against the tyranny of violence, oppression and exploitation.

14.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What is conflict resolution? What are the essential features of the process of conflict resolution?
2. What are the principles and features of Gandhian Satyagraha?
3. Gandhi demonstrated the applicability of Satyagraha in various scenarios. Substantiate your arguments with examples.
4. Satyagraha is essentially a tool or method of conflict resolution. Elaborate.
5. Discuss the relevance, efficacy and feasibility of Gandhian Satyagraha in the 21st century.

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UNIT 15 GANDHI ON PACIFISM

Structure

15.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

15.2 Theoretical Aspects

15.2.1 Pacifism Leads to One World

15.2.2 Techniques of Eliminating War

15.2.3 Satyagraha: Substitute for Military Action

15.2.4 Moralistic Approach to World Affairs

15.3 The Bhagvad Gita and Pacifism

15.3.1 Forgive the Opponents

15.3.2 Rejection of Materialism

15.4 Gandhi as a Qualified Pacifist

15.4.1 Gandhi as an Absolute Pacifist

15.4.2 Gandhi's Rigorous Pacifism

15.4.3 Change in Gandhi's Pacifism

15.4.4 Nature of Pacifism

15.4.5 Flexible Adjustment of Idealism to Nationalism

15.5 Gandhi on Conflict Resolution

15.6 Nonviolent Action for Defensive, Interstate Struggle

15.7 Summary

15.8 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

15.1 INTRODUCTION

"Pacifism" is derived from the word "pacific," which means "peace making" in Latin, paci- (from pax) meaning "peace" and -ficus meaning "making". Pacifism covers a spectrum of views, including the belief that disputes can and should be peacefully resolved, calls for the abolition of the institutions of the military and war, opposition to any organisation of society through governmental force, rejection of the use of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social goals, the obliteration of force except in cases where it is absolutely necessary to advance the cause of peace, and opposition to violence under any circumstance, even defence of self and others. Pacifism is the broad commitment to making peace.

Pacifism is often construed more broadly as a general nonviolent stance both inwardly, in the sense of seeking inner peace, as well as outwardly, toward the world and its inhabitants. Although pacifist teachings have been found in virtually every society with a recorded history, pacifism as a philosophy or a movement has grown mainly from religion. Adherents of pacifism disagree about what it actually is. Some would say that any sanction of violence or force negates a pacifist identity, while others would argue that pacifism is not absolute in its definition, nor need it be applied to all situations.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- Gandhi's concept and meaning of pacifism
- Gandhi's role as a qualified pacifist
- Gandhi's pacifist methods as a means of conflict resolution.

15.2 THEORETICAL ASPECTS

Leo Tolstoy was an advocate of pacifism. In one of his latter works, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, Tolstoy provides a detailed history, account and defence of pacifism. The book was a major early influence on Gandhi. In his book, *The End of Faith*, Sam Harris argues that pacifism is a fallacy, combining hesitance with cowardice, in that the social context in which a pacifist can protest was created by the actions of direct activists. Kant maintains that the first principle of perpetual peace is that states should not make "secret reservation of the material for future war". Michael Doyle has claimed that democracies do not go to war with one another. John Rawls has explained the stability of well-ordered democratic states as follows: "There is true peace among them because all societies are satisfied with the status quo for the right reasons". In contrast to the just war tradition, pacifism rejects war as an acceptable means for obtaining peace. Pacifism can also be used to describe a commitment to nonviolence in one's personal life that might include the attempt to cultivate pacific virtues such as tolerance, patience, mercy, forgiveness and love.

The basic theory and strategy of nonviolent action were worked out by Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Cesar Chavez, Gene Sharp and others who were engaged in nonviolent social protest in the 20th Century. Although the roots of this approach can be found in the long history of pacifism from Jesus onward, the Gandhi-King approach clarified the basic principles of nonviolent resistance and successfully put these principles into action in the Indian struggle for self-determination and in the American civil rights movement. One of the important ideas of this approach is that there should be coordination between means and ends. Peaceful means should be employed in pursuit of the end of peace and justice. "Velvet revolutions" that occurred in Eastern Europe in the late 1980's and early 1990s, and Lithuania in 1990-91, when unarmed civilians succeeded in turning back Soviet troops are good examples of pacifist movements. Proponents of nonviolent action argue further, that nonviolence could be even more effective if society focused its resources on training citizens for nonviolent resistance and on coordinating nonviolent action.

15.2.1 Pacifism Leads to One World

Gandhi was an advocate of interstate fellowship and goodwill. The more important of these are his beliefs in the dharmic law which imposes a moral obligation on states as well as individuals; his desire to settle disputes at the level of the parties concerned; and his assent to the idea of 'one world' provided it incorporates his concept of 'truth' and 'nonviolence'.

15.2.2 Techniques of Eliminating War

To eliminate war and to establish world peace, Gandhi looked to statesmen and nations to use or develop certain methods and institutions. The chief of these are third party settlement, world government, disarmament and an international police force. He argued that because the individual can be pacific, states possess an equal potential since they are equal to the sum of their citizens.

15.2.3 Satyagraha: Substitute for Military Action

Gandhi recommended satyagraha as a substitute for military action. He denied that his technique of struggle is a method of war rather than of peace and said that it has a spiritual quality which is not found in ordinary warfare. As to its interstate employment, he claimed satyagraha as a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle.

15.2.4 Moralistic Approach to World Affairs

Gandhi expected a sovereign India to carry out a pacifying function in the world which would be a projection of the country's heritage and its nonviolent struggle against the British Empire. Gandhi's notions implicitly deny those ancient Hindu ideas emphasising stratagems, guile and the balance of power as the basis for India's external relations, especially those associated with Kautilya and Kamandaka. Nonetheless Gandhi left to Indian policy makers some practical advice as well as a moralistic approach to world affairs. Adroitness and idealism are also evident in his views.

15.3 THE BHAGVAD GITA AND PACIFISM

Gandhi drew two lessons from the Bhagavad Gita: to base action on unselfishness and to be detached from worldly benefits. He did not believe that seeking Indian freedom by war-time service had been selfish or to be detached means to ignore or shun the profits of action. Gandhi's moral was to avoid asking for something, it was not a refusal to accept something good from evil.

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As causes of war, Gandhi named western imperialism and fascism. He also cited communism as a threat to world peace. His criticism of the three ideologies is qualified by an ability to forgive opponents and his faith in their reformation. Behind these political forces he saw man's economic greed and recourse to violence as deeper sources of aggression. As remedies he called for economic justice, sovereign equality and peaceful cooperation among states as requisites for international harmony.

15.3.2 Rejection of Materialism

Gandhi's solution for a peaceful world received support from his views on economic grievances, western colonialism and his own philosophy of non-materialism. His insistence upon the equality of all states as a precondition to peace gained strength from his backing of the self-determination of the people.

15.4 GANDHI AS A QUALIFIED PACIFIST

Gandhi's qualified pacifism is consistent with his system of belief in which dynamic nonviolence is his dialectical method to find the ultimate truth without being the end itself. When this position is understood, it is evident that Gandhi does not offer an ethic of love divorced from justice as realists. Gandhi's pacifism is well illustrated in some of his answers to criticism of his wartime service and by general remarks. They also illumine the differences between him and those who believe that war has no relation to justice. Gandhi held that as a member of a disarmed, subject nation which needed the spirit of resistance, he would vote for military training in a free India. Taking the initiative, he argued that Western pacifists aid war capacities by paying taxes for military purposes.

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Gandhi's ideas about war cut across unqualified pacifism, conditional pacifism and patriotic realism. As an unqualified pacifist, Gandhi believed that nothing of value is produced from military conflict. This view can be found in his idea during the period 1909-1914, in his comments about Western democracies immediately after World War I and during the early years of World War II. It is seen also in his condemnation of nuclear war. As an absolute pacifist, he is more utopian than his general premises suggest.

After World War I, Gandhi alleged that the Allies had been as deceitful, cruel and selfish as Germany, and that they had been a menace to the world because of their secret treaties and military record. With the outbreak of World War II, he looked back and criticised the peace makers at Versailles for having denied justice to Germany and took to task Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points for depending on arms rather than nonviolence for their ultimate sanction. Expressing his standpoint, in April 1939, when the British and French guaranteed Poland's security against German aggression, he wrote: "After all, what is the gain if the so-called democracies win? War certainly will not end. Democracy will have adopted all the tactics of the Fascists and the Nazis, including conscription and all other forcible methods to compel and exact obedience. All that may be gained at the end of the victory is the possibility of a comparative protection of individual liberty."

The 'Royden Affair' gives an excellent illustration of Gandhi's unconditional pacifism during World War II. Mude Royden, a British pacifist, decided late in 1941 that her capacity for nonviolence was not sufficient for the circumstances in which she found herself. Following her interpretation of Christ's idea, she decided to support the war which she could not effectively diminish. When Gandhi learned of her decision, he criticised her new position and asked her to repent and to return to her former unqualified nonviolence. It does not seem that Gandhi understood that her personal incapacity to observe strict pacifism was a condition to which he himself confessed in the 1920s as one of his explanations for supporting the British cause in World War I.

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Gandhi resumed an unconditionally ironic attitude when the Second World War ended. Speaking about free India's defence, he said that military forces would be incompatible with the ideal state and with democracy. The mention of war criminals brought forth the response that they 'are not confined to the Axis Powers alone'. He felt that Roosevelt and Churchill are no less responsible for war than Hitler and Mussolini. In fact, at the time of Roosevelt's death, Gandhi said that World War II had no positive achievement and that the future outlook for peace was dim. He was spared the humiliating spectacle of being party to a peace which threatens to be prelude to war, bloodier still if possible.

15.4.4 Nature of Pacifism

The patterns that emerge from Gandhi's views of the nature of pacifism are those of absolute pacifism, qualified pacifism and patriotic realism. The first is a viewpoint familiar to international relations: war is unjust as to its methods, participants and results. On the other hand, his qualified pacifism is exceptional in that it stresses the responsibility of nonviolent men – and of states since he drew no distinction between individual and collective nonviolence – to decide who the aggressor is and to do so without abdicating the quest for peace. It is because of Gandhi's assertive, conditional pacifism that Reginald Reynolds credited Gandhi with rescuing Christian pacifism from overemphasis on passive resistance and non-resistance. As to his realistic position on war, this points to the difficulty of combining demands for self-determination with pacifism. Those men or nations wishing to be free and to be pacific are likely to discover some utility in violence.

15.4.5 Flexible Adjustment of Idealism to Nationalism

Gandhian approach to pacifism represents the flexible adjustment of his idealism to the demands of his nationalism. Examples are found in comments during World War I, in subsequent explanations for aiding the British Empire, and in his suggestions for the defence of India during the 1920's. He was flexible when he permitted the United Nations and non-pacifist Indians to defend India in 1942 if the country were free.

15.5 GANDHI ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Gandhi experimented with various means of resolving conflicts. Passive resistance, according to Gandhi, had to be supplemented by an active effort to understand and respect adversaries. In an atmosphere of respect, people could find peaceful, creative solutions. Gandhi influenced his followers to use their non-violent actions to attack the heart of their oppressors, and in turn they would receive the sympathy and respect that they so greatly deserved. Gandhi based much of his pacifist teachings on the Hindu traditions while using the religious text, the Bhagavad Gita. In this sacred text he found excerpts to support the pacifist views on avoiding violence.

Relativism can provide no reason to support pacifism. But there is a type of pacifism that is not absolute, known as contingent pacifism. While absolute pacifism admits no exceptions to the rejection of war and violence, contingent pacifism is usually understood as a principled rejection of a particular war.

War: A Brutalising Method of Change

Gandhi said that British Raj constitutes a struggle between the Modern Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and the Ancient Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of God. The one is the God of War; the other is the God of Love. He spoke out against war as a degrading and brutalising method of change inferior to the way of suffering. He did so while maintaining that the peace is always superior to war. Gandhi countered British imperialism with civil disobedience. Though his struggle was pacific, he limited the application of his pacifism to free India's military defence, apparently because he momentarily expected his country's independence.

Non-violence in the Event of an Invasion of India?

Gandhi cautioned against excessive pacifist criticism of defending a free India by arms and urged non-pacifists to demonstrate their beliefs if independent India were attacked. He declared nonviolence to be a temporary ideal for securing Indian sovereignty and not pertinent in the event of an invasion of India. Despite pacifist sentiments, when the First World War broke out, Gandhi's stand changed and once again he supported Britain in war and found a potential good in armed victory. Gandhi added that fundamentally he had been and he still was a pacifist. For man to exist, however, involves some violence. A believer in ahimsa should always try to end a war.

No Desire to Substitute British Rule with any other Foreign Rule

A test of Gandhi's pacifism came during World War II when he was confronted with the question of whether he would approve a war of a national liberation by which Japanese military intervention would help to achieve Indian statehood. Nehru offered national Indian aid to the British war effort if India secured immediate independence. But Gandhi did not permit his aspiration for Indian freedom to lead him to condone violent interference from outside his country, since this would have given India a more severe rule than it had under the British Empire. He wrote: "I would not be guilty of inviting any power to invade India for the purpose of expelling the English. For one thing, it would be contrary to my creed of non-violence. I have too great respect for English bravery and arms to think that an invasion of India can be successful without a strong combination of different powers. In any case, I have no desire to substitute British rule with any other foreign rule. I want unadulterated home rule, however inferior in quality it may be".

War: No Relation to Justice

Atomic warfare gave Gandhi a fresh opportunity to claim that war has no relation to justice. 'So far as I can see', he wrote, 'the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages'. There used to be the so-called laws of war which made it tolerable. War knows no law except that of might. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nation is yet too early to see. Forces of nature act in a mysterious manner.

Imperialism: Forceful Control of a Nation by Foreign State

To Gandhi 'imperialism' meant the overseas control of non-Western areas and people by Western powers. He employed 'colonialism' as a substitute, and he seldom used the term 'imperialism' to describe the forceful control, east or west, of a nation by any foreign state. His thinking about imperialism for the most part of the British type, evolved from belief in its progressive character to criticism of its motives and rejection of its results.

Arbitration: Method of Resolving Interstate Questions

Of the many ways of pacific settlement, Gandhi singled out what he called 'arbitration' as his preferred method of resolving interstate questions, meaning any informal effort by a third party to mediate, conciliate or use good offices. In particular he appreciated the attempt of President Roosevelt, in April 1939, to settle differences between the West European democracies and Germany.

Within Gandhi's belief in the higher law of dharma, applicable to states as well as to men, there are ideas of justice and order comparable to those of the natural law tradition which does so much to encourage positive international law. Man's moral responsibility is Gandhi's avenue for enforcing the higher code in the world. He drew no distinction between interpersonal and interstate duty.

Federation of Friendly Interdependent States

Gandhi believed that the world should be organised to maintain justice and peace and these appear in his ideas about world government. His views on this topic must be understood in connection with his efforts to grope beyond notions about the British Commonwealth and to envisage a larger association of states. For instance, Gandhi told a Congress party audience in December 1924, when he assumed the party chief's office: "The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of friendly interdependent states. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But, I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. Gandhi's 'league' for 'fully independent' states suggests less cohesion and more attention to sovereign equality than the 'federation of friendly interdependent states' as suggested in his 1924 statement. In addition to equality, he made it clear he foresaw a universal membership in any new world organisation, and not limited to those states in the British Commonwealth or those who were victorious in World War II.

Gandhi endorsed inspirational resolutions of the Congress party which suggested a federal world state based on self-determination of all people and economic justice. Still he did not entirely agree with practical efforts by others to establish an immediate world organisation, but he offered to compromise on details if respect was shown to his ethic of non-violence.

Atom Bomb is of No Effect before Truth and Non-Violence

Gandhi's abhorrence of an atomic war intensified his faith in non-violence: 'There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith of truth and nonviolence? Has not the atomic bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so, but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this I know that I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to the fact'.

Nuclear Discoveries created a 'Balance of Terror'

Gandhi believed that nuclear discoveries had created a 'balance of terror' forestalling a third world war by fear of mutual destruction. He conceded that there might be a temporary revulsion to atomic war, but the world would return to violence when the feeling had passed. From Gandhi's viewpoint, states using nuclear weapons can never be 'just', and nothing of value results from an atomic war.

15.6 NONVIOLENT ACTION FOR DEFENSIVE, INTERSTATE STRUGGLE

Gandhi believed that his technique of nonviolent, direct action can be employed for defensive, interstate struggle which customarily involves military violence. Illustrations of this belief are especially evident in the last decade of his life and show the confidence with which he would substitute for war a method he had developed and found effective in the colonial circumstances of India.

Impartial World Police Force

Gandhi's ideas do point toward the establishment of an impartial world police force, such as provided for under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter making available on a permanent, stand-by basis, armed units to member states for use by the Security Council to maintain international peace and security. For creating a United Nations army after the fact of aggression, as in the 1950 Korean and 1956 Suez crises, his ideas are very important.

15.7 SUMMARY

Gandhi believed that ultimate peace is in a divine plan which has not been fully revealed to men as they have an obligation to apply what they know in order to establish temporal peace. In particular, he held that disarmament can and should be introduced by one or several states. He doubted that a great power would actually introduce universal disarmament, and he put his faith in India to show the way toward that goal. Still he hoped for some armed state, an apostolate of one, to be a witness for the truth of nonviolence and to dare to disarm itself, whatever the risks, and thereby to serve the world. As western pacifists have often done, he looked to small, neutral Switzerland to give up traditional defence methods.

Gandhi thought that the first condition of peace is trust in an active, interposing deity, which the West had failed to realise. Without this trust man would feel God's punishment. Gandhi

suggested prayer in the event of nuclear War. Potential victims of atomic attack, he explained, should go into the open and pray for the pilot of the airplane bringing atomic weapons so that he might realise through extra-human intervention that those below intended no evil toward him.

Gandhi saw a spiritual unity among all men transcending their temporal differences. It is the application of principles, rather than any demand for political, economic or cultural integration, which characterises his views on pacifism. He opposed aggression whether or not it directly uses military force, receives legal recognition from the parties concerned or the international community. Consistently, Gandhi believed that the actual process of war is unrighteous because it contradicts ahimsa and the higher law of dharma. Gandhi said that “the children of violence will commit suicide and perish unless they turn away from violence”. His views differ on whether belligerents can be just and whether something of value is ever produced from the evil process of war. For Gandhi, truth, was the ultimate good.

15.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Pacifism? Describe the theoretical basis of Pacifism.
2. Discuss the role of Satyagraha in Gandhian Pacifism.
3. Critically examine the different kinds of Gandhian Pacifism.
4. Describe the main elements of Gandhian Pacifism.
5. Do you think that an impartial world police can be effective for the world peace?

SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 15 GANDHI ON PACIFISM

Structure

15.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

15.2 Theoretical Aspects

15.2.1 Pacifism Leads to One World

15.2.2 Techniques of Eliminating War

15.2.3 Satyagraha: Substitute for Military Action

15.2.4 Moralistic Approach to World Affairs

15.3 The Bhagvad Gita and Pacifism

15.3.1 Forgive the Opponents

15.3.2 Rejection of Materialism

15.4 Gandhi as a Qualified Pacifist

15.4.1 Gandhi as an Absolute Pacifist

15.4.2 Gandhi's Rigorous Pacifism

15.4.3 Change in Gandhi's Pacifism

15.4.4 Nature of Pacifism

15.4.5 Flexible Adjustment of Idealism to Nationalism

15.5 Gandhi on Conflict Resolution

15.6 Nonviolent Action for Defensive, Interstate Struggle

15.7 Summary

15.8 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

15.1 INTRODUCTION

"Pacifism" is derived from the word "pacific," which means "peace making" in Latin, paci- (from pax) meaning "peace" and -ficus meaning "making". Pacifism covers a spectrum of views, including the belief that disputes can and should be peacefully resolved, calls for the abolition of the institutions of the military and war, opposition to any organisation of society through governmental force, rejection of the use of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social goals, the obliteration of force except in cases where it is absolutely necessary to advance the cause of peace, and opposition to violence under any circumstance, even defence of self and others. Pacifism is the broad commitment to making peace.

Pacifism is often construed more broadly as a general nonviolent stance both inwardly, in the sense of seeking inner peace, as well as outwardly, toward the world and its inhabitants. Although pacifist teachings have been found in virtually every society with a recorded history, pacifism as a philosophy or a movement has grown mainly from religion. Adherents of pacifism disagree about what it actually is. Some would say that any sanction of violence or force negates a pacifist identity, while others would argue that pacifism is not absolute in its definition, nor need it be applied to all situations.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- Gandhi's concept and meaning of pacifism
- Gandhi's role as a qualified pacifist
- Gandhi's pacifist methods as a means of conflict resolution.

15.2 THEORETICAL ASPECTS

Leo Tolstoy was an advocate of pacifism. In one of his latter works, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, Tolstoy provides a detailed history, account and defence of pacifism. The book was a major early influence on Gandhi. In his book, *The End of Faith*, Sam Harris argues that pacifism is a fallacy, combining hesitance with cowardice, in that the social context in which a pacifist can protest was created by the actions of direct activists. Kant maintains that the first principle of perpetual peace is that states should not make "secret reservation of the material for future war". Michael Doyle has claimed that democracies do not go to war with one another. John Rawls has explained the stability of well-ordered democratic states as follows: "There is true peace among them because all societies are satisfied with the status quo for the right reasons". In contrast to the just war tradition, pacifism rejects war as an acceptable means for obtaining peace. Pacifism can also be used to describe a commitment to nonviolence in one's personal life that might include the attempt to cultivate pacific virtues such as tolerance, patience, mercy, forgiveness and love.

The basic theory and strategy of nonviolent action were worked out by Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Cesar Chavez, Gene Sharp and others who were engaged in nonviolent social protest in the 20th Century. Although the roots of this approach can be found in the long history of pacifism from Jesus onward, the Gandhi-King approach clarified the basic principles of nonviolent resistance and successfully put these principles into action in the Indian struggle for self-determination and in the American civil rights movement. One of the important ideas of this approach is that there should be coordination between means and ends. Peaceful means should be employed in pursuit of the end of peace and justice. "Velvet revolutions" that occurred in Eastern Europe in the late 1980's and early 1990s, and Lithuania in 1990-91, when unarmed civilians succeeded in turning back Soviet troops are good examples of pacifist movements. Proponents of nonviolent action argue further, that nonviolence could be even more effective if society focused its resources on training citizens for nonviolent resistance and on coordinating nonviolent action.

15.2.1 Pacifism Leads to One World

Gandhi was an advocate of interstate fellowship and goodwill. The more important of these are his beliefs in the dharmic law which imposes a moral obligation on states as well as individuals; his desire to settle disputes at the level of the parties concerned; and his assent to the idea of 'one world' provided it incorporates his concept of 'truth' and 'nonviolence'.

15.2.2 Techniques of Eliminating War

To eliminate war and to establish world peace, Gandhi looked to statesmen and nations to use or develop certain methods and institutions. The chief of these are third party settlement, world government, disarmament and an international police force. He argued that because the individual can be pacific, states possess an equal potential since they are equal to the sum of their citizens.

15.2.3 Satyagraha: Substitute for Military Action

Gandhi recommended satyagraha as a substitute for military action. He denied that his technique of struggle is a method of war rather than of peace and said that it has a spiritual quality which is not found in ordinary warfare. As to its interstate employment, he claimed satyagraha as a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle.

15.2.4 Moralistic Approach to World Affairs

Gandhi expected a sovereign India to carry out a pacifying function in the world which would be a projection of the country's heritage and its nonviolent struggle against the British Empire. Gandhi's notions implicitly deny those ancient Hindu ideas emphasising stratagems, guile and the balance of power as the basis for India's external relations, especially those associated with Kautilya and Kamandaka. Nonetheless Gandhi left to Indian policy makers some practical advice as well as a moralistic approach to world affairs. Adroitness and idealism are also evident in his views.

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Gandhi resumed an unconditionally ironic attitude when the Second World War ended. Speaking about free India's defence, he said that military forces would be incompatible with the ideal state and with democracy. The mention of war criminals brought forth the response that they 'are not confined to the Axis Powers alone'. He felt that Roosevelt and Churchill are no less responsible for war than Hitler and Mussolini. In fact, at the time of Roosevelt's death, Gandhi said that World War II had no positive achievement and that the future outlook for peace was dim. He was spared the humiliating spectacle of being party to a peace which threatens to be prelude to war, bloodier still if possible.

15.4.4 Nature of Pacifism

The patterns that emerge from Gandhi's views of the nature of pacifism are those of absolute pacifism, qualified pacifism and patriotic realism. The first is a viewpoint familiar to international relations: war is unjust as to its methods, participants and results. On the other hand, his qualified pacifism is exceptional in that it stresses the responsibility of nonviolent men – and of states since he drew no distinction between individual and collective nonviolence – to decide who the aggressor is and to do so without abdicating the quest for peace. It is because of Gandhi's assertive, conditional pacifism that Reginald Reynolds credited Gandhi with rescuing Christian pacifism from overemphasis on passive resistance and non-resistance. As to his realistic position on war, this points to the difficulty of combining demands for self-determination with pacifism. Those men or nations wishing to be free and to be pacific are likely to discover some utility in violence.

15.4.5 Flexible Adjustment of Idealism to Nationalism

Gandhian approach to pacifism represents the flexible adjustment of his idealism to the demands of his nationalism. Examples are found in comments during World War I, in subsequent explanations for aiding the British Empire, and in his suggestions for the defence of India during the 1920's. He was flexible when he permitted the United Nations and non-pacifist Indians to defend India in 1942 if the country were free.

15.5 GANDHI ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Gandhi experimented with various means of resolving conflicts. Passive resistance, according to Gandhi, had to be supplemented by an active effort to understand and respect adversaries. In an atmosphere of respect, people could find peaceful, creative solutions. Gandhi influenced his followers to use their non-violent actions to attack the heart of their oppressors, and in turn they would receive the sympathy and respect that they so greatly deserved. Gandhi based much of his pacifist teachings on the Hindu traditions while using the religious text, the Bhagavad Gita. In this sacred text he found excerpts to support the pacifist views on avoiding violence.

Relativism can provide no reason to support pacifism. But there is a type of pacifism that is not absolute, known as contingent pacifism. While absolute pacifism admits no exceptions to the rejection of war and violence, contingent pacifism is usually understood as a principled rejection of a particular war.

War: A Brutalising Method of Change

Gandhi said that British Raj constitutes a struggle between the Modern Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and the Ancient Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of God. The one is the God of War; the other is the God of Love. He spoke out against war as a degrading and brutalising method of change inferior to the way of suffering. He did so while maintaining that the peace is always superior to war. Gandhi countered British imperialism with civil disobedience. Though his struggle was pacific, he limited the application of his pacifism to free India's military defence, apparently because he momentarily expected his country's independence.

Non-violence in the Event of an Invasion of India?

Gandhi cautioned against excessive pacifist criticism of defending a free India by arms and urged non-pacifists to demonstrate their beliefs if independent India were attacked. He declared nonviolence to be a temporary ideal for securing Indian sovereignty and not pertinent in the event of an invasion of India. Despite pacifist sentiments, when the First World War broke out, Gandhi's stand changed and once again he supported Britain in war and found a potential good in armed victory. Gandhi added that fundamentally he had been and he still was a pacifist. For man to exist, however, involves some violence. A believer in ahimsa should always try to end a war.

No Desire to Substitute British Rule with any other Foreign Rule

A test of Gandhi's pacifism came during World War II when he was confronted with the question of whether he would approve a war of a national liberation by which Japanese military intervention would help to achieve Indian statehood. Nehru offered national Indian aid to the British war effort if India secured immediate independence. But Gandhi did not permit his aspiration for Indian freedom to lead him to condone violent interference from outside his country, since this would have given India a more severe rule than it had under the British Empire. He wrote: "I would not be guilty of inviting any power to invade India for the purpose of expelling the English. For one thing, it would be contrary to my creed of non-violence. I have too great respect for English bravery and arms to think that an invasion of India can be successful without a strong combination of different powers. In any case, I have no desire to substitute British rule with any other foreign rule. I want unadulterated home rule, however inferior in quality it may be".

War: No Relation to Justice

Atomic warfare gave Gandhi a fresh opportunity to claim that war has no relation to justice. 'So far as I can see', he wrote, 'the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages'. There used to be the so-called laws of war which made it tolerable. War knows no law except that of might. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nation is yet too early to see. Forces of nature act in a mysterious manner.

Imperialism: Forceful Control of a Nation by Foreign State

To Gandhi 'imperialism' meant the overseas control of non-Western areas and people by Western powers. He employed 'colonialism' as a substitute, and he seldom used the term 'imperialism' to describe the forceful control, east or west, of a nation by any foreign state. His thinking about imperialism for the most part of the British type, evolved from belief in its progressive character to criticism of its motives and rejection of its results.

Arbitration: Method of Resolving Interstate Questions

Of the many ways of pacific settlement, Gandhi singled out what he called 'arbitration' as his preferred method of resolving interstate questions, meaning any informal effort by a third party to mediate, conciliate or use good offices. In particular he appreciated the attempt of President Roosevelt, in April 1939, to settle differences between the West European democracies and Germany.

Within Gandhi's belief in the higher law of dharma, applicable to states as well as to men, there are ideas of justice and order comparable to those of the natural law tradition which does so much to encourage positive international law. Man's moral responsibility is Gandhi's avenue for enforcing the higher code in the world. He drew no distinction between interpersonal and interstate duty.

Federation of Friendly Interdependent States

Gandhi believed that the world should be organised to maintain justice and peace and these appear in his ideas about world government. His views on this topic must be understood in connection with his efforts to go beyond notions about the British Commonwealth and to envisage a larger association of states. For instance, Gandhi told a Congress party audience in December 1924, when he assumed the party chief's office: "The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of friendly interdependent states. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But, I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. Gandhi's 'league' for 'fully independent' states suggests less cohesion and more attention to sovereign equality than the 'federation of friendly interdependent states' as suggested in his 1924 statement. In addition to equality, he made it clear he foresaw a universal membership in any new world organisation, and not limited to those states in the British Commonwealth or those who were victorious in World War II.

Gandhi endorsed inspirational resolutions of the Congress party which suggested a federal world state based on self-determination of all people and economic justice. Still he did not entirely agree with practical efforts by others to establish an immediate world organisation, but he offered to compromise on details if respect was shown to his ethic of non-violence.

Atom Bomb is of No Effect before Truth and Non-Violence

Gandhi's abhorrence of an atomic war intensified his faith in non-violence: 'There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Do I still adhere to my faith of truth and nonviolence? Has not the atomic bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so, but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one moral and spiritual, the other physical and material. The one is infinitely superior to the other which by its very nature has an end. The force of the spirit is ever progressive and endless. Its full expression makes it unconquerable in the world. In saying this I know that I have said nothing new. I merely bear witness to the fact'.

Nuclear Discoveries created a 'Balance of Terror'

Gandhi believed that nuclear discoveries had created a 'balance of terror' forestalling a third world war by fear of mutual destruction. He conceded that there might be a temporary revulsion to atomic war, but the world would return to violence when the feeling had passed. From Gandhi's viewpoint, states using nuclear weapons can never be 'just', and nothing of value results from an atomic war.

15.6 NONVIOLENT ACTION FOR DEFENSIVE, INTERSTATE STRUGGLE

Gandhi believed that his technique of nonviolent, direct action can be employed for defensive, interstate struggle which customarily involves military violence. Illustrations of this belief are especially evident in the last decade of his life and show the confidence with which he would substitute for war a method he had developed and found effective in the colonial circumstances of India.

Impartial World Police Force

Gandhi's ideas do point toward the establishment of an impartial world police force, such as provided for under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter making available on a permanent, stand-by basis, armed units to member states for use by the Security Council to maintain international peace and security. For creating a United Nations army after the fact of aggression, as in the 1950 Korean and 1956 Suez crises, his ideas are very important.

15.7 SUMMARY

Gandhi believed that ultimate peace is in a divine plan which has not been fully revealed to men as they have an obligation to apply what they know in order to establish temporal peace. In particular, he held that disarmament can and should be introduced by one or several states. He doubted that a great power would actually introduce universal disarmament, and he put his faith in India to show the way toward that goal. Still he hoped for some armed state, an apostolate of one, to be a witness for the truth of nonviolence and to dare to disarm itself, whatever the risks, and thereby to serve the world. As western pacifists have often done, he looked to small, neutral Switzerland to give up traditional defence methods.

Gandhi thought that the first condition of peace is trust in an active, interposing deity, which the West had failed to realise. Without this trust man would feel God's punishment. Gandhi

suggested prayer in the event of nuclear War. Potential victims of atomic attack, he explained, should go into the open and pray for the pilot of the airplane bringing atomic weapons so that he might realise through extra-human intervention that those below intended no evil toward him.

Gandhi saw a spiritual unity among all men transcending their temporal differences. It is the application of principles, rather than any demand for political, economic or cultural integration, which characterises his views on pacifism. He opposed aggression whether or not it directly uses military force, receives legal recognition from the parties concerned or the international community. Consistently, Gandhi believed that the actual process of war is unrighteous because it contradicts ahimsa and the higher law of dharma. Gandhi said that “the children of violence will commit suicide and perish unless they turn away from violence”. His views differ on whether belligerents can be just and whether something of value is ever produced from the evil process of war. For Gandhi, truth, was the ultimate good.

15.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Pacifism? Describe the theoretical basis of Pacifism.
2. Discuss the role of Satyagraha in Gandhian Pacifism.
3. Critically examine the different kinds of Gandhian Pacifism.
4. Describe the main elements of Gandhian Pacifism.
5. Do you think that an impartial world police can be effective for the world peace?

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UNIT 16 WORLD ORDER

Structure

16.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

16.2 Requisites for a Peaceful World Order

16.2.1 Justice and Duty

16.2.2 Rule of Law

16.2.3 Pluralism and Toleration

16.2.4 Democratic World Order

16.3 A Peaceful Social Order and Human Rights

16.4 War: The Unsolved Problem of International Relations

16.4.1 Causes of War

16.4.2 Disarmament and the World

16.4.3 Industrial Colonial Technological Military Authoritarian Complex

16.5 Non- violence: Pre-requisite for the Total Development

16.5.1 Use of Arms for Justice

16.5.2 No Place for Imperialism

16.5.3 Cruelties of Colonialism

16.5.4 Economic Inequalities and Trusteeship

16.5.5 Globalisation from Below

16.6 Role of Satyagraha in Nuclear Age

16.6.1 Say No to Atom Bombs

16.6.2 World must take Lessons from Indian Culture of Democracy

16.7 Restructuring Knowledge

16.7.1 Protection of Natural Environment

16.7.2 Environment Friendly Industrialisation

16.7.3 Solidarity and Stability

16.8 Summary

16.9 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The approach of Gandhi to peaceful world order represents the flexible adjustment of his idealism to the demands of nationalism. Gandhi said that the world should be organised to maintain a just peace. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states. Gandhi believed in a federation of friendly inter-dependent states. Gandhi said that ‘the consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence.’ If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means; the end for every nation is complete

independence. Gandhi worked within the nation-state framework. Not only he struggled for one's nation's independence, his own future vision of the world was one of a system of sovereign nation-states. Immersed in the colonial period, it was quite historically sensible to struggle for the independence of his country and also to have a view that if all nations enjoy political freedom, then there could be a peaceful world.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- Gandhi's concept of world order
- The role of non-violence as a prerequisite for total development
- The role of satyagraha in the nuclear age

16.2 REQUISITES FOR A PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER

At the time of the United Nations creation, Gandhi specifically told to end colonialism and war, to impose generous peace treaties, to create a world police force, and to establish economic justice and a world federation. Gandhi thought that the first condition of peace is trust in an active, interposing deity, a pre-requisite for the peaceful world, which the Western countries had failed to realise.

16.2.1 Justice and Duty

Within Gandhi's belief in the higher law of dharma, applicable to all states, as well as to men, there are ideas of justice and order comparable to those of the natural law tradition which does so much to encourage positive international law. Man's moral responsibility is Gandhi's avenue for enforcing the higher code in the world, especially since he drew no distinction between inter-personal and inter-state duty. 'I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother', Gandhi said, 'that all right to be deserved and pre-reserved came from duty well done.' Thus, the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world.

16.2.2 Rule of Law

The Rule of law system guarantees that officials cannot act arbitrarily disregarding the laws consented to by the people. The officials in the ideal democracy are accountable to the sovereign public by answering citizen's questions, replying to their mail, following their laws and courts and not resorting to violence, or doing anything that undermines people's liberty, equality, and justice. Unfortunately many democracies allow their military/police forces and secret service to use coercion and force against the public. According to Gandhi, the military should be turned into a peace force (Shanti Sena), policemen should act as social workers, jailors should function like doctors and educators, and jails should be turned into hospitals and schools. Only then can the peace-keeping forces in society become really accountable to the people. By denying any role to violence, Gandhi contributed to enhancing the process of peaceful accountability of the government to the people.

16.2.3 Pluralism and Toleration

Gandhi said that pluralism and toleration are the two sides of the same coin. Commitment to pluralism-toleration is a commitment to rationalism and non-violence. Blind faiths, irrational beliefs, and monistic truths have the tendency to inhibit and discourage rational thinking, to

ban and penalise examination, to disregard or falsify factual evidence, and to banish or punish public discussion.

16.2.4 Democratic World Order

Gandhi believed that a genuine democracy must have a foreign policy that extends to other countries the democratic principles that are cherished and practised at home, even while working to build democracy on the national stage. Builders of democracy may act locally, but they must think globally. Gandhi rejects use of violence against any injustice by denouncing Marxist, fascist and militant nationalist appeals to violence for ending economic injustice.

16.3 A PEACEFUL SOCIAL ORDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Gandhi said that promoting individual activities that contribute to social peace like creating conditions for mutual tolerance of differing ways of thinking and living in a social order is the cornerstone of a peaceful and prosperous society. The spread of health and education is essential for the generation of such a social environment. The mobilisation of individual disposition to be tolerant towards each other and show their good will for the social good thus constitutes a very important element in preserving peace. Closely connected with the above-mentioned trend of the modern state with enlarged conception of peace is the commitment to human rights. Human Rights guarantee the citizens not only protection from the excesses of the state and society but also positive entitlements and facilities for individual growth.

Truth and Non-violence

Gandhi was a pacifist. He found that justice rests with one party to a conflict. Gandhi's pacifism is consistent with his system of belief in which dynamic non-violence is his dialectical method to find the ultimate truth without being the end itself. Gandhi believed that ultimate peace is in a divine plan which has not been fully revealed to men, they have an obligation to apply what they know in order to establish temporal peace.

Peace without War

Nations in East and West had been accustomed to settle their differences by war. Gandhi told India and the rest of the world that one could match one's soul-force against physical force and wear the other down with goodwill. All evil comes from ignorance and all good from faith in equality, the underlying sameness and oneness of things. War consists not in battle only in the act of fighting, but in the will to fight, the attitude of hostility. The so-called peace treaties do not make peace unless they are backed by honest intentions. Violence, as a means to achieve ends, is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because the descending spiral ending is a distraction for all.

Religious Tolerance

Gandhi believed that the essential unity of all religions has been universality of love. It is implied that there is no place for hatred between people professing different faiths. The ultimate aim of all religions is moral order. It aims at peace and tranquility in society. It attempts to uphold human values. Gandhi hoped that the individual being pure, sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the village, the village for the district, the district for province, the province for the nation, and the nation for all.

Solutions to Shortcomings of Democracy

Gandhi offers a two-pronged solution to the shortcomings of modern democracy. At one level, Gandhi emphasises consensus, instead of majority, that is, mere numbers and counting of heads should not guide democracy. At another level, arriving at peaceful persuasion and conversion through rational-humanistic arguments and compromises are the best guarantees of genuine democracy. Besides, Gandhi places a special responsibility on the majority to act as the big brother/sister to win over the minority, the little brother/sister. At yet another level, Gandhi focuses on responsibilities rather than rights. If every citizen is conscious and willing to fulfill his obligations towards others in the society and the world, then the rights of everyone are automatically protected in a meaningful way. The sense of obligation transforms the mental framework from ego and selfishness to one of thoughtfulness, selflessness, and service. The latter qualities humanise democracy and harmonise relations between majority, minority, and the individuals. If people are sovereign and if people select/elect the officials, then these officials should be accountable to the people. If the laws are made by the elected legislatures, then these legislators should be answerable to the electorate for the kind of laws they make. Elections, plebiscites, referenda, parliamentary questions, legislative votes of non-confidence, and press interviews are the means of enforcing parliamentary accountability; terrorism, coup d'état, or civil war cannot be the methods of enforcing such accountability.

League of Fully Independent States

Gandhi believed that there will be an international league only when all the nations, big or small, composing it is fully independent. The nature of that independence will correspond to the extent of non-violence assimilated by the nations concerned. He said that one thing is certain that in a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. Gandhi's 'league' of 'fully independent' states suggests less cohesion and more attention to sovereign equality than the 'federation of friendly interdependent states'.

Universal Membership for All Nations

Gandhi saw a universal membership in any new world organisation. It should not limit to those states that are in the British Commonwealth or those who were victorious in World War II. Gandhi said that the organisation should be an effective force to keep the peace, and recommended that it adopt Satyagraha.

16.4 WAR: THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The major unsolved problem of international relations, Gandhi maintained, is war, that is to say, inter-state aggression. He opposed aggression whether or not it directly uses military force, receives legal recognition from the parties concerned or the international community. His ideas suggest, moreover, that he was not satisfied about men's periodic efforts to analyse the nature and causes of war and to undertake its prevention. Consistently Gandhi believed that the actual process of war is unrighteous because it contradicts ahimsa and the higher law of dharma. Violent revolution of the alienated peasantry was the main reason for the rise of dictatorships in many countries, including Czarist Russia, Nationalist China, feudalist France and Germany, and French-colonial Indochina, Dutch-colonial Indonesia, Spanish-colonial Mexico, Portuguese colonial Angola and Mozambique, and so on. 'The children of violence will commit suicide and perish unless they turn away from violence', he observed in a discussion on war. However, his views differ on whether belligerents can be

just and whether something of value is ever produced from the evil process of war. Some of the diversities on these points are resolved by the tendency of his pacifism to admit limitations, in particular that truth, not peace, is the ultimate good. The demands of his nationalism upon his idealism account for other inconsistencies. For these reasons his opinions about the character of war sometimes differ from those of Western pacifists who hold that in every respect war is the absence of justice.

16.4.1 Causes of War

Gandhi named Western imperialism and fascism as causes of war. He also cited communism as a threat to world peace. His criticism of the three ideologies is qualified by an ability to forgive opponents and his faith in their reformation. Behind these political forces he saw man's economic greed and recourse to violence as deeper sources of aggression. As remedies he called for economic justice, sovereign equality and peaceful co-operation among states as requisites for international harmony. The first solution received support from his economic grievances against Western colonialism and his own philosophy of non-materialism. His insistence upon the equality of all states as a precondition to peace gained strength from his backing of the self-determination of most people, though not Indian Moslems and Zionists. For many reasons he was an advocate of interstate fellowship and good will. The more important of these are his belief in the religious law which imposes a moral obligation on states as well as individuals; his desire to settle disputes at the level of the parties concerned; and his assent to the idea of 'one world' provided that it incorporates his 'truth' and his 'non-violence'.

16.4.2 Disarmament and the World

Gandhi held that disarmament can and should be introduced by one or several states. He doubted that a great power would actually introduce universal disarmament, and he put his faith in India to show the way toward that goal. Still he hoped for some armed state, an apostolate of one, to be a witness for the truth of non-violence and to dare to disarm itself, whatever the risks, and thereby to serve the world.

16.4.3 Industrial Colonial Technological Military Authoritarian Complex

Gandhi believed that colonialism, militarism and wars are the unavoidable essentials of high industrialisation. Further, large scale industrialisation is inconceivable without dehumanised science and technology. The modern industrialised militarised colonial state is impossible without authoritarian big government. Gandhi said that, 'I, therefore, define the highly developed modern state as 'the industrial colonial technological military authoritarian complex.' All the five elements are common to all industrial states irrespective of the ideologies they profess. Ironically enough, every one of them claims to be a democracy – the capitalist democracy, the socialist democracy, the proletarian democracy, the people's democracy, racist/theocratic democracy, and so on. But, every one of them has reduced and harmed the fundamentals of the ideal democracy, both at home and abroad.

16.5 NON-VIOLENCE: PREREQUISITE FOR TOTAL DEVELOPMENT

Gandhi has presented non-violence in a new form and shape before the world. The form of his non-violence is no escape or exile but resistance. He marched forward using non-violence as the best weapon to encounter immorality for morality, inhumanity for humanity

and injustice for justice. His objective was to create a society based on the principle of non-violence, where alone man's freedom would be safe and mankind would be free from repression and tyranny, whereby peaceful social life is ensured. Gandhi wanted non-violence as the spirit of life and to fuse it in all social relations- familial, political, economic and educational. In his view, a person who is non-violent at home, with neighbours or in society but has no sympathy and respect towards others is not truly non-violent. It is with the quality of non-violence that we love those who hate us, not merely loving those who love us. Man as animal is violent but his humaneness is non-violent. The philosophy of Gandhian non-violence is a pre-requisite for the total development, including the personality, of a man. The application of non-violence is also relevant both in private and public spheres of life. In the economic field it means a decentralised village economy, in the political field it means a federation of autonomous village republics and in the international field it means avoidance of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

16.5.1 Use of Arms for Justice

As a substitute for national defense forces, he first had critical ideas but eventually expressed affirmative views about an international police agency using weapons to maintain peace and repel aggression. Significantly, late in life he approved its use under unbiased auspices of armed justice in an imperfect world.

16.5.2 No Place for Imperialism

To Gandhi, 'imperialism' meant the overseas control of non-Western areas and people by Western powers. Gandhi considered the violence of Mussolini and Hitler, like all violence, as a transitory phenomenon corrected by non-violent resistance. Gandhi's faith in satyagraha influenced his understanding of Nazism; thus he advised Jews in Germany to use non-violent, direct action against Nazi persecutions in place of the passive resistance which he said they were employing. It is believed that German Jews might have attracted world attention sooner than they did had they been trained in and used Gandhi's satyagraha. Gandhi added that the Nazi empire would fall because it had over expanded and was based on the erroneous ideology of 'ruthless force reduced to an exact science and worked with scientific precision.' The sins of imperialism do not remain confined to foreign lands. They come home to roost when the imperialist soldiers, clergymen, businessmen, bureaucrats, and politicians came home. Brutalised by the very cruelties they inflicted on the weak, the poor and the dehumanised peoples of the colonies, the imperialist brought the wages of sin. Murder, rape, child molestation, drug addiction, imprisonments, political corruption, unscrupulous business practices, racism, bigotry, resource mismanagement, environment degradation, militarism – all practised abroad and all antithetical to democracy – flourish within the imperialist states.

16.5.3 Cruelties of Colonialism

The cruelties of colonialism – military subjugation, economic exploitation, cultural suppression, and political oppression, carried on over hundreds of years – have so poisoned and brutalised two thirds of the world that all hopes and attempts at creating democracy have been dashed to the ground with the rise of fascist, or communist, or militarist regimes in almost all the countries of Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

16.5.4 Economic Inequalities and Trusteeship

Gandhi proposes nonviolent moral appeals against feudalism and capitalism. The Gandhian doctrine of Trusteeship is built on the idea that capitalists must be convinced and converted to accepting that they should act, not as the sole and private owners of wealth, but as the

trustees of the people, managing wealth on behalf of the people for the benefit of all. Gandhism prefers cooperative enterprises over private and competitive capitalism.

16.5.5 Globalisation from Below

To create a culture of peace we need “globalisation from below” with a solid recognition that this globalisation is only possible with active participation of all men, women, youth and children from all countries. Peace is not created out of diplomatic activity. It is created out of the everyday skills of peaceful problem solving and conflict resolution in families, neighbourhoods and among different social, cultural, religious and ethnic groups within and between societies.

16.6 ROLE OF SATYAGRAHA IN NUCLEAR AGE

Citizen apathy, the relative uselessness of traditional home guards and militia, the need to build cores of resistance to invaders who cannot possibly be stopped at the border or who invade everywhere by air, these and other critical problems face Western defence officials of atomic and non-atomic powers alike. Gandhi's satyagraha may offer assistance to civil defence in a nuclear age.

16.6.1 Say No to Atom Bombs

Gandhi believed that the atomic bomb has vanished the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages. The atom bomb brought an empty victory to the Allied arms but it resulted for the time being in destroying the soul of Japan. What has happened to the soul of the destroying nation is yet too early to see. Forces of nature act in a mysterious manner. Gandhi's abhorrence of an atomic war intensified his faith in non-violence. There have been cataclysmic changes in the world. Gandhi asked “do I still adhere to my faith of truth and non-violence? Has not the atomic bomb exploded that faith? Not only has it not done so, but it has clearly demonstrated to me that the twins constitute the mightiest force in the world. Before it, the atom bomb is of no effect. The two opposing forces are wholly different in kind, the one normal and spiritual, the other physical and material.” From Gandhi's viewpoint, states using nuclear weapons can never be ‘just’ and nothing of value results from an atomic war.

16.6.2 World must take Lessons from Indian Culture of Democracy

Gandhian revolution was based on humanism, secularism, and pluralism; the revolution used the methods of rationalism, love and nonviolence, and the instruments of satyagraha; and the revolution involved satyagrahis who vowed not to be prejudiced, not to lift the sword, but to love their enemies, to seek reasonable and peaceful solutions to all conflicts. These values and culture, the methods and instruments, and the attitudes and behaviour continue in independent India. Among more than one hundred countries that struggled for attaining independence after World War II, India is the one country that has developed and sustained democracy, without disintegration, long suspended or abolished legislatures and courts, and banned political parties, and with popular election, and the mass media. The legacies of the non-violent revolution in India have been the following: the establishment of the massive, full-fledged and dynamic democracy, the nonviolent abolition of the world's largest democracy, the non-violent abolition of the largest feudal system through legislation and Bhoodan (land gift movement); the peaceful ending of the long-lasting and well-entrenched “untouchability” of millions; the constitutional integration of some 700 princely states through peaceful diplomacy; the enunciation of the foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence that has greatly influenced communist countries; and the successes of the anti-racial movements in the United States and South Africa.

16.7 RESTRUCTURING KNOWLEDGE

The core of Gandhi's proposal for a knowledgeable society was the introduction of productive handicrafts in the school curriculum. The idea was not simply to introduce handicrafts as a compulsory school subject, but to make the learning of a craft the axis of the entire teaching programme. It implied a radical restructuring of the sociology of school knowledge in the society, where productive handicrafts had been associated with the groups.

16.7.1 Protection of Natural Environment

Gandhi said that the state has also the obligation not only to persuade the citizens to act to promote social good but also to undertake positive functions, such as promotion of environmental protection for social health and peace through an ecologically safeguarded environment. In broader sense, peace would include social harmony which involves natural resources. Gandhi believed that natural resources are the primary sources for valuable and useful commodities. They are mainly raw materials and energy resources present in the environment, for example, minerals, forest, animals, water, soil etc. The youth should ensure its proper utilisation and conservation. This would imply rational use of resources and their preservation from reckless exploitation and destruction. He further advocated effective control and management of resources in such a way that they will be useful to man for longer time.

16.7.2 Environment Friendly Industrialisation

The enjoyer of the natural resources by way of limiting the wants or demand should be responsible for his or her fellowmen. This is the simple philosophy with which Gandhi looked at the economic development. He noted with concern that a man should be 'environmental friendly'. If he does not, the environment will create all problems. Toynbee noted once that "if we don't abolish war, war is going to abolish US". Similarly if the industrialisation is not checked up it will spoil the entire life setting very badly which will therefore lead us all to the death knell. It is better to note here the Gandhian quotation on industrialisation. It reads: "My own view is that evils are inherent in industrialization and no amount of socialism can eradicate them." Gandhi was clear in his advocacy that the mechanical or Machine or industrial or artificial life would create problems which would lead the humankind to the point of no return. However, it should be noted here that Gandhi never hated industrial development. But he hated the inhuman face of industrial planning which causes the replacement of human labour with machine.

16.7.3 Solidarity and Stability

Democratic rights and obligations are not a 'one-time' or 'one in a way' provision. Only when liberty, quality, and justice last long do they become effective principles for improving human life in democratic societies. That is, only a stable system without economic inequality, cultural crises, political disunity, and territorial disintegration can enshrine and nurture democracy. Assassinations and assaults, subversion and terrorism, coups and countercoups, and insurrections and revolutions cannot create stability. Violence is the most destabilising force in any society, much more so in a democracy. But autocratic regimes and dictatorial institutions need and thrive on disunity, disintegration, unrest, and militarisation. The best way to achieve and maintain political stability is through people's solidarity or sense of unity. Solidarity has been variously described – fellowship, fraternity, friendship, and love. Political solidarity can be built upon the premises of equality, liberty, socio-economic justice,

psychological satisfaction, and humanism. Stability and solidarity with the society cannot last long in a world being torn apart with instabilities and disunity. Sooner or later, outside forces of disruption, inhumanity, and violence penetrate national boundaries disturbing national stability and solidarity.

16.8 SUMMARY

According to Gandhian principles of equality and liberty, all citizens are capable of thinking and are free to act. Such pluralism is bound to generate conflict situations that have the potential to generate violence. While autocratic regimes thrive on violent clashes, democracy disallows or discourages violent methods of conflict resolution. Legislative reforms, executive intervention, judicial adjudication, and appeal to public opinion are the usual constitutional processes of settling disputes in a democracy. Gandhi's world order was based on mutual interdependence of the nations, adopting non-violence as a tool of establishing a just society, universal solidarity and stability, firm resistance to the forces of imperialism and colonialism, economic justice and a society free from exploitation, and abandoning the developing of nuclear weapons. Gandhi's 'Satyagraha' and his twin principles of truth and non-violence play a much more effective role today for they contribute to establishing a peaceful world order as per his vision.

16.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the views of Gandhi on the world order.
2. What are the requisites for a peaceful world order?
3. Describe the role of pluralism and tolerance in the democratic world order.
4. Examine the Gandhian solutions to shortcomings of democracy.
5. Critically examine Gandhi's views on war.
6. Describe the importance of satyagraha in the nuclear age.

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