
UNIT 1 UNDERSTANDING PEACE

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Peace is a term that refers to an absence of hostility, safety in matters of social or economic welfare, the acknowledgment of equality and fairness in political relationships. Reflection on the nature of peace is also bound up with considerations of the causes for its absence or loss. Among these potential causes are: insecurity, social injustice, economic inequality, political and religious radicalism, and acute racism and nationalism. In Wikipedia, peace is defined as a list of synonyms which include 'respite from war', 'quiet from suits and disorders', 'rest from any commotion', 'freedom from terror', 'silence', 'suppressions of thoughts' etc. Despite religion, civilisation and culture, peace among people and nations remains elusive. But for the future of humanity, peace deserves a chance. Peace is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means. Peace is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence and justice. The comprehensive notion of peace touches upon many issues that influence quality of life, including personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The concept of peace and its related aspects

- The role of state and civil society as instruments of peace
- The role of Gandhi as an ambassador of peace.

1.2 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF PEACE

Aristotle said that we make war so that we may live in peace. Marx remarked that the meaning of peace is the absence of opposition to socialism. Martin Luther King, Jr had the perception that one day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means. True peace is not merely the absence of tension, it is the presence of justice. Scholars in the positive peace research tradition, most prominently Johan Galtung, identify conditions threatening human survival which include environmental issues as well as poverty and economic disparity. Given that these problems are not likely to be solved in the world's current economic and political structure, the analysis of shortcomings of the present system naturally leads to a search for policy and institutional changes that can serve human welfare. According to Galtung, peace has two dimensions: 'negative peace' and 'positive peace.' Negative peace can be described as a static state where there is an absence of war or violent conflict. Negative peace is focused on the absence of manifest violence such as war, which could be realised by negotiation or mediation rather than resorting to physical force. It recommends the use of non-violent means, total disarmament and social and economic interdependence to avoid the physical violence and discourage the use of force in conflict situations.

Galtung argues that violence is built into unequal, unjust and unrepresentative social structure. Unequal social structures produce social groups who have low income, low education, low health, and low life expectancy. One party's existence, behaviour or attributes prevent another from realising its full potential, and the human and social costs of this kind of silent violence may be higher than those of direct physical harm. As a matter of fact, the contexts in which we are born and brought up sufficiently influence our attitude and behaviour. We have different sets of values, which guide our thinking and behaviours. These values influence us to take certain actions and to reject other. This reality of life, in fact, leads us to a situation where we find people who have different perspective on life and things when we meet them or work with them. In which case, conflict happens when people pursue different perspectives and goals that clash.

Positive peace is a dynamic process rather than an end state and implies a condition where conflicts are addressed and solved. The concept of positive peace means the removal of structural violence. Positive peace would not be obtained without the development of just and equitable conditions. UNICEF describes positive peace as a situation characterised by not only the absence of war or violent conflict, but also by the presence of factors that reduce the likelihood of violent conflict and promote a better quality of life for all. These factors include social and economic justice, inter-group understanding, ecological balance, and opportunities for democratic participation in decision-making.

Peace is visible when there is freedom, equality, justice, good governance, and the enjoyment of human rights. Between the two directions of peace—negative and positive—the former is the total absence of violence, that is, the state has a set of socio-political structures to put down violence and to provide security of life and property of the individual and the communities, while the latter places 'global justice' as the central

concept of peace, stressing on the full enjoyment of the entire range of human rights of all people and the sovereignty of nations. The concept non-violence is thus a universal phenomenon covering a wide area of social and political life. Further, its ultimate goal is the harmonious co-existence of all life forms in the universe. Peace is the existence of peaceful relationships, active association, and planned cooperation among persons and groups for achieving greater aims such as justice, security, and constructive transformation of conflict.

1.2.1 Peace Traditions

In order to move a conflict-habituated system to a peace system, we need to change the way we think. From the early period of human thinking, there has been a clear understanding that war is neither a natural phenomenon nor the irreversible will of God. A peaceful world belongs to a society where people can work and live together in harmony and friendship and the domination of one group over another is a major obstacle to peace. The Buddhist traditions emphasise justice, equity, non-violence, concern for the well-being of others and compassion among living beings. They also reflect a well ordered state of mind, inner peace and harmony within a culture. Tranquility in the inner state of mind and harmonious interpersonal relationship contribute to universal peace. Greek philosophers conceptualised a peaceful world in terms of lack of civil disturbances. These philosophical traditions are also linked to unity based on the moral substance of humanity in each person and the principle of world citizenship; the vision of a world without war was embraced as the core approach to peace in the Hellenic civilisation. In the Roman and Medieval periods, peace implied stable relationship among units of society that led to the control of organised violence. In Enlightenment thinking, violence and conflict, seen as the greatest evils in history, are ascribed to a disorderly world.

With their goal to realise powerful changes in improving human conditions, socialist movements since the 19th century stipulated that peace could be obtained in a classless society. The primary causes of human misery are economic inequality and a repressive political system associated with social injustice. Peace has a firm social dimension in which equity and consideration of others' well-being are crucial for a harmonious community life. People from different cultural and political traditions would be united by the achievement of an equal society. Peace thinkers like Gene Sharp view non-violent action as merely an effective strategic instrument to achieve specific political objectives and score victories with non-lethal means. Geoffrey Ostergaard who follows the traditions of Mahatma Gandhi emphasised non-violence as a principle capable of preventing the origin or existence of unjust social and economic system. Non-violent social structure in turn can be acquired by establishing egalitarian social relations.

1.2.2 Peace Movements

The fact that there are now hundreds of groups working for disarmament and peace suggests an enormous democratisation of the struggle for peace; even though their total membership may be small, these organisations do provide open forums for expressions of public opinion. The pre-war official peace movement had developed from an aspiration of religious mystics, based almost exclusively on the principle of the wickedness of all wars, into a movement favouring the creation of actual political machinery cooperating with the legal profession for the reform and administration of international law and had become respectable by the support by other peace movements and above all the Churches. The peace movement received a terrible shock when World War I proved how much stronger

was attachment to the nation than adherence to internationalist and pacifist principles and how much stronger was the fear of the sanctions of one's own government and compatriots than of the sanctions of fellow members of organisations.

1.2.3 Peace-building

Peacebuilding is usually understood as a transitional activity designed to prevent the recurrence of past violent conflict and to lay the foundation for (re)building political, economic and social systems that in the long(er) run will prevent further violence and wars. A distinction is often made between the building of peace 'from above' and 'from below'. Peacebuilding 'from above' includes strategies such as peace mediation, negotiation and peacekeeping aimed at getting armed factions to lay down their arms and turn to nonviolent resolution of conflict, strategies to involve the international community and neighbouring or influential states as guarantors of peace agreement. It also includes the strategies to restore public order, encourage relief and reconstruction, and relationships within and between individuals, organisations, communities and nations, attitudes and behaviours including physical violence, discrimination, prejudice, humiliation, subordination and domination, structures in particular economic, social, political, cultural and religious. The building of peace 'from below' includes strategies to develop trust and build confidence among communities at the local level.

Peacebuilding implies the strengthening of social, political and economic structures for constructive transformation of conflict and promotion of social values such as benevolence, compassion, cooperation and justice among persons and groups. Peacebuilding represents attempts to overcome structural relationship and cultural contradictions which lie at the root of conflict in order to underpin the processes of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacebuilding is about undertaking programmes designed to address the causes of conflict and the grievances of the past and to promote long-term stability and justice.

Goodhand and Hulme stress the need for making a clear distinction between peacemaking and peacebuilding. Peacemaking is concerned with political, diplomatic and sometimes military interventions directed at bringing warring parties to agreement, while peacebuilding focuses on the promotion of institutional and socio-economic measures that address the context and underlying causes of conflict. Peace-building includes the local or structural efforts that foster or support those social, political and institutional structures and processes which strengthen the prospect for peaceful co-existence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence or continuation of violence. Lederach describes this as the 'Process Structured Gap.' According to Lederach, Peace Accords are often seen as a culminating point of peace process. In the language of government and the military, the Accords are referred to as an endgame scenario. We fall prey to this thinking when we see the Accords as the way the war ended. In reality the Accords are nothing more than opening a door into a whole new labyrinth of rooms that invite us to continue in the process of redefining our relationships.

1.2.4 Peace-building Approaches

Three types of peacebuilding approaches have been described by the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (1993), all of which seem to be necessary for the successful transformation to a peace system: political peacebuilding, structural peacebuilding and social peacebuilding.

Firstly, Political Peace-building normally deals with establishing political arrangements that provide the over-all context within which to understand the relationships of the various

parties and their resources. Political Peacebuilding deals with agreements, negotiations, peace accords etc. at the political level. It is about building a legal infrastructure that can address the political needs and manage the boundaries of peace system. Negotiations, technical-working groups, fact finding, etc. are some of the examples of the political peacebuilding approach. Normally, political peacebuilding efforts tend to work on bringing peace when conflicts occur either between groups (inter-community conflict) or between nations (international conflicts). In this sense, the final outcome of the political peacebuilding is for the parties and leaders to reach an agreement and sign a peace accord.

Secondly, Structural Peace-building deals with just distribution of resources and power, correction of political and economic systems, economic activities etc. at grassroot level, middle level and top level. Structural peacebuilding is about activities, which deals with creating structures, systems of behaviour, institutions and concerted actions that support the embodiment or implementation of a peace culture. It is about building an economic, military, and social infrastructure that provides concrete and realistic avenues through which a new peace system might express itself. Disarming warring factions, repatriating refugees, monitoring elections, cooperative projects for economic and social development, etc are the activities that are considered to be closely related with structural peacebuilding. Structural peacebuilding or political development is a process of gradual change overtime in which the people increase their awareness of their own capabilities, their rights and their responsibilities; and use of this knowledge to organise themselves so as to acquire real political power in order to participate in decision making at local level; and to choose their own leaders and representatives at higher levels of government which is accountable to the people; to plan and share power democratically; and to create and allocate communal resources equitably and efficiently among individual groups. Therefore it may be possible to avoid corruption and exploitation, realise social and economic development, political stability and peace, and create a politicised population within the context of their own culture and their own political system.

Lastly, Social Peace-building deals with issues of feelings, attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, skills (communication, negotiation and mediation) etc. It deals with feelings, attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, and skills as they are held and shared between people, individuals and in groups. It is about building a human infrastructure of people who are committed to engendering a new culture, a “peace culture” within the social fabric of communal and inter-communal life. All people live within some form of political structure, be it formal or informal. This political structure may or may not benefit the individual or the general public as a collective entity. If the development, in its widest sense, is to truly benefit the people, then the political structure must be responsive to their needs and aspirations as well as protect their rights and their property. The terms political peacebuilding and peacemaking are interchangeably used because they mean the same thing using diplomatic, political and sometimes military means to end hostilities and promote negotiation and negotiated settlement at the leadership level.

1.2.5 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation is a holistic and multifaceted process of engaging with conflict. It aims to reduce violence and to protect and promote social justice and sustainable peace. It requires work in all spheres, at all levels and with all stakeholders. Conflict transformation needs to be accountable to those directly affected by conflict but requires networks and linkages to sustain it; it is the ongoing process of changing relationships, behaviours, attitudes and structures, from the negative to the positive. Conflict transformation, therefore,

requires timely interventions, respect for cultural context, patience, persistence, and a comprehensive understanding of the conflict.

1.3 STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY AS INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE

State as Instrument of Peace

The debate over the welfare state has a very significant bearing on the concept of peace and the state's role in preserving and promoting it. In contemporary times when the essence of the welfare state is made an inherent part of the state's function, the state's role in the preservation and promotion of peace has undergone a great change. 'Peace' is now conceived as creating positive conditions that contribute to avoiding and even totally eliminating conflict. The important point is that society and state are now entrusted with new responsibilities in the task of promoting peace. The state has gradually evolved to provide a framework for orderly organisation of society. Views differ whether the 'orderliness' is only in the interest of a single segment of society, like the rich, the strong, etc., or in the general interest of the society as a whole.

The following devices accomplish the task of containing conflict. The first device is to pass a framework of laws, rules and regulations. These laws and rules attempt to lay down the limits for actions of individuals and groups with a view to ensure that such actions do not disturb social peace. The second is the establishment of a vast network of administrative mechanisms to execute the above-mentioned laws and regulations. It is well recognised everywhere that crime is the most explicit and visible manifestation of disturbance to peace. Prevention of crime is therefore recognised as the maintenance of minimal peace in any society.

Civil Society Dimension of Peace

Conflict in society is always present and the state always has to cope with this given situation. There are, however, other institutions in the society which also play a role in containing conflict and restoring peace. This set of institutions, sometimes networks of institutions, is called civil society. Non-governmental organisations, community welfare organisations, and other such institutions, undertake many programmes of work ranging from public health promotion, minority rights protection, providing legal aid to poor people, making people aware of their rights, acting as watch-dogs on governments, to promoting national integration. They are mostly non-profit-making institutions deriving funding from charitable trusts from within the country and abroad. In this role, some of the NGOs act as complimentary organs to government.

1.4 GANDHI AS AN AMBASSADOR OF PEACE

Gandhi once said: 'I honour the place in you where the entire universe resides...a place of light, of love, of truth, of peace, of wisdom. I honour the place in you where when you are in that place and I am in that place there is only one of us. Each of us must learn to work not just for oneself, one's own family or nation, but for the benefit of all humankind. Universal responsibility is the key to human survival. It is the best foundation for world peace'.

Gandhi is universally known as an Apostle of Peace and Non-violence. Gandhi himself made a skillful use of satyagraha to achieve peace and harmony and thus proved his

point. He always believed that peace contains a negative and a positive sense, the absence of configuration, elimination of wars, absence of conflicts between different classes, castes, religions, and nations is a negative sense and love, rest, mental equilibrium, harmony, co-operation, unity, happiness are the positive indices of peace. Gandhi said that the root of every violence or conflict is untruth and that the only permanent solution of conflict is truth. Consequently, to resolve conflicts, he conceived of a novel technique which he called Satyagraha. Literally, it means Satya with Aghra or, unwavering search for the truth. And since the only way of getting to truth is by non-violence, it follows that satyagraha implies an unwavering search for the truth using non-violence. Therefore, Gandhi emphasised satyagraha as the most potent method of ensuring an enduring peace.

1.4.1 Gandhi's twin-principles of Peace: Truth and Non-violence

In authoritarian societies, whether religious or political, where votes of people do not count, where any opposition voice is silenced with bullets and imprisonment, peace cannot be permanent. Having political power is, therefore, just the first step towards peace. We have to accept the responsibility to change things. We have a responsibility to cultivate some of the principles to look at sharing and ensuring that resources are distributed equitably. We must ensure that people can see and feel the change and be able to identify a niche for themselves in the world. In addition to political oppression, we have economic, intellectual, religious, environmental, and gender oppression all over the world. When people talk about peace, they cannot view the indiscriminate killings and destruction of property in isolation from the poverty, illiteracy, religious intolerance, environmental threats and gender oppression faced by the people.

Attainment of peace should be the ultimate goal of any youthful human emotions and actions. Once their minds are at rest they can concentrate their energies for spreading the message of peace. Youth should know that social harmony is an index of peace. They should strive peacefully to make their and other people's social lives happy and undisturbed which is the aim of any society. Gandhi also warned youngsters against misinterpreting religions. All the religions such as Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. have preached peace and harmony so that society can enjoy a happy and peaceful life.

1.4.2 Truth

Gandhi dedicated his life to the wider purpose of discovering truth, or Satya. He tried to achieve this by learning from his own mistakes and conducting experiments on himself. Gandhi stated that the most important battle to fight was overcoming his own demons, fears, and insecurities. Gandhi summarised his beliefs first when he said "God is Truth". He would later change this statement to "Truth is God". Thus, Satya (Truth) in Gandhi's philosophy is "God". Truth was Gandhi's favourite human value which inspired his autobiography "My Experiments with Truth". *Satya Meva Jayate* was his slogan. Gandhi wanted every individual and society to practice truth at any cost. He emphasised that all religions, philosophies, societies have unambiguously advocated truth. According to him, truth was God and that truth must manifest itself in the thought, word and deeds. He did accept that the path of truth will always be full of hardship, difficulties, sufferings, and sacrifice. To tell the truth one must be courageous. Treading the path of truth is a continuous and unending process, which has to be followed by every generation. Concepts and means of social transformation and reformation preceded in Gandhi's mind before they are applied as a mass weapon to political ends against the British.

1.4.3 Non-violence

Non-violence and truth are the essence of Gandhian philosophy. Bringing change in the violent exploitative society through non-violent persuasive methods has never been witnessed in the history. Wrong belief has taken possession of us that non-violence is preeminently a weapon for cowardice, but this is not the case. Gandhi conceived it as weapon of courageous and devoted people to the particular cause. Gandhi was the first to apply non-violence in political field on a massive scale. Gandhi derived the idea of non-violence from the principles '*Ahimsa Paramodharma*' and '*Vasudeva Kutumbakam*', which mean to earn complete freedom from ill-will, anger and hatred, and to nurture love for all. The concept of non-violence and non-resistance has a long history in Indian religious thought and has had many revivals in Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Jewish and Christian contexts. He was quoted as saying 'when I despair, I remember that all through history the way of truth and love has always won'.

Gandhi was aware that this level of non-violence required incredible faith and courage, which he realised not everyone possessed. He, therefore, advised that one need not keep to nonviolence, especially if it were used as a cover for cowardice. Gandhi stated that non-violence is the rule of conduct for a society, if it is to live consistently with human dignity and make total progress towards the attainment of peace. He observed that non-violence is not a value principle alone but a science based on the reality of mankind, society and polity. In this line, Gandhi's idea of ahimsa entails not just abstaining from all violence but embracing an enemy with love. Ahimsa is the largest love and the greatest charity that implies generally an act not only of not-killing but also abstaining from causing any pain or harm to another living being either by thought, word or deed. To practise ahimsa, one requires the qualities of deliberate self-suffering intended to awaken and convert the soul of the enemy and a harmless mind, mouth and hand; its opposite, 'himsa', means causing injury and harm to others and it needs no reference or discussion.

1.5 PEACE MOVEMENTS IN THE POST-SECOND WORLD WAR PHASE

In the 1950s, there was an enormous concern about environmental issues surrounding atmospheric nuclear tests, a worsening of Cold War, and changes in weapon technology which led to an appreciation that Europe had become the major target area. In the 1980s, the breakdown of *detente* and the deployment of first-strike weapons in Europe revived the dormant fear of nuclear war. The greatest achievement during this phase is that the peace movements have raised public awareness of nuclear issues across international boundaries. The peace movements generated mass protests; an unintended consequence was that it taught governments how to successfully deflect and neutralise mass protests. The peace movements were able to activate the very best in humanitarian, liberal, and moral feeling.

1.6 UN'S RECOGNITION OF GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES

The UN General Assembly has unanimously adopted a resolution on June 15, 2007 to declare October 2, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, as the International Day of Non-Violence. The UN Resolution was in fact an effect of a suggestion made in an International Conference on "Peace, Non-Violence, and Empowerment: Gandhian Philosophy

in the 21st Century”, held at New Delhi in January 2007. The UN Resolution to honour ‘the apostle of humanity and peace’ was unanimously sponsored by all the major countries of the world and the subcontinent of India. Even Great Britain supported the resolution against whom Gandhi successfully led an agitation through non-violent satyagraha for India’s independence. The resolution is a reflection of the international community’s collective yearning for peace and the recognition of the relevance of Gandhi’s ideals and methods in today’s world which is confronted with violence, terrorism, intolerance, discrimination and exclusiveness.

1.7 SUMMARY

Peace in the world cannot be achieved without understanding the concept and techniques of Gandhi. Therefore, it is important to understand his techniques and try to replace the present techniques which advocate violence all over the world. For instance, present peace, as Morgenthau stated in his book, “Politics Among Nations” rests as violence, force and power which create a cycle of violence among nations. Peace is more than just the absence of war. True peace is justice, true peace is freedom. And true peace dictates the recognition of human rights.” The preamble of UNESCO echoes this sentiment: “since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that foundation of peace must be constructed”. Change in the attitude and behaviour can be achieved through formal and informal peace education. Peace education can promote the development of an authentic consciousness that is necessary to change attitude and behaviour in order to achieve greater cooperation and peaceful problem-solving.

People in power, whether political, economic, religious, civic or administrative power, need to develop a holistic view of peace. If we want a better country for our future generations, we need to act and ensure that such a holistic view is adopted and a comprehensive approach is used in addressing the issue of peace. We also have a responsibility to ensure that the community understands and approves of this approach. We must be willing to share expertise and funds, and at the same time develop the community’s capacity to meet the challenges of the future. We need to build a culture of non-violence among our children and youth, through actively ensuring that we do not support war toys or violent games, media, books, stories, etc., but instead promote a culture of resistance to injustice. We need to inculcate a communal responsibility among all our people.

1.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by peace?
2. Critically evaluate the different approaches of peace-building.
3. Examine the role of state and civil society as instruments of peace.
4. Describe the role of Truth and Non-violence in ensuring peace.
5. What is the importance of Nobel Peace Prize?

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UNIT 2 TOLERANCE, HARMONY AND FORGIVENESS

Structure

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- 2.3 Community and International Levels
 - 2.3.1 Role of Education in making Harmonious Society
 - 2.3.2 Foundation of Democracy
 - 2.3.3 Moral Virtue
 - 2.3.4 Religious Tolerance
- 2.4 Untouchability: An Obstacle to Harmonious Society
- 2.5 Limitation of Tolerance
- 2.6 International Day for Tolerance
- 2.7 Countering Intolerance
 - 2.7.1 Law and Education
 - 2.7.2 Access to Information
 - 2.7.3 Individual Awareness
 - 2.7.4 Local Solutions
- 2.8 Forgiveness as an act of Non-violence
- 2.9 Summary
- 2.10 Terminal Questions
 - Suggested Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The modern world is characterised by diversity and escalating intolerance. Strife potentially menaces in every region. It is not confined to any country, but is a global threat. In Wikipedia, it is mentioned that alarmed by the current rise in acts of intolerance, violence, terrorism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, racism, marginalisation and discrimination directed against national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, refugees, migrant workers, immigrants and vulnerable groups within societies, as well as acts of violence and intimidation committed against individuals exercising their freedom of opinion and expression - all of which threaten the consolidation of peace, harmony and democracy, both nationally and internationally, and are obstacles to development, the emphasis on tolerance and harmony is more essential than ever before.

The holistic understanding of man's spiritual quest led Gandhi to adopt and preach a theory of tolerance, harmony, forgiveness and mutual respect founded on truth and maintenance of non-violence. Gandhi was also pained by the caste-based social structure that India has consistently followed from time immemorial, and particularly the curse of untouchability, which to Gandhi was the greatest sin of all; because it not only spelt discrimination but debased a particular section of mankind on an occupational basis. He felt the Indian society as weakened at its very core and embarked in a fight against it with his heart and soul.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The concepts of tolerance, harmony and forgiveness
- The measures to counter intolerance
- The maintenance of tolerance and harmony at community and international levels.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING TOLERANCE AND HARMONY

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, but also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace. Tolerance is not concession, condescension or indulgence. Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others. In no circumstance can it be used to justify infringements of these fundamental values. Tolerance is to be exercised by individuals, groups and States.

Tolerance is the responsibility that upholds human rights, pluralism, democracy, harmony and the rule of law. It involves the rejection of dogmatism and absolutism and affirms the standards set out in international human rights instruments. Consistent with respect for human rights, the practice of tolerance does not mean toleration of social injustice or the abandonment or weakening of one's convictions. It means that one is free to adhere to one's own convictions and accepts that others adhere to theirs. It means accepting the fact that human beings, naturally diverse in their appearance, situation, speech, behaviour and values, have the right to live in peace and to be as they are. It also means that one's views are not to be imposed on others.

2.2.1 Importance of Tolerance and Harmony

Tolerance is integral to different groups relating to one another in a respectful and understanding way. In cases where communities have been deeply entrenched in violent conflict, being tolerant helps the affected groups endure the pain of the past and resolve their differences. In situations where conditions are economically depressed and politically charged, groups and individuals may find it hard to tolerate those that are different from them or have caused them harm. In such cases, discrimination, dehumanisation, repression, and violence may occur.

2.2.2 Seeds of Intolerance

In the absence of their own experiences, individuals base their impressions and opinions of one another on assumptions. These assumptions can be influenced by the positive or negative beliefs of those who are either closest or most influential in their lives, including parents or other family members, colleagues, educators, and/or role models. In education, there exists school curriculum and educational literature that provides biased and/or negative historical accounts of world cultures. Education or schooling based on myths can demonise and dehumanise other cultures rather than promote cultural understanding and a tolerance for diversity and differences.

2.2.3 Dealing with Intolerance

To encourage tolerance, parties to a conflict and third parties must remind themselves and others that tolerating tolerance is preferable to tolerating intolerance. There is evidence that casual inter-group contact does not necessarily reduce inter-group tensions, and may in fact exacerbate existing animosities. However, through intimate inter-group contact, groups will base their opinions of one another on personal experiences, which can reduce prejudices. Conflict transformation NGOs (non-governmental organisations) and other actors in the field of peacebuilding can offer mechanisms such as trainings to help parties to a conflict communicate with one another.

Individuals should continually focus on being tolerant of others in their daily lives. This involves consciously challenging the stereotypes and assumptions that they typically encounter in making decisions about others and/or working with others either in a social or a professional environment. To enhance communication between both sides, dialogue mechanisms such as dialogue groups or problem-solving workshops provide opportunities for both sides to express their needs and interests. In such cases, actors engaged in the workshops or similar forums feel that their concerns have been heard and recognised. Restorative justice programmes such as victim-offender mediation provide this kind of opportunity. For instance, through victim-offender mediation, victims can ask for an apology from the offender. The media should use positive images to promote understanding and cultural sensitivity. The more groups and individuals are exposed to positive media messages about other cultures, the less they are likely to find faults with one another—particularly those communities who have little access to the outside world and are susceptible to what the media tells them.

2.2.4 Tolerance and Harmony at State Level

Gandhi believed that a precondition for tolerance and harmony at the state level requires just and impartial legislation, law enforcement and judicial and administrative process. It also requires that economic and social opportunities be made available to each person without any discrimination. Exclusion and marginalisation can lead to frustration, hostility and fanaticism. In order to achieve a more tolerant society, States should ratify existing international human rights conventions, and draft new legislations where necessary to ensure equality of treatment and of opportunity for all groups and individuals in society. It is essential for international harmony that individuals, communities and nations accept and respect the multicultural character of the human family. Without tolerance there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no development or democracy. Intolerance may take the form of marginalisation of vulnerable groups and their exclusion from social and political participation, as well as violence and discrimination against them. Gandhi emphasised the responsibilities of states to develop and encourage respect for human

rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, gender, language, national origin, religion or disability, and to combat intolerance. Gandhi resolved to take all positive measures necessary to promote tolerance in our societies, because tolerance is not only a cherished principle, but also a necessity for peace and for the economic and social advancement of all in society.

2.3 COMMUNITY AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS

Gandhi believed that tolerance is necessary for harmony between individuals. Tolerance promotion and the shaping of attitudes of openness, mutual listening and solidarity should take place in schools and universities and through non-formal education, at home and in the workplace. The communication media are in a position to play a constructive role in facilitating free and open dialogue and discussion, disseminating the values of tolerance, and highlighting the dangers of indifference towards the rise in intolerant groups and ideologies. Gandhi emphasised that particular attention should be paid to vulnerable groups which are socially or economically disadvantaged so as to afford them the protection of the laws and social measures in force, in particular with regard to housing, employment and health, to respect the authenticity of their culture and values, and to facilitate their social and occupational advancement and integration, especially through education. Appropriate scientific studies and networking should be undertaken to co-ordinate the response to this global challenge, including analysis by the social sciences of root causes and effective countermeasures, as well as research and monitoring in support of policy-making and standard-setting action by Member States.

2.3.1 Role of Education in making Harmonious Society

Gandhi emphasised that education is the most effective means of preventing intolerance. The first step in tolerance education is to teach people what their shared rights and freedoms are, so that they may be respected, and to promote the will to protect those of others. Education for tolerance should be considered an urgent imperative; that is why it is necessary to promote systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance - major roots of violence and exclusion. Education policies and programmes should contribute to development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals as well as among ethnic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic groups and nations. Education for tolerance should aim at countering influences that lead to fear and exclusion of others, and should help young people to develop capacities for independent judgement, critical thinking and ethical reasoning. People must support and implement programmes of social science research and education for tolerance, human rights and non-violence. This means devoting special attention to improving teacher training, curricula, the content of textbooks and lessons, and other educational materials including new educational technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens open to other cultures, to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and to prevent conflicts or resolve them by non-violent means.

2.3.2 Foundation of Democracy

Gandhi believed that tolerance is not just agreeing with one another or remaining indifferent in the face of injustice, but rather showing respect for the essential humanity in every person. Intolerance is the failure to appreciate and respect the practices, opinions and beliefs of another group. For instance, there is a high degree of intolerance between

Israeli Jews and Palestinians who are at odds over issues of identity, security, self-determination, statehood, the right of return for refugees, the status of Jerusalem and many other issues. The result is continuing inter-group violence. Tolerance is also the foundation of democracy and human rights. Intolerance in multi-ethnic, multi-religious or multicultural societies leads to violations of human rights, violence or armed conflict. Tolerance is neither indulgence nor indifference. It is respect and appreciation of the rich variety of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. Tolerance recognises the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others. Education for tolerance should aim at countering influences that lead to fear and exclusion of others, and should help young people develop capacities for independent judgement, critical thinking and ethical reasoning. The diversity of our world's many religions, languages, cultures and ethnicities is not a pretext for conflict, but is a treasure that enriches us all.

2.3.3 Moral Virtue

People are naturally diverse; only tolerance can ensure the survival of mixed communities in every region of the globe. The appreciation of diversity, the ability to live and let others live, the ability to adhere to one's convictions while accepting that others adhere to their's, the ability to enjoy one's rights and freedoms without infringing on those of others', tolerance has always been considered a moral virtue. People must commit themselves to promoting tolerance and non-violence through programmes and institutions in the fields of education, science, culture and communication along with outright injustice and violence, discrimination and marginalisation.

2.3.4 Religious Tolerance

Gandhi read the scriptures and doctrines of all major world religions with great interest and finally arrived at a conclusion that they are all 'more or less' the same. The phrase 'more or less' was a term he systematically used because he thought that no religion could grasp God in its entirety. He put great stress on prayer, non-violence and celibacy as ways of spiritual enlightenment and believed that salvation was the ultimate goal of life. Gandhi's secular theories took on a special significance in the particular context of the Indian national movement. The Indian society has been traditionally plagued by the evils of caste and creed-based discrimination. The caste-oriented stratification of the Indian society has hindered all chances of national unification from the early days of Indian society. The situation was complicated by the presence of various religious groups within the country, who were not ready to compromise any ground to reach a platform of commonality. Gandhi preached tolerance of all religions. To him, his religion was love and tolerance, his God were his principles to which he adhered no matter how great the adversity was, and he was a fighter – one who fought with truth and non-violence. He believed violence could get you victory but it would only be momentary. Instead, he believed in conquering the enemy with love.

Gandhi upheld tolerance and had a lasting faith in non-violent co-existence of all religious schools. Gandhi was critical of the term 'tolerance' as he thought it was patronising, as if the one who uses it has a firm belief in the superiority of his own faith and was magnanimous enough to allow other faiths to exist under his confirmed superiority. This to Gandhi was an error. His particular brand of secularism was based on mutual respect. He believed they were 'branches of the same majestic tree'. Gandhi believed all religions ultimately described only attributes of God but never His being. It was the fault of the limitation of human understanding and imagination, and not of any particular faith.

Secularism for Gandhi was an absolute necessity to bring about any form of constructive and all-encompassing political movement. Gandhi preached his ideals of secularism and religious tolerance across the length and breadth of the country. He showed his consolidation to the Muslim leaders through the support that Congress extended to the Khilafat movement. Gandhi wrote extensively on the need of secularism in India, and made speeches to the same effect all over the country. Tolerance is extended to policies, conditions, and modes of behaviour which should not be tolerated because they are impeding, if not destroying, the chances of creating an existence without fear and misery. The political locus of tolerance has changed: while it is more or less quietly and constitutionally withdrawn from the opposition, it is made compulsory behaviour with respect to established policies. Tolerance is turned from an active into a passive state, from practice to non-practice: laissez-faire the constituted authorities. It is the people who tolerate the government, which in turn tolerates opposition within the framework determined by the constituted authorities.

2.4 UNTOUCHABILITY: AN OBSTACLE IN HARMONIOUS SOCIETY

Mahatma Gandhi highly grieved about the caste system that characterised the Indian society. But it was untouchability that particularly pained him. All his life, he worked hard for eradicating this heinous practice from its very roots. He drew sharp distinction between caste and varna. Varna was based on profession. And in present day India, wrote Gandhi, there is no other trace of varnashram, as they are easily interchangeable, and are actually interchanged at times, except for the varna of the Shudra. Their plight continued uninterrupted from the ancient times. Gandhi thought caste system to be a social evil, but untouchability was a sin. All his life, Gandhi worked for the untouchables. In fact, in one of his letters, Gandhi elevated the bhangis, or the night-soil cleaners as the very epitome of service for God, as they do their unclean work and cleanse society of its perils, and receive nothing but shame and admonition for it. Every man, thought Gandhi, should find a lesson in it. They should dispense their services to society and expect no reward in return. That would be the greatest service to God.

2.5 LIMITATION OF TOLERANCE

The function and value of tolerance depend on the equality prevalent in the society in which tolerance is practised. Tolerance itself stands subject to overriding criteria: its range and its limits cannot be defined in terms of the respective society. In other words, tolerance is an end in itself only when it is truly universal, practised by the rulers as well as by the ruled, by the lords as well as by the peasants, by the sheriffs as well as by their victims. Universal tolerance is possible only when no real or alleged enemy requires in the national interest the education and training of people in military violence and destruction. Limitations of tolerance are normally prior to the explicit and judicial limitations as defined by the courts, customs, governments, etc. Within the framework of such a social structure, tolerance can be safely practised and proclaimed.

The tolerance which enlarged the range and content of freedom was always partisan-intolerant toward the protagonists of the repressive status quo. The issue was only the degree and extent of intolerance. Tolerance of free speech is the way of improvement, of progress in liberation, not because there is no objective truth, and improvement must necessarily be a compromise between a variety of opinions, but because there is an

objective truth which can be discovered and ascertained only in learning and comprehending that which is and that which can be and ought to be done for the sake of improving the lot of mankind.

Universal toleration becomes questionable when its rationale no longer prevails, when tolerance is administered to manipulated and indoctrinated individuals who parrot, as their own, the opinion of their masters, for whom heteronomy has become autonomy. Impartiality to the utmost, equal treatment of competing and conflicting issues is indeed a basic requirement for decision-making in the democratic process- it is an equally basic requirement for defining the limits of tolerance. The real possibilities of human freedom are relative to the attained stage of civilisation. They depend on the material and intellectual resources available at the respective stage, and they are quantifiable and calculable to a high degree. So are, at the stage of advanced industrial society, the most rational ways of using these resources and distributing the social product with priority on the satisfaction of vital needs and with a minimum of toil and injustice.

2.6 INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR TOLERANCE

The United Nations Charter states: 'We, the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, ... and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours'. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that 'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion' (Article 18), 'of opinion and expression' (Article 19), and that education 'should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups' (Article 26). In order to generate public awareness, emphasise the dangers of intolerance and react with renewed commitment and action in support of tolerance promotion and education, UNESCO proclaimed 16th November as the annual International Day for Tolerance.

International organisations need to find ways to enshrine the principles of tolerance in policy. For instance, the United Nations has already created 'The Declaration of Moral Principles on Tolerance', adopted and signed in Paris by UNESCO's 185 member states on November 16, 1995, which qualifies tolerance as a moral, political, and legal requirement for individuals, groups and states. The International Year for Tolerance, for the first time, enunciated a personal virtue that is increasingly viewed as a political and legal requirement for peaceful co-existence. Governments also should aim to institutionalise the policies of tolerance. For example, in South Africa, the Education Ministry has advocated the integration of a public school tolerance curriculum into the classroom; the curriculum promotes a holistic approach to learning. The United States government has recognised one week a year as international education week, encouraging schools, organisations, institutions and individuals to engage in projects and exchanges to heighten global awareness of cultural differences.

2.7 COUNTERING INTOLERANCE

2.7.1 Law and Education

Gandhi believed that each government is responsible for enforcing human rights laws, for banning and punishing hate crimes and discrimination against minorities, whether these are committed by State officials, private organisations or individuals. The State must also

ensure equal access to courts, human rights commissioners or ombudsmen, so that people do not take justice into their own hands and resort to violence to settle their disputes. Laws are necessary but not sufficient for countering intolerance in individual attitudes. Intolerance is very often rooted in ignorance and fear: fear of the unknown, of the other, other cultures, nations and religions. Intolerance is also closely linked to an exaggerated sense of self-worth and pride, whether personal, national or religious. These notions are taught and learned at an early age. Therefore, greater emphasis needs to be placed on educating more and better. Greater efforts need to be made to teach children about tolerance and human rights, about other ways of life. Children should be encouraged at home and in school to be open-minded and curious. Education is a life-long experience and does not begin or end in school. Endeavours to build tolerance through education will not succeed unless they reach all age groups, and take place everywhere: at home, in schools, in the workplace, in law-enforcement and legal training, and not least in entertainment and on the information highways.

2.7.2 Access to Information

Gandhi said that intolerance is most dangerous when it is exploited to fulfil the political and territorial ambitions of an individual or groups of individuals. Hatemongers often begin by identifying the public's tolerance threshold. They then develop fallacious arguments, lie with statistics and manipulate public opinion with misinformation and prejudice. The most efficient way to limit the influence of hatemongers is to develop policies that generate and promote freedom and pluralism of the press, in order to allow the public to differentiate between facts and opinions.

2.7.3 Individual Awareness

Gandhi realised that intolerance in a society is the sum-total of the intolerance of its individual members. Bigotry, stereotyping, stigmatising, insults and racial jokes are examples of individual expressions of intolerance to which some people are subjected daily. Intolerance breeds intolerance. It leaves its victims in pursuit of revenge. In order to fight intolerance individuals should become aware of the link between their behaviour and the vicious cycle of mistrust and violence in society.

2.7.4 Local Solutions

Gandhi hoped that the realisation of the objective of tolerance would call for intolerance toward prevailing policies, attitudes, opinions, and the extension of tolerance to policies, attitudes, and opinions which are outlawed or suppressed. In other words, today tolerance appears again as what it was in its origins, at the beginning of the modern period- a partisan goal, a subversive liberating notion and practice. Conversely, what is proclaimed and practised as tolerance today, is in many of its most effective manifestations serving the cause of oppression.

2.8 FORGIVENESS AS AN ACT OF NON-VIOLENCE

Gandhi stated that if everyone took an eye for an eye with respect to revenge, the world would be blind. On forgiveness, Gandhi understood that forgiveness is a quality that enhances the forgiver, one that takes courage and strength to achieve. For forgiveness is giving up the right to harm others who have harmed you. The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is an attribute of the strong, because it is human nature to want to strike back when hurt. However, when one strikes back against those who hurt, one undermines

the self and becomes the same kind of individual as those who hurt. When someone hurts us or someone we care about, it is a quite natural human tendency to seek vengeance. Gandhi refused to prosecute the assailants on the ground of forgiving the enemy. Such forgiveness is a true spirit of nonviolence. Gandhi deeply felt that the act of being forgiven is equally important to the act of forgiving. Gandhi believed that forgiveness was the best weapon to be used against the wrong doers so that a change of heart in the opponent could be achieved. He believed that change of heart in the opponent is the real victory. Forgiveness is choosing to love. It is the first skill of self-giving love. Forgiveness grants pardon without harbouring resentment. Forgiveness is giving a person another chance. Truth in action is ahimsa and love. Truth and love, Satya and ahimsa are like the two sides of a coin. All great religions enjoin the practice of love. It continues: “Non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill will against all that lives. Non-violence is innocence in its action form, good will towards all life. It is pure love.... hatred deflects our thinking, endangers the very sense of humanity. Love of power takes the place of conscience. Forgiveness is the attribute of strong, he who is weak cannot forgive. ‘Forget’ and ‘Forgive’ goes parallel. Mistakes, offences are made by all. People get punished also for their deeds but very few allow such people to let them go and forgive them. It is really difficult to forget and forgive sometimes but if forgotten and forgiven, nothing can be more admiring than that. The tension, the load gets lighten, a grudge can be a heavy weight to bear. Feeling of hatred and ill-will leave a lasting effect on one’s mind. Forgiveness is seen as a practice to prevent harmful thoughts from causing havoc on one’s mental well-being. One should practice forgiveness as the victim ‘seeking pardon’ is the most unfortunate of all. Forgiveness is more manly than punishment”.

2.9 SUMMARY

The way to harmony is a compilation of Gandhi’s reflections on certain problems which divide mankind. Everywhere in the world, individuals and groups are divided because of fear, suspicion and hatred. It depends on local conditions whether the division expresses itself along religious, economic, political, caste or colour lines. Whatever be the form, insecurity is perhaps the major cause of individual and social dissensions. A person who is integrated and sure of himself fears none and consequently provokes no fear. Tolerance is an end in itself. The elimination of violence, and the reduction of suppression to the extent required for protecting man and animals from cruelty and aggression are preconditions for the creation of a humane society. Such a society does not yet exist. It is the duty of every cultured man or woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world. If we are to respect others’ religions as we would have them respect our own, a friendly study of the world’s religions is a sacred duty. The United Nations has adopted a resolution to observe Mahatma Gandhi’s birthday as the International Day of Non-Violence to recognise his life-long aim in spreading the message of peace, harmony and non-violence.

2.10 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Describe the role of tolerance in the making of a harmonious society.
2. Do you think that intolerance can be perpetuated?

3. Critically examine the role of education in bringing a more peaceful environment for all.
4. Describe Gandhi's views on forgiveness.
5. Analyse the different solutions put forward by Gandhi to fight intolerance.
6. Examine the statement that forgiveness and tolerance are the pre-requisites for harmony.

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UNIT 3 COMMUNITY PEACE

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

The condition of peace covers a broad spectrum in human life both personal and social as well. Here we will confine ourselves with the idea of peace in social relations at community level, and the various solutions that seek to preserve community peace. Peace seems to be humanity's fondest dream. A situation that is peaceful for one group may be oppressive for another. Many people understand peace to be the absence of war. While this is of course vital, others see it as only the first step towards a fuller ideal, as an interweaving of relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions that value diversity and foster the full development of human potential. Peace is the existence of peaceful relationships, active association, and planned co-operation among persons and groups for achieving greater aims such as justice, security, and constructive transformation of conflict.

Community is the centre of ideals in Gandhi's scheme of holistic development. Before going for any political demand, Gandhi always sought to bring about necessary changes in community and get his ideas and methods well accepted by the community. Gandhi tried to bring about major changes in the Indian society. He says that society is a group of individuals dwelling together that symbiotically carries out various activities to bring happiness and stabilisation. As it is a unique blend of diverse religions, cultures, and

changes its structure keeps changing with respect to time. After all, nothing is constant but “change”. Gandhi had stressed upon youth participation in bringing out various social reforms during his struggle for independence: in the practices such as sati, purdah, polygamy, child marriage, education of women, widow remarriage, untouchables, caste system, exploitation and religious misguidance. And the attributes that make youth swim through were non-violence, co-operation, justice, equality and love. Non-violence has a religious, social, spiritual and personal significance. Force or aggression leads to a total destruction of society. Violent feelings provoke conflicts, which grow in strength and threaten the very existence of society.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- The concept and basis of community peace
- Gandhi’s vision of community peace
- People’s participation in maintaining peace process

3.2 PEACE AS SOCIAL HARMONY

Gandhi believed that the ultimate notion of peace would signify that every human being lives in peace with himself or herself, that is, without inner tensions. But inner peace for individuals is itself normally dependent upon peace in relations with others in social or natural domain. Peace in a society is, in its turn, conditioned by peace in and with neighbouring communities. In actual practice, neither an individual nor a society lives in total harmony. Conflicting emotions and inter-personal tensions of one sort or another constantly disturb harmony. Therefore, the aspiration for peace is in a way automatically pegged at a lower level of expectation. For the same reason, spontaneous prevalence of peace without attempts to sustain it by conscious effort is also almost impossible.

The aim of peace, thus, is containment of conflict. Conflict between interacting individuals is taken as inevitable. In the case of conflict avoidance, efforts are made to avoid the causes of conflict as far as possible. Since avoidance of conflict altogether is not always possible, conflicts are sought to be contained or restricted. By this, a society through various degrees of collective strength, including the use of force tries to limit the spread of conflict. Thus, social organisation is the most important step in preserving peace. One feature of family, community, class, caste, and tribe is that they have a common function - that of maintaining peace within the society. But it is also necessary to realise that these social institutions do not always succeed in maintaining peace. More so, they may come into conflict with each other. Gandhi’s ideas on society and politics are well-known. The Gandhian vision of peace is derived from multiple sources and traditions. It was influenced as much by the pacifist and anarchist writings, especially of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy and the American anarchist Henry Thoreau, as by the philosophical traditions of Hinduism, Jainism and Christianity.

3.2.1 Basis of Community Peace

In order to understand the Gandhian approach to community peace, we must comprehend the core of Gandhi’s general social and political thought. He had an integral philosophy of life and society applicable to domestic and international situations alike. This philosophy stemmed from his actions as well as his thoughts. His conceptions about man, society and

the state provide the basis for his approach to peace and world affairs. Gandhi enunciates both the epistemology of peace as well as the sociology of peace. In the Gandhian thought, metaphysics and social principles, religious values and political strategy are woven together. The primacy of the moral over the political and of the spiritual over the temporal is fundamental to Gandhi's thinking. He considered Absolute Truth as the ultimate goal and non-violence as the best method of achieving it. Absolute Truth is omnipotent and all-encompassing. It is equivalent to divinity. Purity of means to achieve any end is also fundamental to the Gandhian approach. Rejecting the Machiavellian approach that end justifies means, Gandhi said that ends and means are inseparable. Good begets good and evil begets evil. In fact, 'end' grows out of the 'means'.

3.2.2 Gandhi's Vision of Community Peace

Peace, as Gandhi envisaged it, is more than the absence of conflict and violence. It implies a state of positive and constructive social order, where individuals, groups and societies do not dominate or exploit one another and live in cooperation and mutual aid. Peace is thus a cementing factor for the society and the community. It is a state of affairs in which men can resolve their differences by talking to each other rather than by using violence. Peace and truth cannot be separated. "The way of peace", Gandhi said, "is the way of truth. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness." Hence, peace achieved through untruth and deceit is not to be encouraged. Such peace cannot last long. Peace-based truth is stable and also promotes internal spiritual growth in man and social progress. Peace and justice are also integrally related. They are like two sides of the same coin. The realist approach looks at conflict as a clash of interests between two parties, which can be resolved either by the victory of one side or by some compromise agreement between the two parties. The Gandhian approach does not accept conflict as clash of interests. It regards them as products of mental illusions, misperceptions and prejudices. Gandhi believes that conflicts are temporary irregularities in the normal flow of life. Creative dialogue and negotiations have the potential to resolve the differences between two actors. Such a method does not demand any party to sacrifice his position or interest. Instead, the mental transformation during the conflict resolution process results into a win-win situation.

According to Gandhi, war is not a natural phenomenon but a social and a cultural one. It is not the nature of man to kill others and commit violence. Since individuals can be pacific, the community that is composed of individuals can also be pacific. It is possible to avoid war if we eliminate the root causes of war and create the right environment through moral techniques. Gandhi had deep faith in the possibility of establishing peace through non-violent action. He wrote: "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the Godliness of human nature."

3.2.3 Satyagraha

Gandhi said that the root of every violence or conflict is untruth and that the only permanent solution of conflict is truth. Consequently, to resolve conflicts, he conceived the non-violent technique, Satyagraha, which is the most potent method of ensuring a durable community peace. Satyagraha is applicable to all situations: from inter-personal to the group relationships, from the micro- to macro-level problems. It can also be used to fight against the problems of injustice, exploitation and conflict at the community level. The Gandhian approach to peace relies heavily on satyagraha. In fact, Gandhi considers satyagraha as a moral substitute of war, and as a superior means of redressing the grievances of a state. It relies on persuasion and moral pressure rather than on physical

force or other coercive techniques to achieve the goal of peace and justice at the community level. Satyagraha aims at liquidating the antagonisms but not the antagonists themselves. In Satyagraha, the negative actions of the other party will have to be opposed persistently and resolutely, at the same time maintaining the feeling of amity for the opponent. Gandhi believed that we must not consider our opponents as our enemies. He wrote: "While we may attack measures and systems... we must not attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and slow to impute motives."

3.2.4 Non-violence and Forgiveness

The basis of Gandhi's pacifism is the supreme value of Ahimsa or non-violence. Non-violence is the means to 'achieve truth. Just as violence is the distinctive character of animals, non-violence is the nature of man'. Violence and non-violence are two opposite terms. The arguments against violence often revolve around the assumption that it does not work, that there are inherent laws governing violence that prevent it from producing positive results. Gandhi is opposed to violence because of five reasons. One, continuity, i.e., once you start using violence you cannot escape it. Secondly, reciprocity, i.e., violence creates, begets and procreates further violence. On this point, Gandhi warned that to answer brutality with brutality is to admit one's moral and intellectual bankruptcy and it can only start a vicious circle. Thirdly, Sameness, i.e., it is impossible to distinguish between justified and unjustified violence, between violence that liberates and violence that enslaves. No matter how high the goal, violence reduces all practitioners to the same level. Or again, in Gandhi's words that counter-violence can only result in further brutalisation of human nature. Fourthly, violence begets only further violence, i.e., the end grows out of the means used; and lastly, violence needs to be justified, but such justification is hypocritical, there is no "pure" violence. Violence and hatred are always linked to each other. "If violence is answered by violence, the result is a physical struggle. Now, physical struggle inevitably arouses in the minds of those directly and even indirectly concerned in emotions of hatred, fear, rage and resentment. In the heat of conflict all scruples are thrown to the winds, and all the habits of forbearance and humanness, slowly and laboriously formed during generations of civilized living, are forgotten. Nothing matters any more except victory. And when at last victory comes to one or other of the parties, this final outcome of physical struggle bears no necessary relation to the right and wrongs of the case; nor in most cases, does it provide any lasting settlement to the dispute." Thus, Ahimsa is not passive but dynamic. It means not hurting anybody in thoughts, words and deeds.

3.2.5 Focus on the Individual

For Gandhi, a crucial factor and first step for peaceful and just world order is the individual. Gandhi was a humanist who put man at the centre of all social and political activities. An individual is an integral part of the whole. There is an unbreakable link between an individual and the family, a family and the neighbourhood, a neighbourhood and the society, a society and the nation. Each level is as strong as the ties it has with the other. Therefore, for strengthening the probability of peace at the societal and national level, the beginning has to be made at the level of the individual psychology. Gandhi believed that the sources of peace and conflict lie in the minds of men. The question of world peace is ultimately about achieving conquest of the self. Man can appreciate and live by the principles of truth and non-violence. Ultimately, the moral and spiritual forces would triumph over the material and physical forces because the spiritual force and desire for non-violence lies in every man's heart. This spiritual force might be dormant, but it can

be awakened by right stimulus and training. Mere denunciation of violence will not result into a peaceful world order. It is necessary to reform the individual for this. Peace cannot be imposed from above but must grow from within. As both conflict and peace begin in the minds men, a non-violent peacemaker must first establish peace within himself before attempting to establish peace elsewhere. Continuous self-introspection, self-analysis and self-purification are essential for the satyagrahis to achieve their goals. He stated further “There is no freedom for India (or the world as a whole) so long as one man, no matter how highly placed he may be, holds in the hollow of his hand the life, the property and honour of millions of human beings....”

3.3 PEOPLE’S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESS

Gandhi was convinced that peace is possible not through diplomatic activities alone but mainly through the participation of people and groups at all levels of the society. Peace from below rather than above is the cornerstone of the Gandhian thinking. Thus involvement of all the sections of the society - ordinary men and women, children, youth, civil society organisations, educational institutions etc., in the peace process are imperative. Gandhi described the term co-operation as all individuals come together to achieve the designed goals and all of them share the fruits of the achievements. Nobody is overburdened or over-regarded. Youth should co-operate with elders and children. It should be looked upon as a way of life. He underlined that co-operation is the basis for peace, love, equality and justice. Gandhi advocated joint families and village communities as the co-operation among different individuals, classes, castes and groups in the society ensures growth in all walks of human life from basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to more complex requirement of the people like industries, transportation, recreation, finance etc. Peace is a relationship between people. Peace begins with a harmony between individuals. Gandhi lived and worked for the establishment of such relationship among individuals and groups. He has a unique contribution to peace in the modern context.

3.3.1 Equal Opportunity for all

Gandhi maintained that there cannot be lasting peace unless there are equal opportunities for all. According to Gandhi, “You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and groveling, you cannot succeed in ensuring equal status for women, and the access to opportunities for all was the ultimate that would bring independence to the people of India.” Gandhi believed that real peace cannot emerge unless the individuals cease to exploit one another. A peaceful community would aim at resolving conflicts by helping its neighbours alleviate their economic problems and try to remain friendly with them. The other principle of Community peace is social justice. Peace cannot be established in a society where a big class distinction exists.

3.3.2 Role of Political Freedom

According to Gandhi, political freedom is needed for every individual and the community. He wanted the man to be the centre of all in a political cycle. The entire exercise should be around him or her leading to benefit him/her and not destruct him/her. As the star is believed to be the source of human life, it is good to have this companion. If star is the

'life giver' for the entire earth, the man is the 'life giver' of the entire games of politics. Such a man should be helped economically. Therefore, Gandhi advocated his political philosophy by taking mass as a centre of all activities. According to him, theory and practice in politics should be equal and should be followed in a balanced way. Economic uplifting is the ultimate goal of any individual and in this politics should help. If one is self-punishing for his own wrong things himself, the politics he does would help the human kind. If not, good political philosophy, even if it is good, will not work in practice.

3.3.3 Reform Development Model

Gandhi said that our development models too would have to be reformed to make them people-oriented rather than machine-centred. Big technology aligned with big business could create disastrous consequences for the society. Appropriate technology is the need of the hour to encourage the movement towards a non-violent society. Decentralised production that generates employment and does not marginalise and exploit men at the lowest rung of the society alone can be conducive to peace and non-violence. The Gandhian approach to community peace not only concerns human beings and society but also includes the ecology and the cosmos. Gandhi anticipated and articulated the concern for environment. The compulsion for conflict arises not just due to urge for power, but also by the pattern of development based on disregard for nature and life forms. In his famous book, *Hind Swaraj*, he dismissed the western civilisation as exploitative of nature as well as of human beings, based on an over-use of earth's resources, over-production and over-consumption. Such a civilisation resting on the selfish nature of the individual promotes amoral economics and amoral politics. A peaceful world will arise when man learns to live in harmony with nature and when all men and women identify themselves with all other living beings.

3.3.4 Settle Internal Differences

Gandhi also believed that without settling the differences within one's own society, it is not possible to work for or establish peace at the global level. A nation, which has achieved internal harmony, will not need armed forces for its security. Thus, Satyagraha and constructive programmes should be applied for mending social relations. Religious tolerance and understanding, reconciliation of ethnic and racial differences etc. are of fundamental importance in the quest for establishing peace. Gandhi analysed peace and conflict as pertaining to the social order. He focused on the various methods by which society copes with the challenges of peace and conflict. As we noted, both the state as well as civil society have a role in controlling and even prevention of social strife. The state as the chief regulatory agency has been in existence since time immemorial in almost all societies. The state has been more concerned with containing conflict than in avoiding or preventing conflict. And containing conflict is expressed in terms of the very familiar phrase: maintenance of law and order, which also is characterised as the minimalist or minimal conception of peace. With the rise of the welfare state, the functions of the state have expanded. With this, there has been a broadening of the conception of peace and conflict.

3.4 NON-VIOLENT ARMY OR SHANTI SENA AND PEACE COMMITTEES

One important condition of a peaceful world, according to Gandhi, is the raising of a Shanti Sena. Gandhi felt that it should be possible to raise it if we are sincere about its purpose. A non-violent army acts unlike armed men in times of peace and war. It brings

warring communities together, carries out peace propaganda, engages in activities that bring and keep them in touch with other persons. Such an army should be ready to cope with any emergency. The non-violent force must be small if it is to become efficient. The trained satyagrahis of the Shanti Sena would be willing to make any sacrifice, including of their own lives, for the sake of truth, peace and non-violence. The band of satyagrahis in the Shanti Sena confronts the aggressors and tells them of wrongness of their action. They are even willing to lay down their lives in the process of non-violent resistance. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him (the aggressor) and his soldiery. Gandhi claimed that “men can slaughter one another for years in the heat of battle, for them it seems a case of kill or be killed. But if there is no danger of being killed yourself by those you slay, you cannot go on killing defenseless and unresisting people endlessly. You must put down your gun in self-disgust.”

Peace Committees

The peace Committees that have been formed must not go to sleep. The condition of keeping peace in our midst is that all the communities in India must live at peace with one another, not by force of arms but that of love than which there is no better cement to be found in the world. If the truth and peace are with an identity of human kind, there would be cycle of non-violence creating more rings all over. As a result, life dynamism of non-violence can encircle the entire life-setting starting from individual unity to Global writ or entity. War results when peace fails. Our effort must always be directed towards peace. But it must be peace with honour and a fair security for life and property. Gandhi suggested one Hindu and one Muslim standing surety for each Village: ‘The reality has to be faced and a determined effort made by everyone of you to root out the least trace of the feeling of hostility and make it possible for your Muslim neighbours to live in brotherly love once more’.

3.5 VALUE-BASED CULTURE AND MORAL SOLUTION

Gandhi said that at the roots of violence lie in our infinite greed, consumerism and materialism, a new life-style and a new culture are required for making the world peaceful. The modern civilisation that glorifies and venerates self-interest debases the moral basis of society. Restriction on human needs and inculcation of other-regarding rather than self-regarding attitudes are vital components of the larger Gandhian vision of peace. Attainment of peace should be the ultimate goal of any youthful human emotions and actions. Once their minds are at rest they can concentrate their energies for spreading the message of peace. Youth should know that social harmony is an index of peace. They should strive peacefully to make their and other people’s social lives happy and undisturbed which is the aim of any society. Gandhi also warned youngsters against misinterpreting religions.

The problems of war and peace have been misconceived by the conventional approaches and theories. The efforts for peace so far have failed because of the wrong methods used and because of the lack of sincerity on the part of their practitioners. In the Gandhian approach, conflict is primarily a moral problem and requires moral solutions. Gandhi believed that every action- whether performed for self, family, group or community- produces its own appropriate results. Evil actions create evil results while the good actions lead to good results. In community, evil seems to have overtaken the good. Every conflict becomes the cause of a subsequent conflict. Therefore, in consonance with the spirit of

the sages and prophets of ancient times, Gandhi prescribed moral means for the settlement of disputes. Conflict is 'mutual violence' which breeds hatred, revenge and bitterness. Hatred cannot be a foundation for future peace. Gandhi stressed that "Peace is the temple or church of truth. Once that is being achieved in a human being, he or she will be a productive peace maker". A non-productive person has no right, according to Gandhi, to enjoy the fruits from the sources of nature. He or she has to therefore labour that too through peaceful means. Gandhi said that he honoured the place in us where the entire universe resides... a place of light, of love, of truth, of peace, of wisdom. "Each of us must learn to work not just for oneself, one's own family or nation, but for the benefit of all humankind. Universal responsibility is the key to human survival. It is the best foundation for peace."

3.6 A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE GANDHIAN APPROACH

Gandhi's views and vision of peace have been criticised as utopian, idealistic, inconsistent and contradictory. Critics question the ethical and practical basis of Gandhi's non-violent philosophy. According to them, even a violent act can acquire moral character under certain circumstances. The relationship between means and ends is more complex than what Gandhi recognised. Means and ends have to be understood in their wider contexts. The Gandhian approach also relies greatly upon the potential for converting ruling elite to justice and peace. According to some scholars, Gandhi did not comprehend all the complexities of society or give an effective practical plan for community peace. However, Gandhi was a practical idealist. His contributions should, therefore, be judged on the basis of what he did rather than on the basis of what he wrote about peace. He was also not a dogmatic thinker and was open to revising his ideas according to new realities and developments. His shifting stand about conflict is also something that was known to Gandhi himself. He believed that his aim was not so much to be consistent with his previous statements but with truth as it evolved before him from time to time. Gandhi's approach to non-violence places him as a far-sighted, sensitive and perceptive man of peace. He gave a dynamic and flexible meaning of peace in which peace is the best, but not the only way, to achieve good. Modern peace researchers who have contributed to the idea of direct and indirect violence and particularly structural violence find Gandhi as an equally original contributor to the thinking of peace research. The concept of structural violence is a product of social relationships of exploitation. Despite the inconsistencies of his position on peace, no one can deny the fact that very few had given such a powerful moral thrust in social relations and argued for justice at community level. In Satyagraha, Gandhi gave a morally superior alternative to conflict as a means of achieving one's goals.

3.7 SUMMARY

Gandhi claimed that his life was like a laboratory of truth and non-violence. Hence, this can be reinterpreted and applied fresh to the emerging realities of the 21st century. His teachings and personal examples do provide several practical tools and techniques that are relevant for addressing the challenges of the contemporary society. Mankind today is suffering from multidimensional crises such as terrorism, denial of human rights, economic inequality, racial discrimination, ethnic violence, religious intolerance, poverty, and environmental degradation and so on. Gandhian principles of truth, love, non-violence and social order based on justice and goodness are of great relevance in this context. The

Indian Constitution incorporated as its main commitment the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, which provides for guarantees against state interference with basic individual rights as well as positive commitment from the state to ensure a just social order. Further, the Constitution also incorporated a Chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy, which direct or enjoin the state to pursue policies that promote a healthier natural and material environment as well as ensure a just distribution of the material resources of the society. Even though the provisions of Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles slightly differ in the degree of their enforceability, they can together be regarded as one great charter embodying the commitment to a broad conception of peace in society. In different ways and in different fields, a growing number of initiatives to search for non-materialistic, non-violent alternatives to present modes of living are being taken in the society today. Whether or not these initiatives use the name of Gandhi, they are nevertheless promoting the values and principles he stood for. The lessons from Gandhi's life are, firstly, the goal of the struggle for peace is for the good of all and not just the good of the majority; secondly, one has to be prepared to make sacrifices to attain this and lastly, power in itself does not result in peace; we have to work and strive for peace. Gandhi's life taught us that it is easy to postulate principles, but very difficult to put them into practice. Believing in peace and a good life for all is an ideal principle but the final step is putting into practice what we have learnt or begun to believe in. This final step is what eventually determines the quality of our lives.

3.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine Gandhi's views on community conflict.
2. Examine the features and objectives of Satyagraha.
3. How does Gandhi's approach to non-violence differ from pacifism?
4. What are the main elements of action suggested by Gandhi for a peaceful society?
5. Critically examine Gandhi's views on Shanti-Sena.
6. "Non-violence and forgiveness are essential for the community peace". Do you agree with the Gandhian view?

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UNIT 4 PEACE AMONG NATIONS

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Suggested Readings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Peace thinking has influenced both the peace movements as well as peace research worldwide. Absence of violence should not be confused with absence of conflict; violence may occur without conflict, and conflict may be solved by means of non-violent mechanisms. The distinction between negative peace and positive peace gives rise to a four fold classification of relations between two nations: Firstly, war, which is organised group violence; secondly, negative peace, where there is no violence but no other form of interaction either and where the best characterisation is “peaceful passive coexistence”; thirdly, positive peace, where there is some cooperation interspersed with occasional outbreaks of violence; lastly, unqualified peace, where absence of violence is combined with a pattern of cooperation. The recent transformation and settlement of protracted international and societal conflicts and the radical transformation of previously authoritarian and repressive societies have heightened attention to the challenges of building post-conflict relations that are enduring and just. One long-standing area of peace studies has been the effect of integration between societies and of sectors within societies. Integration is indicated by the high rate of exchange of goods, people, and ideas across societal and group lines, relative to exchanges within.

Research findings support the generalisation that integration improves communication and exchanges between the integrating parties and more importantly, enhances mutual security and reduces the probability of countries' waging wars or threatening each other's identity, particularly, when such an integration is perceived to be equitable. Traditionally, efforts to restore peace after a conflict ends include policies to redress the grievances that were viewed as the conflict's source. For communal differences within a country, this may entail more autonomy for citizens with different languages or religions and provisions for popular participation in determining the form and degree of autonomy. In recent years, peace workers have been giving considerable attention to fostering mutual understanding and tolerance among peoples with different cultural backgrounds living in the same society. This attention extends to reconciliation between peoples who perpetrated gross human rights violations and people who suffered profound losses during periods of repression or of violent struggle.

Aims and Objectives

After reading this Unit, you would be able to understand

- The concept of international peace systems
- Approaches to the study of peace
- The movements for peace
- Gandhi's scheme of world federation and peace among nations.

4.2 INTERNATIONAL PEACE SYSTEMS

Most of the peace thinking has centred on the problem of how power shall best be distributed among the nations of the world. The first model is that of minimum equality of power which is based on the theory that the international system is best served by making power the monopoly of one nation or system, just as it is monopolised by some states in the international system. Examples are the Pax Romana, Pax Ecclesiae, and Pax Britannica. These are instances of Roman Empire, the Catholic Church and Britain maintaining law and order over large areas in the globe. The second model focuses on maximum equality, or what is usually referred to as a 'balance of power' in the sense that no nation or alliance is strong enough to defeat another nation or alliance. A modern version of this is the balance of terror, in which a nation may defeat other nations, but only at the risk of itself being completely destroyed. The third model views military power as best stabilised at a low level; this refers to all kinds of arms control efforts, especially those that have taken place from the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 to the present day, including contemporary thinking that aims at subtracting from a Hobbesian dictum that denotes some means of violence and some objects of violence. The idea is to rule out general and complete war. Finally, there is the model that views power as stabilised at a zero level; this refers to the general and complete disarmament advocated by pacifists. Pacifism asserts that this state may be obtained unilaterally by the effect of example, because weapons become meaningless when they do not encounter similar weapons, and by the refusal of soldiers to use arms, as well as by governmental decisions.

4.3 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PEACE

Peace education at its beginning, focused on arms race, disarmament and deadly conflict

and war. Peace studies today are inclusive of a vast range of approaches and experiments and many innovative ways of thinking have been developed. Peace research is concerned with the development, accumulation and discovery of knowledge about the causes of war and condition of peace; peace education is concerned with the development of the processes of education in and about peace; while peace studies is an area of concern that relates to the substantive issues regarding the purposes and problems of the dissemination of knowledge of peace as a process.

4.3.1 Political Economy Approach

The political economy approach draws attention to the political and economic structures of the international system, which create conditions for inequitable distribution of wealth among and within nations. The political economy approach examines the nature of the modern political economy and its implications for social and international conflict. The need for food and other basic economic necessities has not been met in many parts of the world. The number of people suffering from nutritional deprivation has steadily increased. In many poor countries, the populations also have a high level of illiteracy and lack a proper level of education. These miserable life conditions are attributed to the failure of economic systems. To produce opportunities for the marginalised, an equitable global economic order is essential. In the classic economic liberalism, the role of government is to nurture a political environment for promoting a free market society and to protect the rights of private property. Marxism analyses social structure in terms of relations between two antagonist classes, the proletariat, comprised of workers, who earn wages for their physical work, and the bourgeoisie, who monopolise the capital needed to make investment in production. Class antagonism can be resolved through the achievement of an equal society that does not have an exploitative economic relationship. Since individual actions would be ineffective in fighting against a ruling class, building solidarity among the masses is important.

Competition between colonial powers in pursuit of foreign markets and raw materials is a driving force behind international conflict. Marxist thinkers also attribute imperialism to the economic structure of capitalist states. An external outlet for surplus goods and financial investments is needed for the survival of capitalism. Imperialism is thus an inevitable outcome of the expansion of capitalism on a global scale. With the rise of international capitalism, the contradictions inherent in capitalism, particularly, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few reproduces itself on a global scale resulting in international economic inequalities and the enrichment of one state at the expense of another. The internationalisation of capitalism, creation of new political alignments, transformation of social values, and the acceleration of scientific and technological advances have promoted free market economy at both the national and international levels. Economic globalisation reduces the role of states to adjusting national policies to the dynamics of an unregulated global economy. The state mainly remains to enforce legal and political framework for a free market mechanism. Industrialised states have supported private enterprises by enforcing contracts and using an instrument of political leverage to impose market rules world-wide. Many poor countries in the world today are former European colonies and share experiences of years of exploitation and frustration with the dominant structure of international political economy. The spread of markets into the domain of traditional life increased the number of households losing control over subsistence means in the process of being integrated into new economic relations. Global economic expansion created conditions of social segregation and fragmentation within countries. Economic decisions are disentangled from family, gender and social relations as well as cultural traditions. The

incorporation into a cash economy leads to the devaluation of traditional productive activities of women. The costs of economic marginalisation include social polarisation and destruction of internal linkages.

4.3.2 Feminist Approach

While both women and men are victims of sexism, racism, human rights abuse, and poverty, there are particular types of violence that afflict women more than men. Family violence and sexual and emotional abuse of women are major concerns in many parts of the world. Feminine values of caring, compassion and nurturing have enriched the conceptions of peace. Moreover, the application of feminine values to the radical transformation of an oppressive social order serves as an important principle in the struggle for achieving peace. The introduction of a market oriented economic system deprives women's income by assigning low monetary value to their economic activities. Competitive, organisational and exclusive masculine values support a model of hierarchical human relationships. These values are often reflected in the bureaucracies of states, churches, corporations, political parties, and the military. Social welfare is traded for military spending and it further exacerbates female poverty.

Feminist thinkers find a logical linkage between feminism, pacifism and socialism. The elimination of violence in both private and public spheres is essential to achieving peace. The Feminist conceptions of peace are extended to the conditions of social justice, economic equity, and ecological balance. Equity and democracy have to be transformational values for forthcoming social changes. Equal relations between men and women can serve as the foundation for equality among all people and an end to racism and ecological destruction. Social justice and development require the full participation of women. Feminist values broaden the concept of security by including in it all people and all nations based on a notion of kinship extended to the entire human family. An adversarial state-centric security system negatively affects the conditions for protecting the most fundamental roots of survival embodied in health and a decent quality of life. Feminist security agenda seeks protection from organised state violence and the fulfillment of fundamental needs of human harmony.

4.3.3 Environmental Approach

The environmental approach to the study of peace points out that the unbalanced relationship of humans to bio-environmental system is a source of threat to human survival. Human beings have a unique capacity to damage the planet that supports life-support systems of all species. Global warming effects, river and ocean pollution, deforestation and distortion of bio-diversity are related to the expansion of human activities which threaten life-supporting ecosystems. The impact of deforestation, desertification, pollution, over-fishing, and overgrazing on the ecosystem threatens our planetary biodiversity. The scarcity and misuse of fresh water pose another serious threat to human health, welfare, food security and the entire ecosystem. The rapid increase in population, especially in the developing countries outstrips economic growth, deteriorates living standards, and results in severe environmental degradation. The carrying capacity of land, that is, the number of people an area can support without compromising its ability to do so in future, has been rapidly deteriorating in these countries. The planet is gradually moving towards overloading the carrying capacity with a rapid growing population.

Competition for limited or inequitably distributed resources may lead to violent conflicts. Threats to subsistent life caused by resource scarcity increase the probability of social

unrest and war. -Deteriorating resource bases, coupled with rapidly growing population, produce a volatile social situation for group conflict. Population dislocation can be caused by such environmental changes as deforestation, desertification, drought, soil- erosion and floods. The protection of the local as well as global environment must be integral to the development process throughout our increasingly interdependent world. Sustainability cannot be achieved in one country, since ecological problems do not recognise any borders.

4.3.4 Functional Approach

The main architect of functionalism as a theory is David Mitrany. His essay *A Working Peace System* summarises the main arguments of the functionalists and by its very title drew attention to their major claim: functionalism is the road to lasting peace. Written after the World War II, Mitrany projected the growing domestic trend towards welfare statism into the international arena and argued that wars are the result of social and economic maladjustments. While the real task of our common society is the conquest of poverty, ignorance and disease, the existing state system based on sovereignty is not only inadequate but also an obstacle to finding solutions to global problems. Functionalists see promoting peace in three different ways. It solves basic human problems that are the root causes of war. Functional organisations, such as the FAO, enable countries to feed their hungry by developing new strains of wheat and rice. It subverts the sovereignty of nation-states. For instance, citizens of a nation, which receives support from international organisations or other countries or international organisations, are inclined to offer similar assistance to where it is needed elsewhere. They might be less inclined to support policies of their own government that are hostile to countries that contribute to helping them.

Moreover, functional activities create within a country, even within a government, groups whose interests are closely tied with international interests. For instance, a health ministry which is making use of the WHO's technical aid may become an advocate of world cooperation. A village doctor who depends on a vaccine supplied by the WHO may develop a vested interest in seeing that the WHO continues to function inside the country. Apart from giving some people inside a country vested interest in international activity, functional activities may foster international loyalty among people at large and counteract the handful nationalistic activities. A third way in which functional activity supports peace is by bringing people from different countries in face-to-face contact. Foreigners seem less 'foreign' and more human when they are living right in your midst. And it becomes difficult to accept generalisations about other national groups when such groups are living and working in one's own village or town. Functionalism is, thus, very much a programme for action. It is intended to be prescriptive and policy-oriented. It is also descriptive and diagnostic as it is linked with perceptions of development in significant aspects of human nature and institutional interaction.

4.3.5 Critique of Functionalism

Some members of the functionalism itself who suggested alternative routes to political integration challenged Mitrany's theory of functional integration. They are the neo-functionalists. In contrast to the functionalists who sought to create a new world order in which the sovereign states take a back seat, the neo-functionalists or the integration theorists seek to create new states through the integration of existing states. The neo-functionalist theory developed by E. Haas in the 1960s was inspired by the intensifying cooperation between the countries of Western Europe that began in the 1950s. Haas builds on Mitrany. But he rejects the notion that 'technical' matters can be separated from

politics. Integration is a process whereby 'political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties... towards a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states'. The theory of functionalism is considered contradictory and vague. The most frequent criticism of functionalism has been that it is not clear in what way the work of the functional institutions would be coordinated.

The formulations of the functionalists are of a utopian kind. Some critics have argued that functionalism does not take enough account of the working of politics. It has been said that functionalism presumes a natural willingness of people and nations to work together. It is based on the assumption of essential goodness of human nature. Functionalism implies that man is innately good and rational. This, according to the critics, is a one-sided view of human nature. Actually man is a mixture of both good and evil. He can be good and rational and equally he can be irrational and selfish. Functionalism is essentially an approach to world order. It is an approach which would overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all nations would be gradually integrated. Functionalism is a combination of two closely related processes: task expansion and loyalty transfer. According to the functionalists, international functional organisations and agencies promise to eliminate war by attacking the societal diseases such as poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, economic insecurity, social injustice and exploitation which subvert human beings' natural inclinations and lead to war.

4.4 MOVEMENTS FOR PEACE

Hundreds of groups working for disarmament and peace suggest an enormous democratisation of the struggle for peace. These organisations do provide open fora for expressions of public opinion. The pre-war official peace movement had developed from an aspiration of religious mystics, based almost exclusively on the principle of the wickedness of all wars, into a movement favouring the creation of actual political machinery cooperating with the legal profession for the reform and administration of international law and had become respectable by the support by other peace movements and above all, the Churches. The greatest achievement is that the peace movements have raised public awareness of nuclear issues across international boundaries. The peace movements created mass protest; an unintended consequence was that it taught governments how to successfully deflect and neutralise mass protest. The peace movements were able to activate the very best in humanitarian, liberal and moral feeling.

Regionalism and World Peace

The increasingly complex problems of modern international society have led to multilateral cooperation in matters of mutual concern. The most interesting and significant development of international society has been the growth of regional organisations as a means of peace and security. Peace enforcement through regional security system has limitations because of split among the members of the regional organisation; and economic sanctions could not be used within a region because they could adversely affect the economic interests of its own members. Regional arrangements are considered to be instruments of collective self-defence and action against an aggressor; these would be undertaken not only more willingly but also with more dispatch and efficiency by those within a region. Moreover, the homogeneity of interests of various kinds such as language, culture or economic interests produces a natural trend towards regional groupings.

4.5 GANDHI, WORLD FEDERATION AND PEACE AMONG NATIONS

Peace in the world cannot be achieved without reaching the concept and techniques of Gandhi. Therefore, it is much more important to understand his techniques and try to replace the present techniques which advocate violence all over the world. The force or violence was the basis of international politics. Therefore, according to him, politics is power-oriented. Power, therefore, leads to competition. Competition makes in turn violence. This was noticed in the Cold War era of the world. Thus, international politics or even a national politics for that matter is centred around the “use of force” which creates only force, all over the world. Peace will never come until the great powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put amend to all wars. In such a world only the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation. Unless big nations shed their desire of exploitation and the inevitable consequence, there is no hope for peace in the world. Further, violence to persons and property has the effect of clouding the real issues involved in the original conflict while non-coercive, non-violent action invites the parties to a dialogue about the issues themselves. Gandhi, therefore, warns that we must hate the sin and not the sinner.

Gandhi fervently hoped for “a world federation of free and independent states”. His concept of World Government transcended in the traditional thinking, the pattern of conventional international organisations could not satisfy the conditions for bringing genuine peace. He held that peace could not be established through mere conferences. Similarly, he was not optimistic about the League of Nations and the United Nations. They lacked the spirit of non-violence and failed to serve as vehicles of peace in the absence of a force to enforce their decisions.

4.5.1 Arms Race and Materialism

It is not only the arms race that generates the violence but the mad rush also for the Western material comforts which results in constant dependence, dissatisfaction, cut throat competition, exploitation and hatredness that are responsible for untruth and violence. The modern military weapons have become so indiscriminate and their efforts so catastrophic that the very existence of mankind is threatened. Unscrupulous pursuit of material welfare without heading ethical and human values, has crept into the very vitals of national life and culture. As a result, the moral fibre of the people has been weakened. In the words of Martin Luther King, “the choice before mankind is between non-violence and non-existence.” To abolish war, we must get rid of our anger, hate, passion, pride, fear, egotism and inordinate ambition and lust for power. He also believed that disarmament was possible only through “the matchless weapon of non-violence.” And it was his hope that India will prove herself worthy of being the first nation in the world to give lead to other nations for the delivery of earth from the burden of war. He wanted the great powers lead the rest by disarming themselves; they should give up ambitions and exploitation and revise their mode of life. Thus, according to Gandhi, disarmament cannot crystalise, unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another. ‘Exploitation must go’ is the essential precondition for the establishment of a world free from blood-spilling.

4.5.2 Man versus Machine

The Gandhian concept of world peace should be viewed as an integral part of his

philosophy of life and one should try to appreciate his attitude within the general framework of his philosophy of ahimsa. Gandhi was able to initiate an educational discourse outside the familiar East-West dichotomy yet forming part of the critique of the West by locating the problem of education in a different dialectic, that of man versus machine. In this dialectic, man represented the whole of mankind, and the machine represented the industrialised West. Throughout his life, Gandhi had perceived his personal life and the causes he fought for in a global context. The kind of life that Gandhi's 'basic education' proposal projected as the 'good' life was first practised by him at Phoenix Settlement and, somewhat more rigorously and ambitiously, at Tolstoy Farm a little later. As the name indicates, by the time of this latter experiment, Gandhi had read the works of, and had established contact with, the Russian writer and thinker Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy's celebration of the individual's right to live in peace and freedom, and his negation of all forms of oppression, brought him close to Gandhi. Gandhi's concept of peace on earth and goodwill among mankind has led to the development of Sarvodaya social order which is India's distinctive contribution to world of thought. If an individual can practise non-violence, why not whole groups of individuals and nations of the world?

4.5.3 Perfect Peace

Gandhi, on the other hand, suggested that 'love' could be adopted as the 'means' for achieving 'perfect peace'. Peace without love, as he pointed out, is violence. And love without peace is also violence. Therefore, as he aimed, the concept, love, should work replacing the use of force concept which would create the cycle of love all over. According to Gandhi, the ultimate goal of any peace maker should be of building up peace army. It is necessary to quote here Gandhi's statement, "... the moral principles on which civilization rests are truth and love. If people everywhere respond to them truthfully, the world will be brought closer together and the darkness which we see around us, may be dispelled." On the basis of his proposition, if the world leaders direct the world, conflict resolution for all the problems of the present world can be achieved and the world in the 21st century will be the century of love and not of violence. We also know this fact that human nature is essentially peace loving. The way of world peace lies in cultivating the spirit of non-violence and peace in the hearts of men.

4.5.4 Politics of Violence

Gandhi is opposed to violence and wars. He was an advocate of non-violence and peace. According to him, "Truth and non-violence are as old as are the hills, I have nothing new to teach the world." War is said to be a way of ending wars. As a matter of fact the Second World War was fought by the allies with a view to end all wars. Gandhi was of the firm opinion that war can never end wars, and the same thing had happened with the end of Second World War leading to further tensions. War, which is a destroying and divisive force, can never contribute to establishment of peace. Hence, the search for peace should be the way of non-violence alone.

4.5.5 Gandhian Solution of a Peaceful World

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 inter-national 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. In addition, he 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 is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family its use can be extended to every other circle.'

4.6 UNITED NATIONS'S AGENDA FOR PEACE

For establishing peace among nations, the UN's Agenda for Peace can be broadly separated into four groups: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Peace building. Preventive diplomacy tries to put an end to a conflict by getting the concerned parties to resolve the conflict before it becomes violent. Peacemaking tries to resolve the conflict diplomatically but after the bout becomes violent. It tries to get the involved parties to cease-fire. The Peacekeeping role of the UN comes into play at this stage to make sure that the ceasefire is honoured. Peace-building is the last stage that promotes peace and order by raising social structures, legal systems and sometimes even setting up a new government. Non-diplomatic methods of resolving disputes are the adjudicative methods where a third party is invested with power to decide the dispute. The method by which the decision is reached is not, as in diplomacy, by persuasion, but by determining the question of fact on which the parties are in disagreement and reaching a decision on the dispute by applying the applicable law to the facts.

4.7 SUMMARY

In the positive conception of peace, peace is more than the absence of violence; it is the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law. Thus, while the negative conception addresses the immediate symptoms, conditions of war and the use and effects of force and weapons for peace, positive peace involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence and injustice. It also involves conscious efforts to build a society reflecting these commitments.

The adherents of positive peace focus their efforts on establishing peace through world order by supporting international law, compliance with multilateral treaties, use of international courts, and non-violent resolution of disputes, participation in international organisation, trade and communication. They also emphasise the establishment of social equality and justice, economic equity, ecological balance and eliminate indirect violence by meeting basic human needs. Peace work and the ways of thinking about peace have greatly expanded in recent decades. Peace is increasingly understood to be multidimensional and dynamic. Consequently, the ways of promoting peace are also manifold, and they vary in different settings for different actors. Theory and research about aspects of peace and their promotion draws from and contributes to social theory and social practice. Recent applied and scholarly peace work is based on past experience, but the realities of the current world necessitate fresh thinking and innovative practice.

The Gandhian concept of world peace should be viewed as an integral part of his philosophy of life and one should try to appreciate his attitude within the general framework of philosophy of ahimsa. Good means alone can lead us to ever lasting peace. If peace is established by violence, it will be of no use.

4.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the distinction between direct and structural violence.
 2. Explain the concept of positive peace.
 3. Critically analyse the main features of feminist approach to peace.
 4. Critically examine the models of international peace system.
 5. Write an analytical note on Functionalism.
 6. Trace the evolution of peace research in the post-war period bringing out the issue confronting peace research.
 7. Describe the Gandhi's idea of world federation and a peaceful world.
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