

**PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY**

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Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community

Edited by
Anima Bose

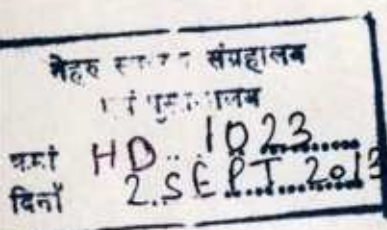
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HD Sharma.

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Preface

Over the past decade, the Nehru Museum has taken an initiative in organizing several symposia upon themes related to significant issues, historical and contemporary. None of our symposia, however, have dwelt upon an issue as crucial as the symposium whose proceedings are being brought out in the present volume. The all-important question of peace, in a world living under the shadow of nuclear conflict, is one which is linked with the very survival of the human race.

We are, therefore, particularly happy to bring out the essays contributed to our symposium entitled, "Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community," in a publication aimed at the concerned scholar and citizen.

We are also deeply beholden to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, President of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Society, for the interest he took in this symposium from the very outset. Indeed, Shri Gandhi graciously agreed to inaugurate this conference; and we have reproduced his inaugural address in this volume.

Our thanks go to Dr. Anima Bose, for the initiative she took in organizing the symposium and the assistance she extended to the Nehru Museum in editing its proceedings.

A number of colleagues in the Nehru Museum helped in the publication of this volume. I would, in this connection, specially like to thank Dr. Hari Dev Sharma; Shri J.S. Nahal; Dr. N. Balakrishnan; Shrimati Aruna Tandan; and Shrimati Vatsala Gulati.

Ravinder Kumar

Welcome Address

B.K. Nehru*

Mr. Prime Minister, Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari, Shrimati Krishna Sahi, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the inauguration of the symposium entitled "Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community", which has been organized under the aegis of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. This organization has, over the past two decades, grown into a premier centre for historical and social science research on contemporary India. It is, therefore, appropriate that it should initiate a dialogue between distinguished scholars drawn from different disciplines on a theme which is of as much interest to social scientists as it is to those vested with political responsibilities in our times.

It would be superfluous for me to refer to the traditions of our country, as they touch upon the great questions of war and peace and upon the seminal issues of violence and non-violence. It is not wholly fortuitous that the two greatest theorists and practitioners of *ahimsa* or non-violence – Gautama Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi – should have flourished on Indian soil. Their views on the central place which *ahimsa* should occupy in human affairs are as much our heritage as the social action which they initiated to conjure into existence the "good society" in our midst.

*Vice-Chairman, Executive Council, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Society.

When we reflect upon the problem of violence in our times, we are immediately confronted with different manifestations of this phenomenon: violence between nations in the world community; violence in relations between social classes within nations; violence within social groups like the family or the extended kinship community; and last but not least, violence in the psyche of the individual, often the locus of primordial urges which aggregate into major acts of social or political conflict.

While this symposium is concerned with the social and political manifestations of violence, and the manner in which they can be resolved, it is nevertheless true that any comprehensive solution to the problem will have to take account of the "inner man" at the same time as it takes account of man in his social setting. Yet even social and political violence poses enormous problems, which affect relations between nations as well as relations within nations. The tradition of non-violence in our society, reinterpreted by Mahatma Gandhi in the 20th century, was responsible for conferring a distinctive stamp upon our struggle against British imperialism. That this struggle should substantially have rested upon non-violence is eloquent testimony to our capacity to draw upon our heritage in providing novel answers to contemporary questions of the utmost significance. It is equally significant that the triumph of nationalism in India, in 1947, set the pattern for the liberation of other colonies in Asia and Africa. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to assert that the break up of European imperialism in the 20th century was substantially a consequence of the non-violent revolution triggered off by Mahatma Gandhi within India in the first instance. We can, therefore, legitimately claim that the Indian tradition of *ahimsa* has played a seminal role in world history in the 20th century through inspiring the national liberation movements of Asia and Africa.

It would, however, be valid to argue that imperialism is no longer the *primary* threat faced by the world community in the second half of the 20th century. Instead, the political land-

scape of our times is dominated by the prospect of nuclear warfare on a scale which would, quite literally, mean the annihilation of the human race. In the nuclear threat we confront a challenge even more formidable than the challenge we faced earlier. The question before us is: Can we utilize the theory and practice of non-violence for safeguarding the lives of those who inhabit our planet? The problem we face today is more complex than the problem we successfully resolved in the first half of the 20th century. For at the core of the nuclear imbroglio lies the distrust and suspicion which bedevils any dialogue between the nuclear powers for disarmament. One of the great strengths of *ahimsa* is its ability to create confidence between opponents; and it is largely through the generation of such a climate that the non-violent actor is able to achieve his ends. Mutual suspicion and fear are possibly the greatest obstacles in the way of nuclear disarmament. Perhaps the concept of *ahimsa*, as professed by the Buddha 2,500 years ago and creatively reinterpreted by Gandhi in our times, can provide an effective alternative to the violence, more particularly to the threat of nuclear annihilation, which confronts humanity in our times.

In welcoming you today, Mr. Prime Minister, I have as an anguished citizen probably said more about violence and non-violence than I had intended to say in the first instance. Yet this merely reflects the intense concern with which I view this seminal problem of our times. We greatly look forward to hear what you have to say on this crucial issue, which has also been of great concern to you, both as a leader of India and as a leader of the non-aligned world. I am equally confident that the deliberations of this symposium, about to be inaugurated by you, shall throw a shaft of illuminating light upon the problem of violence, and upon the manner in which we can generate peace within our own country as well as within the world community.

Presidential Address*

Krishna Sahi**

Respected Prime Minister, Shri B.K. Nehru, Professor Ravinder Kumar and scholarly friends:

I greatly appreciate the initiative taken by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in organizing this symposium on "Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community". Through such a symposium, this organization has given voice to our national quest for peace. Indeed, the desire for peace is increasing all over the world, even in countries where preparations for war are being made on a large-scale.

Perhaps the narration of a poignant story, from our remote past, is appropriate in the present context. A fowler once shot an arrow at the pair of herons while they were making love and killed the male bird. On hearing the agonised shrieks of the female heron, the distinguished poet Valmiki created the first poem in the world:

You do not deserve to live long/For you have killed
One of a pair of herons/Engaged in an act of love.

Even in that distant age, so far removed from our own, the killing of a bird melted the heart of the savage Valmiki. Yet in spite of two world wars; and the death and destruction caused

*The original speech is in Hindi.

**Former Minister of State in the Department of Education and Culture, Government of India.

by them, our stony hearts remain unmoved. Our aggressive propensities are on the increase, to the extent that the very planets which we have been trying to utilise for human betterment through the science of astronomy, are becoming the cause of our destruction in the shape of "star wars". The development of knowledge and science has made life more agreeable. We have achieved the reproduction of the species through artificial means. By controlling nature, we have turned forests into gardens; flood-prone rivers into canals and hydro-electricity; and we have produced abundant resources in locations earlier characterized by natural calamities. On the other hand, the horrors of two world wars, in the form of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, interrogate our civilization, our culture and our intelligence.

On the one hand, the countries of the Third World are afflicted with poverty, epidemics, population explosion and a slow pace of development; and on the other, an expenditure of a thousand billion American dollars on wars fought in outer space is under consideration. The armaments to be used in war will be controlled through computers and other sophisticated instruments. We failed to give a positive direction to our development; and control over the means of destruction, too, is slipping out of our control. Yet India has to play a vital role in showing the path of rectitude to the human race which finds itself groping in darkness. From this point of view, the importance of the present symposium cannot be over emphasized.

As a nation, we have always been dedicated to the cause of peace. "Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam" has been our guiding principle. Gautama Buddha, Mahavira, and Asoka are the beacons of our march towards peace. For Mahatma Gandhi, too, our struggle for freedom was a means of spreading the message of universal brotherhood. The subtle difference between the ends and means, which guided our conduct as a people in our freedom struggle, has probably never hitherto influenced mass political action in human history on such a scale.

In the decades since independence, the role of *Panchsheel*,

and of its formulator, Pandit Nehru, in safeguarding world peace is unforgettable. Our youthful Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, fully upholds the great tradition of non-violence in our country. His views as expressed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Organization; or in the famous Delhi Declaration, jointly issued by the Soviet Union and the Republic of India, in November 1986, and reiterated on numerous occasions; have unambiguously affirmed our commitment to peace. Over and above this, wherever human rights have been suppressed, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has raised his voice against such suppression. The Commonwealth Agreement on the issue of South Africa has been achieved largely through his initiative.

Our devotion to peace and our commitment to human rights is universally acknowledged. India is not only a nation, it is also a distinctive geographical entity. Indeed, India is the name of a lofty vision of life and humanity. In the words of the eminent poet, Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar':

India is the name of detachment and of enlightenment
India is the lustre of man, and of a great victory,
Wherever there is harmony, wherever there is
the voice of love,
There is India, a living luminary among nations.

We want that future generations in India should be dedicated to the values of peace and non-violence. Keeping this objective in view, we have laid stress on value-oriented education in our national education policy. We have also incorporated the ideals of equality, democracy and secularism in our national curriculum. In other words, we as a community, government and nation are completely dedicated to humane values and to peace and non-violence.

We are an optimistic country. I am myself optimistic as an individual. Like Ruskin, it is my firm conviction that man is basically gentle by nature. He can commit mistakes but he also repents for his wrong-doings. Perhaps the future of humanity

is safe till such time that man can repent for his mistakes.

I am hopeful that in this symposium on Peace and Non-Violence, experts from different walks of life will endeavour to find out the causes of war and locate those factors which promote peace. In the words of Vivekananda, "Where there is an endeavour, there is success".

While talking about peace, I am reminded of the 'Shanti Paath' of the *Yajurveda* – "Peace should prevail on heaven, space and earth; there should be peace in water, food and vegetation", i.e., they all may be for our well-being. May the Almighty God bless us with peace. May peace prevail on the entire Universe. May peace, happiness be everywhere.

Om Shanti, Shanti, Shanti.

अध्यक्षीय भाषण

कृष्णा साही

"विश्व मानवता में शान्ति एवं संघर्ष प्रस्तावना" पर विचार-गोष्ठी के आयोजक नेहरू मैमोरियल म्यूज़ियम एवं लाइब्रेरी के प्रति मैं आभारी हूँ। इस आयोजन के माध्यम से शान्ति के लिए हमारी अकुलाहट को आपने स्वर दिया है। विश्व के हर कोने में शान्ति के लिए अकुलाहट बढ़ रही है, उन देशों में भी जहाँ युद्ध की तैयारी व्यापक पैमाने पर की जा रही है। प्रेमरत क्रौंच पंछी के जोड़े पर तीर चलाकर व्याधा ने नर-पक्षी की हत्या कर दी। मादा पक्षी के चीत्कार से विश्व की पहली कविता वाल्मिकी के हृदय से फूट पड़ी :

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।

यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

उस आदिम जमाने में भी नृशंस एवं बर्बर वाल्मिकी का हृदय एक पक्षी की हत्या से द्रवित हो गया किन्तु दो विश्व-युद्धों के बावजूद भीषण नरसंहार और युद्ध की विभीषिका से हमारा पत्थर हृदय नहीं पसीजता। युद्ध के प्रति हमारा उन्माद इतना बढ़ रहा है कि जिन नक्षत्रों को हम ज्योतिष के माध्यम से अपने अनुकूल बनाते रहे हैं, वे ही स्टार वार के रूप में हमारे विनाश के माध्यम बन रहे हैं। ज्ञान और विज्ञान की समृद्धि ने हमारे जीवन को सुविधा-युक्त बनाया, हमने टैस्ट ट्यूब से बच्चे पैदा किये, प्रकृति को नियंत्रित कर जंगल के बदले उद्यान, बाढ़ के बदले नहर और पनबिजली तथा प्राकृतिक विपदाओं के बदले हमने प्रचुर साधन पैदा किये हैं। दूसरी ओर, दो विश्व युद्धों

की विभीषिका—नागासाकी और हिरोशिमा के रूप में—हमारी सभ्यता, संस्कृति एवं विवेक पर शाश्वत प्रश्न चिन्ह बनी हुई है।

तीसरे विश्व के देश, एक ओर, गरीबी, महामारी, जनसंख्या विस्फोट और विकास की कच्छप गति से आक्रांत हैं, वहीं अंतरिक्ष युद्ध के लिए प्रतिवर्ष एक हजार बिलियन अमेरिकन डालर खर्च करने पर विचार किया जा रहा है। युद्ध के लिए जिन शस्त्रों की परिकल्पना की जा रही है उनका संचालन भी हम कम्प्यूटर और उपकरणों को ही सौंपेंगे। अपने विकास को तो हम दिशा नहीं ही दे पाये, हमारा विनाश भी हमारे नियंत्रण के परे जा रहा है। युद्ध की अंधेरी और अनन्त गुफा में विलीन मानव जाति को शान्ति की दिव्य-ज्योति दिखाने में भारत को महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभानी है। इस दृष्टि से वर्तमान आयोजन की महत्ता शब्दों में नहीं आंकी जा सकती।

एक राष्ट्र के रूप में शान्ति के प्रति हम शुरू से समर्पित रहे हैं। "वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्" हमारा मूल मंत्र रहा है। गौतम बुद्ध, महावीर और अशोक शान्ति यात्रा के अनन्त प्रकाश पुंज हैं। हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई भी महात्मा गांधी के लिए विश्व मानवता को मानवीय भाई-चारे का संदेश पहुंचाने का एक माध्यम थी। साधन और साध्य का सूक्ष्म अन्तर जितना व्यापक रूप में हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में अनेक अवसरों पर देखने को मिला है, उतना अन्यत्र नहीं।

आज़ादी के बाद विश्व शान्ति में पंचशील एवं इसके प्रणेता पंडित नेहरू की भूमिका अविस्मरणीय है। हमारे युवा प्रधानमंत्री राजीव जी इस सुखद परम्परा की स्वर्णिम कड़ी हैं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की 40वीं वर्षगांठ में उनके विचार, नवम्बर 1986 में दिल्ली घोषणा के माध्यम से रूस और भारत द्वारा आणविक युद्ध से मुक्त हिंसा रहित विश्व की कामना आदि अनेक अवसरों पर उन्होंने शान्ति के प्रति हमारी प्रतिबद्धता का पुरजोर समर्थन किया है। अलावे, जहां कहीं मानवीय अधिकारों का हनन हुआ है, उन्होंने इसके खिलाफ आवाज़ उठाई है। दक्षिण अफ्रीका के मसले पर कॉमन वैलथ समझौता उनकी व्यक्तिगत उपलब्धि थी।

शान्ति के प्रति हमारा समर्पण, और मानवीय अधिकारों के प्रति हमारी प्रतिबद्धता का ही दूसरा नाम भारत है । भारत महज एक राष्ट्र नहीं है, यह केवल एक भूगोल भी नहीं है । भारत एक सभ्यता है, एक संस्कृति है, जीवन और विश्व-मानवता के प्रति एक विशेष दृष्टिकोण का ही नाम भारत है । राष्ट्र कवि दिनकर के शब्दों में :

भारत है संज्ञा विराग की, उज्ज्वल आत्म उदय की ।
भारत है आभा मनुष्य की, सबसे बड़ी विजय की ।।
जहां कहीं एकता अर्खडित, जहां प्रेम का स्वर है ।
देश-देश में खड़ा वहां भारत जीवित भास्वर है ।।

हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी भावी पीढ़ी भी इन मूल्यों के प्रति समर्पित हो । इसी उद्देश्य से राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति में मूल्य जनित शिक्षा को हमने प्राथमिकता दी है । इसके अंतर्गत ईमानदारी, सच्चाई, समर्पण एवं निष्ठा के मानवीय गुण भावी पीढ़ी को हम आत्मसात कराना चाहते हैं । राष्ट्रीय पाठ्यक्रम में समतावाद, प्रजातंत्र एवं धर्म-निरपेक्षता को हमने समाहित किया है । दूसरे शब्दों में, मानवीय मूल्यों और शान्ति के प्रति समुदाय, सरकार और राष्ट्र के रूप में हम पूर्णतः समर्पित हैं ।

भारत एक आशावादी देश है । मैं स्वयं आस्थावान हूं । रस्किन की तरह मेरा भी दृढ़ विश्वास है कि आदमी मूलतः भला होता है । आदमी गलतियां तो करता है, पर अपने किये पर पछताता भी आदमी ही है । अपने किये पर पछताने की प्रवृत्ति जब तक आदमी में शेष है तब तक शांति का भविष्य सुरक्षित है ।

मुझे पूरी अपेक्षा है कि शान्ति के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर तीन दिनों की इस विचार गोष्ठी में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से आये विशेषज्ञ युद्ध के कारण और शान्ति का उपाय गहराई से ढूंढने का प्रयास करेंगे । विवेकानन्द के शब्दों में जहां प्रयास है वहीं सफलता है ।

शान्ति के संदर्भ में यजुर्वेदके शान्ति पाठकी याद सहसा आ जाती

है—“स्वर्गलोक, अंतरिक्ष एवं पृथ्वी में शान्ति हो, जल, अन्न एवं वनस्पति की शान्ति हो अर्थात् ये सभी हमारे लिए कल्याणकारी हों । विश्वेदेवा एवं ब्रह्म सबको शान्ति प्रदान करें । समस्त ब्रह्माण्ड में शान्ति हो । सर्वत्र शान्ति हो, कल्याण हो, शान्ति हो ।

ओम शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

The World Needs Non-Violence

Inaugural Address

Rajiv Gandhi

Shri B.K. Nehru, Shrimati Krishna Sahi, Distinguished Participants, Excellencies, Friends:

When we talk of non-violence or the system as it exists in the world today, with all its shortcomings, which lead to many of the problems that we are faced with, perhaps we should draw a picture of what we feel would be an ideal system. Only then will we be able to look at the system that we have today in a slightly more objective way.

We talk of revolutions. But are today's revolutions really revolutionary? Surely, if one type of revolution has been around for a few hundred years, then it is no more a revolution? It is the same old way of doing it. If you are looking for a revolution, there is a revolution available today and that revolution is *ahimsa*, in one word. We have to change our basic concepts of thinking. We are still influenced too much by our primordial instinct, by our animal instinct. Violence is still the final solution to a problem. It is true that, within countries, we have shifted to a system of law and order. We do not go out in great mobs to kill people whose behaviour we do not like in our society. At least we try not to do it and that is accepted as the normal, civilized way of behaving. But when it comes to the international level, then there is no civilized way of behaving. The path followed is still that of violence.

We do not yet accept that there can be one human family

which can solve its problems without having recourse to violence. Within a country we accept it as the norm, we might not achieve it sometimes but that is definitely our objective. Why can we not have the same objective internationally?

But we cannot have that objective as long as we have blocs, as long as we have a system which is intrinsically violent. A system of blocs and of balance of power is violent in itself. It bases itself on confrontation; it bases itself on measuring war-heads or measuring kilotons. Now we are going on to biological and chemical warfare. God alone knows what we will go on to next.

I am told that a great deal of work is going on to have a generational change in nuclear weapons. As long as we do not break out of this basic system of confrontation and shift to a system of *ahimsa* or non-violence or non-alignment — because they are not very different; the roots are the same although the tinges are different — the world will not be safe. We have to move the world into an environment where human values become more important. Today it is pragmatism in one camp and what is labelled ideology — which is looked upon as a dirty word — in the other camp. Each side bases its own survival on the system of blocs and confrontation. The Americans say that if you don't do this, the communists will come and take over. The Russians, exactly the same way, say: if you don't do this, the capitalists will take over. This kind of negative outlook is built into the system. We have to switch from this. That is going to be the real revolution. The switch from blocs, from confrontation, from violence to *ahimsa* and discussions, solutions across the table by talking with each other — that is the real solution.

Already there is a major shift in thinking in many parts of the world. Most recently, we had General Secretary Gorbachev who came to India and he was willing to sign a document which talks of non-violence and non-alignment. To have a super power change its basic position from bloc versus bloc and agree that the solution lies in non-violence, in non-alignment, is a very major shift. There are similar shifts taking

place in Western countries.

In my travels, I have met people influential in society, although very few as yet in government, who are now thinking anew, are questioning the blocs, who are questioning balance of power as a solution. One of the arguments that has been put forward is that balance of power has given us peace for about forty-two years now. But peace for whom? We ourselves have fought four wars. Is there peace in South Africa? Is there peace in the Middle East? Is there peace in Latin America? Is there peace amongst the northern countries in Africa? Where is this peace? What is the definition of peace? It is only a definition which applies to a major war between the two Super Powers directly? So many wars have been caused by interference and intervention in the theatres where the wars are taking place. Why? Because we have a theory that there must be a balance of power; there must be spheres of influence: "this is our bit, that is your bit." The fact is that peace cannot work like this. It is not only a military question; it is equally an economic question and we have seen revolutions based on economic disparity. They have so far taken place within countries. But countries' boundaries are artificial, and a part of the world may feel that it is still being colonized, because that is what is happening.

The developing countries are today to a very great extent feeding the developed countries. If you look at the balance of trade, the deficit is invariably with the developing countries, the trade is positive for the developed countries. We look at our own trade. Which are the countries that we are supporting with our negative balance of trade? They are not the developing countries. It is not the countries of the South, not the African countries, not the Asian countries except, perhaps, one or two. It is basically the developed countries, who do not need this support. But we are stuck in an economic system which does not allow change. It does not allow a shift in that balance in favour of the developing countries. We must look at the world as one human family. We talk of national integration within India. There must likewise be international

integration. The roots must be one human family, which must develop with basic human values — as presented by Gandhiji and Panditji. We are absorbing Western values assuming they are secular. They are not secular. They have a Christian base. They come into conflict with our own values, which have a different base. They might be Hindu; they might be Muslim; they might be Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, whatever, but most likely they are a mixture of all these. If we are to step out of this mental block, it must be with human values. Unless we are able to replace what we have today, which is under the banner of secularism, we would have in fact stopped talking of values, because they have disappeared from our education system. We are secular *sans* values and what is represented is very very coarse and of no real value. We have to replace it and put something in its place. It will have to be some basic human value. Perhaps, the simplest is to go back to Panditji and Gandhiji and bring them up to today. Perhaps that is also what is required in the world.

Why do we have a throwback to fundamentalism in every part of the world? Not just in some Islamic countries or in developing countries? We see a strong Christianity coming up in the United States itself.

If we are to really develop as Planet Earth, we have to go down to all these factors. These also are at the root of all the *himsa* that we see. It is these tensions that we are not able to overcome or rise above.

India has given a lead in non-alignment, but non-alignment is not only political non-alignment, not only a question of being able to speak one's mind in an international forum, but also on economic issues, also on moral issues.

South Africa is perhaps the biggest crunch that we are facing as a moral issue in the world today. We are told that the Blacks will lose their jobs in South Africa. We are told that the plutonium will not be available or titanium and chromium will not be available to certain countries. And I put this question to the Prime Minister of one of these countries. I asked the Prime Minister: "If the decision you have to make was for

the strategic integrity of your country, for the employment of people in your country, for your economy and that decision meant racism in South Africa, would you opt for racism and the benefits to your country or would you have the courage to say no and find plutonium from somewhere else, manage employment in some other way?" I was not given an answer. I was just told, "I did not expect you to ask this question?"

What has civilization done for us if we still have to go the old way? We are not using clubs, now we use F.111s to do the same job. But have we really progressed as a civilization? If that is all that we can claim after ten thousand years of civilization, surely, the whole question needs rethinking. It is not just a question of *ahimsa* or non-violence at a superficial level. We must go deep down and see why it is happening.

I have no doubt that during these couple of days, you will delve deep into these areas and directions. Although India was built up on the foundation of *ahimsa*, going back to Gautama Buddha, Asoka, and in modern times, Gandhiji, Panditji and Indiraji, somehow the people seem to have forgotten it. It is necessary to bring it home again to our people.

Thank you.

Introduction

Peace has several meanings. One meaning overwhelms all others in our time and day, namely the removal of the threat of war, specially nuclear war. The memory of the horrors of the nuclear holocaust already experienced in Hiroshima and Nagasaki has reduced people to a state of helplessness and hopelessness. Nuclear war need now happen only once to demolish all civilization and wreak devastation on a scale unequalled by the cumulative destruction caused by all previous wars in history, rendering this planet uninhabitable for any form of life. Yet nuclear disarmament is not an easy task. Political will is needed if governments are to disentangle themselves from the webs of nuclear deterrence and nuclear parity and to take positive steps towards total nuclear disarmament. There are other means of conflict resolution. The time has come to turn to them.

For millions in this world, peace does not only mean the absence of war, it also means the satisfaction of basic human needs, such as, food, shelter, health and education. It means guaranteed justice, enjoyment of all the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Global military expenditure, more than 75 per cent of which is accounted for by five or six industrialized nations, has skyrocketed to the staggering height of nearly a trillion US dollars a year. Clearly, these resources have more valid and humane alternative uses for the promotion of growth and development of human beings the world over.

A new international economic order is essential for economic justice and for the removal of inequities which prevail in today's world community, specially in the Asian, African

and Latin American countries. It is imperative that the economic resources of the world community, specially of the developed nations, should be released and used for all-round economic development, leading to the benefit of the all-too-long neglected and exploited people of the developing countries.

The World Women Parliamentarians for Peace declared in 1986, at a conference held in Delhi, that women claim their right to be heard primarily because they have so far been left out when vital decisions affecting the future and fate of all humankind regarding war and peace and disarmament have been taken up. They claim their right to participate in the decision-making process. They refuse to be victims of the violent state of affairs in the world today – violence, overt, subtle and silent. They believe that women have a decisive role in saving this planet from total destruction, and preserving it for the present and future generations.

Peace and non-violence are two sides of a medal. Non-violence, Gandhiji said, is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What is needed is its extension on a larger national and international scale.

The General Assembly of the United Nations in resolution 37/16 of 16 November, 1982, declared 1986 as the International Year of Peace. One of the primary goals of the year was to stimulate concerted and effective action by the United Nations, its member states, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, educational, cultural and academic institutions for resolving conflicts by peaceful means, focussing attention, and encouraging reflection on the basic requirements of peace in the contemporary world.

A symposium was organized with that objective in view under the auspices of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi from 22-24 January, 1987. The inaugural address of Shri Rajiv Gandhi set the tone of the symposium, and the speech of Smt. Krishna Sahi, the

former Minister of State for Education and Culture, highlighted the Indian perspective of the topic. Their addresses have been included in the present publication.

During its eleven sessions over three days, eleven papers were presented at the symposium, each one followed by an engaging discussion, once again underscoring the fact that, if peace is an imperative in our time and day when violence wears many faces, then the question of and concern for conflict resolution and the means used for such resolution must engage our attention.

Shri M. Rasgotra's presentation on 'Peace and World Unity', Shri Rikhi Jaipal's paper on 'The Role of the United Nations in World Peace', Shri Khub Chand's paper on 'Peace and the World Community: Utopia and Reality', Dr. Anima Bose's, 'Perspective on Non-alignment as the Biggest Peace Movement of our Time' all offered analytic study and insightful understanding of the world scenario, the compelling contemporary issues and the complex problems that challenge the process of conflict resolution in the world community today and stressed the need of such movements as the non-aligned movement which has contributed a great deal to the prospect of coexistence, justice, equity and tolerance in the midst of a global atmosphere of gloom and doubt.

The paper by Professor Durganand Sinha presented a psychological critique on 'Mahatma Gandhi's Concept of Peace and Action for Conflict Resolution'; Professor Purnima Mathur analysed the Gandhian concept and action of *satyagraha* from the angle of a psychologist; Professor S.C. Gangal, Dr. Jyoti Ananthu, Dr. T.S. Ananthu and Shri B.S. Rath dealt with the oft-discussed question of the viability of the Gandhian perception of *ahimsa* and *shanti*, the potentials for peace that reside within human beings and the importance of experimenting with them in the world community in our time and day.

Dr. Hemlata Swarup and Mrs. Devaki Jain highlighted the undeniable contribution of women to conflict resolution and to peace at several levels in their respective papers and

emphasized that this contribution will affect the future and the fate of humankind. They presented a historical perspective on the role of women, individually and through women's organizations, in saving this planet from total destruction and preserving it for not only the present generation but also generations yet to be born.

May I take this opportunity to thank the Publication Division of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library for their unstinted support and advice in bringing out this book so that many who are interested in the issues but were unable to attend the symposium might share the papers and the thinking of the symposium. To the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and its Director, Professor Ravinder Kumar, go our warm thanks and appreciation for the use of their facilities and help in bringing out this publication.

ANIMA BOSE
Convenor

1. Peace and World Unity

Maharajakrishna Rasgotra

Certainly, peace is not the mere absence of war, though in modern-day international politics and statecraft, periods of non-conflict between periods of armed conflicts are often mistaken for peace. This concept of peace as a temporary cessation of war is a part of mankind's heritage of the era of western dominance of the world over the last three or four centuries.

Western systems of international relations are essentially war systems dressed up in legal niceties. For, they are based on the recognition of the necessity of war to settle international problems. This is particularly true of the Europe of the 18th century and earlier. As late as the 19th century, Vattel, an eminent political scientist of the time, looking at international relations in terms of the 18th century European scene, propagated the idea that every state had the right to go to war in pursuit of its own national interests. In today's world only a lunatic would dare make a statement of that kind; but that view commanded respect, then, in the West.

Voices against that theory began to be raised in Europe in the 19th century. Rousseau was the first to recognize the barbarity of war and of systems of international relations based on war. Later, Kant, although not a pacifist in the modern sense, regarded war as an extreme evil and a source of corruption. He urged nations to abjure their right to make war, enter into non-aggression pacts and forge a world federal order. Nevertheless – the League of Nations and the UN and the European Community notwithstanding – the Western

view of peace and international order remains based on the assumption of an equilibrium or balance among major powers maintained by the threat or actual use of war.

In India things were rather different, because our statecraft, our polity or systems of government, from the very early times, were based on the recognition of the supremacy of the human spirit. And, though force was used from time to time as necessary, there was a general abhorrence of violence and war, which was due perhaps to the Buddha and his message of non-violence. We then had Asoka here, the first and really the only great ruler of a large area who adopted non-violence as a means of statecraft and abjured war as an instrument of policy. Something on similar lines was in the making in the time of Akbar also, but the attempt fell victim to the fanaticism and intolerance of the Great Mughul's successors.

India reverted to this idea of abjuring violence and force in politics and statecraft in an even more significant way in our own time. Mahatma Gandhi introduced his personal creed of non-violence into India's political life once again by making it the instrument of India's struggle for freedom against a mighty empire. His success generated a world-wide impact and, naturally, influenced new India's policies against the threat or use of force in international relations.

The foreign policy of Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister, was essentially anchored to non-violence. His aim was to rid international relations of violence and war and to inject reason and peaceableness into the dealings between nations. He had but limited success because the world was and is still dominated by western doctrines of statecraft, balance of power, inevitability of war and similar other doctrinaire rubbish of past ages. In Nehru's own lifetime wars were imposed upon India and we were called upon to meet those challenges with force.

Could Jawaharlal Nehru have met those challenges in other ways, without, that is, recourse to force? I think not. To meet challenges of that kind with non-violence requires a whole set of different conditions of life in the world, which were not

there. And Jawaharlal Nehru reacted to fend off unwarranted attacks with force but in so doing he acted with a great deal of restraint and, in the case of Pakistan's invasion in Kashmir, instead of driving out the invader he took the matter to the UN. What is important to remember is that, in dealing with both Pakistan and China, Nehru, on his part, preferred reasoning, argument, conciliation and other peaceful approaches; and even when conflict and war were imposed on India, he did not allow India's policies to be militarized.

Having said that I want to revert for a moment to the theme of our discussion 'Peace and World Unity'. What does it imply? Is peace dependent on world unity? Or, will world unity come through peace? What is peace?

A study of the history of the evolution of human society leads one to the sad conclusion that violence and conflict are, perhaps, endemic to human nature. When men roamed the forests or lived in caves there were quarrels and violence and the use of force among them, between and even within tribes and families. Those pristine conflicts were stopped through the creation of an authority within the family and the tribe — the head of the family or the tribal leader whose word was law — and through the enunciation of a set of rules or a code of conduct to guide and regulate the behaviour of individuals and groups. At a further stage of societal evolution, the city states, in this sub-continent or in the continent of Europe, notably in Greece and Italy, were at one another's throat for a thousand years till a superior power tamed them and made them subject to its own laws.

For several centuries, then, nation-states warred with one another. Later, great empires were raised ostensibly to establish peace and short periods of peace, internal peace, did indeed follow these different stages, when the newly established higher authority created laws to which everyone submitted. Nevertheless, because of inequities and arbitrariness inherent in conquest, permanent peace eluded human society and, in course of time, the great empires crumbled. And in the matter of peace or world unity we are basically where we were

a thousand or more years ago.

Ethically speaking, mankind is one as all men have the same attributes; they have the same human spirit and that spirit is the spirit of peace. But something goes wrong when man starts viewing himself as a constituent of a larger unit, a nation or society. The inner urge for dominance, the urge to keep the other fellow down, to covet his property and to grow rich and powerful by fair means or foul, takes hold of his spirit. The growth of human society is marked by the growth of power, and the pursuit of power through the ages has tended to make men violent and war-prone. This is one aspect we have to bear in mind.

The nature of power and the quantum of power that man has come to wield also pose special problems. For many long centuries past, man was dependent, for transport and mobility, on his two little feet and this comparative incapacity limited his ability to inflict damage in war. Then he discovered the horse, the saddle and the stirrup, and new strength was added to his warring power. This comparatively harmless state of affairs continued for, perhaps, ten thousand years, till three centuries ago, revolutionary changes in the means of transport and communication dramatically altered the old concepts of power and war.

In the 18th century the Industrial Revolution replaced animal transport by transport powered by the steam engine and the internal combustion engine, greatly adding to man's mobility and destructive power. In my own travels in a life span of sixty years, here in India, I have graduated from horse carriage to the railroad and to jet aircraft. Most recently, we have seen men being lifted to the moon by the thrust of powerful rockets. We have seen the nuclear bomb and all this other paraphernalia of transport and communication being mobilized to extend the reach of war's destruction to far corners of the earth. As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi mentioned in his inaugural address earlier today, we are now on the threshold of equally revolutionary changes in weaponry and in the means of their delivery. I refer to whole new

generations of weapons now on the anvil, the laser weapons, the directed energy beam weapons etc. which are being tested for eventual deployment in outer space.

Man seems caught helplessly in the web of his own quest for power. How will all this affect humanity's future? These dramatic changes seem to have outstripped by far his ability to create a new societal framework to govern his own conduct, to create, in other words, a superior law to tame his power and to temper its use.

At the close of the 20th century, the world's statesmen, in their handling of human problems, are burdened with the intellectual baggage of the 16th century. The threat of war, the use of force as a means of securing decisions on international problems bear no relevance to the conditions of the 20th century or those that we shall encounter in the next. The concept of the balance of power may have had some validity in the time of the city-states of Italy – the doctrine was enunciated in the city of Florence in the 14th century – or even in Elizabethan Europe; it is the surest recipe for disaster in today's world. While this doctrine held the field, the world as it was then known was constantly in the grip of war. For 'balance of power' was not an instrument for the maintenance of peace; it was intended to maintain a particular country's dominance. The moment balance came within reach and dominance was challenged, there was resort to war to restore *status quo*.

Something similar is happening today, even though the very concept of power has undergone a deep change. The conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States of America is not one of ideology. For even though President Reagan dubs the socialist system as evil and glorifies a free market economy as the apogee of all that is noble and virtuous in human society, the conflict between the two systems as such already stands resolved. And it has been resolved in Sweden and Norway, in Denmark and France, not by force, not even by the threat of force, but through the democratic process of legislation. It is similarly being resolved in Britain and Belgium

and in other parts of the free world so-called. It is being resolved also in our own country through legislative processes. In an act of great economic and political wisdom, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had initiated the process of building a synthesis of the two systems by introducing state control in certain infrastructural sectors of the economy demanding large investments, leaving other, often the more profitable sectors, to private enterprise. There is no conflict between the two; in fact they reinforce and support each other.

The Indian experience in this matter is of particular relevance to a large part of the world – the newly independent countries with backward economies where there is not enough indigenous private capital to fuel self-sustained growth and state control of certain sectors of the economy is necessary not only to ensure adequate investment but also to maintain independence of political and economic decision-making. So, in reality, this conflict or competition between the economic systems of East and West has no valid basis in today's circumstances and the arms race between them to demonstrate the superiority or dominance of one or the other really makes no sense at all.

My objection to the nuclear arms race is not that it will necessarily end in nuclear armageddon but that it involves a colossal waste of the Earth's resources. Of course, the risk of accidental war increases as nuclear arsenals expand, but the ruling elites and statesmen the world over are all too conscious of the threat of large scale annihilation to permit the outbreak of nuclear war through drift, miscalculation or mistake. That, of course, makes the arms race even less comprehensible.

Even more importantly, the arms race comes in the way of any kind of a decent relationship between the world's two most powerful countries, so necessary for general tranquillity in the world. Their current rivalry and competition are at the root of much avoidable division, disunity and strife in the rest of the world.

There are other forces also at work against mankind's unity and peace. As I said earlier, mankind is one ethically and morally; but economically speaking it is divided between the rich and the poor, the North and the South as they are euphemistically called. Its political fragmentation is even greater. The trend, in the wake of the break-up of the great colonial empires, has been one of the emergence of small independent states. Membership of the United Nations has grown from 50 in 1950 to over 150 in 1987 and the newly independent former colonial possessions are jealous of their independence and sovereignty and their equal status as member states of the world body. While this is by no means a state of affairs to be deplored it should be obvious that we are not likely to have universal peace through a federative or confederative process. Peace through unity forged by submission to one central authority thus seems out of the question.

What, then, is the answer to mankind's dilemma? How is moral and ethical human unity to be transformed into political unity to strengthen world peace?

Two or three ways seem open to us. Man, society and state, I said earlier, are violence prone. Their aptitude for seeking solutions to problems by recourse to war must be curbed and all nations must be persuaded, by the weight of public opinion, to abjure violence and war in international relations. This must be the first tenet of international law – law not given or imposed arbitrarily from above but voluntarily accepted by all members of the world community.

Fortunately, the embryo of this kind of international law, willingly accepted by nations, exists in the United Nations Charter. It needs to be developed further through the adoption by consensus of a great variety of decisions. We must be careful; majority decisions in the United Nations can prove counter productive. The United Nations General Assembly is not a national parliament. The UN's present malaise results in large part from the attempts in the last forty years of great powers to use the Security Council to impose their will on others, and of others in the General Assembly to adopt

decisions by majority vote to which great powers would not submit. Sovereign equality of nations implies decision-making through consensus and cooperation.

To resolve conflicts and build peace, therefore, the world community must proceed, in the UN and elsewhere, in conciliatory ways, by consensus and universal agreement. It is bound to be a slow process but we must be patient, for there are no short-cuts to peace. Where partisanship or arrogant power or blind national interest obstruct the UN process, we must cultivate national and international opinion in its support. Opinion, Pascal had said, is the true ruler of the world.

Proceeding in this manner, if we can develop the basic framework of the UN Charter into an elaborate code of laws which nations will willingly follow, the dream of universal peace in human unity can become a reality.

The United Nations and its Charter arose out of a world of conflict, out of a world of victors and the vanquished, of victors who in their very triumph were divided. Because of the environment in which it took birth, the Charter, unfortunately, sanctions the use of force. In the name of security, it permits the forging of partisan alliances from which have flown many other evils of our era, the futile competition in arms and ideology, the cold war and bloc politics. What the United Nations must do, whatever time it might take to do it, is to rectify that initial mistake. The UN must get every state to abjure force, violence and war as means for the settlement of international disputes, under any circumstances.

A score of disastrous wars are now raging in different parts of the world for no good reason and to no good end. The international scene is chaotic and nations act as they please. The Americans are using force in Nicaragua, allegedly in self-defence. The rulers of Pakistan permit the waging of a war from their own soil, with American and Chinese arms and money, against Afghanistan, allegedly in defence of Afghan freedom. There are other examples of grave international delinquency. There is a general lawlessness in the behaviour

of nations, whereas what the world needs is a law-governed relationship among them. On no pretext at all and under no circumstance, in defence of offence, must the United Nations permit, condone or sponsor the use of force. If this fundamental reform can be introduced by the United Nations in the functioning of the international community, our task should become much easier.

On another plane, appropriate regional political action would go a long way in cooling conflict situations and eventually eliminating their causes. The causes of most of the world's major problems lie in the Euro-Asian landmass. Everything that divides humanity is here in this vast continental landmass – religions, ideologies, differing systems of government, border disputes, glaring contrasts of dehumanising poverty and ostentatious wealth, ethnic and racial tensions, and other contentious legacies of human history. The trouble-spots of the world are concentrated in Eurasia and, as in the past, in the future too, it is there that questions of global peace and war will be decided. Therefore, a special responsibility devolves upon all of us who inhabit this great landmass, and more especially on its larger constituents – the Soviet Union, China and India, Europe (East and West), Japan and Vietnam, the Arab World, Iran and Pakistan – to get together and evolve a *modus vivendi* for ourselves so that the numerous problems can be contained and dealt with within the landmass, thereby removing the causes of tension and confrontation between the world's two major powers – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the United States of America.

That is, in fact, what the first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had set out to achieve when he convened the Asian Relations Conference in 1947. He had the same objective in view when, in an agreement with China in 1954, he enunciated a new code of conduct for international behaviour, *Panchsheel* or the five principles of coexistence.

Coexistence is, perhaps, a rather limited concept. Nehru on the other hand, was a very positive and dynamic statesman.

But he recognized the seeds of disagreement and conflict inherent in Asia's historical legacy and he wanted, I believe, to proceed cautiously, step by step, from Asian peace and cooperation based on the tolerant acceptance of differences and disagreements, to global harmony and peace. Cooperation has its own dynamics. Cooperation among nations is the surest recipe for peace among them.

The next step in Nehru's scheme of restructuring international relations would have been cooperation between Asia and Europe as equals. I believe Jawaharlal Nehru viewed Eurasian tranquillity as the key to global peace. And in this grand design of a new structure of international relations for peace, Nehru thought, rightly I believe, that India, because of her past, her traditional penchant for syntheses, and her geographic location, would act as a bridge between Asia and Europe and, perhaps, also between Soviet Russia and East Europe on the one hand and democratic West Europe on the other.

The unfolding of that grand design was obstructed primarily by Asian conflicts, the wars in Korea and Vietnam, China's war with India, the Sino-Soviet conflict, and by the early involvement of a number of Asian countries in the USA's anti-Soviet alliances. The Asian continent remains divided and riven with conflicts. And yet these present difficulties do not invalidate either Nehru's grand vision of Asian cooperation or his approach to world peace. Asian cooperation and Eurasian tranquillity based on *Panchsheel* seem to be the only way of bringing about disengagement between the two giant powers of our time and thus remove the most important cause of much of the world's strife.

The questions of global war and peace, of stability or turbulence in international relations, should not be viewed entirely in the context of the two super-powers or what transpires between them. Between them there has been peace of sorts in these last forty years. Europe too has enjoyed relative tranquillity since the end of the Second World War. But the world has not been at peace and the great powers and

Europe have done little to strengthen harmony and cooperation in the rest of the world. Since the end of the Second World War, some one hundred and twenty major and minor wars have been fought in the Third World, accounting for eighty million deaths and incalculable loss of property and damage to the human spirit. The Great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, have been directly or indirectly involved in most of these conflicts, as for example in Korea and Vietnam. A dozen wars are going on in the Third World at this moment including the most tragic fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq. This last named is an easy war to stop, only if the Security Council and especially its veto-wielding permanent members want to stop it. All they had to do was to pronounce on the fact of aggression, and order cessation of hostilities and proceed to enforce their decision. But they display little inclination to stop this war and are in fact busy fuelling it by selling arms or supplying satellite intelligence to one of the combatants. The theory now propounded is that the war must not be allowed to end in a way that leaves one side preponderant over the other. It must go on, then, till both combatants are ruined utterly.

It is obvious that the Security Council, and more especially its permanent members, are guilty of grave negligence in the discharge of their responsibilities. They have permitted, or even encouraged, these small wars, so fatal to Third World countries, to go on indefinitely because they consider that these conflicts, in some way, serve their national interests. Because of the rivalries and partisanship of its permanent members, the Security Council has become a moribund institution. It can no longer discharge the security functions entrusted to it in the UN Charter. The world community ought not to helplessly submit to this tragic situation. What can it do?

My suggestion is that the Security Council, having proved itself disinclined or incapable of preventing or resolving conflict situations — and these situations arise from deep socio-political causes which can be anticipated and dealt with

– the UN should create a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly to study and observe potential conflict situations from day to day and to recommend to the General Assembly anticipatory measures for their peaceful resolution. This subsidiary organ – a body of 10 or 15 members to be called the Commission for International Security can be established by the General Assembly under article 7 (2) or article 22 of the UN Charter.

In another area of crucial importance to world peace, namely, the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments, the Security Council has simply abandoned its Charter responsibility. As a result, the nuclear arms race has gone on unchecked. The arms limitation talks between the USA and the USSR at Geneva have only resulted in periodic escalation in nuclear arsenals. The Disarmament Conference in Geneva has also not yielded any worthwhile result. These forums have had the unhappy effect of taking the all-important tasks of arms limitation and disarmament negotiations out of the purview of the UN. Disarmament negotiations must be brought back to where they belong – the United Nations. The proposed new commission should also be entrusted with the responsibility of serving as a forum for the negotiation of arms limitation measures leading to general and complete disarmament.

2. Peace and the World Community: Utopia and Reality

Khub Chand

Man has throughout history cherished peace – the Indian scriptures speak of world peace and of entire humanity as one family – and yet made war with systematic and ever-increasing violence. World War I was fought mainly in Europe and cost 15 million lives. World War II was fought world-wide, ended with atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and cost 54 million lives. Savagery has not abated with World War II. More bombs were dropped in Korea and in Vietnam than in the two World Wars. Nature, it is reckoned, will take more than a century to recover from the effects of defoliants used in the Vietnam war. The Iraq-Iran war has already lasted more than six years, with tremendous loss of life.

Man has at times indulged in wanton genocide. Halaku and Chinghiz Khan have their counterparts in current history: Hitler with 6 million Jews in Europe, Yahya Khan with 3 million in Bangladesh, Pol Pot with 2 million in Kampuchea, and Idi Amin with 600,000 in Uganda. Man continues to be driven by passion, lust, envy, hatred and greed. 'The natural state of mankind', as Emmanuel Kant put it, 'is one of war.' The strong have always exploited the weak and the downtrodden. They have, in the past, invented institutions like feudalism, serfdom, slavery, colonialism and racialism and sought to salve their conscience, where it existed, with clichés like *noblesse oblige*, trusteeship, white man's burden, and social Darwinism. The two World Wars were basically struggles between the haves and have-nots of the era of

imperialism; yet, in high-sounding moral tones, they were fought to 'Make the world safe for democracy' and 'to end all wars'. But, as we know, democracy and peace have not descended upon mankind. The atom bomb, we are told, has changed the role of war in human relations. A global nuclear war would mean not only an end to our civilization but perhaps to mankind itself. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences estimated that such a war would kill 750 million people on the first day and a larger number would suffer a worse fate as a result of radiation, air, water and food pollution and the nuclear winter which would follow. Thus, it places before mankind a choice between coexistence and no existence, between survival and omnicide. We have the knowledge to create weapons of mass destruction. Do we have the wisdom to control them?

Since the Congress of Vienna, following the fall of Napoleon, every serious conflict in the international system has been followed by an increase in the number of inter-governmental organizations, but nationalism has remained the decisive force in matters relating to war and peace. Woodrow Wilson maintained that wars resulted from nationalism, greed and power politics. He led a crusade for peace and justice and stood for open diplomacy and self-determination. He was disowned by his own Senate, a harsh peace was imposed by old-world politicians, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the League of Nations of Wilson's dream was soon reduced to the position of an agency to maintain the *status quo*. Sanctionious homage was paid to the ideal of international peace by the Kellog-Briand pact and was subscribed to by both potential aggressors and their victims. It remained a dead letter. The League of Nations, with neither the will nor the power of enforcement, could not prevent wars in Manchuria, China, Ethiopia and Spain and watched helplessly Hitler's march into the Rhineland, anschluss with Austria, his occupation of Sudetenland and the extinction of Czech sovereignty. The Nazi invasion of Poland unleashed World War II. Even before the war ended, men like Senator Fullbright turned

their thoughts to the creation of a United Nations with adequate powers to enforce peace and international rule of law. But forces of nationalism were far stronger than those of internationalism. The five big powers – USA, USSR, France, UK and China – armed themselves with the power of veto in the Security Council. As a result of the breakdown of the war-time alliance, the Security Council has been immobilized whenever the interests of a veto power have been involved. The UN Charter proscribes both war and any threat or use of military force in international relations, direct or indirect, while safeguarding the natural right of individual or collective self-defence against armed aggression. It also provides for sanctions, mandatory or otherwise, including peaceful sanctions such as suspension of trade or transport links or breaking off of diplomatic relations, and military sanctions including deployment of land, sea and air forces, against an aggressor. The UN was intended to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war but hopes have in this respect been belied owing to the Soviet 'nyet' and the American 'no'. Gladwyn Jebb rightly observed that 'the UN is but a reflection of the real world; if an ugly image appears, one should not blame the mirror'. How different the shape of the world would have been if the war-time alliance had not broken down!

Treated as a pariah for twenty years, mindful of the destruction wrought by the Nazi invaders, mistrustful of the allies who had deliberately delayed opening the Second Front and tempted by the post-War situation, Stalin thrust his arm deep into Europe, seeking permanent security for the Soviet Union on the Stettin-Trieste line. The Czech coup and the blockade of Berlin were the last straw. The Cold War, thus begun in Europe, became world-wide when Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the People's Republic of China, raising the spectre of a Communist-dominated Eurasian landmass threatening the existence of the 'Free World'. Stalin told the Italian socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, that he would avoid war but keep the pot boiling for fifteen years. His motive was clearly

to gain time to consolidate the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe. The Americans used the Cold War and fear of Communist expansionism to establish a global *pax Americana*, with military alliances and a string of bases encircling the Communist world, and American multinationals extending their activities to the entire non-Communist world. Traditionalists maintain that the Cold War arose from Soviet expansionism while revisionists argue that it represented the thrust of American capitalism.

The war-time alliances were reversed, the enemy states, Germany and Japan, becoming prized allies. Gone was the spectre of another diktat of Versailles, a fuehrer, and another bout of German revanchism, while Japanese dynamism turned to high technology and primacy in world trade with such spectacular success that the 21st century might well be the century of Japan, unless, of course, this Asian upstart is throttled by protectionism and a breakdown of the free market economy in the Western world.

The collective security system has indeed malfunctioned but the UN and its ancillary bodies have not been without achievements in other fields. In its early days the UN played a useful role in the process of decolonization. This was largely due to the thrust of American capitalism which was opposed to perpetuation of European empires. Their power and prestige had been shattered by the long years of war in Europe and humiliating defeats at the hands of the Japanese in Asia. The British wisely chose to transfer power in the Indian subcontinent and, with their experience of insurgency in Malaya and the Mau Mau in Kenya, the process of decolonization was accelerated elsewhere. The Dutch failed against the Sukarno nationalists, while the French were routed at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam. It needed the strong personality of General de Gaulle to pull out of the dirty war in Algeria and virtually thrust independence on the rest of French Africa. The Belgians and the Portuguese were the last to shed their colonial responsibilities. South Africa maintains its colonial hold on Namibia and the obnoxious practice of

apartheid and denial of political rights to its black majority, despite UN resolutions, because of the British and American stake in its trade, strategic minerals, investments and geo-strategic situation astride the two great oceans.

The UN has played a significant role in the development and codification of international law. Its achievements include the Law of the Sea (20-mile territorial waters, 200-mile economic zone, and ocean-bed resources a common heritage of man), the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, and the Law of Treaties, its Environment programme, the Convention against the Taking of Hostages, and the setting up of the International Trade Law Commission and adoption of conventions on carriage of goods by sea, contracts for international sale of goods, and rules of arbitration. The role of international law in eliminating disputes is as yet limited and nations like the USA have yet to accept the Law of the Sea. If the sovereignty of nations is to be circumscribed and a World Government created, the scope of international law has to be greatly widened and machinery created for its administration and enforcement.

Other achievements of the UN include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, conventions on permanent sovereignty on natural resources, exploration and use of outer space, principles governing the seabed, ocean floor and sub-soil, definition of aggression, Antarctica and Latin America as nuclear-free zones and the Limited Test Ban and Non-proliferation Treaties.

In super power disputes, such as the Cuba crisis and super power operations as in Vietnam, the UN has been kept out; in disputes between a big power and a small one, it has tended to dispense power politics rather than justice; while in Third World conflicts, particularly irredentist ones, it has kept the lid on with good offices, mediation or peace-keeping operations instead of finding just solutions. Its Secretaries-General, with the possible exception of Dag Hammarskjöld, have not been too assertive. It discusses disarmament perennially, but whatever arms-control agreements have been

concluded have been the result of secret, bilateral, super power diplomacy.

The impression that, as a result of developments following World War II, mankind has attained the utopia of no colonialism, no imperialism, no racialism, no poverty and exploitation; of democracy and universal peace, is belied by harsh realities. Has domination of the newly-independent nations by the USA, the former colonial powers and the Soviet Union really ended? Direct foreign rule has ended but domination has reappeared in other forms. There is the nuclear domination of the five veto-powers with surrogate mini nuclear-weapons powers, protecting Western interests — Israel against the Arabs, South Africa against the Blacks in southern Africa, and Pakistan against non-aligned India. The discriminatory Non-proliferation Treaty and the London Club seek curbs even on peaceful uses of nuclear energy by non-signatories while the super power commitment to reduce their nuclear arsenals is ignored. Allied nations, with a finger on the trigger, are not really non-nuclear-weapons powers since they have all the benefits of nuclear collaboration. Industrial domination continues by denial, under one pretext or another, of high technology even where absorptive capacity exists. Stress on appropriate technology is mainly intended to keep Third World countries backward. The World Bank, IMF, GATT and other post-war financial institutions sustain an economic order which makes the growth of the highly-industrialized nations self-generating while making the poverty of the developing nations self-perpetuating. The commercial domination of multinational corporations is all too obvious and some of them are more powerful than even the countries they operate in. Terms of trade are loaded against the Third World and their share of world trade has substantially declined. Many of them are afflicted with heavy debts which they can hardly service or hope to repay. The industrialized world has virtual control of the world's raw materials and energy resources. Then there are special groupings like the EEC, and no less than 67ACP countries, with special trade relations, in a world

in which the benefits of a free market economy are touted. Nor has political domination altogether disappeared. It has merely taken new forms: support of a ruling élite, a civil or military dictatorship or one-party rule; financial or military aid; military bases or para-military establishments; fomenting violence, civil war or direct aggression; destabilization or fostering of proxy wars, etc.

Fundamental freedoms are a rare commodity in the Third World. Looking around Asia or Africa one finds few countries with democratic, freely-elected governments, and some have a tradition of change of leadership through assassination. Corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency are rife and popular discontent is awaiting a suitable opportunity to explode. India is a rare exception in this respect.

The highly industrialized nations and the Super Powers, despite the Cold War, a brief interlude of *détente* and now a second and more vicious Cold War, have had 40 years of unbroken peace among themselves and unprecedented prosperity, with mass employment, mass consumption and social security in Western Europe of such a high order as to render Marxism out-of-date. Western affluence was diluted briefly by the actions of the Arab oil-Sheikhs but is now again on the road to economic growth. But all these years the Third World has not had a day of peace. In fact, as Krippendorfe observes, we are living in the midst of a Third World War, except that it is taking place at the periphery of the international system, with the active support and intervention of the metropolitan powers. Peace at the centre among the Great Powers with manifold overkill capacity has led to the widespread illusion that modern arms technology and armament balance function objectively as peace maintainers through a mutually-controlled arms race. The *terrain de bataille* is provided by Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Unlike Europe, Asia is more of a geographical expression than a homogeneous region. It has five great religions and four or five ethnic groups. Its 30-odd nations vary enormously in size, population and resources and have irredentist claims

dividing them. They have little mutual trade or other contacts and few regional affinities. Some have intractable socio-economic problems and their ruling élite, divorced from their people's loyalty or affection, turn for support to the metropolitan powers or a Super Power. Arms are particularly welcome to keep their own people under foot and pursue irredentist claims against unfriendly neighbours. The highly industrialized countries are only too glad to sell surplus and obsolete arms; each new generation of arms is twice as expensive as the previous one and becomes out-of-date in five years. Billions of dollars are earned by the military-industrial complex in countries like the USA, France, Britain, Italy and the USSR. Some countries pile up sophisticated aircraft and other military equipment and depend on foreign personnel to man them. The armaments industry represents 10 per cent of the US economy and a deep crisis would follow if swords were suddenly turned into ploughshares. The world as a whole is now spending \$ 1.75 million per minute on defence personnel and equipment. India would never have had three wars imposed on her by Pakistan but for the injection of American arms into that country, ostensibly to meet Communist aggression. The Iraq-Iran war would have soon petered out if an arms embargo existed on supplies to both combatants. Now, sophisticated arms are also made available to dissidents, guerrillas and terrorists for destabilization.

The Middle East — junction of Christian, Muslim and Jewish worlds, the link between the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean, the crossroads of three continents and the world's largest supplier of oil — is a power-keg which may explode any time. The USA, mindful of its well-entrenched Jewish community, is committed to the security and viability of Israel, while the Palestinians are determined to get back to their homeland, even if it takes generations. Like Salahuddin against the Crusades, they can afford to lose many battles but need to win only one last one. The situation is complicated by disputes among the Arab states, moderate versus radical, fundamentalist versus secular, Shia versus

Sunni and, in Lebanon, Christian versus Muslim. There is a high degree of super power intervention but direct participation is fraught with perils as the Americans found to their cost in Beirut. The Soviets support any Arab state that may be hurt by American policies but will not underwrite an outright Arab victory. Western Europe is more sympathetic to the Arab cause than the USA but too dependent on American trade and security umbrella to play an active role. However, it has applied the brakes to Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973, not allowing American aircraft to take supplies to Israel from NATO bases, and has been critical of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's support of President Reagan's recent action against Libya.

The Gulf area has assumed great importance with the fall of the Shah of Iran, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism under Ayatollah Khomeini, the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The American naval and nuclear build-up in the Indian Ocean is an eyesore to the Soviets, with their exposed underbelly, and temptation to advance to the coastland of the littoral states – a temptation which Gorbachev with his peace offensive will curb. The Gulf states and Saudi Arabia discount the Soviet bogey and consider Khomeini's Shi'ite fundamentalism a greater menace than even Israel. With their conservative, semi-feudal regimes, they are fearful of the rising middle class which tends to be anti-American owing to its pro-Israeli policies, and want to see the Americans 'over the horizon' with their navy, aircraft and Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), and not in bases on Arab soil. Pakistan, as an Islamic state, largely Sunni and turning to the Shariat under General Zia-ul-Haq, is trusted in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia; its pilots fly Saudi aircraft and its contingents protect the Saudi princes. A similar situation prevails in some of the Gulf states. American supply dumps, telecommunications centres and other RDF facilities in Pakistan suit the Arab states. Irrespective of policies adopted by India, the conservative Arab states will support Pakistan in any Indo-Pak conflict, both financially and militarily, with

maintenance and repair facilities and actual transfer of military equipment and aircraft to replace Pakistani losses. Radical Arab states might remain officially neutral but public opinion will strongly favour Pakistan. Reality, in time of crisis, may turn out to be very different from the utopian belief that friendship will always be returned with friendship.

South Asia by itself is an area of peripheral interest in American strategic planning; in American eyes, the only worthwhile Asians live in East Asia. South Asia is dismissed as a wretchedly poor, backward, politically chaotic, grossly overpopulated ghetto, torn by feuds based on caste, language and religious differences. It does not have the strategic importance of the Middle East. But a link has always existed between conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia.

The United States is interested in security of shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean, regular flow of oil, protection of its investments and trading interests and the future of Israel. Peace and stability in South Asia are a secondary consideration. Any threat to Western interests in West Asia has invariably led to a US-Pakistan love affair with generous flows of arms and economic aid. There is no real loyalty on either side; the motivation is altogether different. Pakistan was let down by the Americans in 1965 and 1971, which explains why Islamabad is so anxious to commit Washington to support against India under the 1959 Accord. China and the Soviet Union are considered more reliable allies by Pakistan and India respectively.

Pakistan has no intention of getting embroiled in any war with the Soviets in Afghanistan and has kept resistance by the Mujahideen at a low key while getting generous supplies of F-16 aircraft, harpoon missiles and other sophisticated military hardware for use exclusively against the traditional enemy, India. It seeks parity with India in fire-power which really implies superiority, considering that India has a vast land and sea frontier to guard. The security of Pakistan has actually improved with the separation of Bangladesh, making it geographically more compact. As a preliminary, destabilization of

the border states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir has already begun with training, supply of sophisticated weapons and sanctuary to dissident terrorists. Since India is better placed in manpower and economic power, Pakistan must aim at a short but fruitful blitzkrieg while its friends arrange a ceasefire under UN auspices.

The anxiety Pakistan has shown to become a nuclear weapons power – with the Americans looking the other way – is explained by the need for coercive diplomacy to gain its ends in Jammu and Kashmir and on India's western borders without even the commitment of conventional forces. The scenario might well be a half-hour warning of nuclear attack on vital military targets and administrative centres or major cities unless certain territorial demands are conceded. This is a grim reality which Indian policy-makers must face in taking a decision on nuclear deterrence to Pakistan's nuclear coercion. There is no reason why symmetric nuclear capability of India and Pakistan should not stabilize the situation in the sub-continent.

In his book, *Old Myths and New Realities*, Senator Fullbright maintained that proliferation of nuclear capability would constitute a great equaliser among nations, large and small. In a recent publication, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better*, Kenneth N. Waltz observes that:

The likelihood of war decreases as deterrent and defensive capabilities increase. Nuclear weapons, responsibly used, make war hard to start. Nations that have nuclear weapons have strong incentives to use them responsibly. These statements hold for small as for big nuclear powers. Because they do, the measured spread of nuclear weapons is more to be welcomed than feared.

Indian nuclear policy has, to say the least, been woolly. The size, the population, the resources and the genius of her people entitle India to be a major power in political, economic

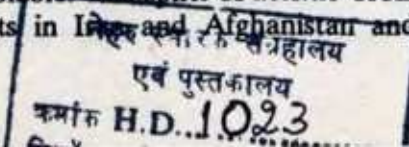
and military terms. How much has China gained in prestige, influence and self-reliance with its nuclear policy and how much has India lost by her procrastination!

Super power relations are a classical example of nuclear deterrence operating as a factor for peace. The two opposing blocs have at times stood eyeball-to-eyeball but without clash of arms. They respect each other's vital interests, compete for power and influence in important areas and are not above sowing trouble for each other in peripheral areas. The Americans treat the Soviet landmass from the Elbe to the Pacific Ocean virtually as a Russian 'imperial' domain; the Soviets have learnt to treat the Western hemisphere as the American 'imperial' domain. NATO did not lift a little finger to help the East Germans, Hungarians, Czechs or Poles, nor have the Americans sent their Rapid Deployment Force into Afghanistan. Khrushchev pulled out of his misadventure in Cuba and the Soviets have been careful not to go beyond verbal criticism of American action in Chile, Grenada and Nicaragua, and of the US-supported British war against Argentina over the Falkland Isles. West Berlin, despite crises from time to time, has been left untouched lest it should become *casus belli*, being the symbol of the US commitment to defend the NATO allies in Europe. In important areas like the Middle East and South-east Asia, the Super Powers have had lively competition, often with changes of friends and allies; in peripheral areas in Asia and Africa they have often picked up pieces when a country hurt by policies of one Super Power turns to the other for succour. Super power rivalry has often led to proxy wars in the Third World but they have kept such conflicts regionally controlled, without direct involvement.

Africa, like Asia, has had its share of tribal and international conflict and proxy wars: Katanga, Biafra, Chad, Polisario, Somalia, Ethiopia and the Sudan. The struggle for decolonization in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe was long and bitter. Many African states face prospects of civil war in their effort to build territorial nationalism with old colonial,

cheese-cake type, frontiers cutting across tribal, linguistic and religious ties. Southern Africa is in for a bitter struggle, bordering on genocide, over the next decade since the Afrikaners do not wish to dismantle apartheid, concede equal political rights to the black majority and vacate the diamond – and uranium-rich Namibia. A proxy war in the area will eventually lead to partition of South Africa.

The Americans enjoyed primacy in the world for nearly twenty years after World War II. Meanwhile, the Soviets attempted to catch up with them in nuclear weaponry while maintaining superiority in conventional forces and building a vast blue-water navy. Waves of invasions, from East and West, have given the Russians both a persecution complex and an intense patriotism and spirit of sacrifice. Two-thirds of the Soviet Union lies in Asia; yet no Asian power accepts the Russians as Asians. Since the days of Peter the Great they have been trying to catch up with the West and be accepted as members of the Western club. Today, they seek recognition as a world power on a basis of equality with the United States. The prolonged Cold War ended when the Americans realized that in Vietnam and the Middle East they had maximum exertion and minimum results, that the arms race meant a crushing burden, that allies had become part rivals and difficult to manage and that new economic super powers like Japan and Germany were going ahead much too fast. The Soviets, on their part, were concerned about the breach with China, the need to modernize their industry and agriculture, and incipient nationalism within the Soviet bloc. The Soviets had become a defensive, *status quo* power, anxious to hold what they possessed. Parity was eventually conceded by the Nixon regime and the Super Powers reached a number of agreements, including SALT I and SALT II (the latter not ratified by the American Senate) and the Helsinki Accord on Cooperation and Security in Europe. With *détente*, the Russians attained their objective of post-war frontiers being treated as inviolable. The spirit of *détente* broke down under stress of events in India and Afghanistan and humiliations



suffered in Teheran and Beirut.

The USA is now in an ultra-conservative mood and is asserting its economic and military might without consulting friends or allies. It has embarked on a colossal arms build-up, including the so-called Star War or Special Defence Initiative to replace the present Mutual Assured Destruction by Assured Survival for the United States in nuclear warfare. The aim is to re-establish American primacy. Its 'Manifest Destiny' extends to the whole world and the new frontiers lie in space. Gorbachev has launched a peace offensive against the Star War programme and offered drastic reduction in existing stockpiles of nuclear missiles. This has considerable appeal in Europe, the Third World and Congressional circles in the United States. Europeans grumble that American policies are too arrogant and militaristic, that there is inadequate consultation, that there is no attempt to harmonize American global interests with Europe's regional interests, complexities and sensitivities, and that *détente* must not be jeopardized. The Americans suspect that their European allies, with the possible exception of Britain, will let them down in a moment of crisis and opt for a zone of peace. The Chernobyl disaster has strengthened the peace movement and made Europeans only too conscious of the dangerous implications of a nuclear war. Sentiment in general is Eurocentric and Europeans would like profitable trade and investment links with the Soviet bloc, mutually balanced force reduction and removal of offensive missiles targeted on Europe. They want areas of tension and flashpoints to be outside their continent – this would at least maintain the highly-profitable arms trade.

President Reagan's policies have strengthened his bargaining position, but if the Americans persist and are obdurate about SDI the Soviets are unlikely to be overspent or to bled to death. The resolve of the Soviet leadership must not be underestimated. The Russians are used to tightening their belts and military requirements have always had the highest priority. Many American scientists doubt whether SDI can

ever be foolproof and, in any case, no system of defence is proof against new offensive systems. American public opinion is liable to waver. Sooner or later the crushing financial burden of maintaining parity or marginal superiority at higher and higher levels will drive the Super Powers to secret give-and-take diplomacy, as during the Cuba crisis. The two nations are highly pragmatic and have never had any war between them but for a minor, half-hearted American intervention during the Civil War, following Lenin's advent to power, intended to retrieve American military stores from Archangel and to prevent the Japanese from securing unilateral gains in Eastern Siberia. Who can tell whether the prophecy of Nostradamus that the world will eventually be dominated by Russia and America, getting together across the Arctic, will not be fulfilled.

Albert Einstein, the distinguished physicist and Nobel Laureate, observed that 'Politics is much harder than Physics; there is no blueprint for the next wave of problems.' Difficulties arise, in the conduct of international relations, because of gaps between perceptions and realities. Perceptions are coloured by pre-existing images of other nations, a general view of the world, historical experiences, mutual fears of others' military capabilities, different ways of processing intelligence and trends of public opinion. Perception of reality may turn out to be vastly different from reality itself. The success of the foreign policy of a country depends largely upon its understanding of the perceptions of others and its willingness to respond to or accommodate itself to them. Foreign policy must not be conducted *ad hoc* in response to developments; there must be policy planning and detailed analysis of alternative scenarios based on sifting of realities from perceptions.

The gap between our perception of our neighbours and world powers and reality has largely been responsible for wars imposed on India by Pakistan and China. In the initial phase of ideological activism, India played a notable role, in and outside the United Nations, to rid the world of the vestiges of imperialism, colonialism and racialism. The Cold War was

dismissed as an ideological struggle and treated as super power rivalry. China's break with the Soviet Union could be foreseen. Indian representatives were overactive at international gatherings in all matters, often in strong, critical terms. Chou En-lai was patronizingly introduced at Bandung to make China acceptable to the world, despite developments in Tibet and on the Himalayan borders. We forgot that non-aligned countries need strong defence, like Switzerland or Sweden, and should avoid treading on other nations' corns. We failed to realize that, if you have universal brotherhood, you have no real brother; that nobody mediates for the mediator when the mediator is busy mediating; that security does not depend on protestations of peace and friendship but on strength, manpower, economic power and fire-power included; and that strong defence is the cheapest defence, far cheaper than a stalemate or a lost war. Foreign policy is not played like chess on an open board; it is a game of poker.

Far too often we have indulged in uncalled for commitments, tying our hands against wily foreign powers. We turned to the UN instead of driving the invader out of Kashmir; we offered consultation of the popular will in that state though accession was legally final and binding; we called Aksai Chin a territory where not even a blade of grass grows; we stated, in the Janata period, that we would not go in for the atom bomb even if Pakistan did so; and we consider the present genocide in Sri Lanka an internal political matter even though the fire in our neighbour's house is likely to spread to ours in Tamil Nadu. If we do not want foreign interference in our region, we cannot shirk the responsibilities of a regional power. We discuss a No-War Pact or Friendship Treaty with Pakistan despite its role in fomenting insurgency in India.

A soft state is always a sufferer state at the hands of its tougher or rougher neighbours. The Bangladesh crisis was superbly handled though the chance of a package deal – a firm and final frontier from the northern tip of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea, open trade and other ties, eschewing of all

entanglements impinging on the political, economic or military interests of India and reversion of Pakistan to its South Asian personality in return for restoration of prisoners of war and occupied territories – was lost at Simla. In our present geopolitical environment – foreign navies and nuclear missiles in the Indian Ocean, heavily armed and possibly nuclear Pakistan, Islamic fundamentalism, Sri Lanka opening up to foreign involvement in local insurgency and unfriendly China renewing claims to vast chunks of Indian territories – the price and penalty will have to be paid by the target State, India, if it does not build up its own military, diplomatic, political and economic mechanism. Even in our relations with the immediate neighbour, Pakistan, we cannot depend on change of American perceptions and policies. In fact, the US tilt towards and active support for Pakistan may be even more pronounced than in 1971, if only to establish America's tarnished credibility as a reliable ally. Indian foreign policy needs a new look: firm and just to neighbours, adequate in strength to deter aggression, imaginative in approach to problems with China, with no baiting of powerful countries like the USA, while strengthening trade, technological and cultural ties, and with intensive cultivation of progressive nations in Europe and Japan, without in any way weakening ties with well-trying friends. Our touch in foreign affairs should be light except where vital Indian interests are involved.

India has been a prey to freebooters and foreign invaders throughout history due to military weakness and internal dissensions. This must never recur. Nations that have gone far have a clear conception of their core interests. Britain built up an empire with command of the seas and balance of power on the European continent. The USA seeks primacy, not equality, with the Soviet Union, it considers the Pacific as its Ocean of Destiny and wishes to retain its technological lead over all other nations. The Soviet Union is too weak economically to displace the USA in the international system and its ideology has lost much of its glamour, but it seeks absolute security and parity in military strength. The Chinese

have a four-fold aim: No great power in the Western Pacific other than China and Japan; Peking to be the Rome of Communism and not Moscow – alternatively, multipolar Communism; no direct Chinese rule in South-east Asia but the region must be a Chinese sphere of influence; and not third power like India to be allowed to emerge as an independent centre of decision-making in Asia. Japan Inc. wishes to be world leader in trade and the technological revolution. Are we clear about the core interests of India? Clear answers must be found in both politics and economics.

The Indian mind is exceptionally quick and highly intellectual but not action-oriented. It tends, therefore, to entertain utopian ideas of a world without war, a world community under a world government, justice and equality for all mankind, and a world without hunger, disease or poverty. It is impressed by the explosion of knowledge and the technological revolution and looks upon the United Nations and its ancillary bodies as a world government in embryo. It wants India to provide leadership, physical and moral, in this noble cause. The reality of the world we live in has to be brought home to fertile Indian minds.

There are indeed forces bringing the world community closer together. There is greater knowledge about the world and other peoples. World trade has expanded manifold and popular contacts at various levels have multiplied through faster travel and information media. A cosmopolitan culture is emerging in dress, food, entertainment etc. and the younger generation in particular has a growing sense of the oneness of the human family. Many problems like environment, ecology, pollution, plunder of natural resources and international terrorism have arisen requiring international cooperation. Then, there is the danger posed to man's survival by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction which has led to a peace movement across international frontiers. The ruling élite is under pressure of public opinion. The USA lost the Vietnam War on campus grounds and now we have the phenomenon of Berkeley students carrying banners: 'I am a

human being; don't fold, bend or mutilate.' But we are still far, perhaps three or four generations away from the One World of our dreams. A grim struggle lies ahead, of which there are already unmistakable signs.

Is a nuclear war unthinkable? Will conventional warfare continue to afflict the Third World? Policy-planners and military strategists do not consider nuclear war unthinkable or improbable. Wars are unleashed by political élites which, in the previous era of colonialism and imperialism, did not hesitate to indulge in widespread genocide. Political élites in powerful countries still think in terms of national interest, paying only lip service to the world community and are in many cases still imbued with ideas of racial, cultural, economic, organizational and military superiority. The super-powers will not blunder into nuclear warfare, except through miscalculation or misadventure, so long as there is Mutual Assured Destruction, but SDI or new offensive weapons – laser beams, the death ray, lethal chemical or bacteriological elements – could lead to attempts at coercion and, failing coercion, war. Limited or winnable nuclear warfare might be attempted against a non-nuclear country which becomes insufferable to the nerves of a major nuclear power. Nuclear warheads can now be mounted on conventional weaponry. In any case, a mini nuclear-weapons power like Israel, South Africa or Pakistan will not hesitate to use nuclear weapons if it finds itself in a tight corner.

The Third World is torn by traditional hatreds, jealousies and territorial claims and will continue to have proxy wars. War is somehow rooted in the capitalist system. The colonial powers enriched themselves and seized vast territories by war. Trade followed the flag and later trade followed capital. War is still a profitable business since Third World countries are big importers of war materials. New alliance systems have been built up between the major powers and the élite in Third World countries kept in power with economic and military aid. Many Third World countries could not subsist without such aid and their voting record in the United Nations is

minutely observed. Again, the big weapon-buying or receiving countries are the best political clients of hegemonial powers. Since trade now follows co-production, they open their doors liberally to foreign enterprises. Perhaps the most important objective in keeping the Third World hopelessly divided and at loggerheads one with the other is to delay, if not throttle, pressure for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and to avert an economic October Revolution which only a united Third World could push through. The driving force behind the political, economic and military policies of the Super Powers, the great nations of Europe, China and Japan is nationalism and not ideology or internationalism. No wonder UNCTAD stands for 'under no circumstances take a decision' and UNIDO remains 'utterly non-involved in development'.

Ideally, the world ought to be united under one global government while the nation-state vanishes, becoming a social, cultural and convenient administrative unit. The world is now unified at the technological level but institutions are hopelessly lagging behind; in fact, institutions that exist, like the United Nations, are under attack by powerful nation-states, particularly the most powerful of them. International contacts among people have grown and the younger generation is losing respect for the state and authority. Multinationals and international labour unions are cutting across national allegiance. But, as yet there is no paramount loyalty to mankind nor any unity at the emotional or political level. War, which has always been an engine of economic growth, will only be abolished when the sovereignty of the nation-state is done away with; but now there are 150 of them and the highly-industrialized and the most powerful of them will resist erosion of their privileged position in the world hierarchy. A world government *ipso facto* implies justice and equality – a utopian conception not fully realized within nation-states – but the highly advanced nations wish to appropriate high technology for themselves, with the rich getting richer and richer and the poor getting poorer and poorer. Their

resistance to the demise of the nation-state will take quite a few generations. As Toynbee has observed: 'Man has been amazingly successful in his technology and no less amazingly infertile and uncreative in his politics.'

Ben Gurion once remarked that 'no man is a realist if he does not believe in miracles'. But miracles are not ordained by fate; they are the result of persistent human effort in the face of seemingly insurmountable difficulties. Let us then look forward to the miracle of a united world, with justice and equality for all, and from which war is banished and wherein modern science and technology rid mankind of hunger and poverty, even if it looks utopian.

We are living in a dangerous world in which the most powerful nations have mounted a global counter-offensive against the Third World, the NIEO and liberation movements in order to maintain their control over the existing and manifestly unjust economic and political order. The struggle will be long and bitter but the miracle can and will happen. The Third World must forge closer unity and client-states among them should be isolated by mass opinion and adequate resistance to proxy wars or other pressures mounted by them should be built up. Super power hegemony can be resisted by closer relations with Western Europe, which seeks *détente*, and Japan which is concerned about the struggle for markets looming on the horizon.

The technological revolution of computers, telecommunications, electronics, robots, biotics, ocean-bed resources, new energy sources and space has generated both hopes and fears. There is an explosion of scientific and technical knowledge and a productivity eruption which needs millions of additional consumers but only a handful of workers. Undoubtedly the service sector will expand but during the period of painful adjustment capital goods production must continue to keep up employment. Shortage of food, energy and raw materials can be met with human ingenuity but problems of unemployment, pollution and environment cannot be met except in the context of a bigger and more progressive world community. A

Great Depression, for want of markets, as in the 1930s would disrupt democracy and accepted social and moral values in the developed world. The political atmosphere is also undergoing a subtle change. The common man everywhere wants peace, security and progress. The present super power sabre-rattling and arms race is contrary to the wishes of mankind, though some governments will continue to struggle for the *status quo*. Pressure of public opinion on the ruling élite will eventually prevail. Meanwhile, the Third World should follow the example of the EEC which, though not ending national sovereignty, has diluted it substantially in the economic, social and even the political sphere. ASEAN was originally intended exclusively for economic and cultural cooperation but within a few years agreement on ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Friendship and Neutrality) and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation have extended ASEAN's scope to security and international issues affecting the region. The OAU and LAFTA are other regional groupings though not as effective as the EEC and ASEAN. Regional cooperation can be a step towards dilution of the nation-state. The EEC is a United States of Europe in embryo; SAARC might one day bring South Asian nations together like ASEAN though the political will has yet to be cultivated. The UN is at present under attack but it can continue to strengthen and develop international law. A United World could emerge from the ashes of a somewhat limited nuclear war or the rise of a dictator, with outstanding leadership qualities, thrown up by *Pax Americana* or *Pax Sovietica*, but unification by force would be both distasteful and unlikely. It may take generations, but the collective will of the world community could bring peace through a United World Government. Signs are not wanting inasmuch as the younger generation does not share the ruling élite's arrogance of power, racial pride and selfish greed. A strong and united India can be a catalyst in the noble task of bringing peace and prosperity to the world community.

3. Ahimsa as Conflict Resolution Technique and Instrument of Peace: A Psychological Appraisal

Durganand Sinha

In the present paper an attempt has been made to analyse the psychological assumptions and implications underlying Gandhi's *ahimsa* as a technique of conflict resolution and its applicability as an instrument for world peace. It is a kind of process analysis in psychological terms of *ahimsa* and its related aspect *satyagraha*.

Gandhi's writings are hardly helpful in unravelling the psychological bases of his technique. He seldom developed his thought logically or provided arguments for his strategy or action. When asked, he would give repeatedly almost the same reply which hardly provides adequate insight into the foundations of his actions. The fact of the matter is that Gandhi was essentially a man of action, and to get an idea of the psychological foundations and implications of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*, it is more revealing to analyse the events or the actions themselves and the processes involved therein. Such an analysis is likely to provide the 'psycho-logic' of his actions which one does not find in the perusal of his vast writings.

The Buddhist scripture, *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra*, contains the ancient predictive warning of Sakyamuni: 'At the Kalpa's end, all sentient beings will have to face the threat of annihilative conflagration spreading all over this earth. . . .' What the Enlightened One visualized more than two thousand-five-hundred years ago has become a reality. Global

military expenditures have skyrocketed to the staggering height of nearly a trillion U.S. dollars a year. While the developed nations are contributing to the mad race for armament, millions are dying of hunger or living in a state of malnourishment, destitution and deprivation. With conflicts, terrorism and social and international violence becoming the order of the day, and advances in technology offering more fear than hope, it is irrelevant to discuss basic psychological questions as to whether mankind is pugnacious by nature and whether he has an inherent tendency to kill all programmed in him. Instead of debating such theoretical issues on which biologists, psychologists and other thinkers have fought endless intellectual battles for centuries, it would be more timely and appropriate to explore what is the way out from this catastrophic situation. The moot question is whether there is an alternative way of resolving conflicts by curbing and channelizing the basal elements which seem to have taken hold of mankind so that *homo sapiens* is prevented from destroying the planet as well as itself. Gandhi's *ahimsa* seems to be an alternative, if not the only alternative, for saving mankind from the 'annihilative conflagration' that Lord Buddha had visualized.

Since the last two world wars, some wisdom seems to have dawned on the nations, leading them to evolve a world body which settles disputes and resolves conflicts between nations through discussions, negotiations, arbitrations, and moral pressure, instead of through destructive wars. But what we have been witnessing in the world today clearly indicates that, leave aside the Great Powers and the industrially advanced nations, even small and less developed countries seem to have only a very limited faith in the world body. Instead of using their meagre resources for the alleviation of poverty and national development, they have found it more 'practical' to join the mad race for armament. Nations are trying to arm so effectively that no one would dare to strike at them since a counter-strike would lead to near annihilation of the aggressor. The world has split into a system of power blocs based on

the outmoded strategy of balance of power, each trying to balance itself against the other in terms of its destructive power, competing with others in potentiality for violence, and ever trying to acquire a little more than others the weapons of destruction.

Fear of self-destruction seems to be the last bastion of peace. It is fear of mutual annihilation that is today preventing a war of dimension which would destroy not only the combatants, but the entire world of living species, and make the entire planet uninhabitable. In total war today, there can be no victor and no vanquished; or, more correctly there can be no victor, only the vanquished.

The psychological characteristic of the contemporary world is best described as one of suspicion and fear psychosis in which relationships between countries are based on mutual distrust, fear, and hatred of one another. Basing peace on these negative emotions is fraught with constant danger. Fear and hatred cloud the intellectual functioning of the individual and warp his perceptions and cognitions. That being the case, there is always the possibility of misjudgment and misperception leading to a world conflagration. It is like sitting on a dormant volcano which can erupt any moment. The danger is particularly real because, in a world torn asunder by suspicion, distrust, fear and tensions, many heads of state who hold weapons of mass destruction in their hands belong to what may be termed as 'the lunatic fringe' who will not hesitate to set the process of destruction in motion for achieving certain temporary political gains.

Psychologically speaking, conflict is 'a property of an action system, namely, when two or more incompatible or mutually exclusive values are pursued' (Galtung, 1959, p. 67). Values are 'preferred outcomes' of contending groups. There is absence of conflict when only one compatible value comes to be followed. Conflict is endemic to human societies at all times. Owing to heterogeneity, divergence of interests, goals, aspirations and values, conflicts at various levels, between individuals, between groups, and between countries or nations

are inevitable. When, on the international level, conflicts are frequently tried to be resolved by resorting to war, which tends to engulf nations other than those in actual conflict, the grim prospect of global annihilation becomes imminent. History is replete with examples of the futility of war as an instrument of resolving conflict. Never has there been a war that has ended wars. Aggression and war adopted to resolve conflicts between countries have always failed miserably and in years to come have produced greater conflict and more difficult problems.

Though potentially mistaken, the belief still seems to prevail and persist that violence can end a conflict or that war can bring salvation to the world. Actually, since the peaceful, more rational ways of negotiations, arbitration, conciliation and the like are available there is no need to resort to violent and mutually destructive means of resolving conflicts. It is in this context that Gandhi's *ahimsa* becomes relevant as an alternative strategy for resolving conflicts, not only on the individual plane, but also among groups or even among nations. To quote from a letter Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Joan V. Bondurant (1959), the author of *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*:

In this age of uttermost violence, it is strange to think of a man who talked always of non-violence. In this age of consuming fear, this absolutely fearless individual stands out. He demonstrated to us that there can be a strength far greater than that of armaments and that a struggle can be fought, and indeed should be fought, without bitterness and hatred.

In times such as ours, when tension, conflicts, terrorism, social violence and imminent danger of world conflagration have become the order of the day, and the potential of technology offers more fear than hope, the need to resolve conflicts when they arise in a constructive rather than a destructive way has become most urgent. *Ahimsa*, in conjunction

with *satyagraha*, is an alternative to the commonly used technique of conflict resolution which is based on violence and subjugation of the opponent. It is also an alternative to war as an instrument of peace. It is a new political weapon for peace about which Erikson (1970, p. 391) remarks:

In a period when proud statesmen could speak of 'war to end war', when super-policemen of Versailles could bathe in the glory of peace that would make 'the world safe for democracy', when the revolutionaries in Russia could entertain the belief that terror could initiate an eventual 'withering away of the state' – during the same period, one man in India confronted the world with the strong suggestion that a new political instrument, endowed with a new kind of religious fervour, may yet provide man with a choice.

In other words, Gandhi's technique provided a more civilized alternative to war and violence for resolving conflict and ensuring world peace. In what follows, some of the basic psychological assumptions, strength and inherent weaknesses of *ahimsa* as a technique have been analysed.

Ahimsa in the Religio-Philosophical Context

Before analysing some of its psychological aspects, it would be well to examine *ahimsa* in its earlier religio-philosophical context. The word expresses an ancient Hindu, Jain and Buddhist ethical precept. The most important principle of Jainism is reverence and respect for life in *all* forms. 'We can survive only when we respect life of all human beings.' 'Live and let live', was the motto of Lord Mahavira. He was probably the first to regard non-violence as the supreme religion: *ahimsa paramo dharma*. The word with its negative prefix does not convey a negative message of 'action based on refusal to do harm', non-injury or non-killing and not harming others, but has a wider and positive message of reverence for the individuality of all living creatures. Lord Mahavira was

very emphatic about the effectiveness of non-violence. In today's context of world tension and danger of a nuclear holocaust, his message that 'enmity cannot be overcome by enmity . . . violence cannot be overcome by violence' is very apposite. He had a definite message for world peace, namely, that it can come about only when we have respect and reverence for life in all its forms, and links between nations can be built on the basis of universal love. As he put it, 'the foundation on which non-violence can be built is universal love.' Non-violence was regarded as the weapon of the strong which was well demonstrated by Emperor Ashoka who, at the height of his victory, renounced violence and conquest by war; and, through *dharma*, non-violence and his message of love, came to build one of the mightiest empires in India. It was a case of *dharma-vijaya* (victory through *dharma*), and not *yuddha-vijaya* (victory through war).

Lord Buddha taught that 'he who draws his sword to suppress others commits the most grievous sin, and also violates basic human law'. Buddhism is against all wars, violence, and use of weapons, and stands for absolute disarmament and peace. One of the injunctions of the Buddha's Eightfold Path precludes doing anything or taking up a profession that could bring harm to others. In other words, he ruled against making or trading in arms, poison or anything else that could cause harm to others. He eulogized such professions as were honourable, blameless and innocent of harm to others. Thus, he was basically opposed to manufacture of and trading in weapons. Like Jainism, Buddhism considers life sacred and treats it with the highest regard and respect. In his famous 'Discourse on Universal Love' (*Metta-sutta*), he said, 'May all beings be happy and secure.' He propounded the idea of loving all creatures. All through there is emphasis on love as the basic law. 'Hatred is never appeased by hatred in this world; it is appeased by love. This is an eternal law' (*Dhammapada*, verse 5). Again in verse 201, it is said that 'the conqueror breeds hatred, and the defeated is down in misery. He who renounces both victory and defeat is happy and peaceful.' The

importance of non-violence as a means of attaining universal peace and well-being has been repeatedly emphasized.

Buddhism is one of the most logical and psychological of Indian systems of thought. This is brought home to us when we find that the precept of *ahimsa* is not based on mere authority but on two basic principles, viz., *maha-karuna* or great compassion, and *maha-prajna* or great wisdom, which are essentially psychological in character. The first is not to be confused with pity or feelings of sorrow aroused by a person's distress or suffering. It represents an extremely complex psychological concept which incorporates the emotional side, comprising love, kindness, tolerance, and charity, i.e., qualities inherent in the heart or the affective nature of man. *Ahimsa* is essentially rooted in this emotional principle. This does not exhaust its psychological base. It has a complementary intellective or cognitive base in the ability to see things as they are (*maha-prajna*). Both the affective and the intellective sides have to be developed. Taken together the two principles imply that there is not only emotional attachment and love towards all beings, but they are also perceived as equals and manifestations of the same reality. These two principles provide the cognitive-emotional base for the doctrine of non-violence as being essential for universal peace. In Buddhism, the conception of universal love and compassion is central. Buddha gave his teaching for *bahujanahitaya bahujana-sukhaya lokoanukampaya*, i.e., for the good of many, for the happiness and well-being of many, and out of compassion for the world.

Gandhi's Ahimsa and Satyagraha

In recent times, Gandhi, who had fully imbibed the ancient Indian tradition and has also imbibed the best elements from the teachings of Christ, refined the concept of *ahimsa* and brought its positive aspect to the fore more pointedly than had ever been done before.

Owing to constraints of space, it is not possible to present an exhaustive exposition of Gandhi's *ahimsa*, nor is it

necessary to do so. It would suffice for the present purpose to indicate the processes unleashed by it, analyse their psychological foundations and examine their implications for *ahimsa* as an instrument for conflict resolution and world peace.

Violence is the wilful application of force in such a way that it is intentionally injurious, either physically or psychologically, to the person or group against whom it is applied. *Ahimsa* or non-violence literally means non-injury. As a technique it is inextricably bound with *satyagraha*. The expression was coined to replace the term 'passive resistance' which Gandhi had used to describe the movement he led to fight the inequity and injustice perpetrated by the Whites in South Africa. As the struggle progressed, he found that a new principle had come into being. While he was looking for an appropriate term, *sadagraha* (firmness in a good cause) was suggested. Since this did not represent his idea fully, he coined the term *satyagraha* comprising the two words, *satya* meaning truth which implied 'love' and *agraha* (firmness) implying 'force'. The movement that he initiated on his return to India was, therefore, called *satyagraha*, i.e., the force which is born of truth and love, or non-violence. Thus, *ahimsa* when used in conjunction with *satyagraha* means exercise of power or influence to effect change without injury to the opponent. The implications of the term are far wider than those of 'passive resistance' and individual protest. It 'carried mass action beyond the confining limits of civil disobedience'. A new technique emerged which became an instrument of social and political change, and of conflict resolution and world peace.

Here it may be observed that Nehru, though he participated actively in many *satyagrahas* launched by Gandhi, confessed that he did not pretend to understand fully the significance of non-violence as a technique of action. He, however, felt convinced that it did offer some key to the understanding and to the proper resolution of conflict where other methods had failed miserably, producing greater conflict and more difficult problems. In *satyagraha*, due importance

had been given to means and in this it differed from the usual approach which thought in terms of ends only. Following wrong methods or means like warfare and violence seldom resolved conflicts and usually led to further conflict. Nehru asserted rightly that 'the mistaken belief still persists that violence can end a conflict or that war can bring salvation to the world'. In *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* Gandhi provided an alternative strategy for resolving conflict and ensuring peace. What is more important is that he not only preached but lived it and achieved results with it. His life, illustrative of the practice of *satyagraha*, was well documented in his autobiography, appropriately titled, *My Experiments with Truth*.

Satyagraha is basically an ethic-principle the essence of which is social action technique. As an instrument of conflict resolution, it admits of several stages for winning over an opponent. The first is persuasion through reason. The next is persuasion through suffering 'wherein the *satyagrahi* attempts to dramatize the issues at stake and get through to the opponent's unprejudiced judgment so that he may willingly come again on a level where he may be persuaded through rational argument.' Lastly, if the first two do not succeed, the *satyagrahi* may resort to non-violent coercion involving such tools as non-cooperation, civil disobedience, boycott, *dharna*, *hartal*, fast and so on. Thus, in spite of claims that *satyagraha* is always persuasive and not coercive, the method does contain a strong element of coercion and compulsion for effecting change in the opponent which is contrary to his will and he may also suffer from the indirect results of these actions. However, the essential difference between non-violent and violent forms of coercion has been emphasized. In the latter, the injury to the opponent is deliberate, while in the former the resulting injury is qualitatively different, with less physical destruction and undermining of morale.

Truth and love constitute other essential elements of Gandhi's technique. About *satyagraha* he explained that it was a movement intended to replace methods of violence, and a movement based entirely on truth. Truth was conceptualized

as ultimate reality, and the pursuit of truth was the pursuit of ultimate realization of the absolute. It is, however, to be borne in mind that Gandhi never claimed to know the truth in the absolute sense. He repeatedly reminded others that he had an unceasingly open approach to those who differed from him. The opponent was not forced or coerced into submission but had to be weaned over from error by patience and sympathy. What appeared as truth to one may appear as error to the other. In other words, it was a matter of perception. His technique consisted of modifying this perception through persuasion. This 'psychological' concept of truth formed the essence of his technique of *satyagraha*.

The other element, viz., love, is equally essential to his technique. Despite its negative prefix, *ahimsa* is not a negative concept of 'action based on refusal to do harm', or a state of harmlessness, but a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. It does not imply helping or tolerating the evil-doer in his evil action, but requires resisting the wrong-doer by dissociating from him even if this may offend or harm him.

Thus, Gandhi identified *ahimsa* with truth and love, and this nexus is vital to his method of conflict resolution and peace. *Ahimsa* and love formed the means while truth was the end. *Ahimsa* became the supreme value. Testing of truth could be done only by strict adherence to *ahimsa*, i.e., by action based on refusal to do harm or, more accurately, upon love. 'Refusal to harm' was conceived in a very wide sense which not only meant not hurting any living being, but also desisting from hurting by evil thought, by lying, hatred and wishing ill, i.e., at all levels — *manasa* (mentally), *vacha* (in speech) and *karmana* (in action). In other words, it was not only the overt act of harming or hurting that was to be desisted from, but the entire volitional act which comprised both the overt and the subjective or covert aspects.

The third fundamental element of *satyagraha* was self-suffering (*tapasya*). Gandhi said that 'non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not

mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant.' Submission was never a part of his concept of self-sacrifice. He said that humiliation must be resisted, and where necessary the greater self-suffering of the body, even unto death, should be invited. The dignity of the individual had to be preserved, though this might entail loss of property or even of life.

Self-suffering is a weapon of moral persuasion. It is not a substitute for cowardice, inability or weakness. Suffering injury in one's own person is of the essence of non-violence, and is a chosen substitute for violence to others. It does not imply that life is valued low and that thousands should voluntarily lose their lives. Gandhi held that self-sacrifice resulted, in the long run, in the least loss of life, and ennobled those who lost their lives and morally enriched the world with their sacrifice. *Satyagraha* postulated the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person.

Self-Sacrifice and Its Implications

Before passing on to the various psychological aspects which the technique implies, it must be observed that while the element of self-suffering has its roots in Indian tradition, it is perhaps the least acceptable aspect of his technique to the western mind. As Erik Fromm (1941, p. 268) in his *Escape from Freedom* puts it, 'This sacrifice will never lose its tragic quality. Death is never sweet, not even if it is suffered for the highest ideal. It remains unspeakably bitter, and still it can be the utmost assertion of our individuality.' The self-sacrifice that Gandhi stressed did not imply devaluation of individual life. On the contrary, it brings out the noblest and the best in the individual, viz., his readiness to sacrifice himself for the good of others and for a noble cause. The kind of altruistic orientation which self-sacrifice implies enhances the value of the individual and his life rather than devalues it.

For self-suffering, certain attributes in the individual and training were considered essential. Cultivation of the capacity

for self-sacrifice of the highest type, and being free from fear were considered essential attributes. It required the positive attribute of courage. 'He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise *ahimsa* to perfection.' Gandhi asserted that 'non-violence cannot be taught to a person who fears to die and has no power of resistance.' He guarded against attracting to the movement those who feared to take up arms or to die, or felt themselves incapable of resistance.

An aspect of Gandhi's technique that requires careful scrutiny is the element of violence that seems *latent* in all self-suffering. Though many *satyagraha* campaigns have achieved complete elimination of physical violence, none perhaps has remained non-violent throughout its many aspects (Bondurant, 1959, p. 42). Erikson (1970, p. 352), who has analysed so marvellously the strike which Gandhi led in Ahmedabad's textile mills in 1918, has rightly observed that the atmosphere that it generated was one of subdued violence which pervades all situations of dramatic self-suffering. He was not very inaccurate in designating the strike 'militant non-violence'. The violence latent in the process is typified by an example during the strike when a flamboyant weaver got so excited that he suddenly bared a big knife and was about to stab himself when Gandhi himself disarmed him. The self-suffering which is an essential element of the technique does help to generate violence in others participating in the campaign, and requires restraint and self-discipline to keep it in check. It is for this reason that Gandhi, at all times, emphasized the need for training, preparation and development of certain qualities in the individual as an important precondition for the success of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*. 'Just as one must learn the art of killing in training for violence, one must learn the art of dying in training for non-violence,' he said. His technique needed a hard and highly disciplined core of volunteers who, through constant practice of self-discipline and engaging in constructive work, had developed the right qualities. The disintegration of the Rowlatt Satyagraha into violence was regarded by him as a result of a

'Himalayan miscalculation' (some of his other movements also turned violent) which led him to appeal to the masses before they had been adequately trained to offer *satyagraha*. It in no way implied a failure or the lack of efficacy of the technique; but, as Gandhi confessed, it did imply a failure of those who planned and executed the movement to train participants in the technique, and deviation from the fundamental principles. In any case, the line dividing non-violence from violence appears to be thin. Since the preparation and cultivation of certain personal attitudes and attributes for the success of the technique are difficult and long, requiring unusual restraint and sacrifice, and as such can succeed only on a limited scale, one wonders about its effectiveness on a world-wide plane on which problems of war and international conflicts have to be tackled. To expect such ideal conditions to obtain on a large scale is being too optimistic about the nature of human dynamics.

Not only did Gandhi emphasize training but he also felt that the use of fasts, which happen to be the most effective weapon in his armoury, must be carefully regulated. Since 'there is violence behind such fasting', its unscientific and indiscriminate use was likely to be harmful. He stressed that the right to use it as a weapon must be earned. One can appreciate the truth in Gandhi's warning when one looks at the mockery that has been made of this most potent weapon, and the harm to our national life brought about by its frequent and indiscriminate use. Owing to clandestine practices to lighten its hardships and diluting the aspect of self-suffering through many variations like 'relay fasts' and so on, the weapon has ceased to rouse the conscience of the opposite party or generate mass support. What is worse is that there is usually more ill-will, hatred and pursuit of selfish ends involved in the fasts that are undertaken today than 'ambivalence' or love and respect towards the opponent that characterized every movement that Gandhi undertook.

In this context, another feature of his technique, which is implicit and not always emphasized but essential all the same,

is the attitude of the *satyagrahi* (the person who undertakes the action) towards the other party. The opponent is not necessarily to be viewed as an 'enemy'. In fact, Gandhi emphasized that a fast may only be undertaken by him who is associated with the person against whom he fasts. 'The latter must be directly connected with the purpose for which the fast is being undertaken.' One of the fundamental rules of his technique was a persistent search for avenues of cooperation with the adversary on honourable terms. The strike led by him in the Ahmedabad textile mills clearly displayed that, for him, there was 'no encounter without ambivalence' (Erikson, 1970, p. 68). Throughout, he maintained close and cordial relations with his millowner opponents. In his letter to the press about the fast during the strike of textile workers he wrote: '... I cannot conclude this letter without mentioning two names of whom India has every reason to be proud.' He described his main 'opponent' Ambalal Sarabhai, as 'a gentleman in every sense of the term', 'a man of great culture and equally great abilities'. He proclaimed that Sarabhai's 'resolute will' and transparent sincerity had captured his heart, and it was a pleasure to be pitched against him. Of the grim struggle and the strike he remarked, 'I have not known a struggle fought with so little bitterness and such courtesy on either side.' There was very little ill-will displayed by the opponents. The mutual ambivalence, and the cordial relationship with his opponent probably constitute an essential condition for the success of his technique of conflict resolution. There was mutual sharing both at the cognitive and affective levels.

Respect and regard for the opponent, and a constant effort to understand the other side and seek avenues of cooperation is a vital element for the success of *ahimsa* as an instrument of conflict resolution. Not only is there no 'enemy' in this struggle, but maintaining a cordial relationship with the other side is an essential condition for its success. There is mutual sharing of feelings and points of view. The entire strategy presupposes a 'commonality' between the parties involved in the conflict. It implies a state of *empathy* or sharing of

experience on the cognitive as well as the affective plane. Though temporarily there may be estrangement and conflict between individuals and groups, if a state of commonality exists, the use of right technique can lead to mutual understanding and, ultimately, to the resolution of the conflict without resort to violence or destructive measures. It is resolved when, owing to mutual sharing, a change in perception occurs on both sides. In such a state of changed perception, the conflict is resolved without outward coercion.

Effecting change in the other party through persuasion rather than coercion lies at the very root of *ahimsa*. Non-violence has its roots in the respect and reverence for the individual and the life of every creature, and the tolerance that results from such an attitude. As Lord Mahavira said, 'We can survive only when we respect life of all human beings'. As a corollary, non-violence implies that conflict can be resolved only if there is respect for the opponent or persons constituting the other group. The struggle involved being non-violent, the change is effected without injury to the opponent, i.e., through persuasion rather than through coercion. Psychologically and as seen in actual operation, these assumptions appear somewhat tenuous. Despite all claims, the method does contain a large element of compulsion and coercion, and this is not denied by Gandhi himself. All that is claimed is that the coercion exercised is qualitatively different and less injurious than the coercion exercised when violence is used.

This takes us to the very roots of conflict and how it gets resolved. As has already been pointed out, conflict is generated when two or more incompatible or mutually exclusive values are pursued, and it gets resolved when 'one compatible value' comes to be followed (Galtung, 1959, p. 67). In producing this state of 'one compatible value', Gandhi recommended a technique which is not only sound psychologically but probably the only one that can have a lasting effect. When conflict is resolved through violence, war and suppression of the opponent, it does not lead to the state of one compatible

value. The opponent is only forced to keep his preferred outcome temporarily in check, waiting in bitterness and biding his time to subdue the other party and even the score. Thereby no problem gets solved and the state of conflict persists, though in a latent form.

According to the Gandhian principle, to use the jargon of game theory, conflict cannot be resolved through 'win-lose' strategy. What is essential is to produce a change in perception so that the opponent is won over. This change in perception is possible only through love and understanding. Looking at the way Gandhi conducted his movement, one is impressed by the absence of hatred of the opponent. On the other hand, there was frequently respect, admiration and appreciation of the stand of the other party. The mutual respect and trust which the leader of the millowners (Ambalal Sarabhai) and Gandhi had for each other, or the sentiments expressed by the British judge while trying him on the charge of sedition well illustrate the point. It is probably this 'mutuality' that kept the channels of communication open and ultimately led to change in perceptions and a change of heart leading to the state of 'one compatible value' that was shared by both the contending parties. Thus, the strategy boils down to that of 'win-win' rather than of 'win-lose', and both the parties felt that the solution was in their interest.

The doctrine of *ahimsa* as related to world peace implies the signal importance of tackling certain mental processes that generate destructive tendencies and, through the cultivation of the right kind of psychological attitudes, conquering the forces of war and destruction. In the preamble to the constitution of the UNESCO, it is stated that since 'war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.' This is the basic psychological principle underlying *ahimsa*. The bastion of world peace has first to be built on the psychological plane, by subduing hatred, suspicion and distrust through love and self-suffering, understanding and compassion. To quote the most venerable, the late Fujii Guruji: 'It is false to talk of peace

while possessing weapons destined to take life. When we talk of peace we must lay down all murderous tools.' Psychologically, the strategy appears to be sound with the least negative fallout. But one cannot but wonder about its effectiveness in actual practice against hatred and the senseless violence perpetrated by individual and organized terrorism and war-mongers. The most that can be said is that as a weapon it is yet to be tried out on a large scale to meet such situations.

Indigenous Roots of Gandhi's Techniques

The greatest strength of the technique lies in its being *indigenous* in character. Any idea, precept, system or plan of action is readily accepted by the people and becomes effective only if it has roots in the socio-cultural soil of the country concerned. In this respect, Gandhi, in spite of his western outlook and education, was a 'religious actualist', as Erikson (1970, p. 396) puts it, and forged a weapon that had deep roots in the Indian tradition and readily appeared meaningful even to the illiterate masses. *Swaraj*, *Ramarajya*, *aparigraha*, *asteya* were very familiar concepts, as much to the naive peasants as to the sophisticated intellectuals and philosophers. *Ahimsa* is the first vow for the Jains, the cardinal principle of Buddhism, and is clearly infused in the Indian cultural milieu. *Satyagraha*, of course, is a new coinage, but its components constitute Sanskrit words and are traditional Hindu precepts. Though Christ, Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau influenced him, Gandhi's *satyagraha* technique 'projected the traditional ethical laws into the realm of social actions' (Bondurant, 1959, p. 110). 'He was as actual an Indian as can be imagined, aware that the great majority of his country's massive population was held together only by an ancient culture which, even if disintegrating, was all there was for India to rely on in the face of irreversible modernization' (Erikson, 1970, p. 396). He 'used the traditional to promote the novel, he reinterpreted tradition in such a way that revolutionary ideas, clothed in familiar expression, were readily adopted and employed

towards revolutionary ends' (Bondurant, 1959, p. 105). He transformed *ahimsa* into an active social technique which challenged both the political authority of the mighty British Empire and the religious orthodoxy of the society. Gandhi was very conscious that change can be, or must be consistent with and harmonized with traditional values. What is needed is a reinterpretation, and integration of the modern with the indigenous, and putting of old practices and rituals to constructive use. He demonstrated that many of the indigenous values and modes of behaviour could be utilized for secular and nationalistic ends (Sinha, 1987).

Again, the tools of *dharna*, *hartal*, *anshan* (fast) and the like that he employed were all traditional forms of protest and readily understood by the masses. Similarly, asceticism and self-sacrifice (*tapasya*) permeate the Indian understanding. Self-suffering was an essential element of his armoury.

Because the technique has such deep roots in the Indian socio-cultural setting, it has sometimes been felt that, it being so typical of Indian culture, its effectiveness was conditioned by a particular milieu. However, as we know, it has not remained confined to the Indian scene. Martin Luther King recognized its potency for social action. Earlier, he had thought the ethics of Jesus, to 'turn the other cheek', and 'love your enemy', as valid and effective only in individual relationships. When racial groups and nations were in conflict, a more realistic approach seemed necessary. Later on, 'after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was, Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethics of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale' (King, 1958, pp. 96-7). As Nakhre (1982, p. 2) observed, Gandhi's technique had worldwide implications, and has been used in the context of not only intergroup (e.g., the Ahmedabad mill-workers strike in 1918) or social conflict (e.g., emancipation of the untouchables in India or the civil rights movement in the USA), but even in the context of international conflict (e.g., Czech resistance against the Russians in 1968).

Applicability of Ahimsa on the International Plane

The *ahimsa* doctrine as enunciated by ancient sages, Lord Mahavira or Buddha, relates mainly to individual conduct and behaviour. Intergroup or racial conflicts, and war and peace are collective phenomena, and the relevance and applicability of the same principle to the larger social and international plane appears somewhat tenuous. A new conceptualization of the doctrine is required, and an analysis of the processes by which it transcends the individual level and affects the behaviour of the group and the collective. Such a transformation seems implied in the utterances and actions of Gandhi not only when he linked *ahimsa* with *satyagraha*, but in the many replies that he gave when doubts were expressed about the applicability and effectiveness of his technique against Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia), the slaughter of the Jews by the Nazis, or against nuclear attack. Speaking of the Abyssinians, he said that:

if they had adopted the non-violence of the strong, i.e., the one which breaks to pieces but never bends, Mussolini would have had no interest in Abyssinia. . . . If they had non-cooperated he would have found a desert. He wanted submission not defiance, and if he had met with quiet, dignified and non-violent defiance, he would certainly have been obliged to retire.

He added that 'if they had retired from the field and allowed themselves to be slaughtered, their seeming inactivity would have been much more effective though not for the moment visible.' Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin were able to demonstrate the efficacy of violence, but its effects are transitory like those of Chinghiz's slaughter. The effects of non-violent action on the other hand, persist and are likely to spread with the passage of time.

About the grim plight of the German Jews in 1938, he wrote: 'I make bold to say that if the Jews can summon to their aid the soul power that comes only from non-violence,

Herr Hitler will bow before the courage which he has never yet experienced in any large measure in his dealings with men, and which, when it is exhibited, he will own is infinitely superior to that shown by his best storm troopers.' Again, in 1946, when the news of the slaughter of six million Jews in the gas chambers became known, he said, 'The Jews should have offered themselves to the butcher's knife. They should have thrown themselves into the sea from cliffs. . . . It would have roused the world and the people of Germany.'

All this may appear somewhat impractical and unrealistic or even futile. But it does imply the possibility of change in heart, through non-violent struggle. It has an element of psychological truth in it. It assumes a model of man where good and evil, the noble and the wicked, coexist, and that it is possible to establish a line of communication with the opponent, however vile and violent he may be. Psychologically, *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* imply a firm belief in the existence of a good and noble element in each individual which lies dormant and can be aroused, not through physical force, but by a technique based on love and compassion. Applying force to combat evil builds resistance, and reinforces somehow the basal elements both in the individual and, collectively, in groups. It is only through love and understanding that they can be combated and overcome. Instances of the sudden conversion of an individual with a vile and criminal past into an extraordinarily noble and virtuous person are many. If non-violence can be an effective instrument of peace, such conversions have to go beyond stray individual cases, and transformations have to take place on a mass scale. The psychological truth of this can be realized when one notes that being confronted with the slaughter of a mass of innocent individuals does produce a profound psychological impact on the individual who causes violence. The pilot who released the atom bomb over Hiroshima became a nervous wreck, and suffered from disabling remorse.

It is true that the kind of psychological transformation that non-violence implies is rare. Human nature has not been

known to rise to such heights only in a few exceptional cases. What was unique in Gandhi is that he provided a technique of 'organised non-violence even unto death' which is likely to so dramatize the situation that individuals in large numbers tend to get transformed, thereby opening up the possibility of rousing the conscience of the entire world. When he talks about his ways of resisting the onslaught of the Nazis or of the pilot carrying the atom bomb, it is implied that non-violent resistance would unleash a process which can get generalized, the individual resistance being transformed into a mass movement, and at the same time bringing about a radical change in the aggressor. Gandhi was very emphatic about the point: 'It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals, and never by nations which are composed of individuals.' Psychologically, such a possibility is there, though the processes involved in such transformations are not yet fully understood to be utilized as a technique consciously. But as he pointed out, while we have made unexpected progress in the physical sciences, 'Why may we do less in the science of soul?' In any case, we need to know more about the mechanics of the spiritual force that can be unleashed by non-violent struggles that helps to rouse in a mass of individuals the noble elements that are dormant in them, so that what is base and destructive is submerged and becomes ineffective.

Use of self-suffering and sacrifice is a psychologically potent weapon to bring about a change of heart. Psychologically, two factors make this integral to the Gandhian techniques. Firstly, it is an effective means for arousing a feeling of guilt in the other party which not only generates doubt about one's stand but also a propensity to change. It prepares the ground for appreciating the 'incompatible' point of view, and change of heart. Secondly, being faced with a self-suffering opponent puts the other party in a state of dilemma. Aggressing on a 'helpless', unarmed, non-violent individual who is voluntarily inflicting pain on himself puts the aggressor in the wrong. It amounts to a serious transgression

of norms. Moreover, self-suffering helps to dramatize the situation, and brings about a condition where other techniques of persuasion can successfully operate.

It is sometimes contended that a technique which combines truth, love and self-suffering cannot be an effective weapon in matters of international conflicts and that it can be an effective instrument only if the conflict is confined to the level of individuals, or even a limited number of people, as in industrial or inter-communal disputes. It is not likely to have much impact on global problems of war and peace. The psychological process that the technique unleashes does open up its possibilities as a weapon for world peace.

Gandhi's movement, it must be noted, has had some 'modeling effect'. Many have tried to adopt his techniques for protest against social injustice, nuclear armament and so on. Anti-disarmament demonstrations, and non-violent peace marches have occurred in Japan, West Germany, USA and many other countries. The world-wide movement for peace spread by the most venerable, the late Fujii Guruji has been on Gandhian lines. All these actions indicate that the base of the movement is getting wider. If a non-violent movement is conducted on a world-wide scale, maintaining its essential aspects of love and self-sacrifice, the situation could be so dramatized and electrified that even the most rabid of the war-mongers would desist from resorting to violence, simply because it is likely to alienate him from the world opinion. He would be compelled to resolve world conflict without resorting to violence and warfare. In other words, through a non-violent movement a power base on a mass scale is likely to be created which no world-leader, in spite of all the weapons of mass destruction at his disposal, can afford to ignore.

Grave doubts are harboured about the effectiveness of this strategy of *ahimsa* as an effective weapon to resolve problems of war and mass violence. It appears to be impractical when facing Hitler-like tyrants and soulless despots quite oblivious to the feelings and fate of others. Yet there have been cases

of the 'conversion' of the enemy and the wicked, making them see the light. Through self-sacrifice there is always the possibility of rousing the conscience of people and bringing about a change in their perception. One can only say that this is yet to be given a proper trial. In any case, it appears to be the *only* alternative available to mankind for saving itself from annihilation. It is pertinent to note that, a few hours before his assassination, Gandhi was asked as to how he would meet the atom bomb with non-violence. He answered, 'I will not go underground, I will not go into shelter. I will come out in the open and let the pilot see I have not a trace of ill will against him. The pilot will not see our faces from his great height, I know. But that longing in our hearts – that he will not come to harm – would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened.' Erikson's (1970, pp. 430-1) remark in this context is worth noting:

Utter foolishness? Maybe; and yet perhaps, true for its very absurdity. For Gandhi's answer only dramatizes a basic non-violent attitude which, while it must admittedly find new methods in an electronic and nuclear age, nevertheless remains a human alternative, enacted and demonstrated by the Mahatma as feasible in *his* times and circumstances.

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4. The Role of the United Nations in World Peace: A Personal Assessment

Rikhi Jaipal

For some centuries human societies have been maintaining peace and security for themselves through a military power balance, backed by alliances, favourable to those who had won the last war, until it was upset by the defeated or other societies when they eventually gained military parity or ascendancy. At the end of each war it was customary for the victors to disarm the vanquished and keep them in that weakened condition for as long as was possible. The peace treaties that were concluded by the winners were invariably so harsh on the losers that they provoked strong revanchist reactions from the latter leading to further conflicts. The imposition of punitive reparations on the losers and maintenance of military superiority by the victorious powers were the established prescriptions for peace, short-lived as it was.

History tells us that during the last three thousand years there were as many as thirteen years of war to one year of peace. More than eight thousand peace treaties were signed, every one of them to last for ever, but on an average they were violated within two years. Arnold Toynbee's researches into history reveal that the most common cause of the decline and fall of some fourteen out of twenty civilizations was militarism, i.e. military attempts to resolve disputes and differences. The sustaining of the edifice of peace by removing the causes of war and settling disputes peacefully

was not practised by human societies, though they were aware of the need for it. Wars were regarded as inevitable and a necessary evil, and warring had become a way of life for every generation. Mankind did not know of any way of preserving peace except by preparing for war, and this tradition had been so ingrained in the minds of leaders for so long that it persists even to this day.

This fateful psychology is the legacy that still haunts us and breeds wars in the minds of men in power, while the peace-loving men dream of non-military means of building peace, such as Spinoza had in mind: 'Peace is not the absence of war; it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence and justice.' The first serious effort to establish an international organization for peace was made by the president of the USA, Woodrow Wilson, at the end of the First World War of 1914-18, when the League of Nations was created. Such an idea was discussed for several years during the last century, because wars had become progressively more destructive due to the arms race of that time, which was fuelled by the industrial revolution.

The Wilsonian concept of enduring peace was the coexistence of human societies with different ideologies within an institutional framework of a League of Nation States that would freely accept the legal obligation not to resort to war, and would cooperate and maintain open, just and honourable relations, observe international law and respect treaty commitments. It was a novel idea based on principles that fired the expectations of the general public; it was indeed a time for angels to sing. But the League became a giant tragedy of lost hopes and was ridiculed by the worldly-wise European nationalists as 'the American conspiracy against sin'. The failure of the League was chiefly due to the refusal of France and Great Britain to fulfil their part of the Peace Treaty obligation to disarm after Germany had disarmed, as required by the treaty. And that made Germany walk out of the League and embark on the arms race that eventually triggered the Second World War of 1939-45.

Despite the obligations undertaken by the member states of the League, it became clear that they were not ready to subordinate their national interests to international interests. States could never forget that their holy mission was to serve their national interests, and not espouse general causes. Patriotism was still the supreme virtue and the first casualty was the general interest, specifically world peace. The Great Powers of that time, France and Great Britain, insisted on safeguarding their security through maintaining their armed forces at high levels of superiority. They preferred this to strengthening the League, and in the result they provoked the rise of Italian Fascism, German Nazism and Japanese militarism.

It was another US President, Franklin Roosevelt, who was the main inspiration of the United Nations. Although it was born after the end of the war in Europe in June 1945, its curious appellation was first assumed in January 1942 by the 26 states that had declared war on Germany, Italy and Japan. They were joined by 21 other States later and together they established the second international experiment in peaceful coexistence known as the UN. Will this new experiment fare any better than the League of Nations? Have the attitudes of member states changed for the better? Is the UN better equipped to maintain international peace and security than its predecessor?

The Charter of the United Nations bears the imprint of American idealism, which shines through the purposes and principles enshrined in it. But, alas, its powers are woefully inadequate for attaining its noble objectives. It contains the carefully designed limitations on the functions and powers of the UN imposed by the European practitioners of *realpolitik*, notably Churchill and Stalin. To understand these limitations it is necessary to read the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943, which set out the broad outlines of the world order to come after the war, and which had been agreed to by the USA, USSR, UK, France and China. In advance of victory, of which they then seemed sure, they declared that 'they would

maintain international peace and security, disarm the defeated enemies, establish a general international organization and pending its inauguration of a system of general security, they would consult with one another with a view to JOINT ACTION, and also confer to bring about general agreement regarding the regulation of armaments.'

Joint action to maintain international peace and security presupposed that the five powers would have to agree to it, and that meant that each would have the power of the veto. They saw to it that the UN Charter provided this power for them; they acted as if it was an axiom that the victorious powers, like all others before them, were entitled not only to dictate the terms of peace but also to maintain the peace thereafter through joint action. The presumption was that they who had fought together to win the war would pull together to preserve the peace, but they proved to be wrong.

It was incredibly naive of them particularly the USA and the USSR, to have imagined that they could ever work together to maintain international peace, as long as their interests were in conflict and their ideologies were fiercely competitive. Even during the war they had had serious differences over strategy and later over the division of the spoils of war. The veto power was used by them to protect their own interests which were more important to them than joint action to preserve peace. As Churchill put it, the veto was not intended to lead the Great Powers to heaven but to prevent them from going to hell! From an American dream that it once was, the UN became an American dilemma. As international policemen, the Great Powers broke the law themselves one by one, and their credibility as guardians of world peace withered away in a very short time. And the enormous power each of them possessed began to be used for furthering their own ends, rather than for the common interest.

Differences between the West and the Soviet Union came to the surface at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, one month after the UN Charter was signed and two months after

the defeat of Germany. In Potsdam the basic distrust between them sprang from differences concerning the nature of 'democracy' for Europe, to save which they had fought and won the war. Stalin's pregnant comment was 'if a government is not fascist, then it is democratic'. Earlier, to Roosevelt's appeal that the elections in Eastern Europe should be free and as pure as Caesar's wife, Stalin's retort was that Caesar's wife was not free of sin! Roosevelt must have foreseen the difficulties in the world's peace being maintained by the Great Powers acting in concert, for towards the end he chose to refer to the UN Secretary-General as 'the world's moderator'.

The end of the war was almost immediately followed by the Cold War, which surfaced openly at the very first meeting of the UN Security Council in January 1946 convened in London to discuss the Soviet Union's refusal to withdraw from Iran's Azerbaijan, to which the USSR had earlier agreed. Its withdrawal was apparently linked by the Soviet Union to other issues that were then emerging, such as the civil war situation in Greece, bases in Turkey and access to the Mediterranean Sea. Eventually the Soviet Union recalled its troops from Azerbaijan, but the Cold War between the West and the USSR had come to stay and was evidenced on other issues also.

With the veto operating absolutely in the Security Council, the Great Powers could not agree on the establishment of the collective security system envisaged by the Charter for maintaining world peace. In its absence there could be no enforcement action by the UN under Chapter VII of the Charter, and that inevitably affected actions under Chapter VI concerning the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts, since the USA and the USSR were ranged on opposing sides. As the UN had no effective instrument to preserve peace, the Security Council was virtually paralysed by the veto. Such consensus as could be forged by the Council was invariably the lowest common denominator in the positions of the veto-holding states, which were not agreed on the collective use of force. There were however a few exceptions

and a word might be said about them.

In 1950 the Soviet Union had proposed the seating of representatives of the Peoples' Republic of China in the UN in place of those of the KMT regime. Its proposal having been vetoed, the Soviet Union unwisely boycotted the Security Council. In its absence the Council reacted to the invasion in June 1950 of South Korea by North Korean forces by calling for their withdrawal and urging all member states to repel the aggression. By this freak of fate the UN came to organize, legally, collective military action in Korea, which was directed almost entirely by the USA.

However, when the USSR resumed its seat in the Council in August 1950, the Council's subsequent actions in regard to the Korean conflict were subjected to the Soviet veto. The matter was then referred to the General Assembly, which adopted the so-called 'Acheson Plan', the Uniting for Peace Resolution 377 (A) V of 3 November 1950. This was possible because the USA could then readily muster two-thirds of the votes. The resolution stated that, in the event of the failure of the Security Council to act when there has been aggression, the General Assembly shall take collective measures, including the use of armed force. The constitutionality of this device to circumvent the veto was however challenged by the USSR.

Ironically enough, the Soviet Union invoked the same resolution in 1956 to circumvent the vetoes of France and the United Kingdom in the Security Council over their invasion of the Suez Canal zone. Thus it was the General Assembly which called for a ceasefire in Egypt and authorized the Secretary-General to get together a UN Peace-Keeping Force from the contributions of member states. That peace-keeping operation was a limited success in that only the immediate objective of securing the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt was achieved.

The role of the UN was not merely peace-keeping, i.e., supervising temporary ceasefires that lasted until the parties to the conflict were ready for the next round. Peace-making

was really intended to be the UN's primary goal, but it has become a lost art.

In the Congo crisis, which erupted within a week of the country's accession to independence on 30 June 1960, the problem was to retrieve the break-away province of Katanga which had unilaterally proclaimed its independence, having been prompted to do so by Belgian vested interests in the rich copper mines. The UN Secretary-General was then asked to prevent civil war and restore the integrity of Congo, using force, if necessary. It became a thoroughly messy operation, as the Congolese leaders were at daggers drawn with one another and each Great Power had its own protege. A UN force however did succeed in averting the dismemberment of the Congo, but at the cost of valuable lives. Indian troops were largely responsible for its success.

It would be quite wrong to attribute the success of the UN operations in Korea, the Middle East and the Congo to the UN alone. In point of fact, the USA was responsible for the military side of the operations in Korea and the UN was useful for arranging the ceasefire. Over Suez there was little doubt that the pressures exerted separately by the USA and the USSR on the UK and France were responsible for the withdrawal of their forces. In both cases, the USA and USSR were not then directly in confrontation.

But in the Cuban missile crisis they were on a collision course and reached the nuclear brink in October 1962. This period of crisis came to be known as the 'thirteen days of doom', when the world had to face the very real danger of nuclear war, and the UN was quite helpless. But U Thant, the then UN Secretary-General, with the tacit consent of all states, undertook to mediate in his personal capacity. The fact that he succeeded was due not only to his extraordinary personal qualities but also to the desire of the USA and the USSR to make peace. It was a striking example of the desperate need for a trusted third party to be available for mediation when the Super Powers were hell-bent on war. One good outcome of that nuclear confrontation was the advent of

détente in US-USSR relations which lasted from 1963 to 1979.

But during the seventeen years of *détente*, the arms race between the Super Powers flourished and several proxy wars were fought in different regions of the world. The UN was totally ineffective in halting the arms race and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, which were capable of causing consequences that would be lethal for the existence of civilized human societies. The Security Council, which has been charged with responsibility for evolving a system for the regulation of armaments, has not even considered this question. It has become a subject for bilateral discussion and negotiation between the Super Powers. Such bilateral agreements as they have signed are designed to avoid nuclear war through accident and they also lay down basic principles for mutual relations. Their two strategic arms limitation agreements have lapsed and are no longer valid. Other agreements in force have 'loopholes' that facilitate the arms race, which now threatens to extend into outer space and enhance the risks of war.

The 135 conflicts that have raged in the Third World are viewed with horror, particularly by the West, which tends virtuously to point out that Europe has been free of conflict for forty years. The reason for the absence of conflict in Europe is due, we are told, to the deterrent effect of the nuclear weapons deployed there. I cannot believe that if these weapons had not been there, the socialist states of Eastern Europe would have gone marching westwards, right up to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. There are usually strong reasons for waging wars and the Helsinki accords have clarified that the existing national boundaries are now recognized as valid frontiers and that there are no outstanding disputes in Europe. There remains of course the mutual menace of ideological penetration, but surely tanks are not the best vehicles for this purpose.

With regard to conflicts in the Third World, the situation is entirely unsatisfactory. The Security Council has concerned itself with conflict limitation, wherever possible, through

establishing ceasefires. Peaceful settlement of disputes is far more difficult, as the Super Powers support the opposing sides. Moreover, the causes underlying the conflicts are regarded by the parties to them as sacred or just from the point of view of law or principle, and when they have the support and assistance of one of the Super Powers, they are in no mood to make peace. There is a widespread feeling therefore that, as the Security Council has failed to resolve, by peaceful methods, even a single conflict, there is no option but to use force to settle disputes. And so the conflicts go on endlessly, and ceasefires are agreed to only to buy time or to avert defeat, or under pressure from the Super Powers when they are anxious to contain the conflicts for fear of becoming embroiled in them. States outside the military alliances have found it useful to acquire a godfather among the Super Powers in order that their veto may protect their interests in the Security Council.

Much has been made of the UN peace-keeping operations, as if they are ends in themselves. The sad truth is that there has been no peace to keep; only ceasefires to supervise and not even an armistice to observe. A UN force is always at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the parties in conflict; for it may employ its insignificant weapons only to defend itself when fired upon, and it is clearly not in a position to enforce ceasefires. Even its presence is subject to the consent of the warring parties, which can demand its withdrawal at any time. The UN member states are therefore generally most reluctant to contribute units of their armed forces to UN peace-keeping operations. I do not know of any UN-supervised ceasefire that has subsequently resulted in successful peace-making, which after all is the chief aim of the UN.

Disputes between members of the same military alliance have been sublimated in some form of settlement under the persuasive pressures of the Super Powers concerned. An exception to this is the dispute between Greece and Turkey over the Cyprus question, where the USA is apparently on the horns of a dilemma. Disputes between members belonging to

the two opposing military alliances have been contained, for fear of direct confrontation between the Super Powers. But conflicts between states outside the military alliances could not be contained, because the Super Powers were ranged in opposition in support of the disputants. The Security Council can arrange ceasefires only when they are in agreement. Often conflicts in the Third World developed as an extension of super power rivalry for spheres of influence or control. Such conflicts could be smothered by shutting off supplies of arms from their sources, which are located in Western or Eastern Europe. But these proxy conflicts are apparently useful as proving grounds for the weapons of the two military blocs, which have the additional advantage of selling to the parties at war their surplus and obsolete weapons for which the alliances have no further use. Evidently trade in arms is too profit-making to be subjected to restraints in the cause of world peace.

The veto is quite rightly blamed for the failure of the UN as the instrument it was intended to be for providing security, for preventing wars and for peaceful settlement of disputes. But even where the veto was not used and resolutions were adopted by the Security Council on the Middle East, Cyprus, Namibia and the arms embargo against South Africa, they have remained unimplemented, because of the Council's inability to agree to enforcement action.

Prospects for peace are diminished by the arms race, through which alone security is now sought. In the absence of a UN system of security, it was to be expected that there would develop other security systems, specifically the security system of each Super Power. It was indeed a poor beginning for the infant UN, because in a divided world it was bound to become a self-contradiction, and its utility as a war-prevention and peace-making agency would be severely impaired. The strongest indictment against the UN, however, is its failure to secure unconditional guarantees for mankind's survival from those states with nuclear weapons that imperil it.

The Super Powers that created the UN in its present form

and substance were aware of the impending split between them and its probable consequences for world peace. The UN was conceived during the war and its Charter was written before the post-war situation became clear. As a result, what emerged were principles and purposes that are unexceptionable, but the powers and functions of the UN were so limited by the cautious statesmen of the Great Powers that they were unequal to the tasks placed on it.

George Kennan, anticipating this, predicted the polarization of the world, militarily and ideologically, into the spheres of influence of the Super Powers, in which the UN would be more of a symbol than an effective force for peace. But the leaders, notably Churchill and Stalin, hoped that despite the division of the world, peace could be kept for more than a generation. The world they had in mind was the colonial world of the 1940s, and none of them could foresee the rapidity of decolonization and the resulting strains on the UN caused by the rising expectations of the newly independent states constituting the majority.

The general loss of confidence in the Security Council is reflected in states reserving to themselves the option of using force as a last resort to settle disputes that have defied peaceful resolution. To that end they court the veto-holding members for support. In the circumstances, the functioning of the Security Council has been such as to facilitate the division of the world into military camps and camp-followers. It is the General Assembly that has been the saving grace of the UN, despite the fact that its powers are limited to making recommendations that are not legally binding, though endowed with the moral weight of majority opinion.

However, many of the General Assembly's recommendations regarding maintenance of peace have been ignored by the states to which they were addressed. The major offenders are the Great Powers and their allies, who are reluctant to subordinate their national interests to the requirements of world peace. With a paralysed Security Council and an impotent General Assembly, the UN has been limping along and is

being used as just another international organ for serving the national interests of its member states. The power structure in the world has evolved in such a manner that the Super Powers, who alone can strengthen the UN, are themselves at loggerheads with one another. It is they who are retreating from internationalism to the traditional bilateral methods of arranging international relations, as if inter-dependence is just another form of dependence.

When the membership of the UN was 51 in its early years, it was an instrument of American foreign policy according to Dean Acheson, for America commanded 66 per cent of the votes. With the progressive increase in the UN's membership, the USA began to lose majority support and it can now muster only 11 per cent of the votes. This has coloured US reactions to the UN and one of its representatives went so far as to accuse the UN majority of 'tyranny'. On the other hand, the USSR could be sure of only 10 per cent of the votes in the early years, and now that the membership has swollen to 159, it has the support of still no more than 12 per cent of the votes.

The majority consists of the non-aligned states and they vote together on issues of principle, i.e., against racism, colonialism, imperialism, aggression, etc. They are criticized as being unrealistic and impractical. Principles are important for them; they are the sheet-anchor of their faith in the UN. It is highly improbable that the non-aligned majority will compromise principles in favour of the practical realism of the minority, for fear of destroying what is left of the UN.

The preservation of world peace depends entirely on the state of relations between the USA and the USSR, and this is regarded as a bilateral matter, though its consequences are felt the world over. It is hardly likely that two groups of powerful States that are ideologically incompatible and hostile in intent could remain forever in peace by pursuing policies of mutual deterrence through deploying weapons capable of instantly exterminating each other and the rest of mankind as well. This cannot be a reliable insurance for world peace; on

the contrary there are high risks of war in such policies. Churchill, in a characteristic flight of fancy, once pronounced that in the age of nuclear weapons 'peace would be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation'. This may be good Churchillian rhetoric, but any psychologist worth the name will point out that terror has never bred peace.

It is bizarre that nuclear war has to be prevented by threatening it, and it is incredible that Russian good behaviour has to be guaranteed by threatening the survival of mankind!

We are living in a very dangerous world. The Super Powers terrorize one another with their weapons, while tranquillizing the Third World with various forms of aid. Nuclear terrorism is an unstable basis for world peace; it will not cause the enemy's bankruptcy, or change its social system. It is far more likely to lead to a world war by accident or miscalculation or sheer madness. There are said to be several safeguards for preventing a nuclear holocaust, but I know of no orders under which military men may surrender with their nuclear weapons when faced with defeat on the field of battle.

The doctrine of nuclear deterrence is a desperate symptom of terrorism. The roots of this state of mind are to be found in human nature, which can act against the interests of the human collective, unlike animals whose instinct preserves them from self-extinction. There is obviously something lacking in our genetic code; no other form of life has acquired the means of effectively exterminating itself but is unable to give it up. On the contrary, it is using the inherent threat as a guarantee of self-preservation!

These are times that try men's souls. Our present stage of evolution is characterized by the accretion of enormous power without responsibility, the advancement of science without humanity and the application of reason without wisdom. We have reached a plateau in our evolution when it is essential to change our present code of survival through struggle and strife to a new code of sanity, coexistence and co-participation for the sake of future generations. The purposes and

principles of the UN Charter postulate such a code of conduct for nation-states, for its primary aim is 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of a world war'. The principles are far more important than the organization itself, which has proved unable to prevent the Super Powers from playing games with the survival of mankind.

The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USA and the USSR, as agreed by them, do recognize that having the power to destroy mankind, they have no alternative but to coexist peacefully. This begs the question as to their understanding of peaceful coexistence. As far as I am aware, they both regard it as a condition of *détente* in their relations – in other words, a condition short of a shooting war, which does not inhibit either from pursuing the arms race for uncertain security and the ideological race for political influence.

There is very little in this policy of identification with humanity as a whole or of assumption of obligations for succeeding generations, or of specific restraints in conduct for the common good. On the other hand, it is a state of armed peace between ideological incompatibles, with neither conceding the paramountcy of humanity's interests. One must seek an entirely different prescription for peaceful coexistence between these two giant proletarian societies, if the UN is to survive and grow by adapting itself to changing circumstances. I cannot help feeling that friendly relations between the USA and the USSR should have a higher purpose than either being ahead in the arms race or the ideological race.

There is another aspect to the UN as a living and growing organization. Internationalism and nationalism must coexist by mutual arrangement. The considerations that underline internationalism must outweigh considerations of national sovereignty in matters that are beyond national competence. Nationalism will not yield, unless internationalism can effectively take over and perform the functions and fulfil the obligations that are beyond national capacity. It is necessary to reorganize the UN with these perspectives, if it is to fulfil the

high purposes for which it was created. Concepts of self-defence, self-determination and self-interest are now being distorted to extremes in the context of the doctrine of state sovereignty, and the result is the nuclear war syndrome that threatens humanity with a fate from which it is unlikely to recover.

This threat is accentuated by the deplorable polarization of international morality over the use of nuclear weapons. As many as 126 states vote at the UN every year against the use of nuclear weapons, for to them it would be a violation of the UN Charter, contrary to the laws of humanity and a crime against mankind and civilization. But some 17 Western countries reserve their right to use nuclear weapons in self-defence in certain circumstances, knowing fully well the lethal consequences to mankind. Their apparent insensitivity to mankind's fate is profoundly disturbing, because it is in violent contradiction to the values of their own societies.

The enormity of the problems facing the world as a whole calls for global solutions that are the result of a consensus that implies unquestioned acceptance of a higher allegiance to humanity. It also calls for the kind of leadership that imparts a much-needed sense of psychological well-being for all nations. However we may judge the UN, it is still there as an unrealized dream or an unresolved dilemma. Those who believe in dream, believe also in the basic premise on which the UN was created – that the Super Powers will sink their differences (have they not all that they need and more?), develop mutual understanding, restraint and tolerance of diversity, live together as good neighbours, and use their power and influence for the betterment of humanity in conditions of peace and security. Those who believe that the dilemma of ideology cannot be resolved, because of the rigidity of old habits of thought and action, must also believe that war is inevitable. Only a major traumatic nuclear happening may shock them out of their narrow focus into the broader vision of the UN's unrealized potential. But if wars must be fought, nuclear weapons must never be used, if the human experiment is to

continue along the course ordained by nature.

The role of the UN in maintaining world peace is based on two crucial requirements: firstly, the establishment of a collective enforcement machinery, and secondly, the peaceful resolution of disputes between states. Neither requirement has been fulfilled because of disagreement among the Super Powers. As a result, the UN has been able to arrange only temporary ceasefires in a few conflicts, and most disputes have proved resistant to peaceful settlement. In the circumstances, world peace has become subject to the unstable balance of military power between the USA and the USSR. This is clearly most unsatisfactory, for it contains the ever-present risk of a world war.

Perhaps the saddest thing is that its founding fathers, the USA and the USSR, do not really want the UN. And the non-aligned states which desperately need the UN do not know quite what to do with it, except use it as a polling booth to demonstrate their majority. The General Assembly has been reduced to a sounding board of majority opinion, and the Security Council to a laborious mill that grinds out the lowest common element of agreement, which is totally inadequate for maintaining peace. The UN is in need of understanding, and not criticism. It would be easier to understand the UN, its handicaps and limitations, if we were to regard it as what it actually is — the Divided Nations Organization.

Does the UN has a future? Its unrealized potential can only be redeemed by the Super Powers acting together to prevent wars, to settle disputes through peaceful means and to use their enormous resources for the benefaction of mankind. If they fail to do so, the UN has as good a future as a good intention.

5. 'Non-alignment is the Biggest Peace Movement of Our Time'

A Perspective

Anima Bose

The Non-aligned Movement (NAM) as an idea was born in Jawaharlal Nehru's perception of the havoc created by the world's colonial and imperialistic history based on ruthless exercise of power, deliberate economic exploitation and a total rejection of human dignity as far as the colonized countries were concerned. Nehru was deeply conscious of India's historic links with the rest of the world and believed that India was destined to play a major international role in the post-independence years, with her long history, her ancient civilization and her enormous human and material resources. As far back as April 1947, Nehru stated at the first Asian Relations Conference in Delhi:

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period in history. . . . It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. . . . Ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. Far too long have we in Asia been petitioners in Western Courts and Chancelleries. That day must now belong to the past. . . . We do not intend to be the playthings of others.

* Smt. Indira Gandhi at the inaugural session of the Seventh NAM Summit, Delhi, 1981.

The tone was set and the pointer stood out clearly that India's outlook was going to be a world outlook, sensitive to international relations, based on peace and mutual respect.

That Nehru's vision did not falter became clear when, in 1949, at a conference of Asian states held to consider the scenario arising out of the Netherlands' aggression against Indonesia, he proposed a permanent organization for effective mutual consultations and for united efforts for achieving common goals. This formed the basis of the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations. Anti-imperialism conditioned, and still conditions, the outlook. The primary emphasis was on independence and freedom of nations too long kept down by imperialistic powers. Characteristic of this attitude was Gandhiji's statement years earlier about his own country: 'India wants to be independent of everybody who wants to own this country. We do not want a change of masters. We want to be masters on our own soil'. As early as March 1949, in a speech in India's Constituent Assembly, Nehru had underscored the significance of an independent foreign policy:

What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. Once foreign relations go out of your hand into the charge of somebody else, to that extent, and in that measure, you are not independent. . . . So our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from alignments, but try to make friendly cooperation possible.

Significantly, this perception and the determination to maintain independence at all costs represented the common aspiration of all the countries that became free and independent in the post-1945 years.

In April 1955, 29 Heads of States met at Bandung for the first ever major conference of the newly independent and developing countries of Asia and Africa and reiterated their aspirations and determination to safeguard their political sovereignty and economic interests against the emerging

threat of neo-colonialism. This was a clear manifestation of their perception and growing awareness that foreign domination and exploitation had kept them in a state of political, economic and social retardation. It was natural for these countries to come together to raise their voice through a political movement. They wanted to be masters of their own soil and their future. This pursuit of freedom, and the peace so essential for freedom, laid the political foundation of non-alignment.

Thus, in 1961 began the Non-aligned Movement with the first conference of Heads of State or Government in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The conference had been called on a broad geographical basis, embodying principles and objectives capable of unifying peoples, regardless of their social and political systems, relevant in terms of the basic questions of freedom and equality of peoples, of international relations and of the imperative of peace which would close the gap between the developed and developing, and help social progress generally. The conference did not, *a priori*, adopt a recalcitrant attitude towards any one country, but rather to specific phenomena, relations and tendencies in the then international relations and to specific acts vis-a-vis other nations that contravened the principles of non-alignment policy as well as those inscribed in the universally recognized Charter of the United Nations. It is important to note that, from the beginning, the non-aligned countries stood against these activities and not against any particular nation or people.

That the division of the world into blocs was, in the final analysis, not the cause but the consequence of the hostilities that dominated the world was discerned clearly in Belgrade. The declaration adopted by the Belgrade Conference underscored 'wars as a crime against humanity', emphasizing that the relations between nations must be based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, *Panchsheel*, namely (i) sovereignty and territorial integrity, (ii) non-aggression, (iii) non-interference, (iv) equality and mutual benefit, and (v) peaceful coexistence. It emphasized that lasting peace could

be established by the adoption of an independent policy by member-states based on peaceful coexistence, by not becoming member of multilateral military alliance in the context of great power conflicts, by not entering into any bilateral military pacts and, finally, by not ceding military bases to a foreign power in the context of great power rivalries. Thus the policy of peace and coexistence and active cooperation among states would assure, and enable, nations to pursue the path of economic emancipation as well as that of a life of enhanced quality. Consequently, the struggle for peace and democratization of international relations, in contrast to bloc confrontation, became the priority of these nations. They believed that this would contribute to better relations among all peoples and thus strengthen world peace, that war is not inevitable, that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence in an increasingly interdependent world.

The movement that started 26 years ago with 25 members is now, in 1987, history's largest peace movement with 101 members standing squarely against the division of the world into blocs, 'the bulwark of an ever-widening area of peace promoting responsive cooperation: fortifying defences of peace by enhancing friendship and reducing divisions and disparities,' as Indira Gandhi said in August 1976 in Sri Lanka. The fact that most of the states which achieved independence after 1945 have joined the non-aligned movement is a vindication of the conceptual validity of its basic tenet that no nation should allow itself to be coerced into taking positions by becoming a member of one power bloc or the other.

Because the basic objective is peaceful coexistence, NAM has kept out of military blocs and alliances aligned against one another. It is an innovative structure for evolving foreign policy. It provides a sense of independence to its members in formulating their foreign policy without fear or favour, judging issues on their merits. However, non-alignment is not equidistance. While it enables a nation to keep away from power blocs, it can still have cooperative relations with members of them. Not so long ago, the USA considered non-

alignment 'immoral'. Today, in the 1980s, the USA has some guarded words of appreciation for it. In the beginning, the USSR was rather silent about non-alignment. In 1976, it extended written tributes to it in the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. In all its eight summits, NAM has appealed for general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament and has proposed an action programme to achieve this, so the world may use its collective wisdom and influence to lift the balance of power in favour of peace and international cooperation. The nuclear armament race carried with it the probability of nuclear war. Preventing a nuclear war, and other wars, has become the foremost concern of NAM today. Its significance is to be measured in today's world not by the megatons of destructive power it commands but by the intensity with which it seeks peace and justice, freedom and development in international relations. As the 2nd NAM Conference declared in Cairo in 1964: 'Lasting world peace cannot be realized so long as unjust conditions prevail'.

In a television interview in London, on 14 September 1986, the then Chairman of NAM, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had reiterated that one of the primary objectives of NAM was to provide the necessary thrust to the programme of nuclear disarmament. The Commemorative Declaration at the August 1986 meeting of the foreign ministers of NAM nations, on the eve of the 8th NAM Conference, significantly said: 'The Movement of non-aligned countries, as an independent factor, remains the foremost movement of peace, understanding and equitable cooperation in the world as it enters the 21st century'. This peace is not one which teeters on the brink because, although there may not be an actual conflict yet, it threatens war. Peace, NAM has recognized, cannot be based on competition in nuclear and conventional terror, just as it cannot be based on military alliances or spheres of influence.

NAM has given voice to the agonies of the exploited millions and has taken up the challenge of apartheid which has long blighted people's lives in South Africa. At the 8th

NAM Conference, in the same interview as mentioned earlier, Shri Rajiv Gandhi reiterated that one of the main objectives of the non-aligned movement was to give a new push to end apartheid. (*The Statesman*, 15 September 1986). A forthright question was placed before the world at the 1986 NAM Conference meeting at the doorstep of the world's only political system based on apartheid: Whether the industrialized and the developed countries were going to keep on backing the Pretoria Government or would put pressure on Pretoria to take positive steps to end apartheid, and eliminate this last vestige of institutionalized human degradation. The Harare Declaration, drawn up on the basis of the consensus reached by the African leaders and frontline states in recent meetings, received unanimous support from the 101 nations of the non-aligned community. The recent work of the Eminent Persons' Group underlined the movement's commitment to ending apartheid as does the work of the Group of 77.

Essentially, a movement for peace in all its dimensions, NAM stands squarely not only against the overt violence of war and bloodshed, but also against the subtle violence of social and economic injustice and inequity in our time and day. The demonstrative use of force without going to war is not unknown. It is subtle and overt use of coercion. More than overt use of force, the threat of violence can be a potent instrument and that threat does not have to be explicit. In point of fact, the more subtle and implicit the threat of violence, the more effective is its effect – arousal of fear and demoralization. In 1976, NAM had declared that non-alignment symbolized mankind's search for peace and its determination to establish a new and equitable international economic and social order. In 1979, the NAM declaration reaffirmed that the movement represented a struggle to eliminate inequality, hunger, poverty, sickness and illiteracy. In 1981, NAM reaffirmed its commitment to efforts that would transform the structure of international relations from that of imperialism, subjugation, colonial domination and exploitation to an equitable world order based on independence, equality,

cooperation, justice and peace leading to development. This approach is strikingly different from the prevalent alignment based on market values of domination, ruthless competition and economic exploitation, by means of arms sale and promotion of wars.

NAM perceives that development, disarmament and peace are interconnected. In 1983, it proposed an International Conference on Money and Finance for Development which would not be weighted in favour of the North and which would recognize that problems on money and finance also burden the countries of the North. Therefore, these problems will have to be solved in a mutually beneficial manner. The existing system has long been recognized as outdated, inequitable and inadequate. The new economic order must facilitate mobilization of developmental finance for investment in vital areas such as food, energy and industrial development. The debt problem that most of the developing countries face has assumed unprecedented dimensions. Long-range solutions need time and preparation. NAM has recognized the compulsions of the situation. At Harare, the report of the Research and Information System (RIS - Delhi based) listed the volatility of exchange rates, the protectionist and restrictionist policies of the developed countries, high interest rates, and declining trends in official development assistance, as the multiple dimensions of the economic environment that affect the developing nations vitally. Some favourable signs may be detected, e.g., in the assertion of India at the GATT talks held at Punta del Este in Uruguay in September 1986 that there is no linkage of goods and services in world trade. A small sign, but a hopeful one. The aim is to promote cooperation in the economic and industrial fields.

The call for strengthening South-South Cooperation as a logical response to the challenge of development in a grossly unequal world economic order has become more realistic. Too long has the accentuation of structural imbalances in the international economic system imposed a heavy burden in terms of 'lost opportunities, lost growth and lost welfare'. No

wonder that the objectives set out in the international development strategy for the eighties remain largely unfulfilled. NAM must move firmly against this particularly subtle violence in order to confirm that peace and development are indeed indivisible.

Today's global military expenditure is twenty times the total official development assistance. A nuclear air lift carrier costs four billion dollars which is more than the GNP of 53 countries. Yet the arms race continues with a desire for one-upmanship. The Stockholm disarmament agreement of 23 September 1986, arrived at after three years of gruelling negotiation with the final and formal adoption of Europe's first conventional Arms Control Agreement since World War II, may be a signal of hope, but it did not deal with actual disarmament or with nuclear weapons. It has merely reduced the risk of a surprise attack or a conventional war breaking out through misunderstanding on the European continent. In point of fact, the untenable doctrine of deterrence continues to be encouraged by bringing new areas into the scope of strategic groupings and military blocs and alliances. NAM is acutely sensitive to the tragedy of our time that, while weapons become increasingly sophisticated, minds have remained imprisoned in ideas that do not lead from darkness to light. The wish to dominate with brute force persists. Neo-colonialism enters surreptitiously through subtle packages in technology and trade, in communication and culture.

NAM has recognized the epoch-making scientific and technological revolution which has opened up unlimited vistas of material progress. It supports the usage of science and technology for human progress, but not for human annihilation. It is for the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. NAM strives for its member-nations to become economically and technologically self-reliant as far as possible in an interdependent world. As a peace movement, it stands against any process which forces uneven levels of living standards and prevents prosperity from becoming accessible to all. Needless to say that, even in the 1980s, a significantly

major section of humanity lives in conditions unfit for human beings. Because NAM is committed to settling differences, including those within the movement, through civilized discussion, it supports the United Nations and its organizations, and seeks to strengthen them through positive action. With progressive decolonization, the UN now has 159 member states, and they vote independently on most issues. The majority votes are cast against neo-colonialism, racism, interference in internal affairs, economic exploitation and social injustice – issues that the United Nations Charter has firmly stood against from the very beginning, as does NAM in our time. Today the issues also include nuclear disarmament, non-use of nuclear weapons, a nuclear test ban and prevention of nuclear war – all of which are clearly related to the very survival of humanity and human civilization. NAM is a strong supporter of the United Nations, despite many challenges, because the very basis of the UN is equality of rights of all sovereign member nations, large and small. It stands for the resolution of conflicts through negotiation and a constant search for peace among nations and peoples as envisaged in its Charter: 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. NAM perceives that this principal mandate has become extraordinarily pressing in our time, and every effort of the UN towards attaining conditions of universal peace, towards devising effective means to realize the full potential of the UN for global peace and justice, must receive its active support.

That a better life for each nation depends on halting the arms race and on global peace is beyond any debate in 1987. The whole world is threatened by the closed circle of nuclear-weapon powers. The peoples NAM represents are no less threatened by a nuclear war than the citizens of nuclear-weapon states. Clearly, the problem is too vital to be left to the nuclear-weapon states alone. In 1983, NAM addressed itself to the nuclear-weapon powers to give up the use, or the threat of the use, of nuclear weapons under any circumstances, and to suspend all nuclear weapon tests, and their

production and deployment. But the crisis continues.

Human society today is precariously balanced on the edge of a collapsing world economic system and annihilation through a nuclear holocaust. No nation or individual can be immune from that threatened disaster. It will inevitably affect all peoples and nations, big and small, rich and poor, in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, because in this one world and global society with really no second or third worlds, one cannot 'stir a flower without troubling a star'.

Non-aligned nations have made an impact on the movement for world peace. Manifest efforts must be made now to establish links with independent peace movements in the Western countries. The time has come for NAM to become a people's movement. In a fast-changing world, NAM remains the bulwark of a widening area of peace. It is a catalyst of a new world order based on equity and justice. Despite their diversity, the non-aligned nations are united in their search for peace and stability because non-alignment is the courage of the peoples that have savoured freedom after a long winter of imperialism and exploitation. Although many of these nations are politically vulnerable to external pressures that try to undermine national and political cohesion, to set nation against nation in wars, to discredit and remove leaders and interfere with governments who symbolize independent thinking and self-reliance, NAM persists in reinforcing the strength of member nations to measure up to these changes, and offers responsive cooperation for conflict resolution in the economic, social and political fields. The non-aligned perceive that they do not constitute a bloc but are part of this one world, that defences of peace can be strengthened by enhancing friendship and reducing dissensions and disparities. Unity in the movement is essential to retain its strength. In the absence of a united front, the voice of the movement will go unheeded. So the integrity of the movement must be preserved and consolidated through critical introspection, so that the movement's energies are not wasted on wars, such as the

current Iran-Iraq situation. Because the very success of NAM has, and will lead to efforts to divide and weaken, and dilute its positive thrust, such differences as may exist between some members of NAM on certain issues must not be allowed to affect its unity. Non-alignment, with its politico-economic basis, promises a better future for succeeding generations. Therefore, unity within the movement is an imperative. The vitality of NAM has been largely due to its flexibility of action, which has allowed concentration on the movement's objectives of coexistence and cooperation where blocs and spheres of influence become redundant.

The peace that was arranged after 1939-45 war did not last because it totally ignored a vast section of humanity, including the now non-aligned nations. Neither balance of power nor deterrence by terror can offer peace. Peace can be attained by mobilizing the cooperation of all nations. Being an ally of peace in its larger dimensions, not just as a cessation of wars, or an interval between wars, but peace by means of non-violence, eliminating also overt and covert violences in social and economic fields, and in fields of human relations, no member of NAM can be tolerant of the *status quo* of dependence and inequity. Therefore, a new equilibrium of interdependence, in which political independence and economic self-reliance of the weakest and smallest nations are fully protected, has to emerge. The leadership of the NAM members must move towards this unambiguously.

Technological progress does not necessarily involve duplication of ways of life prevalent in the affluent countries. Because NAM has fully accepted that peace and development are closely linked, NAM nation members must harness human skills to material resources enhanced by fruitful cooperation with other nations, with friendship rising above political blocs. NAM must pool its resources and experience, its technology and skills, breaking away from colonial legacies and values, and bring in new patterns of sharing these resources and skills.

The growing challenges of the unabated nuclear weapons race, with its dire threat of annihilation and with the

refurbishing of military alliances, increases the danger of armed conflict with every day that passes. The consistent stand of NAM has no doubt, pushed the cause of nuclear disarmament and the imperative need to end all racial suppression in South Africa further into world consciousness in 1986 at the eighth NAM summit held in Harare. That is the reason enough for NAM to remain alert, and speak and work for peace. In this day and age, the common people have recognized that peace is not merely negative. It is not surrender. Peace is vital for the evolution of humanity to the fullness of its promise and potential. Peace is not passive. It is creative. It has its own dynamics. It is in continuum. The desire for peace is universal. Non-alignment, as history's biggest peace movement, has become a relentless quest for such a global peace.

6. Gandhi's 'Soul-Force' and the Preservation of World Peace

Jyoti Ananthu and T.S. Ananthu

Mahatma Gandhi had mastered the art and science of going to the root causes of human problems and, therefore, his prescriptions always differed radically from the commonly accepted ones. This is very much true of his approach to the problem under consideration: that of world peace. When we talk or think of world peace, we normally imagine armistice negotiations, disarmament talks or friendship treaties entered into by governments or rulers. But Gandhi rejected this approach. He refused to accept the commonly held notion that history is created by those whose names and deeds appear in our history books. Instead, he relegated the events described in our history books to the position of 'interruptions' in the normal course of history. The real driving force that creates history, he insisted, is an invisible power which he termed 'soul-force'. As he explained in his simple and direct style:

History, as we know it, is a record of the wars of the world, and so there is a proverb among Englishmen that a nation which has no history, that is, no wars, is a happy nation. How kings played, how they became enemies of one another, how they murdered one another, is found accurately recorded in history, and if this were all that had happened in the world, it would have been ended long ago. If the story of the universe had commenced with wars, not a man would have been found alive to-day. Those people who have been warred against have disappeared as, for

instance, the natives of Australia of whom hardly a man was left alive by the intruders. Mark, please, that these natives did not use soul-force in self-defence, and it does not require much foresight to know that the Australians will share the same fate as their victims. 'Those that take the sword shall perish by the sword.' With us the proverb is that professional swimmers will find a watery grave.

The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. Therefore, the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that, in spite of the wars of the world, it still lives on.

Thousands, indeed tens of thousands, depend for their existence on a very active working of this force. Little quarrels of millions of families in their daily lives disappear before the exercise of this force. Hundreds of nations live in peace. History does not and cannot take note of this fact. History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul. Two brothers quarrel; one of them repents and re-awakens the love that was lying dormant in him; the two again begin to live in peace; nobody takes note of this. But if the two brothers, through the intervention of solicitors or some other reason take up arms or go to law – which is another form of the exhibition of brute force, – their doings would be immediately noticed in the press, they would be the talk of their neighbours and would probably go down to history. And what is true of families and communities is true of nations. There is no reason to believe that there is one law for families and another for nations. History, then, is a record of an interruption of the course of nature. Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.¹

Thus, Gandhi took the position that even in alarmingly calamitous times, such as we witness today, the soul-force of millions of ordinary individuals is active and helps preserve

what peace there is. 'The seed is never seen. It works underneath the ground, is itself destroyed, and the tree which rises above the ground is alone seen', is the powerful analogy he used in another context. According to Gandhi, then, whenever peace is preserved or restored, the real actors responsible for this event (or non-event, if it goes unrecorded) are not those who shake hands or sign the treaties, but those who quietly practise soul-force and help generate peace within the invisible atmosphere in and through which we all operate.

Based on this perception, Gandhi's recommendation to those who would work for peace was: Don't waste your energies on those who head governments. The constraints under which such people operate preclude their working for genuine peace, even if they want it. Instead concentrate on changing the *minds* of the ordinary people, without whose help the rulers cannot wage wars. As he put it:

Kings will always use their kingly weapons. To use force is bred in them. They want to command, but those who have to obey commands do not want guns; and these are in a majority throughout the world. They have to learn either body-force or soul-force. Where they learn the former, both the rulers and the ruled become like so many madmen; but where they learn soul-force, the commands of the rulers do not go beyond the point of their swords, for true men disregard unjust commands.²

Gandhi's advice is particularly pertinent to the present international situation, where rulers are dependent on the educated class, especially scientists and technologists, in the preparation for and conduct of any military exercise. By and large, this class of people is peace-loving; and yet, for the sake of earning their salaries, a large percentage among them is directly or indirectly contributing to the arms race. The result is that we are all behaving 'like so many madmen', as Gandhi put it. If only the educated were to cease supporting these military endeavours, the commands of the rulers would not go

'beyond the point of their sword'. But to do so is not easy, for modern education has taught us everything but the art and science involved in the development of what Gandhi termed 'soul-force'. We haven't the faintest idea of what the soul is; many of us would even deny its very existence. So, a preliminary step to acting on Gandhi's advice would be to unlearn the materialistic world view that we are steeped in, for Gandhi insisted that this world view and the man-nature-universe relationship it implied, cannot but lead to strife and to wars. This is a very important point, for unless we can understand Gandhi's world view and why he used such strong terms as 'satanic' and 'a disease' to describe what the rest of us call 'civilization', it is not going to be possible to grasp the solution Gandhi had in mind as the only road to world peace. Therefore, let us make an attempt to understand Gandhi's world view and the method he used to acquire knowledge of it, and his concept of 'civilization' that flowed from this knowledge. Once we have done so, we can come back to the above quote for a better understanding of Gandhi's suggestion for bringing about world peace.

To understand Gandhi's world view, one has to bear in mind that the spiritual quest which led Gandhi to explore his inner self formed the fountain-head of all his ideas and actions. As he explained in the introduction to his autobiography, 'What I want to achieve, — what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years, — is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain *Moksha*. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field, are directed to this same end.' In fact, he clarified that what he was writing was not an autobiography, but the story of his 'experiments with truth'; experiments that had the attainment of absolute truth or God as the goal, and the striving to become 'humbler than dust' as the means to this end. Just as the scientist carries out experiments in the space outside of him, Gandhi carried out experiments in his own mind, in the 'inner space' available to him. There are similarities in these

two kinds of experiments: both require a great deal of hard work, rigour, precision, patience, courage and faith. But there are dissimilarities too, the most important one being that a continuous striving for superhuman moral and ethical standards is an essential prerequisite for penetrating the secrets of the inner space. In fact, knowledge of one's inner space is automatically accompanied by a personality transformation of a very sublime kind, the kind displayed by Gandhi. It is interesting as well as instructive to note the differences between this method of knowing one's mind, and the method adopted in modern psychology, which also aims at unravelling the secrets of the mind. Modern psychology has followed the lead given by physics and chemistry and modelled itself along the lines of experiments conducted in these disciplines, experiments which take place in the space outside of us. Hence the humorous piece about the two 'ideal' psychologists who always greeted each other with, 'You look fine; how am I?' In sharp contrast, Gandhi believed that one can understand another's mind only to the extent that one can understand one's own. Thus, his pursuit of self-realization was not just a study of himself, but a means to an understanding of the entire universe, a method of acquiring what the *Upanishads* referred to as 'that knowledge, the knowing of which, all else is known'.

Based on this knowledge, on his grasp of the fundamental law that is governing the entire universe, Gandhi identified the root cause of the ills that are afflicting us in just two words: modern civilization. Gandhi's opposition to this civilization was unequivocal and uncompromising. He termed his most important piece of writing, *Hind Swaraj*, a 'severe condemnation of modern civilization'. Often, he refused to give it the status of a 'civilization', reminding us that the Indian equivalent of the word (*sabhyata*) meant 'good conduct', and asking how we could ever call something that was encouraging uncivilized behaviour a 'civilization'. Once, when a reporter asked him, 'What do you think of Western civilization?', he combined brevity, wit and material for serious reflection in his single-sentence answer, 'I think it

would be a good idea.²

Why did Gandhi take such an extreme position on this question? It flowed from his definition of civilization, which was:

Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service.³

Gandhi's opposition to modern civilization was based on his contention that it leads to the opposite of happiness, contentment and the capacity for service. Not only is everyone encouraged to aim towards progressively higher levels of consumption, but even those who wish to lead simple lives are denied opportunities for earning a living in a simple and honest way, and are instead forced to join the rat race. This aspect of the definition of 'progress' in modern civilization was brought out very well by John Maynard Keynes when, in 1930, he said:

For at least another hundred years, we must pretend to ourselves and to everyone that foul is fair, and fair is foul; for foul is useful and fair is not. Avarice and usury and precaution must be our gods for a little longer still. For only they can lead us out of the tunnel of economic necessity into daylight.⁴

Gandhi remained firmly convinced that the 'gods' that Keynes mentions – avarice, usury and precaution – are taking us, and will continue to take us, deeper and deeper into the tunnel of economic necessity. Based on his communion with God or Truth and the insights he had thereby gained into the workings of the universe, he had arrived at the paradoxical truth that even our material problems will be solved only when we discard the materialistic world view we have adopted in modern civilization, and replace it by one in which we 'place a limit on our worldly ambitions so that our godly

ambitions may be illimitable'.

Having got an idea of Gandhi's world view, we are now in a position to appreciate better the subtle and profound wisdom underlying his statement about world peace. As we have noted, he had insisted that the key to world peace lay not with the rulers, but with those who implement the military plans of such rulers. Translated into the modern context, this refers to the educated class in general, and scientists and technologists in particular. Here we are faced with another paradoxical situation. An overwhelming majority of the educated class would *want* the end of all wars, viewing them as both undesirable and purposeless. After all, as Bernard Shaw put it, 'War does not establish who is right but who is left.' And yet, a majority of the educated elite, including more than 80 per cent of all scientists and technologists, are involved in directly or indirectly working for one military establishment or another. Why does this happen? One reason for it is that our level of 'wants' has been raised to such heights that we find the agencies which can provide us earnings sufficient to satisfy these are few in number, and these few derive their funds directly or indirectly from the military or the government. Another reason is that we genuinely feel the technologies we are working on, or the machineries we are developing, are good for the people, even though its immediate use for military purposes is undesirable. If we are to implement Gandhi's advice on how to bring about world peace, the educated class will have to 'de-school' itself on both those fronts to such an extent that we find ourselves in complete agreement with Gandhi:

I do not believe that multiplication of wants and machinery contrived to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer the goal. I whole-heartedly detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the end of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this, and I have understood it to be so, I call it satanic and with it the present

system of government, its best exponent. I distrust its schemes of amelioration of the lot of the poor, I distrust its army and navy. . . .⁵

Therefore, the first step on Gandhi's road to world peace involves change in the way of thinking of the educated class, a change away from the materialistic world view which has landed us in the present rat race. The greatest scientific genius of our times, Albert Einstein, who had called Gandhi 'the greatest political genius of our times', had implied the same when he bemoaned the fact that everything has changed with the unleashing of the force within the atom, 'except our way of thinking'. If we are to escape the consequences of the development of unbelievably powerful weapons as a result of this development, we have to neutralize its effect by a revolution at the level of ideas. As Ananda Coomoraswamy used to put it, we have to 'effect a metanoia' among the educated, that is, we have to bring about a state of affairs whereby more and more people in this class are 'in their right minds' and recognize the evils of modern civilization. In this sense, Gandhi's advice (and also Einstein's and Coomoraswamy's) coincides with that of Julian Huxley whose words have been made famous by their insertion into the UNESCO Charter: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.⁶

But Gandhi went much farther than Huxley. For one thing, as we have seen, he specified the direction in which the reconstruction of the mind must take place: towards a new civilization which embodies *sabhyata*. For another, he regarded this reconstruction as a necessary but not a *sufficient* condition. Through this reconstruction, he contended, one may see the folly of the present path we are on, but one does not obtain the necessary will-power and courage to leave the path. To develop the required will-power and courage, he recommended the development of that faculty latent in each one of us which he referred to as 'soul-force'.

Here we come face to face with the greatest hurdle in

understanding Gandhi: What exactly is this 'soul-force', which he keeps harping on again and again? We are all familiar with the other force he referred to, 'body-force', for the simple reason that we are well aware of our bodies. We are not aware of our souls, and sometimes even question whether we have one, so it is natural that the term 'soul-force' should sound confusing, if not enigmatic. To get a preliminary understanding of it, we could take the help of a third force that we are now familiar with, thanks to our progress in science and technology: the power of the intellect. We know that, latent in each one of us, there exists the faculty of the intellect. When developed sufficiently, this intellect is capable of accomplishing fantastic feats as we have demonstrated to ourselves in the last two hundred years. To a person who is familiar only with body-force, such feats as throwing a ball of matter up to Mars or circling the Earth within 24 hours would fall in the category of the 'impossible'. But we know that there exists a force within us, not as obvious yet much more powerful than body-force, which can convert these 'impossibles' into the possible. What Gandhi *knew* from his personal experience, was that there exists *yet another* force latent in us which is even less obvious than the intellect, yet infinitely more powerful than it. It is this that he termed 'soul-force'. As he put it:

Modern science is replete with illustrations of the seemingly impossible having become possible within living memory. But the victories of physical science would be nothing against the victory of the Science of Life, which is summed up in Love which is the Law of our Being.⁷

Two things are worth noting in this connection. One is that Gandhi used the terms 'soul-force' and 'love' interchangeably. There is deep meaning in this. Love is that which unites us with those whom we would otherwise have considered separate from us. Our soul, thus, represents the entire universe and its development makes us one with all living beings and even with the so-called 'dead' aspects of nature; this is in

contrast to the intellect, which tends to assert our individual identity. Thus, the development of soul-force is equivalent to eliminating that which separates us from others. Hence it was that the Buddha summarized his teachings in one single sentence, 'Practise the simple truth that the man there is thou.' The same was implied in Christ's famous injunction to 'love thy neighbour as thyself', i.e., the artificial distinction between the self and the other must be eliminated. Gandhi used to refer to the art and science of accomplishing this as '*the religion that underlies all religions*'.

The second point that is worth noting is that Gandhi referred to this process of eliminating the distinction between the self and the other as 'the Science of Life', a science which he claimed can on the one hand make us understand what life is all about, and on the other hand can enable us to accomplish such wonderful miracles that the achievements of what we currently refer to as 'science' will pale into insignificance. This is indeed a claim that is difficult to believe but, if true, opens up a host of new possibilities. Could it, by any chance, be true? Could it be that there actually exists a force, currently unknown to science, which binds all that we see into one big, ecological whole?

Gandhi's testimony in this regard is unlikely to be acceptable to us, for we do not regard him as a scientist. But it is interesting that, within science itself, many developments are pointing in this direction. Eminent scientists such as David Bohm and Illya Prigogine, and younger ones such as Fritjof Capra and Rupert Sheldrake, are currently taking great pains to project this new world view as it is emerging in 20th century science, starting with relativity and quantum theories. In fact, the great luminaries in science who were responsible for these theories, almost without exception, shared Gandhi's views on the 'invisible force' that binds all. The highly respected Sir James Jeans conveyed this perception in the following words:

As it is with light and electricity, so it may be with life; the phenomena may be individuals carrying on separate exis-

tences in space and time, while in the deeper reality beyond space and time we may all be members of one body.⁸

The scientist responsible for the new ideas of space, time and reality which Jeans refers to, was, of course, Albert Einstein. He constructed a definition of man based on this view of reality, a definition that conveys Gandhi's ideas on man's hidden potential most eloquently:

A human being is part of the whole, called by us 'universe'; a part limited in space and time. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest, a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty. Nobody is able to achieve this completely, but the striving for such achievement is, in itself, a part of the liberation and foundation for inner security.⁹

Einstein referred to the experience or the state of mind by which this delusion can be overcome as the 'cosmic religious experience', which he said can be the best inspiration for the development of science:

The individual feels the futility of human desires and aims and the sublimity and marvellous order which reveal themselves both in nature and in the world of thought. Individual existence impresses him as a kind of prison and he wants to experience the universe as a single significant whole. . . . I maintain that [this] cosmic religious experience is the strongest and noblest motive for scientific research.¹⁰

Perhaps the most explicit statement in this regard came from Erwin Schroedinger of quantum mechanics fame:

Within a cultural milieu (*Kultukreis*) where certain conceptions (which once had or still have a wider meaning amongst other people) have been limited and specialized, it is daring to give to [my] conclusion the simple wording that it requires. In Christian terminology to say: 'Hence I am God Almighty' sounds both blasphemous and lunatic. But please disregard these connotations for the moment and consider whether the above inference is not the closest a biologist can get to proving God and immortality at one stroke.

In itself, the insight is not new. The earliest records, to my knowledge, date back some 2500 years or more. From the early *Upanishads* the recognition *Atman* = *Brahman* (the personal self equals the omnipresent, all comprehending eternal self) was, in Indian thought, considered far from being blasphemous, to represent the quintessence of deepest insight into the happenings of the world. The striving of all the scholars of Vedanta was, after having learnt to pronounce with their lips, really to assimilate in their minds this grandest of all thoughts.

Again, the mystics of many centuries, independently, yet in perfect harmony with each other (somewhat like the particles in an ideal gas) have described, each of them, the unique experience of his or her life in terms that can be condensed in the phrase: *Deus Factus Sum* (I have become God).¹¹

Thus we find that support to Gandhi's testimony on the existence and power of 'soul-force' comes from respected scientists such as Erwin Schroedinger, Albert Einstein and James Jeans. If such a force does indeed exist, it gives an entirely different dimension to our quest for world peace, which is what Gandhi was trying to drive home. He knew that an essential preparation for the conduct of any war involves a war psychosis, in which an effort is made to drive deep down into the psyche of every citizen that the enemy is different

from us, represents the devil and deserves to be exterminated. In the world view that Gandhi adhered to, the aim and effort is just the opposite – to eliminate the distinction between 'me' and 'the other', through the development of soul-force.

The techniques for the development of this soul-force formed the quintessence of the Indian heritage and that is why the great historian Arnold Toynbee, while referring to India's spiritual traditions, prescribed the path to world peace in the following words: 'At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way for salvation for mankind is an Indian way'.¹²

Gandhi's lament was that the educated in India, like their counterparts in other countries, are being trained to divorce themselves from these spiritual traditions and from all knowledge of what constitutes soul-force. This lament formed a core aspect of his analysis of the present state of the world which Toynbee referred to as 'this supremely dangerous moment in human history'. Thus Gandhi placed a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of the educated for extricating the world from the present situation. He wanted a complete change of heart and mind in the educated community, sustained by a new type of training leading to the development of soul-force. If this were to happen, Gandhi predicted, the bottom would fall out of any war effort. As he put it in the passage quoted earlier, when those who have to obey commands 'learn soul-force, the commands of the rulers do not go beyond the point of their swords. . . .'

Is there any hope of such a change of heart and mind, accompanied by the development of soul-force? In fact, it is heart-warming to note that such changes are already beginning to happen. For instance, take the case of Arthur Young, inventor of the Bell helicopter, who in 1947 gave up a promising career connected with aircraft (and therefore with the military) and has now devoted forty years to the development of soul-force through the practice of yoga and meditation. Then there is David Bohm, the renowned physicist who, with the active assistance of J. Krishnamurti, has been attempting to give new direction to physics. Similar paths have been

chosen by many whose names are fairly well-known in educated circles, among them being the economist E.F. Schumacher (who picked up the technique of soul-force development in Burma, and used it to advantage in creating revolutionary ideas in his field), the sociologist Ken Wilber (who now edits the New Science Library, consisting of many new books on this subject), the physicists Fritjof Capra and Brian Josephson (one of the youngest Nobel Laureates), and the medical doctor Elizabeth Kubler-Ross (who attributes the inspiration for her famous hospice movement to Gandhi and to her personal experience with the soul-force). But more important than the conversion of these well-known personalities is the fact that millions of ordinary individuals from the educated class are taking to a development of soul-force, as has been documented in the two sociological studies, Marilyn Ferguson's, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, and Duane Elgin's *Voluntary Simplicity*. The heroic acts of ordinary individuals as documented in these books never attract any publicity. Nevertheless, Gandhi insisted, it is these that shape the course of history. In India, too, a section of the educated community is beginning to see through the promise of happiness made in the name of modern civilization, and is mustering the courage required to declare that the emperor, indeed has no clothes. This is what accounts for the renewed interest in Gandhi and his teachings. This renewal of interest is based not so much on the admiration for Gandhi as the leader of our independence struggle, for this struggle is too remote as far as the new generation is concerned, but on Gandhi as the advocate of a set of ideas that may remedy the ills that plague us today. These ills range from an obvious threat to existence in the form of nuclear catastrophe at one end to an increasing struggle for existence at all levels of society at the other but related end. Many among the educated community in India as well as elsewhere are now beginning to appreciate Gandhi's stand that though these ills are diverse in nature, they all flow from the basic premises on which modern civilization is structured. This is an indication that Gandhi's advice regarding the path to world peace may not go unheeded.

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7. On Conflict Resolution

Purnima Mathur

"In the aftermath of the massive global crisis that was World War II, the then much smaller community of nations devised a creative and cooperative arrangement for the promotion of a safer, more stable and prosperous world: namely, the United Nations system. . . it is no exaggeration to say that the world is again facing a crisis of global proportions, different in nature but, in its own way, as threatening to humanity as World War II. The crucial question is: will today's community of nations be able to come up with a constructive response to today's crisis?"¹

While reflecting on the peace and conflict resolution in the world community, we have to accept the fact that we live in a period of history where conflicts over natural resources are likely to increase markedly and where weapons of mass destruction can destroy civilized life.

Conflicts arise due to limitations of resources of one kind or the other, competition, and differences in values, goals, attitudes, expectations etc., at all levels – individuals, groups, within and between nations. The forms the conflict among the nations take are feelings of hatred and aggressiveness, attacks in the press and on the radio, diplomatic strife, persecution of other countries' citizens, economic conflict and sanctions and ultimately war. War is probably the last step that a nation takes recourse to as a result of continued tensions. The specific pattern of violence called war is an expression of trends clearly observable during peace.² Therefore tensions

that exist in times of 'peace' must be given an equal consideration in understanding the widespread fear, hatred and maladjustment, economic and political exploitations, disintegration of personality and constructive living. War is not necessarily the greatest of all evils in the world. What is worse is the loss of freedom; democracy and human dignity; the repression of thought, science and art; the enslavement, exploitation and systematic murder of millions of people. The social need for better ways of resolving conflict in a constructive way thus emerges as an urgent need of the day. In recent times, in response to this need, some social scientists are working to provide the knowledge that will lead to more constructive conflict resolution. The present discourse on conflict resolution will briefly indicate the insights arrived at about the resolution of conflicts at the interpersonal, inter-group and international levels. Attempts will also be made to see the conceptual similarities between the above way of conflict resolutions and that of Gandhian ethics of conflict resolution – their implications for humanity at large.

Social psychologists have attempted to understand the approach to conflict through the perception, beliefs and values of the conflicting units as well as their actualities – these actualities may or may not correspond. More than the nature of conflicting units, such as individuals, groups or nations, the approach to conflict matters in the way this approach focuses on the interplay between the objective social realities and the subjectively perceived and experienced psychological realities of the conflicting parties.

Studies^{3,4,5,6} indicate the importance of a constructive-cooperative process as conducive to the conflict resolution. Such a process includes good communication, perceiving similarity in beliefs and values, specific problem-centred negotiations, mutual trust and confidence, informal friendly contacts, mutual sharing of information, etc. between the conflicting units. It further reveals that even when the conflict resolution is sought through a third party or a mediator or a conciliator, an attempt must be made to create an effective and coope-

rative process to solve the problems. In the absence of such a process, conflict resolution cannot take a constructive turn.

On the other hand, conditions for a destructive – competitive process for conflict resolution can be created by a lack of and/or poor communication, coercive tactics, lack of trust or suspicion, perceiving differences in value, attitudes and beliefs, perceiving increased differences in power and challenging the rights and legitimacy of the opposing conflicting unit. All these ways of conflict resolution are very well subscribed to by formal and informal evidence.

A very significant way⁷ of gaining control over a conflict is through specifying the issue at hand, the specific action taken and the consequences thereof rather than defining the conflict in terms of principles, precedents of rights. The latter make the issue at hand transcend the time and space and generalize it beyond the specific action to personalities, groups or other larger social units or categories. Thus it is bound to take a non-productive turn when the conflict starts to centre on personalities or group membership rather than on specific actions. In brief, a more productive approach is to have a clear 'here-now-this' way of resolving the specific issue of the conflict at hand. The emphasis here is to understand the conflict in terms of it being localized with delimited actions and their consequences.

Other constructive ways of conflict resolution make it imperative to have a less rigid attitude towards one's power or status, perceiving the issue as less threatening to one's well-being, self-esteem, image, honour, reputation, position or power. This certainly requires an open and flexible frame of mind which can be objective in assessing the rigidity and the centrality of the issues at hand that provoke conflict.

Evidences⁸ also are in favour of resolving the conflict with one's attitudinal or motivational orientation towards the other. Three different kinds of orientations need to be understood in this context. Whether an individual or a group has a cooperative orientation (a positive interest in doing well as one can for the self, and being unconcerned about the welfare

of others), or a competitive orientation (having an interest in doing better than the others and doing as well as one can do for oneself), also contributes to the mutual gain or loss in consequence of the conflict resolution. A cooperative orientation leads to cooperative choices and expectations that result in mutual gain. A competitive orientation leads to competitive choices and expectations that result in mutual loss. Trusting and trustworthy behaviour can be produced with a cooperative orientation because of the positive interest taken in others as well as one's own welfare. Of course, trusting relationships can be developed also in individual orientation if support for mutual trust is provided from the external circumstances or if the individual or the group gets an opportunity to commit itself to a cooperative agreement through communication with and appreciation of the stand of others.

Another set of conflict resolution strategies is based on methods of seeking advantages over adversaries. One of the strategies is 'being ignorant' of the opponent's preferences. It helps one to neglect the opponent's interest and promoting one's own. A car driver cuts in front of someone on a highway for example, and remains deaf to the persistent honking of the other. Such tactics seem most likely to work, when one can use the tactic but the other cannot – also, when the latter does not have a strong need to act tough.

Tactic of 'being tough' is yet another strategy to secure advantage over the adversary. Here the individual sets a high level of aspiration, makes high demands, and offers fewer and smaller concessions than his opponent. Consequently, offering few concessions reduces the aspiration level of the opponent and leads to an increase in the payoff of the tough bargainer. Such tactics may not always be successful if the opponent also decides to be tough. It is not always easy to predict how far this sort of solution will prove constructive. It may help in bargaining to one's advantage in conflict situation.

Another strategy to influence an adversary in the process of conflict resolution is to change his behaviour through linking an externally imposed negative or positive incentive to the

relevant alternatives. Thus, 'threats' offer punishments and 'promises' offer rewards as a basis for social influence. Research evidence⁸ shows that the use of promises tends to increase the likelihood of reaching a mutually satisfying agreement while the use of threats leads to mutually dissatisfying agreement. The effectiveness of the above strategy to use 'threats' and 'promises' to influence the adversary's behaviour depends on the nature of their legitimacy, credibility, magnitude, clarity and precision of outcomes likely to follow from a threat or a promise and costs and benefits to the user. Therefore, the relevance of such a strategy needs to be understood much more clearly in the interpersonal, intergroup and interorganizational conflict resolutions.

Last but not least is our concern about such factors as influence the nature of an agreement reached between parties to a conflict. One such is perceptual prominence,^{8,9} a clear perception of various alternatives or outcomes within which each party in a conflict situation would rather make a concession in its choice of alternatives, than fail to reach an agreement. The final outcome must be a point from which neither expects the other to retreat, yet the main ingredient of this expectation is what one thinks the other expects the first to expect, and so on. Finally, these mutual infinite expectations converge on a single point, at which each expects the other not to expect to be expected to retreat. A perceptually prominent agreement on the basis of 'equal concessions' is arrived at. Further concessions are not expected.

Another factor which influences the nature of an agreement is 'distributive justice'.¹⁰ The interpretation of this concept in conflict resolution is how people decide to allocate the rewards and costs to be distributed between them on a proportionate and equitable basis. In other words in a just distribution, rewards will be distributed among individuals in proportion to their contributions.

Both the factors — perceptual prominence and distributive justice — need to be understood better as strategies of conflict resolution at all levels — individual, group and organization

(nation). By implication, they mean, if a conflict is not resolved justly, the conflict is not resolved adequately.

All the above sets of strategies of conflict resolution have reference to situations other than the win-lose conflicts. In brief, they imply:¹¹

- Developing and maintaining a cooperative problem-solving orientation;
- An honest and mutually respectful communication process to reduce the misunderstandings and provocations and instigations towards incompatible responses and actions;
- Evolving various creative techniques and procedures such as 'brain-storming' or 'syntectics' to come up with a range of alternative possibilities of problem-solving;
- Developing a sophisticated awareness of the norms, rules, procedures and tactics, external resources and facilities to encourage openness in negotiations;
- Creating an open atmosphere conducive to holding discussions so as not to reduce the conflict resolution to a destructive process. Bringing a third party such as a mediator or a counsellor to help in conflict resolution or at least to create a desire for it even in the most reluctant person or group if the above requirements are understood and applied in proper perspective.

A fuller understanding and corroboration of the conclusions reached through psychological studies of conflicts so far still requires much more observation and analysis over the years to come, but the value of insights gained so far cannot be doubted.

We now turn to an examination of the implications of the essentials of Naess¹² Systematization D of Gandhian ethics of conflict resolution as a corollary to the preceding observations on conflict resolution strategies.

Systematization D by Naess is based on the Gandhian ethics of non-violence, which is a normative, systematic ethics

based on a general norm against violence which excludes war even for defensive purposes. 'Violence' covers both open and physical violence as well as mental injury and psychic terror.

Gandhi was a practical philosopher and an activist. He was not a theoretical academic and he did not propose any abstract theories. Although he has explicitly stated only the concrete nature of problems at issue, this did not reduce the philosophical value of the material. To a great extent, he tried to act out his ideas in concrete and well known situations. Systematization D covers Gandhi's ethics of group struggle only between 1907 and 1934 and not all Gandhian thought. An attempt is made to comprehend all norms of group ethics necessary to justify and explain satyagraha as reflected in Gandhi's activities, his own writings,^{13,14} his correspondence, conversations and speeches. In this process, twenty-five norms or prescriptions and twenty-six hypotheses or descriptions, hierarchically organized at four levels, have been arrived at by Naess. Briefly, the levels containing the various norms (prescriptions) and hypotheses (descriptions) are as follows:

Norms (prescriptions)

Emphasis is on:

First level Norm

N₁ Reduction of violence

Hypotheses (descriptions)

Emphasis is on:

First level Hypotheses

H₁ means determine the results

H₂ motivation and ability to work effectively towards the goal is necessary

H₃ Being violent in the long-term cannot reduce violence

Second level Norms

- N₂ Struggle of a constructive character
- N₃ No violence against opponents
- N₄ Choice of an action to reduce the violence

Second level Hypotheses

- H₄ A constructive struggle should be in favour of human beings and certain values – in the long run struggle is against antagonisms
- H₅ Live together with those for whom you struggle and do constructive work for them
- H₆ The above will create a natural basis for self-confidence in you among those for whom you struggle
- H₇ All human beings have long-term interests
- H₈ Cooperation for common goals reduces violent attitudes/actions
- H₉ Violence is invited when an opponent is provoked or humiliated
- H₁₀ Non-violent realization of a goal depends on thorough knowledge of the relevant facts and factors
- H₁₁ Non-violent realization is reduced with a secretive/distorting avoidance of truth
- H₁₂ A violent attitude is reduced once the essential cause and struggle is

known

- H₁₃ Opponent uses less violent means, once he understands the person's or group's conduct and case
- H₁₄ Firm, wholehearted, intelligent and persistent appeals for a good cause can convince any opponent
- H₁₅ Opponent responds to answer trust with trust and mistrust with mistrust. Mistrust causes misjudgment
- H₁₆ Violence increases with an increased tendency to misjudge the opponent and perceive him in an unfavourable way
- H₁₇ Non-violent means can change the opponent into a believer in and supporter of one's cause

Third level Norms

- N₅ The struggle should be conceived as positive in favour of human beings and certain values
- N₆ Live together with those for whom you struggle and do constructive work for them
- N₇ Formulate common

Third level Hypotheses

- H₁₈ The opponent is provoked when his property is destroyed
- H₁₉ Adequate understanding of the opponent presupposes a personal equation
- H₂₀ Avoid misjudgment of the opponent

- essential interests and establish cooperation on this basis
- N₈ Opponent should not be provoked or humiliated
- N₉ Non-violent realization of the goal of one's cause can be achieved by the best possible knowledge of the facts
- N₁₀ Be truthful in description of individuals, groups, institutions and circumstances relevant to the struggle
- N₁₁ The objective should not be kept secret through secret plans or moves
- N₁₂ Be clear in announcing the goal of the campaign with reference to essentials and non-essentials
- N₁₃ Seek personal contact and be available to the opponent
- N₁₄ Do not judge the opponent harder than yourself
- N₁₅ Trust the opponent
- N₁₆ Turn the opponent into a believer and supporter of your case
- H₂₁ An opponent is judged better if one is conscious of one's own fallibility and failures
- H₂₂ Every political action of one's own and others can be at times based on mistaken views and is carried out in an imperfect way
- H₂₃ An opponent cannot support your case if you are unwilling to compromise on non-essentials
- H₂₄ An opponent can be changed if you are seen as a sincere person by him
- H₂₅ One's sincerity is best achieved if one makes sacrifices for one's cause
- H₂₆ Change of a declared objective in a campaign makes it difficult for the opponent to trust your sincerity

Fourth level Norms

- N₁₇ Do not destroy property belonging to your

- opponent
- N₁₈ Cultivate a personal equation with your opponent
- N₁₉ Your and your opponent's goals should not be viewed in a biased way
- N₂₀ Admit your mistakes and weaknesses
- N₂₁ Even if you are sincere in believing that you are not factually or morally mistaken, be conscious to admit such a possibility
- N₂₂ Be always willing to compromise on non-essentials
- N₂₃ Weakness in the position of the opponent should not be exploited
- N₂₄ Be willing to make sacrifices for your cause
- N₂₅ During a campaign, do not change its objective by making its goal wider or narrower

Naess, while working out the systematization of the norms (prescriptions) and hypotheses (descriptions), has tried to derive them from their various combinations at the second, third and fourth levels – except for the first level which is basic. The first norm of non-violence is the top norm of the system. The first three hypotheses are the most important ones as regards descriptions of means to be acted out to achieve the goal. The first norm and the first three hypotheses

are thus predecessors to the subsequent norms and hypotheses. The first norm presupposes not only that all action should be non-violent, but also that one's conduct should be such as does not provoke violence on the opponent's part. Subsequent norms on this issue elaborate its connotation.

Secondly, the basic attitude of a *karmayogi* is reflected through the subsequent norms and hypotheses, which suggest participation in group struggles, not running away from the area of conflict. One cannot retreat into solitude in an effort to follow the first norm as this cannot result in or induce any non-violent behaviour in others. Hence, personal interaction in conflict situations is necessary, which should reduce violence.

In essence, the concept of satyagraha is very precisely brought out in the norms reflected in Gandhi's writings. The connotation of satyagraha as truth (*satya*) implies love and firmness (*agraha*) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force, that is to say the 'force' which is born of truth and love, or non-violence.¹⁵

The first set of strategies discussed earlier in this discourse, emphasizing conflict resolution, is corroborative of the Gandhian ethics implying a cooperative-constructive process that leads to a productive resolution of conflict. In Gandhi's principles and prescriptions for a non-violent approach to conflict resolution, all the conditions, such as an open communication between the conflicting units or persons, similarities of beliefs and values, specific problem-centered negotiations, mutual trust and confidence, informal friendly contacts, sharing of information – all are implied. 'Truth' as interpreted by Gandhi is based on radical factualness, obsessive punctuality and absolute responsibility – all within a meaningful flux. Gandhi called truth as an actual force in mental life, the kind of force through which love and non-violence are operated. For each individual, truth also depends on his personal way of facing being in all its relativity – relative to an absolute Being, who alone is truth, or relative to non-being or relative to becoming. Gandhi committed himself

only to the relative truth as he had conceived it. According to him, since we humans do not know the absolute truth, we are not competent to punish. Thus truth is related implicitly to non-violence. Non-violence as acted upon by Gandhi meant not only not to hurt another, but also to respect the truth in him. Gandhi firmly believed and practised the attitude of a real satyagrahi in bringing to light the evil, the wrong, the injustice that he knew of, even if he had to suffer for so doing.¹³ Sacrificing oneself for one's cause, is an austere attitude, conveying both the sense of self-restraint and discipline. This is preferred to violence to others. The real liberation lies in liberating both the oppressor and the oppressed. Perhaps the opponent can be made to become some other than an enemy which is the only way to truly 'overcome' him. For this, one has to be courageous and involve oneself in serious thinking. A fearful person can never practise non-violence, or accept self-suffering. Self-suffering is a positive means to become constructive in approach. Thus all the three concepts of truth, non-violence and self-suffering have implications for a positive resolution of conflict. Out of these arise a realization of good for all – 'sarvodaya' which is the goal of uplift of all irrespective of the distinction between rich and poor, strong and weak, high and low or good and bad.

The Gandhian ethics postulates that an agreement arrived unfairly or under coercion is self-defeating as well as unstable. It is conducive to future conflicts since coercion begets violence. The Gandhian approach assumes fundamental decency in man, which provides the basis for intelligent persuasive dialogue favouring a just cause.

The tremendous potentials for maintaining peace and resolving conflict that the norms and actions of Gandhi provide really need to be understood better to enrich and match the social need of the day – the conflict is human and to resolve it is human too!

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8. Gandhi and International Conflict Resolution

Biraja Shankar Rath

Conflict has been a constant phenomenon in the history of the human race. The technological revolution that the world has gone through in recent times has had two rather contradictory consequences. On the one hand it has brought the world closer together, not only by shrinking the geographical distance, as it were, but also by facilitating accelerated exchange of ideas and information, so as to expand the realm of shared values and thought. This should have led to better understanding and harmony among nations, because it was and is still widely believed that a primary cause of the First World War was the communication gap that existed among countries and this belief perhaps was also the dominant consideration which prompted the establishment of the League of Nations. But understanding and harmony among nations have eluded humanity. On the other hand, the same technology has unfolded its monstrous potential for mass destruction and has widened the chasm between nations. International conflicts have grown both in number and in volume.

Thanks, also, to this technological revolution the nature of international conflict has undergone a metamorphosis. Gone are the days of localized or regional war which was the concern of the belligerent states alone. In the past, wars among nations continued for years together with the rest of the humanity blissfully unconcerned, not only because the damage was localized, but also because the ramifications were only regional. This is no longer the case today, with the advent

of weapons having global destructive potential. Therefore, today, any conflict anywhere in the world is a matter of concern for all mankind.

Various Theories of International Conflict Resolution

Scholars and statesmen have not been sitting back unconcerned while the world is being steadily pushed to the brink. Many theories and techniques of international conflict resolution have been propounded. We shall discuss the major ones and show how and why these have failed to serve the purpose.

The Balance of Power Theory, despite its many weaknesses, is the most widely accepted among them. Essentially rooted in 19th century presuppositions, this theory has been remodelled by Western scholars after the Second World War and, notwithstanding their verbal rhetoric against it, it has been accepted by the Soviets and the Chinese too, for all practical purposes. This model, through operational mechanisms like the nuclear deterrent, disarmament and arms control, international organizations, etc. on the political front, and industrialization through capital-intensive and high-tech economic development and transfer of modern technology and necessary aid on the economic front, promises to prevent a direct war among major powers while allowing and sometimes encouraging wars among the peripheral powers in order to restore or maintain the so-called balance.

The ridiculous underlying assumption is that the world is at peace when the major powers are not fighting a direct war among themselves. Thus, this theory is not concerned with world peace at large; it only seeks to ensure that the great powers do not exhaust their energies by fighting each other in what may turn out to be a war of attrition, given the absence of decisive inequality in their resources. It is therefore tailor-made to ensure great-power dominance, in the process of which the interests of the smaller and weaker nations may be sacrificed. Secondly, what the model can at best perform is a sort of conflict management, rather than conflict resolution. It does not aim at structural modifications which will eliminate

the cause of conflict, it only seeks to freeze and quarantine such conflicts as may occur. Apart from this theoretical weakness, its operational mechanisms, both on the economic and political fronts, have performed so miserably that today none, except the too naive among us, believes in the viability of this model.

A second model of conflict resolution is the Global Centralism Model advocated by some Western radical intellectuals.¹ It holds that state sovereignty is the chief culprit in international tensions and therefore proposes a world organization with overriding powers over member states. Formation of some sort of a world government or world state is the ultimate objective of this school.

This model is an advance upon the Balance of Power Model insofar as it recognizes the role of the medium and small powers in maintaining international peace, but otherwise, it is not very viable. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining world consensus, without which a world organization cannot be established in the present-day unequal world structure, the real weakness of the model lies in its very postulate. It is based on the assumption that, if legitimate force is transferred from the national societies to an international society, there would be no scope for clashes among individual forces and hence no international conflict. This is an erroneous assumption. When feudal political and social order got transformed into the modern nation-state system, the legitimate forces that used to reside at various feudal centres got transferred to the newly created national government. Going by the reasoning of the global centralists, this should have meant less conflict, if not a total absence of conflict today than obtained under the feudal order. But this is hardly the case. It is, therefore, safe to assume that it is not the clash between individual forces, but the very existence and use of such force that creates a danger to mankind. Force, whenever it exists, has a tendency to grow beyond its limits and destroy the very agent which hopes to wield it for its own protection.

The Marxist model of conflict resolution which holds class

disparities in the society responsible for all conflicts, including international conflicts, prescribes a violent revolution to eliminate such disparities. Some of its theoretical assumptions have a sound grounding. It recognizes, very rightly, that an internal consensus within society is a necessary precondition for a peaceful world order. And this consensus is impossible to achieve without a radical redistribution of wealth and resources. There can be endless argument as to whether the method it prescribes to achieve such a laudable goal can really serve the purpose, but without going into this, short work can be made of the model by analysing it in its workable form. First, the supposed identity of interest among the world proletariat has not been rendered practical. Secondly, the model shares with the Balance of Power Model the same techno-economic framework of economic development and, therefore, suffers from the same related drawbacks. Most importantly, the two leading communist countries in the world, the Soviet Union and China, have not inspired others by their attitude to international peace.

A dissenting section of Marxists proposes another model – the Structuralist Model. These intellectuals share with the traditional Marxists the view that all conflicts can be traced to structural deficiencies, but they opt for non-violent method to right this situation.

The Gandhian method of conflict resolution is difficult to reduce to any model as such, but it is very much akin to the Structuralist Model in its essentials.

Gandhi's Ideas on Conflict

Before we discuss the Gandhian technique of international conflict resolution, it is pertinent to consider Gandhi's ideas on conflict in general. Gandhi, while believing that 'there are repulsions enough in nature', does not agree with the Darwinian formulation that struggle is the fundamental law of the universe and is the cause of evolution. Even though Darwin admits that he uses the term struggle for existence in a 'large and metaphorical sense',² some of his more radical

followers like Karl Pearson stretched Darwinism to ridiculous lengths to suggest that all scientific and humanitarian efforts to mitigate social conflict are not only uncalled for but also harmful.

Gandhi regards love and cooperation rather than conflict and struggle as the fundamental law of creation.³ He writes:

Though there are repulsions enough in Nature, she lives by attraction. Mutual love enables Nature to persist. Man does not live by destruction. Self-love compels regards for others. Nations cohere because there is mutual regard among individuals composing them. Some day we must extend the national law to the universe even as we have extended family laws to form nations — a larger family.⁴

To Gandhi, it is the force of love or 'soul-force' which holds the universe together and he finds 'evidence of its working at every step'.⁵

Since harmony is the law of the universe, conflict is regarded by Gandhi as a temporary irregularity in an otherwise even and orderly flow of life. Any attempt at conflict resolution must, therefore, take this fundamental aspect into consideration.

Another noteworthy aspect of the Gandhian view of conflict is that it recognizes no basic antagonism between parties to dispute. It is because of misperception that people or groups regard each other as enemies. But, in reality, it is a faulty system that binds the parties to a hostile relation and, therefore, a technique of conflict resolution must provide for ways and means to change the system itself, so that not only is that particular conflict resolved, but also any future possibility of conflicts in that particular system is eliminated. It is required, therefore, that one should be aggressive not against the opponent, but against the system, against the antagonism, not against the antagonist. Gandhi expressed his attitude to an opponent in an open letter to the British, written during his campaign for non-co-operation in July 1921:

Some of my Indian friends charge me with camouflage when I say we need not hate Englishmen whilst we may hate the system they have established. I am trying to show them that one may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him I claim to be a fairly accurate student of human nature and vivisector of my own failings. I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds. And so I feel that you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation Here in India, you belong to a system that is vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad and without imputing bad motives to every Englishman. You are as much slaves of the system as we are.⁶

We can derive one definite conclusion from this. Gandhi believes in the essential goodness of every human being.⁷ Unlike Spinoza, Morgenthau, Neibuhr and others, Gandhi does not think that violence is innate to human nature and therefore man cannot be expected to renounce violence in his dealing with others. These prophets of doom are only partially correct. No doubt the tendency to be violent is there in human nature, but it is not composed solely of a single tendency or interest, instinct or drive. It is kaleidoscopic, with conflicting tendencies like love and hatred, self-protection and altruism coexisting in it. A person's reactions vary in accordance with which part of his mentality has been stirred. An individual may at some time assume an anti-social posture with scant regard for others' lives and property; still he remains capable of establishing himself as a creative member of society because he is more than what he did or what he thought at a particular time. The potentiality for goodness is always there in every human nature and everybody is subject to the law of stimulus and response. Gandhi, therefore, believed that nobody, not excluding Hitler, is beyond redemption.

A satisfactory conflict resolution from the Gandhian point

of view is what has been termed as 'creative resolution of conflict'.⁸ Here the energies of the opponents are not wasted on seeking mutual elimination, but are integrated to work out a wholly new solution which satisfies all or most of the fundamental desires of both the parties. An American psychologist W.A. White corroborates this mode of conflict resolution which lifts the consciousness of the parties to a higher level where they see that most of their fundamental wants are identical or complementary rather than contradictory. He writes, '... no conflict can be solved at the level of conflict. That is, two mutually opposing tendencies can never unite their forces except at a higher level, in an all-inclusive synthesis which lifts the whole situation to a level above that upon which the conflict rose.'⁹

It should be noted here that Gandhi regards peace as a positive rather than a negative concept meaning merely 'absence of conflict'.¹⁰ A positive concept of peace would define conflict resolution as not merely the elimination of maladjustment, but also progression towards a more meaningful readjustment. Between the negative and positive concepts of peace also lies the difference between conflict management and conflict resolution that we talked of earlier while discussing the drawbacks of the Balance of Power Model.

After the above discussion concerning Gandhi's ideas on conflict in general, we are in a position to consider his views on international conflict, both political and economic, obtaining at different levels of international relations. Gandhi was primarily a man of action and not a theorist. Preoccupied as he was with India's struggle for independence, he hardly had the leisure necessary to propound a systematic theory of conflict resolution. Still, his ideas, expressed on various occasions, concerning international conflict are coherent and there have been many efforts by Gandhian scholars to mould these into some kind of a theory or technique.

Gandhi's starting point with regard to peace and war, as to all other problems, is the individual. International conflict also has its roots in human life which is often artificially divided

into watertight compartments – religious, moral, social, economic, political, individual and collective. For these different levels man has devised different sets of moral values. Often these values conflict with one another. However life refuses to be compartmentalized.¹¹ Man cannot escape the effect of his activity in one sphere on other spheres. It spreads over the entire gamut of his personality. But we recognize moral values differently for different human activities. We, for example, hold a man in high esteem if he is kind and cooperative towards his neighbours, but we expect from the same man as a soldier that he be cruel and ruthless towards the soldiers of a neighbouring country if we happen to be fighting a war with it. We expect him to be both violent and non-violent in accordance with his different spheres of activity. Because of this hypocrisy, violence permeates all levels of human life – individual; group, national and international. Therefore, Gandhi holds a state of non-violence is a state of peace.

There is yet another aspect of international conflict, the conflict between the developed and the developing countries, the North-South conflict as it is now being called, on which Gandhi had clear views. It must be noted that this conflict got international recognition only in the late sixties. But, Gandhi, while writing much before that, could foresee this crisis situation which was to become, in the later years, a major bone of contention in international relations. Without using today's parlance like the centre and the periphery and the nexus between the élite of the centre and the periphery, Gandhi spelt out in clear terms how the dominant power penetrated the industrial, economic and cultural life of the dependent society, thereby imposing its economic and cultural imperialism. Gandhi wrote, '... the British have exploited India through its cities, the latter had exploited the villages. The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built'.¹² Here also Gandhi believed that it is the structural violence created and perpetuated by the dominant powers that is responsible for the so-called North-South conflict. Thus we see that, in both the spheres, political and

economic, Gandhi holds violence responsible for conflict and therefore violence needs to be eliminated *in toto* to achieve a state of non-violence which is equivalent to a state of peace.

Gandhi's rejection of violence is based on sound normative and utilitarian grounds. He believes that nobody has an access to absolute truth. What a man can hope to realise, at best, is relative truth. Therefore, when persons, groups or nations clash, it involves a conflict between different sets of relative truths. And in order to resolve the conflict these sets of relative truths must be synthesized to arrive at a truth that is an improvement upon each of its constituents. This will result in progress towards the absolute truth, though not the absolute truth itself. When Gandhi is asking for synthesization of relative truths to reach a higher level of truth what he is, in fact, suggesting is that truth is best achieved through co-operative pursuit. On this sound perception of truth Gandhi rejects the employment of violence as a means of conflict resolution. Since nobody represents the absolute truth no one has the right to force his opinion on others, which implies rejection of violence. Therefore, conflict resolution should necessarily be achieved through peaceful negotiation. Gandhi is not convinced by the argument that a party to the conflict is so despicable that he is incapable of representing any fraction of truth. This is in keeping with his belief in the essential goodness of every human being which we have discussed earlier.

The utilitarian argument is that violence cannot resolve any conflict because it proceeds in an endless circle, resulting in 'deeper hatred, counter hatred and vengeance'.¹³ A prominent peace researcher, Kenneth Boulding, agrees with this view. He writes, 'Violence, in itself, because it cannot perform a reconciling and compromising function, leads to the suppression rather than resolution of the conflict; it drives conflict underground but does little to eliminate it'.¹⁴

Gandhian Techniques for International Conflict Resolution

After this discussion on the theoretical aspect of conflict and its resolution from a Gandhian point of view, we will now

move on to the actual techniques of international conflict resolution. In this context, we shall consider Gandhi's views on various conventional devices like arbitration, international organization, world government, disarmament, legalistic methods of pacific settlement, etc.

Gandhi, on occasions, did support some of these devices. On world government, for example, he wrote to Maurice Frydman in July 1942, 'I told you that I was at one with you and that I was trying to take the Congress and everybody towards world federation.'¹⁵ He was again convinced that complete and universal disarmament is a necessary condition for peace. His support for arbitration was even more unequivocal. Before the Second World War was declared Gandhi had shown his appreciation for the effort of President Roosevelt to settle the differences between Germany and the West European democracies. He wrote, 'How I wish that Herr Hitler would respond to the appeal of the President of the United States and allow his claims to be investigated by arbitrators in whose choice he will have as effective a voice as the disputants.'¹⁶ However, his occasional appreciation of these methods should not lead us to conclude that Gandhi was propagating them. Far from this, Gandhi had seen the shortcomings of these devices much more clearly than many of his contemporaries. He had criticized the League of Nations in no uncertain terms for its failure to ensure an effective peace and, amidst the euphoria at the establishment of the United Nations, his voice was one of caution and reservation. 'I very much fear that behind the structure of world security sought to be raised, lurk mistrust and fear which breed war.'¹⁷ In the case of the Kashmir dispute Gandhi was in favour of bilateral negotiation with Pakistan rather than referring it to the United Nations. He considered international law as being heavily partial towards the big powers and, therefore, he was very critical of legalistic methods of dispute settlement.

Thus, we can conclude that Gandhi supported some of these mechanisms on occasions purely as short-term devices. As we have seen, Gandhi's idea of conflict resolution is not

only that a particular conflict is resolved, but also that circumstances do not arise in future similar to those which had given birth to that conflict. Gandhi was convinced that the traditional devices were incapable of performing this task because they influence only the externals and do little towards improving the inner attitudes or psychological dispositions of men. For this, a technique which is much more comprehensive and which goes deep, to the root of the problem, needs to be evolved.

The mechanism which Gandhi evolved, quite in consonance with his world view, is *satyagraha*. Gandhi himself has elaborated upon this term at length and there has been voluminous discussion on it among Gandhian scholars. Hence, without going into details, suffice it for us to say that in Gandhian thinking conflict resolution means grasping *satya* (truth). The *modus operandi* of *satyagraha* involves succeeding stages through which a *satyagrahi* should proceed in order to resolve a conflict creatively. One has to proceed from one stage to the next if the conflict cannot be resolved at the current stage. Bondurant has systematized three such stages¹⁸ and one may add several sub-stages to each one of them.

Persuasion through Reason or Negotiation

The first step is to start negotiation with the opponent. Most techniques of pacific settlement of disputes emphasize negotiation. But, there are vital differences between Gandhian negotiation and other types of negotiation. First, the negotiation must be preceded by a thorough analysis and reflection upon the character of the total conflict situation and this should involve accumulation and analysis of factual informations concerning the conflict. Gandhi's concern for meticulous collection of information has been amply demonstrated in all the major *satyagrahas* that he launched in his lifetime. For instance, within a month of his reaching Champaran in 1917, statements of four thousand cultivators were recorded. Extracts from the minutes of the enquiry committee show how very thoroughly he mastered every detail of the

tenurial arrangements.¹⁹ Gandhi performed this task from the point of view of an impartial researcher rather than that of a biased disputant. This strikingly differs from the way a modern negotiator tries, through various secret agencies, to collect facts with 'discrimination', solely with the purpose of strengthening his own case.

After accumulation of facts, the second step is to choose the objectives which should not only be determinate and spelt out in clear terms, but should also be fixed at the minimum. Unlike the modern negotiator, a *satyagrahi* does not believe in pitching his demand at an extravagant level so that much of it could be surrendered in the process of bargaining, without harming his interest. Putting one's objectives in clear terms and without exaggeration reassures the opponent that the *satyagrahi* is not an opportunist, that he will not whittle down the demand in case his campaign is petering out, nor will he hike it up in case his campaign seems to be succeeding. This inspires the opponent's confidence by lending an image of responsibility to the *satyagrahi*.

Negotiation should be carried on in a spirit of love towards the opponent. This should convince the opponent that the *satyagrahi* is not there to score debating points over him, but sincerely wants to tide over a common problem through mutual endeavour. Love for an opponent will not only make the *satyagrahi* appreciate with an open heart the demands and contentions of the other side, but also creates the right atmosphere to induce in the opponent a frame of mind favourable to understanding the *satyagrahi's* position and desires.

But the *satyagrahi* should not start with the assumption that his own position is inviolable and, therefore, must be fully accepted by the opponent. While using all his persuasive power to demonstrate the correctness of his contention, he should also allow his opponent to present his case and must be prepared to accept it in part or in full, if he is convinced that this would increase his hold on truth and will consequently resolve the conflict. Gandhi is in favour of approaching a problem with an open heart and mind, always

prepared to convince and be convinced.

The resultant agreement from such a negotiation cannot be called a compromise because, 'there is no sacrificing of position, no concession to the opponent with the idea of buying him over . . . there is no compromise in the sense in which each side would concede a part of his previous position solely to effect a settlement'.²⁰ This agreement may be called 'synthesis',²¹ 'integration'²² or what the Freudians would call 'sublimation'. It enables the contenders to grasp a higher level of truth through which the parties redefine their apparently contending 'interests' to a mutually complementary whole.

The Gandhian synthesis discussed here may be compared to Rousseau's General Will which may be the will of one, of the minority, of the majority, of all and even of none. The dominant consideration is not the number of persons holding the will, but the purpose served by it, i.e., the general good. Likewise, the Gandhian synthesis may consist of partial positions of each party, the whole position of a single party, or none of any party but an entirely new formulation. The purpose here is not to strike a compromise through a process of give and take, but to proceed to a higher level of truth where the conflict may be creatively resolved. The synthesis, like the General Will, does not represent the victory of one party over the other, but the victory of truth and common good.

When we apply this theoretical formulation to the actual conduct of negotiations in the case of group and international conflict we are immediately confronted with a practical difficulty. The negotiators representing a group or a nation are invariably expected by their group or countrymen to conduct the negotiations in such a way as to score maximum points over their opponents in the final settlement. This expectation makes negotiators obdurate and unreasonable, unwilling to concede reason in the opponents' case, even when they can see it, lest they are considered failures by their fellows. The reason why most negotiations fail today can be attributed to this acquisitive expectation of a group or a nation which places its preference for a short-term gain over a long-term solution.

The problem becomes more difficult when the representatives are not of the stature of a Gandhi or Nehru who can stick to their convictions against the prevalent popular notions and yet carry the masses with them. In such a case the leaders are likely to lose their standing and be replaced by a more rigid and extremist band of leaders. This problem is more acute for a nation or a group in which the public exercise their influence on the decision-making process through various media. One of the major reasons why a liberal and more reasonable Carter was defeated by a belligerent Reagan was the former's so-called liberal concessions to the Soviets at the cost of, what the American public thought to be, the country's national interest.

This brings us to the question of quality of leadership, public education and social structure. We propose to discuss this aspect in a later part where we shall be discussing some of the general problems of *satyagraha*.

Persuasion through Self-Suffering

If the conflict is not resolved at the negotiation stage, the *satyagrahi* undergoes self-suffering involving self-abnegation and self-denial. Fasting, courting arrest and suffering the brutality of the opponent without malice and rancour are among Gandhi's preferred modes of self-suffering. This is not intended to pressurise the opponent to accept a dictated solution. It is, rather, a process of self-purification whereby the *satyagrahi* owns his share of responsibility for the failure of negotiations. It also serves to convince the opponent that he would rather inflict pain on himself than think of injuring him. This helps in establishing a heart-to-heart communion with the opponent. Gandhi has described this form of communication thus:

The conviction has been growing upon me that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone, but have to be purchased with their suffering. Nobody has perhaps drawn up more petitions and espoused more forlorn causes than I and I have come to this funda-

mental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of the reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens the inner understanding in me.²³

Self-suffering does exercise a kind of moral pressure on the opponent. It helps to stir up a sluggish conscience by administering a kind of 'shock-therapy'²⁴ to the other party who are deeply affected by the sacrifice on the part of the opponent and start feeling ashamed of the obduracy and rigidity which they had shown at the negotiation stage. Thereafter they become more amenable to reason and more sincere in searching for a just solution.

Non-violent Direct Action

If even self-suffering fails to induce any change of heart in the opponent, the *satyagrahi* should enter into the next phase, namely non-violent direct action²⁵ characterized by such tools as non-cooperation and civil disobedience. This is a more radical step and should be used only as an instrument of last resort. The *satyagrahi* should first convince himself that he has undergone enough self-purification through adequate self-suffering before launching such action. Gandhi is for extreme caution in this matter because, while the previous step renders only psychological shock to the opponent and physical injury only for the *satyagrahi*, this stage involves certain material harm to the opponent also, as a result of actions like non-payment of taxes, non-cooperation, economic boycott, ostracism etc.

Gandhi admits that this step does involve some amount of violence, but only as much as is absolutely unavoidable. This is one of moral dilemmas that a *satyagrahi* has to face from time to time. Gandhi talks of one such dilemma when he chooses to give a lethal injection to a mortally wounded calf to free it from its pain. As in this case, and as also in the case of a doctor who performs a painful operation on a patient in the

latter's interest, non-violent direct action should be executed with utmost love and goodwill for the opponent and at no time should any bodily harm be done to him or his property wilfully destroyed.

These three stages of *satyagraha* may well be applied to the three stages of an international conflict. There should be negotiation before the invasion, self-suffering during the attack, and non-violent direct action when occupation has been effected. But, since another contribution in this book deals with this aspect more elaborately I refrain from going into it in any detail.²⁶

Limitations of Satyagraha

Gandhi notes several conditions which preclude carrying on *satyagraha*. First, when the adversary is in a disadvantageous position due to factors irrelevant to the struggle, this weakness should not be exploited by the non-violent fighter. Gandhi himself declined to take up mass civil disobedience during the Second World War because he thought that this would amount to 'naked embarrassment and a betrayal of non-violence'.²⁷ Also, for the same reason, in South Africa, he refused to make common cause with striking railwaymen though this would have put additional pressure on the government. Such restraint is a necessary condition for *satyagraha* since love for the opponent is an integral part of a non-violent struggle. Secondly, non-violent action cannot operate if the situation is one where the only available alternatives are violence and cowardice. Thirdly, *satyagraha* is not a matter of expediency and the true *satyagrahi* is not a person who restrains his anger out of fear of reprisal, but has 'retaliation in his breast'.²⁸ Gandhi felt that the passive resistance offered by the Jews against the Nazis was not *satyagraha* proper, because it did not meet this last condition. Fourthly, non-violent methods should not involve secrecy. Gandhi writes, '... I stand for unadulterated non-violent action and open means. I abhor secrecy'.²⁹ Gandhi had laid down this condition on the presumption that given the protection of secrecy a

method may easily become a dogma and be espoused in such a way as to disallow criticism and self-correction.

Two concluding remarks need to be made. First, Gandhi does not think that his *satyagrahi*, unlike Plato's Philosopher King, is so steeped in virtue that he can do no wrong. Despite his long training and self-discipline, the *satyagrahi* is essentially a human being incapable of shedding all human weaknesses. When Gandhi provides for three succeeding stages of *satyagraha*, he recognizes that the *satyagrahi*, despite his sincerest efforts, may not be able to induce a change of heart in the opponent in the very first stage itself. Hence the need to go into two further stages. Therefore, the provision for three stages of *satyagraha* is as much a recognition of the human imperfections of the *satyagrahi* as it is a provision of a means of dealing with a resolute and ruthless opponent.

Secondly, it would seem from the foregoing analysis of *satyagraha* that it is only at the first stage, the negotiation stage, that a conflict can be resolved, and that the succeeding two stages have been devised to bring a recalcitrant party back to the negotiating table where he could not be persuaded to see reason at the first instance. Self-suffering and direct action are devices which can only help in the process of conflict resolution but cannot by themselves resolve conflict. It is only through negotiation that conflict can be creatively resolved.

Satyagraha as described above may very well be applied to international conflicts which are primarily of an economic nature. But, as in case of political conflict, here also the *satyagrahi* country should try to effect internal restructuring, in this case of its own economy, on the basis of the village as the unit, *swaraj* and *swadeshi*. J.D. Sethi describes the implications:

The Gandhian concept of village as a basic unit of society is not to be confused with the cluster of mud houses, of drain-less lanes, stinking streets and naked, impoverished children. Indeed, he insisted upon the village as a unit to remove all these disabilities A village is a collectivity,

based on certain individual and collective functions, with norms and values cherished by the people in an environment which is congenial and run by "Gandhian" laws.³⁰

The two pillars of Gandhian economic laws are *swaraj* and *swadeshi*. Defined in economic terms and taken together (for, one cannot be understood in isolation from the other), they mean that an individual should exercise self-restraint, reducing his wants to such a level as can be catered to by production in the immediate neighbourhood. Not only that, the consumer should also cooperate with the producer-neighbour in improving the efficiency of production. Gandhi writes, 'I should use things that are produced by my immediate neighbour and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting.'³¹ Such a concept of co-operative interrelationship between the consumer and the producer negates the traditional belief that the interests of the two are bound to be at odds with each other. Gandhian concepts of *swaraj* and *swadeshi* aim at a constructive resolution of conflict between the producer and the consumer, both pooling their efforts and resources for mutual benefit.

The Gandhian emphasis on the consumption of locally produced goods should not be confused with the modern concept of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI); in fact the two are opposed to each other. The ISI pattern aims at satisfying our needs of foreign goods by producing them locally, whereas the Gandhian pattern would readjust our demands to the locally produced goods. The former restructures the supply side whereas the latter seeks to readjust the demand side. The ISI is a complete negation of the Gandhian concept of economic *swaraj* or self-control.

Thus, by providing for a well-knit, self-reliant economy, Gandhi seeks to remove the perennial cause of dependency relationship. The dependency theorists also have found the cause of the so-called North-South conflict, but they have failed to provide for a workable alternative – which Gandhi has done. But it should be noted that, while advocating a self-

reliant economy, Gandhi is not oblivious of the advantages and inevitability of interdependence in thought and ideas. He writes:

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's house as an interloper; a beggar or a slave.³²

Critical Appraisal

While discussing some problems of negotiation we have seen how representatives are very often forced to take an unreasonable stand in order to appease the general public. This proves that mass training and education, coupled with a just social order (based on *swaraj* and *swadeshi*), are necessary preconditions of *satyagraha*. Horsburgh articulates these conditions as follows:

A community must have made very substantial progress towards the realization of social justice; it must also have achieved an extremely high level of social discipline and social discipline to which it has attained must not depend, in any large measure, upon the use of traditional method of law enforcement.³³

These being fairly stiff conditions, the critics argue, the Gandhian technique cannot be successfully applied.

There exists, no doubt, a connection between the quality of social order and the techniques of resolving conflict. A non-violent technique needs to be backed by an equitable and non-exploitative (based on *sarvodaya*) social order. But it is wrong to presume that such a society should be established before this technique is put into practice. The reason is not far to seek. While one is waiting for the just social order to come, it may not come at all, because the requirement of an un-Gandhian technique of conflict resolution, which is now

prevalent, will tend to push the society further away from a desirable social order. What Gandhi said about scavenging work may well be applied to this situation. "They say, 'We may do it better after Swaraj'. I say to them, 'No. The reform has to come today, it must not wait for Swaraj; in fact the right type of Swaraj will come only out of such work'."³⁴ When Gandhi was performing *satyagraha* vis-à-vis the British, he did not have the slightest illusion that the then social order was a desirable one. Therefore, a Gandhian solution to this 'social order first or technique first' problem is that, while the technique is being practised, simultaneous efforts should be made through constructive programmes to build up a non-violent social order.

A second criticism is that the Gandhian technique can be effective only in a struggle against a regime which has respect for certain ethical rules and norms of justice. The implication is that it can be successful vis-à-vis democracies like Britain, but would fall flat when faced with a dictatorial or totalitarian regime.

Gandhi himself has not set any such limit. He believes that his technique is equally operative against dictatorships as against democracies. Responding to whether the Nazis would be affected by his non-violent resistance, Gandhi says, 'Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces, they have the same soul that I have.'³⁵ Gandhi has been proved right by historical evidence also. Gene Sharp, an American sociologist, investigated eighty-four campaigns in which one party remained wholly or partially non-violent. About forty per cent of these concerned democratic governments and sixty per cent dictatorships (including totalitarian regimes).³⁶

Some other critics hold that non-violence is a culture-and-tradition-bound concept. It could be practised only by the Indians who have a long tradition of pacifism and non-violence. Gandhi does not agree with the view that the Indians are more non-violent than any other nation because of their tradition and religion. Despite the two greatest peace

movements in the world, Buddhism and Jainism, having originated in India, its history, both ancient and modern, is as much strewn with blood as any other country's, if not more. Gandhi also does not believe that Hinduism has anything special in it to induce non-violence which other religions do not have. In a letter to C.F. Andrews, Gandhi denied that non-violence has been given great importance in Hinduism. On the contrary, he saw:

. . . . no sign of it even in the Mahabharata or the Ramayana the incarnations are described as certainly blood-thirsty, revengeful and merciless to the enemy. The battles are described with no less zest than now and the warriors are equipped with the weapons of destruction such as could be conceived by human imagination.³⁷

It is, therefore, not true that *satyagraha* is limited by a particular condition-tradition complex as it exists in India and people possessing such attitudes as do the Indians. This is proved by the adoption of the technique of non-violence during the freedom struggle by the Pathans of the erstwhile North-West Frontier Province who are by all reckoning a violent and martial race. Thus, '*Satyagraha*, as a technique, pure and simple, can be adopted by any people as easily as new methods of warfare or an alien architectural design, making due allowances for differences in situations.'³⁸

A major objection to the Gandhian technique comes from the failure of independent India to respond to the Chinese and Pakistani attacks by non-violent means. The critics feel that if India, which carried on a successful *satyagraha* campaign against the British, could not convince herself about the efficacy of non-violent struggle, it is a very remote possibility that other countries would risk such a course of action.

But such reasoning is fallacious. The Indians had adopted the Gandhian technique for the independence struggle, not for any moralistic or doctrinaire reason, but because they thought that it was the most efficient means in the circum-

stances. But, in the case of subsequent invasions they took to the traditional method of meeting force with force in the absence of a systematically developed non-violent course of action. Thus, India's failure to adopt the Gandhian technique is not a failure of the technique as such, but a failure of the Indian leaders to prepare the masses for non-violent resistance.

Some Concluding Remarks

After India gained independence through non-violent means of struggle, many people genuinely believed that here was a revolutionary method of conflict resolution which, if properly harnessed, would save the world from the disastrous consequences associated with warfare. This faith in the Gandhian method is also expressed today, but mainly at the level of rhetoric. No practical programme of action has been devised and reliance is being increasingly placed on violent methods.

The chief reason for this sad state of affairs is that Gandhian scholars and activists, on whom fell the task of carrying forward Gandhi's unfinished task, have projected this technique in such a form so as to give it an aura of moral superiority – a norm which should be pursued for its own sake. To talk in normative and universal terms was much easier than the rigorous exercise of mind required to devise a practical course of action. Thus, Gandhism degenerated to the level of a religious belief, rather than being a practical way of living, which it actually is.

The requirement, therefore, is not to claim any moral superiority for *satyagraha* over other methods of solving conflicts, for moral standards vary from place to place, from people to people and from time to time, but to establish *satyagraha*'s superiority on the basis of its higher efficiency, its ability to redirect human development away from the suicidal course that it has presently taken.

The Gandhian method aroused cynicism and pessimism when it was presented as a foolproof device, applicable to all

situations. Gandhi, himself, had no such illusion about it.³⁹ *Satyagraha* is, no doubt, a revolutionary method of conflict resolution, but it cannot be transferred from one situation to another in a strait-jacket. A difference in situation is bound to demand a corresponding modification of the technique. Despite being one of the greatest visionaries of our times, Gandhi's genius could not have permitted him to visualize all subsequent developments giving rise to completely different situations. If we start with the assumption that Gandhi was a human being prone to error, then perhaps the necessary alterations and even repudiations of his technique would not seem as blasphemous as the Gandhians today would like us to believe. This would also give the much-needed dynamism to the technique.

Even though Gandhi admitted that his technique had not been fully developed, he had firm faith in its efficacy. He writes:

A very slow process, you will, perhaps, say. Yes, possibly under the adverse circumstances to begin with. But, it will gather momentum and speed in an incalculable manner as you proceed. I am an irrepressible optimist. My optimism rests on my belief in the finite possibilities of the individual to develop non-violence.⁴⁰

Conditions are even more adverse today than when Gandhi expressed this optimism. But this should not lead to despair because, despite all the degeneration, it is still possible to have faith, as Gandhi had, in the essentially non-violent core of human nature. If confidence still continues to lie with violent courses of action, it is because non-violence has not been developed to provide for a practical and better alternative. Gandhian scholars and activists owe it to themselves and to the world to fill this lacuna.

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1. The principal exponent of this model is Richard Falk. See his book, *This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival* (New York, 1971).
2. Darwin wrote: 'I should premise that I use the term struggle for existence in a large and metaphorical sense, including dependence of one being on another and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual, but success in living progeny.' – Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (UK, 1968), p. 116.
3. Here, mention may be made of the 'doctrine of mutual aid' of the Russian biologist, Prince Kropotkin. He studied insect and animal life in the forests of Central Asia, the same field of biological investigation as Darwin's and reached a conclusion which recognized a fundamental unity of all existence, thus repudiating the Darwinian theory.
4. *Young India*, 2 March 1928.
5. Gandhi writes, 'The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of this force.... Thousands, indeed tens of thousands, depend, for their existence, on a very active working of this force.' – M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* (1946), pp. 56-7.
6. Quoted by Theodor Ebert, 'The Meaning of Non-violent Resistance', *Gandhi Marg*, vol. 11, no. 2, April 1967, p. 103.
7. Gandhi writes, 'Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature.' (M.K. Gandhi, *For Pacifists*, Ahmedabad, 1949, p. 81).
8. Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (London, 1958), p. 199.
9. W.A. White, *Mechanisms of Character Formation* (New York, 1916), p. 274.
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11. Gandhi writes: 'The whole gamut of man's activities today constitute an indivisible whole. You cannot divide life – social, economic, political and purely religious into watertight compartments.' Quoted by J.B.

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14. K. Boulding, *Conflict and Defence: A General Theory* (New York, 1962), p.304.
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17. Press release issued by Gandhi on 19 April 1945. Cited in Paul F. Power, *Gandhi on World Affairs* (Washington D.C., no date), p. 55.
18. Bondurant, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-229.
19. Arun Shourie, 'Gandhiji's Way and Ours', *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 10-16 February 1985, p. 12.
20. Bondurant, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
21. *Ibid.*, p.196.
22. M.P. Follet, *Creative Experience* (New York, 1924), p.157.
23. Gandhiji in a speech delivered at Birmingham, England, in October 1931. Quoted by Krishanlal Shridharani, *War Without Violence: A Study of Gandhi's Methods and Its Accomplishments* (London, 1939), p. 239.
24. Bondurant, *op.cit.*, p. 229. She writes in the same book: 'Suffering operates in the satyagraha strategy as a tactic for cutting through the rational defences which the opponents may have built in opposing the initial efforts of rational persuasion through the clear statement and the argument of the satyagrahi position. This process may be referred to as catharsis' (p. 228).
25. Clarence Case prefers to call it 'non-violent coercion'. He denies a contradiction in terms in 'non-violent coercion' and comments that the combination of the non-violence and coercion 'is not the outcome of a preconceived notion, but represents a working arrangement'. See Clarence M. Case, *Non-violent Coercion: A Study in Methods of Social Pressure* (London, 1923), p. 23.
26. See S.C. Gangal's contribution, 'Gandhi and World Peace', in this book.
27. Quoted by Arne Naess, 'A Systematization of Gandhian Ethics of Conflict Resolution', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. II, 1958-59, p. 49.
28. Quoted by Karl Potter, 'Explorations in Gandhi's Theory of Non-violence', in Paul F. Power, (Ed.), *The Meaning of Gandhi* (Hawaii, 1971), p. 99.

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37. Cited by Amrut W. Nakhre, 'A New Focus on Non-violent Conflict Resolution', *International Peace Research News Letter* (Gronigen, Q.), vol. xxi, no. 2, 1983, p. 21.
38. Krishanlal Shridharani, *op.cit.*, p. 188.
39. Gandhi writes, '... the technique of unconquerable non-violence of the strong has not been fully discovered yet.' *Harijan*, 11 January 1948. Now in *Non-violence in Peace and War*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
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9. Perspectives in Conflict Resolution Emerging from Women's Experience

Devaki Jain

In analysing the nature of the special link between women and any mainstream issue, there is need today to create the mood of analysis, rather than mere documentation or even demand.

In the context of peace and conflict resolution, this form of investigation, analysis and derivation is far more useful and is, in fact, more legitimate than listing women's virtues, or noticing more women in peace activism or finding less women in the armed forces and adding them up in a litany in praise of women.

It is useful to ask questions such as, what are the conflict-creating theatres/arenas and processes? How have they arisen? How can they be reversed? What are women's roles, capabilities, in this process? Is there a special significance derived from gender or is it the consciousness of women's presence and energies that is required?

In this paper the argument is that women are not by nature, i.e. genetically, non-violent or peace-makers; but women's *experience*, derived from roles that they have historically been assigned or preferred, has given this impression. Thus behavioural characteristics, described as femininity or womanliness, need to be traced to these roots, as these roots are valuable sources of *wisdom* and offer creative, constructive paths. In other words, it is suggested that what is important is

not to concentrate on gender but what lies behind its expression.

There is no natural/psychological difference between men and women. The *experience* of women, due to reproductive and nurturing roles, as well as domestication; their experience of coping with domination, with inequality, has made for certain manners and morals which are different from those of men – but not different *per se*. Thus it would be suggested that women are not more non-violent by nature. Feelings of violence are sometimes expressed and sometimes non-expressed. Women often experience violence and even express it, but not always 'visibly'.

Some 'experiences', or events with women at centre-stage, will be used to illustrate this view, and the suggestion developed that women's ways provide a rich source of *method* in dealing with conflict resolution and thereby arriving at peace.

To illustrate from *the family*. Women are continuously mediating between competitive claims of members of the family – not always non-violently one must admit. One hears of child battering, female infanticide and so many other forms of violence by women themselves towards others, responding to stress and oppression like anyone else. However, this role has given them skills of interpersonal management which have again, in aggregation, been expressed in community conflict. For example, Kumari Jayawardane¹, a scholar from Sri Lanka, records how women of all religions, classes, and political parties united in appealing for peace during the ethnic riots in Colombo. She also noted that, tough working-class women came out into the streets and abused and smacked the youngsters who were creating the riots, in their socially respected roles as 'mothers'. Similar phenomena have been written about in chronicles from other countries.² A number of examples of collective action have been described in the literature. A few are described below.

Poor women's response to various 'aggressions' against their survival, whether due to a law or a development

programme, provide another area of experience of collective non-violent resistance.

Khirakot is a village down the hill from Kausani in the hills near Almora. An enterprising man from outside the village started quarrying soapstone from a deposit in the hills nearby. Convoys of donkeys used to go from the quarry to the road, occupying the narrow footpaths used by the local people, especially the women. The women found that they sometimes had to stand for hours with heavy loads on their heads, waiting for the donkeys to pass, as the narrow paths could be used by only one person or animal at a time. Also, the outsiders were considered a threat to the community since many young girls had to go to school along the same paths. The women decided that the donkey-trekking must stop.

They appealed to the men of the village, who claimed that they had talked to the mine-owner and that he had refused to comply with their request: he had permission from the government for quarrying, he said. The women then tried to obstruct the pack trains by narrowing the footpaths so that the donkeys could not walk on them. The owner responded by registering a case in court against the women's obstruction. But the women intensified it by physically occupying the paths. The miner reinforced his protest through the courts.

The men were ready to give up as they could not see themselves fighting a legal battle. They had no money for litigation and, further they could see that they had no legal case as the mine-owner was supported by government in his activity.

The women would not accept this position. They insisted that the case be fought on grounds of trespass and causing nuisance. They raised the necessary money from their own resources and savings. The case was fought for nearly two years and, finally, the machine was brought to a standstill and the digging stopped.

The success of this resistance fired the self-confidence of the community and led to the women assuming the leadership roles. It brought other women into the movement. The village has now decided to replant the quarry area with trees.

Another example of this kind of action is that of the women of Kumarikatta in Assam. Here, some tribals had long occupied an area and were cultivating it. Periodically, the legality of their claim upon the land was questioned and initiatives were taken to evict them. Each time, somebody had intervened on their behalf, and the *status quo* continued. Once, however, the intervention failed. The authorities went so far as to give notice of eviction and arrange for a herd of elephants to trample down the huts of the tribals.

The elephants came, and the tribal village people gathered outside their huts. There were moments of tense silence and stillness. The social workers who were working with the tribals could see no way of protecting the 'squatters'. The destruction of the village seemed inevitable.

Suddenly, without any previous discussion, the women rushed forward out of the crowd of those to be evicted and embraced the trunks and legs of the elephants, constantly chanting the prayers that they usually do on the *puja* day for the worship of the elephant god, Ganesha. It is customary on that day for women to rub sandal paste, *kumkum* and flowers on the elephants and to stroke them with devotion. The women now imitated this ritual, with full ceremony. The elephants seemed to respond, in turn, by refusing to advance, accepting this worship with their conventional grace. No one, neither the authorities, nor the social workers, nor the male squatters, could do anything. The elephants turned back, and the tribals returned to their huts.

Both these episodes illustrate the ability of women not only to identify their common problems but also to perceive a common solution, which usually involves steely courage, great risk and the non-violent method. All that seem necessary in these situations was a link to some source of self-confidence. There are many more examples of this kind of resistance, one of the best known being the 'chipko' method of putting their bodies against the trees to prevent their felling.

There is, here, no special preconceived plan to offer non-violent resistance, but a resourcefulness which comes out of

being unarmed in the face of a threat to survival.

Illustration from Development

Aggregating such illustrations of poor women's creativity, a group of Third World women probed deep into the causes of the increase in conflict and deprivation everywhere as a preparatory exercise to the Nairobi World Conference of Women. They are known amongst the development community as the DAWN Group.⁸

Their analysis of poor women's experience of development in the Third World in the context of the macro situations in their regions like the food crisis in Africa, debt in Latin America, and poverty and hunger in Asia revealed both the impoverishing nature of 'development' and also the validity of the several strategies that poor women adopted to meet this attack on their livelihood. Empowerment of poor women, it seemed, did not need intervention, but needed to be left alone, not to be crowded in, but offered territory to step into. Activism was to listen; research was to learn and reveal; development, to facilitate these steps.

The DAWN Group suggests that the source of the angry uncontrolled competitiveness that we see expressed in monopolistic assertions such as movements like 'sons of the soil', linguistic chauvinism, or religious and territorial assertions stems from the style of development and its thrust towards physical output, surplus generation, export – consumerism. Consumerism planted on a society brought up on deprivation and on sharing, imbedded in all kinds of inequality devastates like a holocaust. Women have been conscious of the role of consumption and there have been many efforts at dampening consumerism.

The DAWN movement has a vision of building a kind of 'developed' society where conflict is avoided and suggests that not only goals need reappraisal but also the processes of reaching them, the means, the types of social and economic organization, the linkages, need reconstruction.

Most revolutions call for structural change, usually based

on production and its ownership and organization, linked to class and class relations, limited to power relations. The alternative path also requires structural change but *in values*, concepts – and implementing *processes*. Therefore, there is need both to build theory as well as to practise theory through evolution as well as collective action.

The root of devastating development which emptied oceans of fish, tribals of forests, women of wage and food, created enslavement of the South to North, seemed to be not merely in the evil intentions to the North, but also in the theories and practices of development in the South too – a legacy and language of the North.

Observing the various forms of social, economic and political processes in our countries, the DAWN Group identify some modes of production which are not only the predominant modes, but the strengthening of which could in fact provide a new form of organization of production and exchange, giving us certain positive values.

For example, self-employment is perceived as a less worthy form of employment than wage employment by ideologies, administration and even labour itself. However, it is the predominant mode in our country, especially amongst poor women and provides certain inbuilt securities if properly nurtured. However, the guilt inherited from colonial legacies compels us to abandon this mode when we, in fact, should enjoy it.

Dispersed production provided not only decentralization of power, not only less human congestion but also more control over life styles. It is a point of intense debate whether home-based work with the exploitative mechanisms which exists is not a further intensification of female household subordination. Yet experience, whether from Africa or from India, shows that, within dispersed work patterns, alternative arrangements are possible to reverse the trend of exploitation to empowerment. Such turning over of pyramids can in fact be the thin end of revolutionary processes. Accepting existing structures and trying to debate within them seems old

fashioned.

'Formalization' of every institution and process is another concept and value which needs reconsideration. An organization must be registered, title to land must be clarified, and so on. Why? Formality makes for rigidity: often overpowers democracy, openness, closes options. Resilience may be necessary to avoid not only conflict but aggrandisement. Labour not employed in a factory for a wage is called 'informal', when in fact it is as procedurally bound as wage/factory labour. There are so many legacies that need reordering to make our economic and social cultures interesting, useful, potentially rich – which indeed they are.

There has been a good deal of serious reflection on the goals and methods of development with special reference to its impact on the poor, on equity; to the long-term implications for building an enduring, peaceful and just society.

A strong consciousness which is emerging within the development community is that development strategies, whether they are economic, social or political, have neglected the wisdom of the traditions and cultures that already existed in economies/societies. The traditions are not only in terms of economic behaviour, not only in the types of institutions, but also in styles of organization and communication. Such a view is especially strongly expressed by those who are working in the field of environment and conservation, in the field of reduction of poverty, in the field of sustainable development.

The modes, not only modes of economic exchange but also of social and political exchange, that are derived from our own histories and cultures have been neglected and overpowered in the theory building that we have acquired from the North. However, the poor, and amongst them especially women, have in fact survived in spite of the 'attacks' of development because *they are still operating in those modes*.

Often, these 'old modes' are branded as feudal or primitive – the very names are suggestive of unwanted characteristics. Yet, when, because they are viewed through these 'lenses', various culturally homogenous groups and processes such as,

for example, the tribal way of life, the island societies way of life, get destroyed, there is a cry of alarm and concern. It is this inconsistency that has to be looked at again. 'Old structures which have built-in unequal and oppressive elements can perhaps be cleansed of their oppressiveness without necessarily destroying that core in those structures or processes which provided the self-generating inner power of these societies over history. These deep links between history, society, culture and economy have been ignored by the globally popular development strategies, including women and development strategies.^{9,10}

Thus in the arena of conflict caused by development, women's experience and its analysis provides methods both of behaviour at the local micro-level and of reasoning at the macro policy/political level. Women's place in society enables them to link the old and the new with far greater ease than men can, and it is this renaissance in reasoning, in intelligent rooting, in harmonizing through continuity that bears observation and emulation.

Peace Movements

Much is made of the predominance of women in the peace movements. This fact however also stems from the fact of women's predominance in the family-nurturing arena. Shift her from there to Israel, Nicaragua, even South Africa, and she is as much at ease with guerilla warfare and hijacking as a man. Once the traditional arena is shifted the behaviour pattern shifts.

However, here too there is an illuminating proof of the value of women's methods and articulation. A meeting was called together in Greece in November 1986 by women organizers of peace movements from all over the world – the USSR, China, India, etc., Green Peace from Germany, the Peace Research Centre from Oxford and others. It was called 'Women for a Meaningful Summit'¹¹ and was hosted by the Greek woman leader, Margarita Papandreou.

The main purpose of the gathering was to aggregate the

dispersed, organized efforts into one voice and press on the two super power leaders to negotiate disarmament at the Summit. The group built on the 6-nation initiative in which India is prominent as well as other initiatives, and have sought appointments with the two leaders.

If there was common resonance to the various statements made by women it was to keeping the *earth* for *children*. If there was an attitude it was one of *unity*, based on women's special life-giving and life-preserving roles, to do everything in their power to facilitate settlement. If there was an ethic it was one of personal *responsibility*. It was apolitical in one sense and political in another. An impressive display of strength of numbers.

This personalness was expressed even in the method of the conference. Each participant was asked to bring a statement, 'If I had the opportunity to meet Reagan and Gorbachev what would I say. . . .' An approach which to the hard-headed political male may seem childish or emotional, as, indeed, women have been derided, or perceived for centuries. But this is the difference, and there is a virtue in this method of taking responsibility to *Self*, 'I'. This is a common characteristic of women's household presence. Taking individual responsibility – for birth, nurture, illness . . . and so on, for family survival.

Illustration from Religiosity

Mainstream discourse has tended to reject religion. But we find that religion has been the most durable human sentiment. Class consciousness, ideas of liberation have come and gone, but religion goes on and is getting stronger. Liberation theology – the core of the South African struggle is an example of its value. 'Love your enemy', says the Reverend Alan Bosack, the South African leader, in a recent meeting. Asked whether he would have said it, if he was not a religious person? He said, 'No'.

Women are the main practitioners in every religion. Religion has often been their only support – a deity in place of the mother left behind; a court of appeal since there is so

much domestic oppression; a source of courage when fear is dominant. The majority of women of all classes will be orphaned without religion.

But if they are the main practitioners, could they provide a culture of religion other than the one we see? How do we get this new culture of religion to become all-pervasive and wipe away the old?

We need to examine the roles of women during religious wars. Were they the fire stokers, or were they the quenchers? One hears of both types of behaviour.

In a conference¹² of women addressing themselves to this very issue, again the 'commonality' that emerged reflected women's societal situation and not any genetic characteristics. In fact, there was an angry debate on non-violence with Christian women from Central America and South Africa. Islamic women from North Africa protested against adoption of this method as the heart of the feminist way.

All religions discriminated against women, yet women were the main practitioners as well as challengers. Every religion was being 'cleaned up' of its hierarchical encumbrances, its discriminatory nature, by women, as they were resisting these encumbrances, as its victims. A vision of an ethic emerged – the core of all faiths as the fulcrum or centre from which the concentric ever widening rings of various faiths could spread.

Acceptance of a reconstructed religion or reconstructed theological traditions can give the individual a chance to aspire to be a saint, and provide a basis for unity as the core of every faith asks for some awareness of goodness, of observance of some basic virtues.

A theology of liberation, an interpretation of Christianity, has become legitimate in our eyes when we observe the struggles with which Nelson Mandela, Alan Bosaek, Fr. Huddleston etc. are associated. Similarly, in the Philippines, in South East Asia, in Guatemala, in Central America and so many other places, the vanguard is deeply religious.

But the theology of liberation has also emitted fundamentalist streaks as we all know. It is extremely difficult to know

how to draw the boundary lines and contain the fundamentalist threats of theology, to tame it into liberation.

Gandhi offers a mode of channelizing religiosity into liberating, emancipatory impulses. Perhaps it was his way of interpreting theology/religion, namely focussing on the *personal*. That has in it ways of avoiding the leakage into fundamentalism. Gandhi, not the *ism* but the *method*, the *perspective*, offers a valuable experience on *how* to adapt religions into instruments for building both harmony and power in communities. It offers a way of linking the individual to society in a peaceful way.

Personal Ethic – the Missing Link

The foregoing analysis of women and peace activism, development and women's reactions to it, family and women's role in it, leads into another realm, namely, individual responsibility.

In many Indian intellectual fora in the last year or so there is to be seen a return of focus on the individual, on her/his mental state, a move away from the focus on the mass, on collectivities, on the material that predominated in the mainstream.

In the last four decades or so, social and economic engineering concentrated on external, outer space in this country. There is however today a widespread movement towards new landscapes of discourse. The world community is returning to focus on the person, on the being, the inner spaces of the self. In a way it is going back to Plato and Kant, to Kierkegaard and, of course, to Vedanta and other theological traditions. It is coming forward to Gandhi. In a way it is going back to the central struggles of religious discourse.

All ideological training, whether Communist, Christian, Islamic or Hindu, demands self-development. But this has been ridiculed by the modern person and especially by feminists.

Women are strong as individuals. They are already into personal development processes as it has been their strategy

to deal with their societal situation.

If feminist theory emphasizes the individual's self-discipline, self-conscious evolution, it only carries on what women are already into as responsible individuals. A consideration of the terms of trade between the part and the whole, between the heard and unheard voices, between silence and speech, is central to any reconstruction of society and economy, including the enormous vista called development. One useful illustration is from the woman, as *part* of the *whole* family. Often attention is on the whole, namely the family, and ignores or oppresses the individual, the woman. Looking at inequality like this ultimately shifts the theatre of analysis from the usual stratification categories – class, religion, etc. to another theatre, namely, intra-household dynamics.

Subordination of one individual by another, whether based on race, religion or gender, could be seen as the limited awareness in the oppressor of the oppressed – his ignorance, blindness, lack of imagination, lack of personal evolution into 'higher' more sublime levels of consciousness.

Gandhi was working on this when he practised the idea of taking on the consciousness, the identity of *the other* – the 'adversary', or the person who is subordinated, victimized. Simply stated, putting yourself into the other person's shoes, seeing it from the otherside – the worm's-eye view. His method of handling conflict non-violently was based on attempts to *efface* the reason for the conflict at its root, namely, separate identities or separate consciousnesses.

Gandhi, in his approach to equalizing unequal social and economic patterns, set off what appear to be less aggressive processes, moral, cultural, and economic. As a method he attempted to bridge these gaps between social divides by identification – experiencing the experience of the 'other'. He played the role of women, as he saw them – mothers, caring, moral, courageous beings. He wanted to be called 'Maa'.

Gandhi presented an apparent paradox in that he perceived women's qualities as different from those of men, and

at the same time wanted to blur the biological/sexual differences. He postulated that women were more patient, non-violent, and capable of more sacrifice and self-control than men. He always placed them in the vanguard of his protest movements on the basis that they were more sensitive to moral issues and would safeguard them at all cost. On the other hand, he also suggested that there was a part of woman in every man and *vice versa* and the attempt should be to fuse the differences rather than sharpen them.

Since society insisted on segregation and often exaggerated women's sexuality, he continuously demonstrated that biology was not a dividing line and women were capable of courage and leadership as much, if not more, than men. He tried to present them in roles which were far removed from their roles as sex objects.

But he also constantly met hard resistance half-way – a gradual drawing out of the resistance rather than shock treatment, again because of the faith that such change is possible and durable.

He sought to set up alternate styles of social relationships, not only in the *ashrams* where families with all the inherited hierarchies and role allocations were attempted to be replaced by equal new relationships, or bonding for social action, but also alternate economic systems based on intimate accessible production-consumption linkages. The perspective was to prevent any peaking of power in any one source – state, corporation, trade union, patriarch, temple or church. By building a basis for autonomy within households, the growth of power is pre-empted by the very nature of the process – the means of reaching the end. A familiar Gandhian precept.

The process of self-identification with oppressed groups is part of the method used today by women social activists belonging to Gandhi-based institutions. In some ways it removes the problem of outsider-insider, élite-mass alienation. They subscribe to the approach of letting consciousness develop by offering no more than a support system, provided often by walking amongst people, e.g. the *padayatra*. They are

patient, don't push too hard to change class/caste/gender divisions, but live a life which rejects all these divides, share it, and trust that, step by step, society will evolve, by adjustment and re-adjustment, into harmony. The chronicles from Khirakot and Kumarikatta illustrate the effectiveness of this method.

For countries like India, containing not only many religions and cultures, but also disparate economic and social classes, it seems more appropriate and accurate to trace the roots of gender subordination to the *mind*, the consciousness, rather than the *body*, the material.

An attempt has been made in these pages to weave together several separate strands – women, development, religion, personal ethics (the self) and Gandhian modes. The main argument is that if *men* and women develop a consciousness of the wisdom, the richness of women's experience in all directions, there can emerge a more equitable, harmonious method of dealing with society's violent impulses. There is an underlying note that an attention to self, to the evolution of the moral being, is the only safeguard against eruptions of avoidable conflict.

The search for a way out of the current crisis of violence and conflict lies in the way we link the individual, the self, to traditional wisdom, inclusive of religion.

The paper concludes by suggesting that these harmonious and harmony building ways are in fact feminist/or women's experiential ways – and thus the ideologies required for resolving conflict, for going backwards to avoiding conflict and further backward to *being peaceful*, reacting non-violently to conflict making, or conflict ridden situations, requires modes of thought and action whose seed lies in women's experience.

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10. Women's Global Peace Movement – A Focus on Women's Organizations, Issues and Methods

Hem Lata Swarup

Today Humanity stands at a crucial turning point in history. Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate not only all that man has created through the ages, but man himself and even life on Earth. In the nuclear age, humanity must evolve a new mode of political thinking, a new concept of the world that would provide reliable guarantees for humanity's survival. People want to live in a safer and a more just world. Humanity deserves a better fate than being a hostage to nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear-weapon-free world, free of violence and hatred, fear and suspicion.

The world we have inherited belongs to present and future generations, and this demands that priority be given to universally accepted human values. The right of every nation and every person to life, freedom, peace and the pursuit of happiness must be recognized. The use or threat of use of force must be abandoned. The right of every people to make its own social, political and ideological choices must be respected. Politics that seek superiority by some over others must be renounced. The expansion of nuclear arsenals and the development of space weapons undermine the universally accepted conviction that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and can never be won.

Delhi Declaration, 27 November 1986

At 8 a.m. on 6 August 1945, the world was transformed, qualitatively, with a big bang, the explosion of the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima and, three days later, the second on Nagasaki. The nuclear age had been heralded, tragically, with the first act of human extinction, in the first nuclear war. Einstein said that the release of nuclear fire should be compared with the discovery of fire, the difference

being that, while the discovery of fire brought about human civilization by transforming the humanoid ape into a human being, the great advance of scientific and technological knowledge that the mastery of nuclear fission really represented in the middle of this century threatens the end of that human civilization, unless wisdom can prevail.

It is in the tradition of the age-old wisdom of India that our Prime Minister signed the historic Delhi Declaration in November 1986 and also spoke on the occasion of the inauguration of the five-day conference in memory of Indira Gandhi, 'Towards New Beginnings'. The question he posed, being posed by all sane humanity, was a profound one: whether we, who have developed tremendous knowledge to destroy each other, will also be able to develop enough wisdom to save ourselves. Referring to man's instinct for violence as reflected in acts of terrorism, the concept of power blocs, the arms race and the practice of apartheid, in a very apt statement he said, 'We have exchanged the primitive club for nuclear missiles, we have not changed in our thinking.'

During the Mahabharata war, after the great teacher Dronacharya was killed, his son, Aswathama, to wreak vengeance on the Pandavas, uses the *agneyastra* (the weapon of fire). Arrows of fire descended on the earth from the sky. The air and water warmed up, living creatures in the water became restless and even big elephants began to trumpet. Darkness prevailed. (Doesn't it seem like a nuclear missile attack scenario?) Arjun counters the fire weapons with the *Brahmastra* (the weapon of Brahma, the creator), which destroyed the darkness; cool winds began to blow and it was light everywhere.¹ Wisdom prevailed and the evil use of science did not bring the end the unjust parties desired. In the global context today, the world peace movement is the only *Brahmastra* that can save our planet earth from destructive knowledge and power amassed by man and being used for world domination.

Throughout human civilization, in defence of the sacred right to life, the civil codes of all societies have regarded

murder as the greatest crime. Here it is not just murder, not even genocide, but total extinction of all that humanity has worked for, developed till today. Can the defence of any interest, howsoever sacred, even justify actions which lead to the annihilation of all life on the planet? The central social conflict, on a global scale today, particularly in the 80s, is the antagonistic contradiction between the multinational military-industrial complex, the harvester of sky-rocketing super-profits and purveyor of death, and the aspirations of millions of sane people in the developed, and billions of hungry, unclad, illiterate, ailing people in the developing world for a life of dignity, justice and love, represented by the world peace movement and the non-aligned movement, which Indira Gandhi described as 'history's biggest peace movement'.

The Delhi Declaration, signed in the land of the Buddha, Gandhi, Nehru and Indira, in consonance with the millenia-old tradition of *Panchsheel* and non-aggression, has the subtitle, 'On Principles for a Nuclear-weapons-free and Non-violent World'. This is a very proper gift to mankind during the International Year of Peace, 1986, by the leader of the 104-nation Non-aligned Movement and the leader of the socialist sixth of the world. I treat this as a great historical advance of global thought, that those dubbed as propagating violence to achieve justice and condemned mainly on this ground for decades should be the first to sign an accord which eschews violence as a method of conflict resolution on a global plane.

But Gandhi's *ahimsa* (non-violence) did not imply submitting to injustice but fighting against an unjust order through non-violence, the moral and ethical force of the masses of people. This is why the third point of the ten-point Declaration is so apt:

Non-violence should be the basis of community life: philosophy and policy based on violence and intimidation, inequality and oppression, and discrimination on the basis of race, religion or colour, are immoral and impermissible.

They spread intolerance, destroy man's noble aspirations and negate all human values.²

The qualitative change that came about in man's capacity to destroy the whole planet has raised fundamental questions and the relevance of old concepts of 'balance of power' and 'spheres of influence', used to exploit defenceless people in connivance with collaborators, are not only being questioned but rejected by vast masses of people in the peace movement. What is required is a new culture of non-violence, which will have to incorporate the concept of non-invasive paths and processes of development, ecological and environmental preservation, and the creation of a just socio-economic and political order, nationally and internationally.

It is in this context of the world peace movement, as a new mode of thinking and behaviour to overcome the global problem of potential self-annihilation by mankind, that I would examine the question whether gender is a strong enough bond to base such movements upon. The question simply is whether a separate women's peace movement is justified.

In the long history of human civilization, women as creators of life and inventors of agriculture have played the role of sustainers. As mothers, wives and sisters they have stood by their families and nations to defend and preserve worthwhile values. Once again, as world citizens, in country after country today, they are out to defend the earth itself, and are determined not to allow the earth to be blown up. And still, like all other oppressed and deprived people, and in collaboration with them, they have had to fight for recognition of their equal roles.

The slavery of women was the first slavery of human civilization. Through slavery, serfdom, wage labour, and *avantgarde* proletarianism, the patriarchal ordering of society, after the hoary matriarchal beginnings, preserved in myths, legends, rituals and living fossils of scattered groups of certain tribal people, has made the mass of women, the world over,

except in the socialist part of the world, the most deprived, marginalized, oppressed and powerless section of society.

Movements of modern history from the Enlightenment to the French Revolution of 1789, bequeathed to world thought the concepts of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity, as attainable ideals. The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia made it possible for the masses of workers and peasants to gain power and expanded the comity of socialist nations after the defeat of Nazism in 1945. The on-going independence movements of colonial people and the post-Second World War process of political freedom for the erstwhile colonies, except in certain pockets of inhuman reaction like South Africa, has unleashed vast mass potential and raised the aspirations of the common people. The process, so obviously, is one of a continuously broadening power-base, and still, beginning with 1975, as the International Year of the Women, and then the Women's Decade (1976-85), and now, up to the year 2000, a decade and a half was required to take women on to the road to empowerment, and evolve and implement strategies to achieve this objective.

All this could not have been done without the organized strength of women, and, therefore, we shall see how organizations of women, at the international level, have responded to the threats posed by war and the paramount necessity of peace for their own development and the balanced development of children. In the course of this analysis we will also note that the women's peace movement is neither a narrow movement, operating exclusively among women and unaware of broader socio-economic and political paradigms of the international scene, nor devoted only to the cause of women. It is a movement for the total transformation of social relations of oppression and exploitation into relations of equality, justice and recognition of women's multiple roles – productive, reproductive and political – by society at large, and creation of an infrastructure and attitudes which permit women to play these roles effectively.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,

save the world from nuclear annihilation.

A significant part of the activities of the WIDF belong to solidarity with the nations struggling for national independence against imperialism, colonialism, Zionism, apartheid and aggression, and against all forms of terror and injustice.

Congratulating the WIDF on its 40th anniversary, which coincided with another anniversary memorable for the entire progressive mankind – the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Fascism and Japanese militarism, the Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women sent the following message:

We live in a complicated and troublesome time. In order to avoid the repetition of the tragedies of 40 years ago, we as women and mothers of the world, consider the preservation and consolidation of peace and security on our planet to be our most important and responsible objective, our sacred duty. United in the ranks of the WIDF, together, with all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world and through united actions, we must prevent the imminent danger of nuclear war, which could bring about the complete annihilation of life on earth.⁶

In May of 1985, a Women's Peace Workshop on 'The 40th Anniversary of the Victory over Hitlerite Fascism and its Lessons for Today's World' was organized by the WIDF in Sofia. All the 44 participants from 25 national women's organizations, groups, movements and trade unions from 17 European Countries, the USA and West Berlin, the WILPF and WIDF stressed, in their unanimous appeal, that women and their organizations and movements are an important force within the peace movement. Elena Lagadinova, Chairwoman of the CMBW, speaking of the lesson of the Second World War stressed:

The peoples understood too late the danger of fascist aggression aimed at world domination, and they paid a high

price for it. We must learn from that cruel tragedy, and fight war before it begins.⁷

Nina Kisselova from the Soviet Union spoke of how the people fought for their homes and land, understanding that their victory would decide the fate of the world. The price paid by the USSR in the fight against the dark night of fascism was enormous. 'We shall never forget the pain and sorrow of our peoples', she said. 'Women shared the destiny with men, fathers and brothers. They worked in factories and in the fields. One million women volunteered to work at the front. We shall never forget the lessons of the war', she stressed, adding that the main lesson for today is that 'against aggression and to prevent the outbreak of war, a decisive, joint fight is necessary.'⁸

Kathleen Maloney of the WILPF, USA, spoke of the over \$300 billion 1986 military budget of the USA, and what it means for women. For Third World women it meant enormous debt burdens for their countries.

For women in Nicaragua and EL Salvador it means bombings and warfare, in South Africa violence, in Chile and South Korea repression of all rights, and in USA itself declining social services – housing, health, education, public employment.

"Women bear a disproportionate share of the burden of such US policies."⁹

Women from Britain felt that they stand for women's rights, and many of them are allied to the right to peace. Money which could maintain the National Health Service, won after decades of people's struggle, £11 thousand million, was being spent on Trident nuclear submarines.

Czechoslovak women stressed that production of arms brings no profit. The money invested is wasted. It is allocated just for the sake of maintaining a strategic balance and discouraging a potential aggressor. Many war veterans, who

knew what war is, hated it, and exhorted everybody to work for peace.

A relatively new but very significant global organization of women, established again in that year of anniversaries, 1985, is the *World Women Parliamentarians for Peace*. It aims 'to promote world peace and disarmament through unified action by women parliamentarians all over the world.' With the initiative taken by Major Britt Theorin, along with her dedicated colleagues, in the finest traditions established by Alva Myrdal and the Swedish peace movement, a movement spearheading the European Peace Movement, the founding meeting was held on 11-12 April 1986. Women parliamentarians from 15 countries of all continents and of differing political systems were unified in their concern for peace and disarmament.

The joint statement of the Founding Conference regarded the arms race as a fundamental obstacle to peace, equality and development, the three interrelated themes of the earlier Nairobi Conference. It pleaded for adequate influence of women in decision-making concerning war and peace, military budgets and structures, disarmament negotiations and resolution of conflicts. In a very well worded statement they said:

Men and women all over the world long for peace and justice. Interdependence between nations is greater than ever. Unfortunately, the search for security has too much been based on national aspirations and armaments, and too little on common efforts towards mutual understanding and international peace. It is our firm belief that this pattern has to be broken if humankind is to survive. In the nuclear age, security must be based on common interests instead of confrontation and nuclear deterrence. The technological imperative of the arms race must be replaced by concrete political initiatives for disarmament. In principle all nations and governments condemn the arms race, but in practice they participate in that race. The dilemma is to find ways of transition from one security system to a different one. As

women parliamentarians we fully realize this difficulty, but we cannot accept the existing stalemate, which prevents progress in the necessary disarmament process.

The Second Conference was held in India in April 1986, and the Third is being held in Mexico in June 1987, at the time of the writing of these lines.

The most exhaustive study of the interrelationship between the women's peace movement and their struggle for a rightful place in society was made by hundreds and thousands of women scholars, social scientists, administrators, activists, and organizers of women during the *International Women's Year and the Decade*. At Nairobi, both in Forum '85, where nearly 13,500 women belonging to all the continents, races, colours, ideologies, and professions gathered and at the official, UN-sponsored World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, the three themes: Equality, Development and Peace were explored, and 'Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women up to the Year 2000' adopted. Beginning with 1975, and up to, the Year 2000 (a quarter century), the three themes retain their relevance and it is the interplay of forces, processes and strategies, leading from one to the other, looking at the whole in an integral manner, which alone can present concrete measures to overcome the obstacles to the Decade's goals and objectives for the advancement of women.

The peace theme was well covered at Nairobi. Sub-themes like the threat of nuclear war; military bases; the mass media; disarmament; peace education; women, peace and politics; and black women and the peace movement, led to sharing of experience with a remarkable breadth and depth of knowledge. The blue-striped Peace Tent, a special stratagem to attract attention to the peace issue, became a focal point of discussion of the reasons of conflict and of specific conflicts, and also for singing, networking and building solidarity among women.

Janet Bruin and Edith Ballantyne, Secretary-General of the

WILPF, assessed the interrelationships worked out by women as follows:

Investment in arms industries was linked as well to unemployment, inflation, and economic crisis in the industrialized countries. The cost of the arms race (approaching \$1 trillion annually), the US deficit, mounting interest rates, the Third World debt, and continuing poverty were seen as inextricably linked. Disarmament and the implementation of UN plans for a new international economic order were seen as prerequisites to significant strides toward equality and development for women. Women are now challenged to agree on how to bring about these needed changes. An advance in this direction was made in Nairobi.¹⁰

I quote below some paragraphs from the Nairobi, *Forward Looking Strategies* document to show how well this global movement of women, official and non-official, has understood the implication of the broad, interrelated and mutually reinforcing objectives of the Decade, so that the achievement of one contributes to the achievement of another:

Equality is both a goal and a means whereby individuals are accorded equal treatment under the law and equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and to develop their potential talents and skills so that they can participate in national, political, economic, social and cultural development and can benefit from its results.

Equality is important for development and peace because national and global inequalities perpetuate themselves and increase tensions of all types.

The role of women in development is directly related to the goal of comprehensive social and economic development and is fundamental to the development of all societies. Development means total development, including development in the political, economic, social, cultural and other dimensions of human life, as well as the development

of the economic and other material resources and the physical, moral, intellectual and cultural growth of human beings. It should be conducive to providing women, particularly those who are poor or destitute, with the necessary means for increasingly claiming, achieving, enjoying and utilizing equality of opportunity.

The full and effective promotion of women's rights can best occur in conditions of international peace and security where relations among States are based on the respect for the legitimate rights of all nations, great and small, and peoples to self-determination, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to live in peace within their national borders.

Peace includes not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities at the national and international levels, but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society. It depends upon respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as international covenants and the other relevant international instruments of human rights, upon mutual co-operation and understanding among all States irrespective of their social, political and economic systems and upon the effective implementation by States of the fundamental human rights standards to which their citizens are entitled.

Peace cannot be realized under conditions of economic and sexual inequality, denial of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, deliberate exploitation of large sectors of the population, unequal development of countries, and exploitative economic relations. Without peace and stability there can be no development. Peace and development are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

Peace is promoted by equality of the sexes, economic equality and the universal enjoyment of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Its enjoyment by all requires that women be enabled to exercise their right to participate

on an equal footing with men in all spheres of the political, economic and social life of their respective countries, particularly in the decision-making process, while exercising their right to freedom of opinion, expression, information and association in the promotion of international peace and co-operation.¹¹

The document further says, in para 14, that the effective participation of women in development and in the strengthening of peace, as well as the promotion of the equality of women and men, requires concerted multi-pronged strategies and measures that should be people-oriented.

It is thus quite clear that the women's peace movement, as defined by its international protagonists and by the global assemblies of women, is neither narrow, nor sectarian, nor feminist in the narrow sense, but a broad mass movement of women who have internalized the value and requirement of peace as the basic condition of their own development and, getting their rightful place in society without structural, institutional and attitudinal obstacles. The consciousness, the actions, the forms, the methodologies etc. used nowhere place it apart, in a corner. The only thing that has happened is that women have become aware of the supreme importance of peace through their own experience, needs, and requirements and that is what lends it a special touch, and provides a bond to build a strong phalanx of the world peace movement as a movement to restructure the world.

In analysing the *nature of this peace movement of the women of the whole world*, questions of extent, motivation, issues, tasks, forms of the movement, the dynamics of peace-keeping processes, and the organizational structure, all need to be considered.

The women's peace movement is *truly global in character*. International and national women's organizations, states, governments, parliamentarians, legislators, scientists, physicians, other professionals, and vast masses of women are involved. Women in the developed industrialized capitalist

countries, in socialist countries, and in the developing countries, may lay emphasis on different aspects of the movement but, taken together, through the intensified peace movement of the 1980s, certain common issues, like peaceful coexistence and cooperation at all levels, opposition to the 'Star Wars' programme, and cuts in expenditure on armaments, have strengthened the movement and taken it to the grassroots. In the All India Peace March in Delhi on 3 December 1986, organized by the All India Peace and Solidarity Organization in celebration of the International Year of Peace, hundreds of women workers and peasants, from far off corners of the country, had come to lend their support to the movement for preservation of life. It showed that the movement is not just something in the air but is deeply rooted in the soil.

When asked about their *motivation* in joining the peace movement the answers which emerged in the WIDF Peace School held in Sofia in 1984 were:

1. *The intuitive understanding of the worth of life:* Women are creators of life and, therefore, the threat to all life, by itself, is abhorrent and abominable to them. Their protective instincts towards mother-earth itself have been fully aroused.
2. *The tragic experiences of war:* Women are the ones who suffer most physically, emotionally, psychologically. With all their might they are against the recurrence of war and that too one which is going to be a nuclear holocaust.
3. *Children's future:* Children are the beauty and hope for the future. Rabindranath Tagore, the great poet, said that every new child born is a proof that God has not yet tired of his creation. Women are basically mothers and grandmothers, and for the sake of the children are determined that 'there must never be war again', because war is the greatest disaster that children can be confronted with. They have an elementary right to live and develop in peace.

4. *To stop increase in armaments which impedes development and is the reason for the growing dangers:* The economics and politics of increasing investment of public funds in the military-industrial complex, and reaping a bumper harvest of super-profits out of it, has been internalized by women. Just 12 years of a campaign for their development, they know, is totally insufficient and, therefore, they have to struggle to stop wasteful and dangerous expenditure of \$1 trillion on armaments.

In all this, what is quite obvious is that in the desire to settle conflicts through negotiations, in a world full of conflicts of all kinds, women may have different outlooks but they have a common motive, namely '*to avert the danger we are in*'. That is why they are not resigned but seek new and more effective methods and international cooperation on a broader scale.

The *issues* which have exercised the women's peace movement are as diverse and all-embracing as women's lives. Some of the important facets are political, economic, social and cultural, but it has to be understood that it is mostly for facility of analysis that we segregate them, otherwise they are as intermixed as life itself.

National and International Security in the Nuclear Age is today the greatest and the most *central political issue*. No longer do the old concepts of sovereign national states, national boundaries, the balance of power, standing armies as guarantees of survival, have much meaning. Most of the political science that we read or are taught has become redundant. In the pre-nuclear age, 'national' and 'international' had distinct connotations, but not today.

In conferences/workshops/peace schools, everywhere, women have discussed the question of security and realized that there is far more risk in the accumulation of means of destruction, leading to nuclear blackmail of unobliging sovereign states or peoples still struggling to be free. Ales Adamovich, a Soviet writer, has precisely and aptly described the danger

howering over the world:

There is only one target of a nuclear attack – mankind. A war of that kind – the greatest and the last genocide, would no longer be directed against any particular nation or race but against the human species, against mankind, against homo sapiens.¹²

And, therefore, in view of this unprecedented threat to the security of other states (India knows it only too well) from warmongering militarist circles in the USA and other NATO countries, leading to incidents like the annexation of tiny Grenada or the bombing of Libya, the old concepts of security no longer hold any promise of security. Neither military superiority, nor the reproduction of the notorious 'balance of terror', but setting a balance of security and mutual confidence among all states, large and small, is the peaceful alternative suggested by the women's peace movement.

The other important political issue, more like a corollary deriving from the first, is the *creation of the material foundation of a secure world by way of immediate limitation of strategic armament and ultimate disarmament*. This is also the direction indicated by the First Special Session on Disarmament of the U.N. General Assembly.

The women's peace movement, therefore, demands very concrete steps like the freezing of all nuclear arms arsenals without delay, the limitation and decisive reduction of strategic arms, a radical lowering of the level of nuclear arms on both sides in Europe, averting the militarization of outer space, prohibition and destruction of all stocks of chemical weapons – all directed towards the elimination of the threat of war.

Women understand that today, more than ever, it is imperative to assert the political determination to turn the course of events once again towards the consolidation of peace, limitation of arms, *détente* (the spirit of Helsinki, 1975), and the development of international cooperation.

Dr. Mira Petrovskaya, therefore, correctly observes:

The women's movement assumes a great importance in the effort to guarantee a secure world. The growing influence of women in the struggle for peace was reflected in the endorsement by the 37th session of the UN General Assembly of an important document – the Declaration on the participation of women in promoting international peace and cooperation. This competent recognition of the vitally important role which, as noted in the Declaration, women were playing in the promotion of peace in the family, the community, their country and in the world is allowing them to join the ranks of the fighters against the danger of the nuclear extermination of mankind in ever growing numbers. On the basis of previous experiences women can exert an even more powerful influence on the governments of their countries to induce them to conduct a policy of creating guarantees for the preservation of peace.¹³

This is particularly true of the women's movement in the developed capitalist countries, in socialist and the majority of developing countries the governments, along with the people, are themselves quite conscious about it.

The disarmament issue also includes in its ambit the 'Star Wars' question. The science-fiction scenario being enacted by the actor-President of the USA is a stratagem to carry out a first nuclear-strike unpunished, protected by the cosmic missile's defence 'shield' against retaliation. The vital interests of mankind, against evil-minded rapacious politicians demand that outer space be exclusively used for peaceful purposes. The women's movement, therefore, has welcomed Mr. Gorbachev's 'Star Peace' as an antidote to 'Star Wars', and also the Soviet Union's unilateral ban, for more than a year and a half, on nuclear testing, which leads to environmental pollution and radiation sickness on a vast scale in the Pacific, amongst military personnel, and the 'Hibakusha' as the

Japanese peace movement would call it.

In the developing world, the *most significant political issue is the struggle for national independence, for protecting the independence gained, against imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and internal sabotage*. In Asia and the Pacific, in Africa, in Latin America and the Caribbeans, and in Central America, everywhere, the issue is preservation of political and economic independence against the conspiracy of the trans-nationals. Everywhere, in the entire Third World, the search for solutions to the problems faced by women is part and parcel of the struggles of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and apartheid, for peace, development and social progress. The achievements scored during the Decade as a result of the active involvement of masses of women in this struggle, have unleashed a powerful force for the promotion of full respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, national independence and social progress.

One more important political issue that has mobilized women all over the world is *the establishment of democratic forms of government against authoritarian rule*. In country after country, in Latin America particularly, in Chile, in Ecuador, in Argentina, in Brazil, in Bangladesh, in Pakistan, in the Philippines, the women's peace movement has taken up this issue. The Catholic Church in Latin American countries, particularly in Brazil, has combined this struggle with the people's struggle for rights over land, and jobs.

Most of these *political issues have economic substratums* which remain hidden from the uninitiated, but fundamentally the politics of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, apartheid etc. is a politics of *stark economic exploitation* of the colonies or the erstwhile colonies. *Unequal relations* leading to inflated import bills, and decreasing export earnings lead to *accumulation of huge debts*. For illustration, the foreign debt of the Latin American region is \$ 350 billion, export earnings have decreased to \$ 95 billion a year, and Latin America is scheduled to pay more than \$ 45 billion in

annual interest. The region is thus a net exporter of capital at a time when it needs capital most for its own development.

Foreign debts of the developing countries today, taken together, are nearly equal to the budgetary allocation of the US SDI programme, nearly a trillion dollars both ways (a trillion is 1,000,000,000,000,000,000); the implication being that it is *this unequal economic relationship which is going to fund conflicts in space*, just as the loot of the colonies the world over fuelled the process of capital formation required for the rapid industrialization of Europe and America in the late 18th, 19th and the first part of the 20th century. It results in cuts in or freezing of wages, unemployment, and cuts in social services, and thus directly affects even the limited benefits in the areas of health, housing and education which the people have won so far. Naturally, women and children are the worst-hit victims of this process.

The women's peace movement is, therefore, asking a very pertinent question: *Who is indebted to whom?* They are asking, with the Cartagena Group (1984), how the problem of foreign debts – a problem of survival for the Latin American countries – is to be solved. They have realized that they and their people are being forced to pay an 'immoral and unjust debt'. Adolpho Perez Esquivel from Argentina, Nobel Peace Prize winner, has said:

We, the people of Latin America, do not need weapons. What we need is life and development. I would elect a housewife minister of economic affairs as she would think first of all to feed her children and only then how to pay the debts.¹⁴

Surely, what is important is not the accounts of the international creditors but the lives of millions of people who will suffer misery and death if the debts have to be discharged.

The demand for a *New International Economic Order* of the masses and governments of the Third World, represented by the Non-aligned Movement and the Group of 77 in the UN

General Assembly, has, therefore, not only been endorsed but espoused by the women's peace movement the world over. The aim of the NIEO is to eliminate the unequal relations between poor and rich nations, and guarantee the inalienable right of Third World countries to determine their own future, free of imperialist interference and loot through international commercial relations.

It is women who suffer most the whole tragedy of inflation, the poverty, lack of food, schools and health care for their children, the tragedy of misery, hunger and despair. It is they who have to accept inferior, inhuman jobs at starvation wages, who have to work for piece-wages, who get lower wages than men and who are the first to be sacked.

Vilma Espin, President of the Federation of Cuban Women, at the inauguration of the Regional Women's Meeting in Havana in June 1985 said:

We have come to the conclusion that intervention today does not just mean cruel armed aggression. It is a phenomenon of world-wide interference by means of manifold activities, sometimes overt, which include the strangling and looting of the economy, cultural oppression, false information which distorts or conceals news in accordance with imperialist interests and political and diplomatic repressive measures.¹⁵

This python of debts strangles dozens of countries and whole continents in its ruthless coils, and is directly linked with the intensification of the arms race. With typical Castro-like determination Espin adds:

We the women will not lose hope or suffer any longer, we will fight to change our situation and abolish misery and oppression. We will not accept to pay the foreign debts and their interest with our bread and the blood of our children. We will put aside our differences and unite in the struggle for the future of our peoples. We will eliminate the

obstacles that hamper women's integration in political and social life. We will fight because education, culture and information are the right of all people. We will reform the structures that have made our nations subject to foreign exploitation for two centuries.¹⁶

Let us not forget that it is not only the women of developing countries who have to pay the toll for the arms race through bitter tears, but also the mass of women in the USA and NATO countries. Both Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) in the USA, and the National Assembly of Women (NAW) in the UK have brought out the contradiction between the economics of Star Wars and war in general and the basic needs of the people. Not only in the USA and UK, but all over capitalist Europe, women are feeling the crunch of the cuts in public welfare expenditure. Rights won after decades of struggle in the field of employment, health, education and child care are all being given the go-by.

The effects of unemployment are turning the clock back in Britain, in spite of having had woman Prime Minister for two terms. Women are losing jobs fast. Ever since women entered the wage-labour market, they have been regarded as a secondary work force, which fills gaps in times of expansion and is jettisoned when decline and stagnation set in. This has ramifications beyond jobs. Women are being thrown back to dependent housewife roles. Ill-health and suicide among the unemployed register a rise. Young girls are being pushed into dependence on the family. Violence and cut-backs in public expenditure make travel difficult.

But women are fighting against joblessness; closure of day-nurseries, homes for the aged and disabled; and attacks on health and transport services. They are also fighting to meet the challenge of changing patterns of work and new technologies to ensure that women are not left behind. Elizabeth Tebbs, Chairwoman of the NAW in Britain relates all this to the requirements of a policy of peace and education for

peace. She adds:

Human reason rebels against war, against the senseless waste of money and resources for destruction, but success in this historical struggle between forces for peace and forces for war will not come of itself. Peace has to be worked for and defended. This is a fight we have to win, and we will win if all our organizations, all peace-loving people work unceasingly on this issue, then we will emerge from this dark period in our history with a maturity that will enable us to use all the scientific and technological developments for a constructive future, where unemployment will be eliminated, and where our humanity towards each other will be the natural way of living.¹⁷

The same story is repeated by Norma Spector, the Vice-President of WREE in the case of US women, particularly non-white women. The economics of Star Wars is leading the country's poorer masses into a deeper abyss of poverty, misery, and the young, women and men both, into lives of crime, violence and despair. The Women's Bill of Rights, with peace as its first point, is becoming a rallying point. Peace actions, demonstrations, apartheid picketing at the South African Consulate, celebration of International Women's Day (8 March) at the African Consulate – all these are uniting more and more women for peace and human dignity. The 'coalition of Nairobi' is now becoming a coalition for jobs and peace, because women have understood that full employment is not possible as long as the USA spends billions of dollars on war. Jobs, child-care, anti-racism and affirmative action are their main planks to unite women. In 1986, the IYPH, their demand was 'No more money for war, money for our needs, money for the people's needs.'¹⁸

The *tasks* of the movement thus emerge from the issues discussed and can be delineated as follows:

1. The first and foremost task of the women's movement

consists in exerting an influence on the consciousness of the masses of women.

2. To counteract narrow-minded, passive, indifferent and disinterested attitudes towards the question of war and peace.
3. To strive to make everyone aware of their personal responsibility in the face of the acute danger of the extermination of mankind.
4. To unmask mercilessly those who, against all common-sense and logic regarding survival, try to drag mankind towards the catastrophe of ultimate destruction.
5. To interrelate all this through the immediate needs and problems of the masses of women to enable them to relate themselves to the peace issue.

The *dynamics of the processes* by which the campaign for peace is to be carried on and ultimately won is the dynamics of joint, systematic and concerted action by women all over the world, regardless of where they happen to live, in transforming the consciousness of the masses of people, men and women both. Here the Preamble to the constitution of UNESCO is extremely relevant:

... Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

... the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races; ...

Living under different socio-economic and political systems, women may have different opinions on different issues but they are united by the common objectives of the struggle for peace. The luxury of differences can only be afforded by those who are alive and, therefore, the women's

movement lays emphasis on that which unites, and not that which divides, in order to preserve life on earth and give mankind a chance to deploy the unlimited potential of its power of reason.

The *actions and methods* used by the women's peace movement are quite varied. Very often they are the usual actions resorted to by all campaigners, but at times they have a unique quality of their own, putting the stamp of women's personalities on them. These actions have been peace marches and demonstrations, including surrounding the Pentagon, the brain centre of the industrial-military complex of the world, by a 'peace-ribbon' after a huge rally in which hundreds of thousands of people participated; peace conferences/workshops in which women get educated in a big way about peace issues; signature campaigns involving door-to-door contact; Peace Encampments at sites where nuclear missiles have been positioned, like the ones at Greenham Common (UK), Seneca Falls (USA), Comiso (Italy), Pine Gaps (Australia) and hundreds of other sites; peace schools; exhibitions of women's and children's expression of what peace means to them; human chains, stretching over 25 to 30 kilometres and more in one stretch; lorry convoys; peace ships; peace radios (one of the most innovative methods of educating the people through an impromptu radio station on a vehicle on the road); and peace lobbying for stopping the arms race and reducing the financial drain. All this has been possible only through grass roots work by devoted activists of the peace movement. Peace songs, peace buttons, peace flags, posters, catchy slogans, have all been part of these action programmes.

The women's peace movement is basically a mass movement. Its strength lies in the strength of the masses – to suffer, to act, to triumph. In India, Gandhi taught us the lesson of arousing the masses, and then letting them use their own energy to transform the world they live in according to their own lights, in the tradition of the people's vibrant culture. We need a new pattern of global thought today, and

the combined peace movement of the people has the capacity to bring home to people a new realism about a changed world and, therefore, the need for new thought.

I would like to end with quoting a Message from Freda Brown, President of the WIDF, on International Women's Day in the International Year of Peace (1986):

Every year women's creativity, courage and fighting spirit wins new victories.

However, much remains to be done. Aggression, oppression, hunger, drought still cripple humanity. But above all a new terrible horror menaces us all, everywhere. The horror of nuclear war has been projected into space.

The stars are for young lovers

The stars inspire lullabies for babies.

The stars provoke scientific investigation.

Will we permit this generation to be the last to see the stars?

Will there be no more lovers, no more babies, no more scientists to look up and wonder at the Stars?

Let the answer, 'End the arms race on Earth', 'No to Star

Wars', 'Peace on Earth and in Space', ring out all over the world on International Women's Day in Peace Year 1986.

Let the stars always be for wonder, not for war.¹⁹

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15. Vilma Espin, *Women of the World*, No. 1, 1986, p. 54.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
17. Elizabeth Tebbs 'Turning the Clock Back in Britain'. *Women of the World*, No. 1, 1984, p. 45.
18. Norma Spector, 'How WREE is Working for Peace', *Women of the World*, No. 2, 1986, p. 15.
19. Freda Brown, 'To Women the World Over', *Women of the World*, No. 1, 1986, p. 17.

11. Gandhi and World Peace

S.C. Gangal

To political leaders, militarists and diplomats, in general, world peace means only the postponement of war. No sooner is a war over, they start preparing, willy-nilly, for the next. Probably, they regard it as utopian to think in terms of lasting peace. But the problem deserves deeper consideration. Peace is not a state of perfection which may be the saturation point of all human progress, an unchanging and stagnant condition from which all conflict will have completely disappeared. The problem, indeed, is to evolve a cooperative world order from which the causes of international tensions and conflicts will have been removed or, at least, minimized, and where there would be an adequate machinery to settle disputes among nations amicably.

Most of Gandhi's public life was spent in directing India's struggle for freedom and in attending to diverse socio-economic problems at home. Hence, at the outset, one wonders and tends to grope one's way to find whether Gandhi was interested in larger world problems to such an extent as to have left behind a viable, coherent model or design for a peaceful world order or a meaningful alternative to the 'anarchical society' of our time.

Gandhi's near-total involvement in the problems of India's freedom was not a matter of choice or preference. It was logical and inevitable, for India and her contemporary problems were nearest to him in time and space. His earlier involvement and leadership of the *satyagraha* struggle in South Africa were dictated by the same logic and inevitability.

Nevertheless, these 'local' or nearer preoccupations did not preclude his concern for the larger issues of peace and war and the problems of a durable, peaceful world order. He himself helped (as a non-combatant and recruiting agent) in several wars. During the Second World War, he advised the Poles to fight against the German invaders and not to surrender, and described the Pole's violent fight as 'almost non-violence'. In late 1947, he gave, as he put it, his 'tacit consent' to India's involvement in the Kashmir operations. Moreover, both in India and South Africa, he fought against some of the main sources of international tension, namely, imperialism, colonialism, racialism and domination.

Gandhi's approach to world peace appears a trifle baffling at first sight. Thus, at one place, he writes: "Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness (essential goodness) of human nature".¹ Here he seems to be thinking in terms of the ultimate ideal – which by definition is incapable of full realization in practice – but is nevertheless good as a guiding objective or frame of reference like Euclid's point in geometry. On the other hand, in the non-violent world order he envisaged, he provided for an international police force for controlling possible violence between nations.² What, then, is his exact position vis-à-vis questions of peace, armaments and world order? There is some apparent lack of precision or co-ordination in his occasional statements and writings on the point. But one thing is clear – that Gandhi is not an absolute pacifist and that, to him, the problem of world peace is not merely identical with the problem of war, armaments or disarmament.

To Gandhi, the problems of war and peace form part of the larger problem of world order at various levels, individual, local or national, and international.³ Indeed, any systematic approach to world order, other than a mere temporary expedient, must be broad-based and form part of an entire social philosophy or way of life. Such, in fact, is Gandhi's approach.

The basic factor in Gandhi's world view is the individual, who has a soul, a will or consciousness. The consciousness of

the individual expresses itself at various levels of human existence – local, national and international. The springs of disorder and violence are not to be found at the international level alone. International conflict arises, according to Gandhi, because violence permeates every sphere of life. Hence a stable world order cannot be brought about by merely eschewing violence in international relations. The individual as well as his local and national environment should be so ordered or organized as to regulate and minimize or possibly eliminate violence – the individual by reordering his life through self-discipline, education and training and the nations of the world by restructuring their political and socio-economic objectives and structures along non-violent lines. Only then will the emerging international order tend to be peaceful and cooperative. Thus Gandhi's long-term approach aims at the creation of a peaceful world order through a dual exercise or technique: (i) a code of self-discipline and training/education for the individual, and (ii) a thorough-going reconstruction of the political and socio-economic structure of the nations internally.

The discipline of the individual consists, chiefly, of a five-fold commitment broadly based on the famous *pancha yamas* of Patanjali whose *Yogasutra* Gandhi studied in South Africa. They are *satya* (truth), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacharya* (self-control), *asteya* (non-stealing) and *aparigraha* (non-possession or only such possessions as are dictated by basic necessity). Some other commitments or 'vows' recommended by Gandhi include fearlessness, removal of untouchability, 'bread labor' (earning one's bread by manual/physical labour), tolerance, humility, silence, and the use of *swadeshi* goods. This may seem a formidable list, but its application is subject to some relaxations or concessions. First, some of these vows or commitments were dictated by the Indian situation, especially in Gandhi's time, as, for example, the vows relating to *swadeshi* and untouchability. Their relevance in India today is different or less than before and certainly much less or perhaps not relevant at all in other nations or societies. More-

over, Gandhi's stress is not on total adherence or achievement but on honest ever-increasing endeavour.⁴ It may also be noted that Gandhi did not expect the full and rigorous observance of the discipline from the masses which is limited to the leaders.⁵ Even so, there is apparently nothing novel or impossible about it. Gandhi himself was able to mould his life in accordance with it. And what he practised successfully, (Gandhi always asserted) could as well be practised by any one else with the requisite will and capacity. The armed forces enforce rigorous discipline consisting, among other things, of truthfulness, faithful observance of duty, fearlessness, obedience, punctuality, long hours of hard work, and periods of near starvation and separation from home and families. And distinguished military authorities are of the view that discipline is a factor of inestimable importance for success in battle and in the performance of other important tasks.⁶ Moreover, this view of Gandhi's (that individual discipline is essential for the creation of a peaceful world order) has wide support among noted contemporary thinkers and social philosophers. Thus Bertrand Russell writes, 'What is needed is unifying integration, first of our individual lives, then of the community and of the world, without sacrifice of individuality.'⁷ To the same end, Pitirim Sorokin expresses the view that 'the effortful transmutation of the individual may slightly precede others'⁸ (i.e. the other steps towards a peaceful world order). The essence of the scheme lies in its implicit stress on conservation, self-restraint and honesty. The details could apparently be varied according to time and place.

The next essential step in Gandhi's long-term approach to world order is the restructuring or reorganization of the political and socio-economic structure and the educational system within the states or nations. The most outstanding feature of this reorganization is decentralization, both political and economic.

In politics, Gandhi is at one with Lord Acton in believing that 'power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Hence he advocates the widest possible diffusion

of power. His 'predominantly non-violent' state⁹ will have a federal structure in which the central government would have only a few, enumerated functions of national importance. The real repository of functional power or responsibility would be the village – the smallest socio-political unit – where the people will rule themselves and where there will be little scope for domination by one over the others, and for political indoctrination, manipulation or abuse of authority. Even defence will be largely decentralized.¹⁰

In the socio-economic sphere, decentralization will be achieved by means of small-scale and widely-scattered village or cottage industries. Every village will be largely self-sufficient and production will be geared to the needs of the local population. And though Gandhi is not absolutely opposed to the use of machinery, his emphasis is unmistakably on handicrafts.¹¹ Machinery may be used in those rare cases where it does not lead to exploitation and where it helps lighten the burden of the cottage worker or the handicraftsman. In fact, in an age of highly devastating weapons like the hydrogen bomb and guided missiles, widely-scattered small-scale industries can be a nation's best industrial defence against surprise aerial attack. Thus writes Ogburn, 'I think that the threat of bombing from the air will have the effect of scattering somewhat the population and location of industry if wars continue. . . . Aviation under present conditions, renders states with large concentrations of population and industry highly vulnerable.'¹² And according to William T.R. Fox, 'a modest and sensible programme of decentralization would assure the failure of a sneak attack'.¹³ If, on the other hand (as in present-day states), a nation's industrial power or potential is concentrated within a narrow range of territory in the form of huge factories or industrial complexes, it would be relatively easy for the invader to paralyse the nation's economy at one stroke and secure early victory. Moreover, a simple, decentralized, village economy has 'far greater spontaneous recuperative power than a more complicated one has'.¹⁴ Also, in many cases, thanks to the invention of the internal

combustion engine and the discovery of electric power, large-scale, centralized production is not always an economic proposition. It is indeed notable and significant, in this context, that Henry Ford, the great industrial pioneer, came to the conclusion towards the close of his life 'that his great centralized factory at Detroit was a dinosaur, an absolute monster',¹⁵ and began advocating a widely spread network of rural or suburban workshops or, in a word, economic and industrial decentralization.

With a view to strengthening the foundations of a peaceful world order, Gandhi advocates education through handicraft. Manifestly, the idea is to establish coordination between the mind and the body so as to guard against the depressive or frustration-aggression potentialities of a purely mental or sedentary culture, and to canalize and give a vigorous, peaceful direction to man's forceful impulses and drives from early childhood. Such an education, in conjunction with the discipline of the individual and other constructive activities (advocated by Gandhi), could indeed help much in shaping a peace-loving, cooperative personality. Incidentally, it also highlights the close interdependence, in Gandhi's world view, between the role of the individual on the one hand, and the political and socio-economic structure on the other.

Gandhi's non-violent state bids farewell to arms and police.¹⁶ Their place will be taken by peace brigades or *satyagrahis* who, in the performance of their duty, would be prepared even to lay down their lives without taking recourse to arms and force. The chief qualities of the soldiers of a non-violent army and police should be, according to Gandhi, a living faith in God, discipline, truthfulness and devotion to duty. A training in arms will surely be unnecessary for them.¹⁷

After these transformations in the internal political and socio-economic structure of the different nations, the way will have been paved for an international society in which all nations, small or big, will be equal partners. Thus Gandhi pleads for a new world order arising from the restructuring or reconstruction of national societies or, as he puts it, for

'internationalism through non-violent nationalism'. He builds for an enduring peaceful world order from bottom upwards by two steps or stages, namely, the discipline or training of the individual and the transformation and reconstruction of the political and socio-economic structure of the nations along non-violent lines. And it is this pervasive and thoroughgoing character of Gandhi's approach to world peace that tends to distinguish it from most other approaches.

Ultimately, the nations of the world will organize themselves into a world federation or international league. Thus, Gandhi wrote to Frydman in July 1942, 'I told you that I was at one with you that I was trying to take the Congress and everybody towards world federation.'¹⁸ But Gandhi points out that 'the structure of a world federation can be raised only on the foundation of non-violence, and violence will have to be given up in world affairs'.¹⁹ He expressed the same view in 1931 while speaking in Geneva about the League of Nations:

It [the League] is expected to replace war, and by its own power, to arbitrate between nations who might have differences amongst themselves. But it has always seemed to me that the League lacks the necessary sanctions. . . . I venture to suggest to you that the means we have adopted in India supply the necessary sanctions, not only to a body like the League of Nations, but to any voluntary body or association that would take up this great cause of the peace of the world.²⁰

According to Gandhi, 'there would be an international league only when all the nations, big or small, composing it are fully independent. The nature of that independence will correspond to the extent of non-violence assimilated by the nations concerned'.²¹ In 1947, Gandhi said that the only condition on which the world can continue to live is that it should be united under one central governing body composed of the elected representatives of the component parts.²² A non-violent peaceful international order should be based on

general disarmament. But before general disarmament begins, as it must some day,

some nation will have to dare to disarm herself and take large risks. The level of non-violence in that nation, if that event happily comes to pass, will naturally have risen so high as to command universal respect. Her judgement will be unerring, her decision will be firm, her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great, and she will want as much for other nations as for herself.²³

There 'may be a world police to keep order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence'.²⁴ The international police force however will be a non-violent army or peace brigade whose motto will be service and cooperation rather than force. In such a world society 'based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest'. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be largely obliterated. Needless to say that imperialism, colonialism and the exploitation of one nation by another will be ruled out in this society.

However the peaceful world order, as conceived by Gandhi, may take time to evolve. Meanwhile, there may be cases of aggression by one state against another or sudden outbreaks of violence by warlike groups of men or tribes here and there. How, it may be asked, would Gandhi meet them? This brings us to a study of Gandhi's short-term technique for resolving international tension and conflict, his technique for resisting armed aggression.

Gandhi's technique for resisting aggression, broadly speaking, may be divided into three parts: First, the plan for action before the invasion takes place; second, the plan to be adopted during the period of armed attack; and third, the plan for the period when occupation of territory by the aggressor has taken place.

Before the invasion, Gandhi's technique consists in removing non-violently the probable cause or motive behind the possible invasion. Thus, speaking in 1938 about the

frequent tribal raids in the North West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan), Gandhi found the raiders' motive to be chiefly economic, i.e. the satisfaction of primary needs. He, therefore, expressed the view that the rational course would be to raise the raiders above penury by teaching them industry and thereby removing the principal motive for the raids.²⁵ Indeed, this is nothing but a suggestion for extension of the neighbourly principle of 'live and let live' to the field of international relations. Indirectly, it is a plea for the free dissemination of ideas and knowledge, and for the extension of human sympathy to all the peoples of the world. This happens even in the competitive society of today when one nation helps another with food, money or technical know-how, and offers aid without strings. Done in purer spirit, as advocated by Gandhi, it is likely to yield increasing returns.

At the time of armed attack and in the course of fighting, the technique should consist of fighting non-violently to the last man, and yet without any bitterness or hatred against the invader. This is the advice Gandhi gave to Indians (in Assam and Indo-Burmese border areas) at the time of Japanese invasion of these regions during World War II. Said Gandhi, 'The underlying belief in such non-violent resistance is that the aggressor will, in time, be mentally and even physically tired of killing non-violent resisters. He will begin to search what this new force is which refuses cooperation without seeking to hurt, and will probably desist from further slaughter.'²⁶ His idea, therefore, is to weaken the moral defences of the aggressor and to upset his poise and balance by confronting him with an entirely novel and unexpected treatment.

But, if non-violent resistance succeeds, as is implied in Gandhi's position, by morally disarming the aggressor and by appealing to his natural feelings of love and altruism through self-suffering, it may be of no avail against aerial warfare where there are no personal contacts. This question was put to Gandhi. And he replied that 'behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that still is the human heart that gets the hand in motion'.²⁷

The underlying belief is that pure *ahimsa* or suffering undergone without malice is self-propagating, and that even the distant, invisible invader (in the air or faraway otherwise) is sure to be melted or influenced by it. In any case, such suffering will gain the resisters the goodwill of the entire world. On 30 January 1948, the last day of his life, Gandhi was asked by an American journalist: 'How would you meet the atom bomb . . . with non-violence?' And Gandhi replied: 'I will not go underground, I will not go into shelter. I will come out in the open and let the pilot see I have not a trace of ill will against him. The pilot will not see our faces from his great height, I know. But the longing in our hearts – that he will not come to harm – would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened.'²⁸

But, according to Gandhi, those who do not believe in non-violent resistance would do well to defend themselves violently out of a sense of duty rather than surrender in a cowardly manner. Hence it was that he gave his 'tacit consent' to the Government of India's defence measures in Kashmir in 1947, and advised the Czechs and Poles to fight the German invaders (with arms) during World War II. In fact (as noted earlier), he went so far as to characterize the resistance of the Poles as 'almost non-violence', because the Poles had given proof of rare national self-respect and valour by standing up against a vastly superior power and because 'the Poles were unprepared for the way in which the enemy swooped down upon them'. But even in violent warfare, Gandhi advised the minimum possible use of violence and force and expressed himself against the policy of scorched earth, sabotage and secrecy.

Now, the third aspect of Gandhi's technique, that is, the attitude to be taken when occupation of territory by the invaders has taken place. According to Gandhi, the attitude to be taken during this period can be described, in one word, as 'non-violent non-cooperation' with the aggressors. Thus, in May 1942, at the time of anticipated Japanese attack on India,

he wrote to Mirabehn:

Remember that our attitude is that of complete non-cooperation with the Japanese army; therefore we may not help them in any way, nor may we profit by any dealing with them . . . the question of having any dealings with the Japanese does not and should not arise They will handle nothing from Japanese hands.²⁹

He gave the same advice to the Abyssinians when Mussolini's Italy invaded their country. In fact the idea behind Gandhi's plea for non-cooperation is that if a whole conquered nation — men and women — refuse to cooperate, in any way whatever, with the occupation forces, the latter are bound to withdraw, sooner or later, in sheer disgust and confusion. The Britishers in India were almost like an army of occupation, and Gandhi had ample experience of the efficacy of non-violent, non-cooperation in dealing with them. He could, therefore, speak with some authority on this point.

Gandhi's approach to world peace does not seem to be a mere utopia.³⁰ In fact, Gandhi calls himself a 'practical idealist'. For one thing, he does not commit the logical error of advocating the attainment of peace through war and violence. Again, he does not seek to solve the complex problem of the peace of the world by means of any simplistic or piecemeal methods. On the other hand, he goes to the root of the problem and starts from the self-discipline and education of the individual. At the same time, he does not ignore the influence of the political and socio-economic institutions or the milieu upon the individual. As a matter of fact, he suggests a drastic remodelling and reconstruction of the political and socio-economic structure of the nations internally without (unlike many present-day enthusiasts of world peace) seeking to abolish national frontiers outright. He recognizes the interdependence of nations, the drift towards internationalism brought about by modern means of transport and communication, but he is an internationalist with a difference. Gandhi conceives of an international organization whose strength

does not come from armaments. In such a world organization, all nations will participate as equals, not merely in name (as in the United Nations), but in fact.

It is significant, however, that the world, even Gandhi's India,³¹ has persistently refused to heed his voice, except, if we may say so, by way of lip service. Thus, the world goes ahead with its race for armaments, for deadly weapons of mutual destruction and extinction. But it is equally significant that, not long ago, George F. Kennan, a well-known American diplomat and statesman (and by no means a pacifist), commended, in the course of his world famous BBC Reith Lectures, substantially the Gandhian technique for resisting aggression in the event of an atomic war, and described it as the only possible defence against nuclear warfare in general. He spoke of a 'core of civil resistance movement' on the territory overrun by the invader, so as to create a situation in which the threatened country would be able to say:

You may be able to overrun us if you are unwise enough to attempt it, but you will have small profit from it, not a single person likely to perform your political business will become available to you; you will find here no adequate nucleus of a puppet regime Your stay among us will not be a happy one . . . and it will be without favourable long-term prospects.³²

George Kennan's statement, though without any mention of Gandhi, seems, nevertheless, to point to the increasing relevance, perhaps irresistible necessity, of the Gandhian technique in the present-day world – a world challenged by nuclear weapons and guided missiles, and unable to defend itself by the conventional techniques. It may be added that Gandhi provides not only a viable alternative to armed aggression and violent resistance. He goes farther and shows, to use Tinbergen's phrase, the way to not only a 'shift from a war to a peace economy, but [also] from a war to a peace mentality' or personality.³³ In short, Gandhi takes into account and carries in the broad sweep of his world view the totality of

the human condition or all significant aspects and implications of the problem of a peaceful world order.

We often hear about four main threats to the contemporary world, the so-called four 'Ps' – proliferation (of armaments), pollution (arising from present-day mechanization, industrialization and urbanization), population (from self-indulgence), and poverty (arising from economic gigantism and resultant inequalities). Gandhi had the vision to warn against these dangers and their sources, and to suggest correctives as early as 1909 in a brief tract entitled *Hind Swaraj*. But, let alone people outside India, not many among even educated Indians of the present generation are familiar with it!

In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi had characterized 'modern civilization' as a 'disease' and 'a nine-day wonder'. And even thirty years later, in 1938, he said, 'After the stormy thirty years through which I have since passed, I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it.' Earlier, in 1927, he had forewarned the 'civilized West' that 'a time is coming when those, who are in the mad rush today of multiplying their wants . . . will retrace their steps and say: What have we done?' And lo, we have it from so knowledgeable a source as Jan Tinbergen's Report to the Club of Rome that 'in the rich countries there is growing concern about the conservation of non-renewable resources and . . . about how to keep the world in a stationary state'. Barely two weeks before his death in January 1948, Gandhi made the rather prophetic statement that 'this [modern] civilization is such that one has only to be patient, and it will be self-destroyed'. Given the present 'balance of terror', with its plans for mutual assured destruction (MAD), who could doubt the terrible possibility of the self-destruction of the Super Powers (and with them perhaps of the rest of the world too) by accident, if not by design. It is therefore the most urgent responsibility devolving on our generation in India and abroad, especially on the leaders of society, like teachers, scholars, mediemen and decision-makers, to set Gandhi in the twin contexts of modernity and a rational vision of history and human destiny, and to examine whether or to what extent he offers a way out of the present critical human predicament and on to a world at peace.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Harijan*, 16 May. See also M.K. Gandhi, *For Pacifists* (Ahmedabad, 1949), p. 81.
2. 'There may be a world police to keep order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence.' Gandhi's letter to Maurice Frydman (28 July 1942). Reproduced in *Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, (Delhi, 1953), p. 274.
3. This has been accepted as a preferred approach in some of the works of scholars engaged in the World Order Models Project (WOMP). See for example, the following: 'In order that the individual should enjoy maximum autonomy and freedom, in order that political communities maximize social justice for their people, and in order that the dangers of violence be minimized, we have to admit at least three different levels of goal-fulfilment – the individual level, the national level, and the world level – in our scheme of preferred arrangements.' Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future* (New Delhi, 1974), p. 81.
4. *Harijan*, 21 July 1940.
5. Gopinath Dhawan: *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad, 1957), p. 102.
6. See, on this point, Richard B. Gregg: *The Power of Non-violence* (Ahmedabad, 1949), pp. 54-5.
7. Bertrand Russell: *Why Men Fight* (London, 1920), p. 250.
8. Pitirim A. Sorokin: *The Reconstruction of Humanity* (Boston, 1948), p. 233. Sorokin's 'effortful transmutation' is substantially the same as Gandhi's self-discipline.
9. Ideally speaking, Gandhi is for the abolition of the State, for it represents violence in the most concentrated form. But, as a 'practical idealist' he felt that such an ideal (like ultimate ideals generally) was impossible of full realization, as far as he could see. Hence he retained the State as a 'practicable' or second-best ideal, but divested it of violence or concentrated power to the maximum extent possible. He therefore called it a 'predominantly non-violent state'.
10. *Harijan*, 28 July 1946. This suggestion is to be viewed in the light of the fact that technically or technologically there is no adequate defence against modern nuclear weapons. Thus defence, nowadays, is very largely a matter of determination and morale. Hence a compact social unit like a village is probably at an advantage over huge nation-states.

11. Like Gandhi, Lewis Mumford is also opposed to the indiscriminate use of machinery. In his view, 'the machine is a fetish, an object of irrational devotion' (*The Human Prospect*, Boston, 1955, p. 232). In *Technics and Civilization* (London, 1955), Mumford advances the view that as the 'social order matures', there will be a progressive reduction in the use of machinery; according to him the machine 'is not absolute'. Stuart Chase lists war among the probable dangers 'which any people accepting machinery, even under the best conditions, must face' (*Men and Machines*, London, 1929, p. 333). And after presenting the case both for and against machinery he expresses the view that 'machinery has so far brought more misery than happiness into the world' (*Ibid.*, p. 336).
12. William F. Ogburn (Ed.), *Technology and International Relations* (Chicago, 1949), p. 86.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
14. Arnold Toynbee's article in *International Affairs* (London, October 1947), p. 468.
15. See Herbert Read, *Education for Peace* (London, 1950), p. 36.
16. On 28 July 1942, Gandhi wrote to Maurice Frydman that he looked forward to the emergence of a world order in which 'no state has its military' (*Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, *op. cit.* p. 274).
17. M.K. Gandhi, *Non-violence in Peace and War*, Vol. I (Ahmedabad, 1948), p. 134.
18. Quoted in *Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
19. Gandhi's Correspondence with the Government (1942-44), (Ahmedabad, 1955), p. 175.
20. Quoted in Brijnath Sharga, *Gandhi: His Life & Teachings* (Lucknow, 1950), pp. 389-90.
21. *For Pacifists*, p. 88.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 181. This advice to disarm unconditionally or unilaterally was tendered in the context of mounting tension in Europe in 1925. It was not addressed to India. Under the circumstances, it could not be addressed to India, for India was not yet free to shape her destiny or decide national policy. However (in view of Gandhi's basic attitudes and values, the total ethos of his world view and his view that non-violence, like charity, should better begin at home) we cannot but conclude that he would have liked free India to follow this advice. In Gandhi's context, it would be unthinkable to presume that he meant such a difficult and extraordinary proposal only for foreign consumption. But apparently the idea has been lost upon the Indian leadership, both past and present.
24. *Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
25. Pyarelal, *A Pilgrimage for Peace* (Ahmedabad, 1950), pp. 95-6.
26. *For Pacifists*, p. 41.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Bapu's Letters to Mira* (Ahmedabad, 1959), pp. 360-1.
30. This is not to deny that there is many a snag in mass non-violent resistance to armed attack from without. Thus, it is true that in any community there is only a small minority of disciplined *satyagrahis*. Hence the half-committed and somewhat wavering majority is likely to be weaned away from non-violence, especially 'if the aggressors are both determined and ruthless [and if] they would employ *agents provocateurs* to engineer outbreaks of violence' (H.J.N. Horsburgh, *Non-violence and Aggression*, London, 1968, pp. 176-7). Moreover, 'If the invaders have effective control over the main systems of communications they can aggravate these dangers, either by spreading false information about outbreaks of violence in other parts of the country or by lying reports that *satyagrahi* leaders have betrayed their cause and that resistance has collapsed' (*Ibid.*, p. 177). There is also the possible problem of corruption and betrayal out of greed, timidity and offers of temptations. All these and related problems are systematically discussed by Horsburgh from what he calls an objective 'non-Gandhian' standpoint. But significantly he comes to the conclusion that, in spite of these difficulties, 'a resolute and really non-violent community can hope to emerge successfully from even a protracted struggle against a ruthless and resourceful opponent. Eventually, success cannot be guaranteed, of course. But still less can the success of more orthodox systems of defence.' (*Ibid.*, p. 184.)
31. Jawaharlal Nehru's well-known *Panchshila*, though apparently akin to Gandhian principles, was, in all probability, intended only to gloss over the real objective of the foreign policy of India as of the other states, namely national self-interest. In fact, in a speech before the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at New Delhi in December 1957, Nehru emphatically stated that India was not following Gandhi's line of action, whether in national or international affairs, and that the Government of India were 'not pacifists'.
32. George Kennan's fourth lecture, 'The Military Problem', *Hindustan Times Weekly* (New Delhi, 5 January 1958).
33. Jan Tinbergen (Co-ord.), *Reshaping the International Order* (a Report to the Club of Rome) (London, 1977), p. 26.

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