

**CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE POST-COLD WAR
THIRD WORLD: A STUDY IN PEACE THINKING
OF GANDHI AND RAPOPORT**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE POST - COLD WAR THIRD WORLD : A STUDY IN PEACE THINKING OF GANDHI AND RAPOPORT**", submitted by MADHAVEE INAMDAR, in partial fulfilment of nine credits out of the total requirements of twenty four credits for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M. Phil)** of this University, is her original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or any other Institute.

We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for final evaluation.

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PREFACE

The aim of this study is to develop a new thinking in the field of conflict resolution by using conflict creatively, positively and to cultivate peace. In developing a new philosophy and techniques of conflict resolution in the post-Cold War Third World, an attempt has been made to bring together two different streams of peace thinking. These two streams are the philosophy and practice of Mahatma Gandhi's concept of peace and Anatol Rapoport's peace ideas.

An attempt has been made in Chapter I to define the threat to the Third World by finding out the sources of Third World conflicts and the roots of violence. It has defended the view that studies on conflict resolution in the Third World should draw heavily on the Gandhian World view.

Chapter II is a comparative analysis of Gandhi's and Rapoport's thinking. It does not make any claim of natural harmony of these two peace thinkers. To an extent they provide alternative methods of elaborating approaches to the study of conflict.

Chapter III tries to explain the peace strategy versus the power strategy in achieving socio-economic and political goals. Satyagraha, Gandhian technique of social action has been studied in the detail. Rapoport's concept of 'addiction to power' has also been explained.

Chapter IV stresses 'a paradigm shift', from a security paradigm to a welfare-development paradigm. It

gives a ten year Gandhian plan for Third World Peace, from the year 1992 to 2001 A.D. This can be called as a grand strategy for peace building in the Third World. The dissertation has been concluded by writing few pages on Third World's Global Role in the Post-Cold War Period.

I wish to thank, first of all, my supervisor, Prof. M.L. Sondhi, though the word 'supervisor' is too narrow and formal to explain his inspiring and encouraging guidance throughout my work.

I am obliged to Prof. Anatol Rapoport for being so kind as to respond to my letters regularly.

I am thankful to the University Grants Commission for giving me the Junior Research Fellowship to pursue my work. I must thank the staff of the Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Teen Murti Library and the American Centre Library. I do not know what I should write for Rupa, my friend, because it is difficult to express my gratitude to her in words. I also wish to thank all my friends for helping me whenever I needed their help. I must thank Sharma Photostat and its staff for their co-operation in typing my dissertation.

I myself take the full responsibility for whatever errors may have occurred in the work.



(MADHAVEE INAMDAR)

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CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | TITLE | PAGE |
|---------|---|---------|
| | INTRODUCTION | 1-8 |
| I | THE LOGIC OF WAR, VIOLENCE AND PEACE IN THE THIRD WORLD. | 9-47 |
| II | GANDHI AND RAPOPORT : COMPETING AND COMPLEMENTARY ACCOUNTS IN PEACE THEORY | 48-76 |
| III | PEACE VERSUS POWER AT THE LEVEL OF STRATEGY | 77-102 |
| IV | THE SCOPE FOR A GRAND STRATEGY FOR PEACE BUILDING IN THE THIRD WORLD | 103-134 |
| | CONCLUSION | 135-152 |
| | - PROBLEMATIQUE OF THIRD WORLD'S GLOBAL ROLE IN THE CONTEXT OF GANDHI'S AND RAPOPORT'S PEACE THINKING | |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY | 153-157 |
| | APPENDIX | |
| | - CORRESPONDENCE WITH RAPOPORT | |

INTRODUCTION

Majority of wars and war-like incidents since the Second World War have taken place in the Third World. Circumstances of economic struggle and rapid social change give rise to violence among groups and individuals within the Third World societies. The sources of violence in the Third World are an admixture of internal pressures resulting from rapid change and external pressures resulting from the clash of outside interests. The pre-Cold War World saw the Third World becoming a safe-battlefield for the contest between East and West and a theatre, in both the military and the dramatic sense of East-West competition. Efforts to minimize and control violence must recognize that these two aspects require rather different approaches. The effort to minimize internal violence must focus on ways of increasing the resilience of societies, the effort to minimize external violence must focus on restraint in the definition of and response to threat.

The physical, psychological and moral costs of violence are so great that an alternative form of political struggle deserves to be given the most serious consideration and trial.

The ending of the Cold War can simultaneously reduce the great power interference and intervention which has frequently exacerbated Third World conflicts, but at the same time, the lifting of the omni-present hand of those

powers may also encourage or permit new assertiveness, aggressiveness and opportunism by others. Kuwait is an example not only for the Middle east, but also for conflicts everywhere else on the planet, including future relations among some of the Cold War veteran countries themselves. The ending of the Cold War terminated the situation where the international community and the UN were polarized and it created a new opportunity and a new responsibility.

The lessons of various kinds from the Cold War era can be integrated into creating new opportunity and understanding and fulfilling this new responsibility of building peace processes. At the same time the world should be looking elsewhere for success stories and useful lessons. At such crucial moment looking back to the peace praxis and public discourse of two peace thinkers, Gandhi and Anatol Rapoport would enable us to draw useful lessons for the new problems of an interdependent world.

The present study is based upon a belief in the futility of violence as a means of conflict resolution and on a hope that an alternative to violence can be found out. Here two fundamental questions arise.

- 1) What are the bases of a belief in the futility of violence?
- 2) What are the causes, nature and functions of conflict?

This study is not concerned with the eradication of conflict but rather with the eradication of violent

expressions of conflict. This eradication of violence has to have a philosophy behind it, and generate concrete ideas of an alternative to violence and operationalise new techniques, methods and processes that would develop human potentialities in an alternative direction which can enable a peaceful process of conflict resolution.

In developing a new philosophy and techniques of conflict resolution in the post Cold War Third World , this study attempts to bring together two different streams of peace thinking. These two streams are the philosophy and practice of Mahatma Gandhi's concepts for peaceful transformation of the individual and society and Anatol Rapoport's methodological approach to peace ideas. There are certain similarities in their peace thinking and ideas for the resolution of conflict. At the same time Gandhi's nonviolence and Satyagraha and Rapoport's game theory of conflict resolution are distinctive and yield different working models.

Nonviolence as practiced by Gandhi has three basic elements:

- 1) Creation of a human society involving non-violent methods of resisting exploitation.
- 2) The education of the oppressed to take positive and constructive steps to resist exploitation and development of good and harmonious relationships between oppressed and oppressors, once the struggle is over.

- 3) The ushering in of non-exploitative decentralized economic and political institutions.

Therefore, the Gandhian axioms imply a systematic study of nonviolence and its conscious development as a social mechanism of conflict resolution. Nonviolent logic offers a complete alternative to what game theorists call the zero-sum-distributive model of interaction by which in order for one player to win the other has to lose. In the nonviolence 'US Versus Them' lose their hypnotic significance, conflict becomes a stage on a scale of interaction modes in which all participants can gain, not the least by achieving a closer integration with another, which is part of the overall purpose of life. The paradigm of zero-sum-distribution is replaced by that of positive-sum integration. In this way the introduction of non-violence changes the field of conflict resolution, while conflicts are of course resolved by non-violence and whether are not they are resolved, the conflict relationship is restructured. Thus advocates of positive nonviolence do not shun conflicts, regarding most cases of conflict as an opportunity for psychological and social growth.

Non-violence and peace:-

Since war ultimately arises from conflicts at the intra-social, interpersonal or even intra-personal level or some combination of these and since non violence acts to resolve conflicts creatively at all those levels, non

violence is the most powerful and perhaps least explored resource in the world today to security and peace. The present study is a modest attempt to explore this area of international relations as a process of resolving international conflicts, in the Third World by bringing together Gandhi's empirical approaches and other theoretical models in a more fruitful way.

Gandhi and Nonviolence

Gandhi tried to understand the nature of human conflict and the possibilities for shaping conflict in genuinely new directions. Satyagraha - a social invention of Gandhi, creates a mood of hopefulness and a questioning openness about the opportunities for carrying on and extending the method of nonviolence.

Today there is a need to look again at Gandhi's 'Truth'. Methods of Truthforce have much to teach us in the contemporary world as an alternative to violence. Gandhi's awareness is essential to the future of human kind. We have to strive for new ethics, new insights, and new goals. These superordinate goals, transcending war and violence have been born out of the experience of the 'Cold War World'. We need entirely new techniques and forms of conflict resolution in the Post-Cold War world, for creating 'structural peace', without the help of the coordinates of the Cold War.

The task of this study is to develop new thinking in the field of conflict resolution by using different

conceptualisations of social conflict. With the help of the peace thinking of Gandhi and Rapoport we have to find out how to socialize people to deal with destructive aspects of conflict, and use nonviolence to develop more adequate methods of analysing international conflict situations. It is a process of peace-prone socialization. With the help of this approach we can create a structural peace because the solution to aggression and violence cannot be found only within the individual but also in social arrangements and belief systems supporting those arrangements.

A related concern of Rapoport is to discover the opponent's domain of validity: A possible step for each side to find out on what grounds the other side could possibly be convinced of the truth of his own views. After one side has found out what views or pictures of reality its adversaries hold in their minds, they must try to discover the domain of rationality of each such view. Then the likelihood, though not the certainty, of a genuine debate with an eventual fruitful and mutually rewarding outcome is increased.

Rapoport has suggested a possible function of games, they can be used to study the degree to which individuals depart from normative criteria of rationality. Essentially the game is used as a structure within which rational or irrational behaviour can take place; thus a game is visualised as a device to separate rational solutions to conflict from those affected by psychological and

sociological factors. But Rapoport observes a negative impact of the game theory in his concept of the 'Intellectualization of war.'¹ He also observes that the emphasis in game theory has shifted from the problem of finding rational strategic decisions in conflict situations to that of examining the consequences of applying different principles of conflict resolution.

Thus peace-building takes account of the need to develop a relationship on new terms between old enemies. It creates the conditions for future relations based on equal status and mutually agreed upon arrangements. The process of Conflict Resolution should try to involve broad segments of each society, not just the political leaders. Future peace is built as the parties come to believe their own national concerns can be better served under conditions of peace than of hostility.

In the Post Cold War world, a simplistic approach to inter-state relationships, overlooks the elements of peace and conflict which do not occur exclusively within the government structures. Rather they include non-state processes, non-state actors and non-state Third Parties. It is here our study questions an excessive dependence on the United Nations and its Security Council in the post-Cold War era. The philosophy of nonviolence of Mahatma Gandhi and

1. Anatol Rapoport, *The Origins of Violence; Approaches to the study of conflict*, Paragon House, 1989. pp. 235-43.

the conceptualisation of social conflict in Rapoport's peace thinking can provide new categories for analysing specific Third World conflict situations. Needless to say, Gandhian concepts are not new in the Indian context, but the effort to derive India's global role through a vital exchange of different perspective, of investigation of the social bases of peace can help to develop predictive models for the Third World countries.

The utilisation of the peace thinking of Gandhi and Rapoport makes possible the comparison and classification of cases of conflict in the Post - Cold War Third World and covers future prospects and trends relating to the arms control and disarmaments as well as confidence building measures. Both Gandhi and Rapoport do not underestimate human resourcefulness and adaptability. Hopefully this study can be a first step in a reconstruction which would deconflictualise the structure of Third World international relations.

CHAPTER - I

THE LOGIC OF WAR, VIOLENCE AND PEACE IN THE THIRD WORLD

The peace thinking of Gandhi and Rapoport have been brought together in this study almost as a cooperative enterprise of the "orient" and the "occident" to make sense of the persistent and apparently intractable conflict syndrome in the Third World. The newly found optimism after the termination of the East bloc - West bloc Cold War has not raised the confidence and hopes of the Third world for a new era of peace. The main objective of this study is to describe and explain ways in which peace thinking can facilitate scenarios and alternatives which can find solutions to Third World internal and international conflicts.

We have defended the view that studies on conflict resolution in the Third World should draw heavily on the Gandhian weltanschauung. Gandhi had liberated himself from mechanistic models derived from Western experience which ignored the complexity of historical and civilisational circumstances of traditional societies. Moreover Gandhi's peace action had a compelling rationale by which as a Satyagrahi, he was continuously involved in an intellectual struggle. This rationale can provide the point of departure for both theoretical approaches to conflict and theories of conflict-resolution in the post-Cold War Third World. Once the Gandhian structure is understood it can be adapted to

practical use in unravelling the baffling contradictions between economically advanced countries and the Third world which have a significant bearing on the experience of conflict of the developing countries.

The pervasiveness of the war system in the Third World provides a link with the seminal writings of Anatol Rapoport. Although there are important contrasts in Gandhi's and Rapoport's views, the close study of Rapoport's indepth analysis of conflict resolution can make an important contribution to the praxeology of peace building along Gandhian lines. Thus Rapoport's systematic approach to the military establishments in the Third World which have "assured their parasitic existence by direct use of force" and his insights on "the intellectualisation of war" can be incorporated into a broader synthesis which would fortify the main thrust of Gandhi's account of the roots of conflict in a country like India.

Similarly Rapoport's discussion of peace research and peace education has great relevance to the complex issues of the Third World and can provide rich peace perspectives to scholars and decision-makers. Gandhi's schema of insulating the human masses from the means of violence can strengthen the forward-looking perspective that Rapoport wishes to develop for peace building.

Defining the threat to the Third World

Before we recommend any course of action to

achieve conflict resolution in the post-Cold War Third World, it is necessary to uncover the inner realities of the logic which explains the variety of forces and process which generate conflict and violence.

The entire realm of Third World problems is pervaded by paradoxical choices which make it difficult to identify well-defined and neatly ordered set of policy objectives. Specifically at a time when it is accepted that military power is of declining relevance in world politics, Third world remains deeply embedded in military power as an ingredient of politics. In this chapter, therefore, our concern is with different kinds of violence and social resilience and the problems of why conflicts take place in the Third World and their wider social and political significance. The "spiral of insecurity" operates in the Third World in a manner which weakens socio-economic organisation and has troublesome implications for an interdependent world. Some of the problems can be identified by reviewing briefly the general issues.

Sources of Third World Conflicts

Violence is a sign of institutional failure and system overload.¹ The conditions are by no means unique to the Third World but it remains a fact that the vast majority

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1. Choucri Nazli, Demographics and Conflict, Bulletin of Atomic Scientist 42(4), 1986. pp.24-5

of wars and war-like incidents that have taken place since the Second World War have been fought in the Third World. Most developing countries share the experience of colonial domination, though the nature and duration of it vary tremendously among them. Most of them are poor. Perhaps even more important, most are engulfed in a process of very profound social and economic transformation which, though a necessary condition for development, is in itself a source of instability.

The roots of violence

For many of the countries of the Third World, one can begin the search for the roots of violence with the circumstances of decolonization.² For those countries that gained their independence by armed struggle, the fight for independence gave a legitimacy to the use of violence. A further legacy of colonial rule is the forced cohabitation within a single state of antagonistic groups that are artificially bound together within the borders established by the colonizers. In many instances quarrels that were submerged but not resolved during the colonial period have emerged and, often burst into violent conflict after independence.

Poverty is not necessarily a cause of violent conflict. It can be seen as such when it is the product of

2. Al-Mashat Abdul Monem M,. National Security in the Third World, Westview press, Boulder, 1985.

maldistribution of resources and denial of opportunity, and exists in the midst of plenty or even excess. Under these conditions, poverty is usually the result of social and economic relations that can only be maintained by the threat or the use of violence. One major feature of recent decades has been the growth of self-assertiveness of poor and traditionally powerless groups. It is not poverty but the attempt to break out of poverty that generates violence both as a tactic and as a response.³

Heightened aspirations and refusal to accept a miserable lot have also contributed to massive population movements, within and across national boundaries. Violent clashes with established residents are a common result of migration. For example, in the Indian state of Assam, many lives have been lost in attacks by the Assamese on illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. In Honduras, the migration of Salvadorans in the early 1960s not only produced local clashes but led to a build-up of tensions that culminated in war between the two states.⁴

The process of development itself is always a source of turbulence and often a source of violence. Developmental success inevitably brings about structural change, upsetting traditional hierarchies and often

3. Raimo Vayrynen, *The Quest for Peace* (Ed) *Transcending collective violence and War among societies, cultures and states*, Sage Publications 1987. p. 291

4. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

generating violent reaction. The failures of development lead to even greater strains on the social fabric. In many parts of the Third World, communities are on the verge of breakdown. The dislocation caused by rapid and extensive change make countries vulnerable to conflict arising from both internal and external sources.

Sweeping value-changes that respond to new technologies and modes of organization, and to a pace and scale of change that is unprecedented in human experience, has led to challenges to the state, for example.

The fragility of young states in the face of internal turbulence and external pressure leads many governments to attempt to centralize power and to rely upon the armed forces to maintain stability. The ease with which this tendency slides into a cycle of militarization, and internal conflict is all too familiar. Many of today's violent conflicts are products of the inability to manage change. Others have their roots in contradictory perceptions of and beliefs about change.

No region has quite mastered the dislocations of the twentieth century, and so all remain vulnerable to conflict. None the less, three of the widely shared qualities that have been mentioned-colonialism, poverty and accelerated change-give the Third World some distinctive preconditions for violence.⁵

5. Al-Mashat Abdul Monem M, National Security in the Third World, Westviw press. Boulder, 1985.

There is also a psychological sense of belonging to the Third World, which arose from the recognition that the international system is dominated by and directed for the primary benefit of countries that exclude the Third World from decision-making and a fair share of the benefits of interaction. The resulting sense of vulnerability and exclusion-and the often angry sense of anisettes that accompanies it-gives the countries of the Third World some sense of solidarity despite their differences and leads them into conflict with the North. This kind of conflict has not often been pursued through arms conflict between states, but it undoubtedly feeds the atmosphere of confrontation that leads to isolated acts of violence. and isolated acts can all too quickly fall into a pattern of mutual escalation of violence, with states entering into conflict as patrons, sponsors or perpetrators of terrorist incidents, punitive responses, campaigns of destabilization and overt or covert interventions. Uncontrolled, indiscrimination and self-perpetuating cycles of violence are thus set in motion.

The sources of violence in the Third World are thus an admixture of internal pressures resulting from rapid change and external pressures resulting from the clash of outside interests.⁶ Efforts to minimize and control violence must recognize that these two aspects require

6. Giri Deshingkar, Arms Technology Violence and the Global Military order in the Quest for peace-transcending collective violence and war among societies, cultures and states. (Ed) Raimo Vayrynen, Sage Publication, 1987. p. 262.

rather different approaches. The effort to minimize internal violence must focus on ways of increasing the resilience of societies; the effort to minimize external violence must focus on restraint in the definition of and response to threat.⁷

Violence and Social Change

One might characterize the kinds of violence within Third World societies as violence that reacts to change, violence that attempts to force change, violence that reacts to the lack of change without any positive programme, and violence that attempts to prevent change. Many communal clashes are examples of the first type, as one segment of community sees another getting ahead and perceives this movement to be at its own expense. Revolutionary movements and liberation movements are examples of the second type. Common urban criminality typifies the third type, which is nourished by the hopelessness and despair generated by widespread unemployment and economic stagnation. Criminality often engenders from the state authoritarian reactions that are equally lawless, in the name of law and order. The fourth type of violence is typified by repressive regimes that violate the human rights of their citizens and subject them to arbitrary arrest, disappearance, torture and execution for the sake of preserving an existing order.

7. Soedjatmoko, *Violence in the Third World in Quest for peace*, Sage Publication, p. 293.

A prevalent aspect of the fourth type of internal violence is militarization though it has origins that are broader than domestic tensions alone.⁸ Militarization establishes a niche for violence within a society. When it is combined with lack of discipline in the armed forces (as it has been recently in Uganda, Sri Lanka and Lebanon), it holds civil society by the throat. The rationale for militarization, that it is needed to preserve security, is turned on its head, as the armed forces become the primary source of insecurity for substantial segments of the population.⁹

National governments are not in full control of the processes of change. Their ability to direct the course of events in their countries is being eroded from two directions at once: from below by subnational groups which have lost faith in the government's commitment to represent their interest, and from above by the outside interests. Given the incapability of governments to control the effects of change, it is important to consider what other kinds of institutions and modes of organization might help to enhance adjustment. Learning to resolve conflict without resort to violence is a process in which the whole society must participate. It poses a particular challenge to the

8. Giri Deshingkar, Arms Technology Violence and the Global Military order, The Quest for peace- (Ed) by Raimo Vayrynen. Sage Publication, 1987. p. 263.

9. Ibid., p. 265.

emerging nations. Indigenous forms of participation, vehicles of consensus and conflict resolution and indigenous sources of legitimacy must take up this challenge.¹⁰

Under present conditions in the Third World, violence is very difficult to bring under control once it starts. Weapons are too easily available; the polity is too fragmented; sections of the population especially among the young, are too alienated from the existing system; rival groups become too easily and quickly polarized.¹¹ The emphasis therefore must be on prevention of violence, which in turn depends on strengthening other forms of political expression and communication. Communication must, of course, be two-way and must be able to proceed through multiple channels. A dialogue between the government and the political opposition is not enough; way must also be found to reach out to and to hear from those who do not have access to the usual channels of expression. Representation is not simply a matter of political structures: the schools, churches, community groups, and even the security forces must also be representatives. Otherwise, they are likely to be perceived as the tools of only one among many contending groups and thus lose their legitimacy in the eyes of society as a whole.

10. General D. Graham, *High Frontier : A New National strategy*, Washington DC: Heritage Foundation, 1982. p. 230.

11. R.L. Luckham, *Militarization : The New International Anarchy*, *Third World Quarterly*, 6 (2) April 1984. pp. 351-73.

The cohesiveness of a society does not depend exclusively, or even primarily, on its laws. Cohesion depends much more on the existence of general social consensus that the institutions of society are reasonably fair, just and accessible. Without this basic consensus the rule of law becomes entirely dependent on enforcement with the police and the army functioning as an occupying force within their own countries. The consent of the government is not just a moral consideration but a practical necessity for a non-violent society.

The crucial question for these Third World societies is how to reduce the human cost of the necessary and in many cases desirable changes they are experiencing. How can they reconcile the need for change with the need for order and the need for justice? The dynamic equilibrium among these three defines the space for freedom and the realization of both collective and individual aspirations.

Resilience and restraint

Social resilience is the quality that permits people and institutions to interact with each other in each of the three dimensions without their conflicts erupting into violence. Resilience allows people to accept change without losing their own cultural identity. Resilience permits faith in a system of justice to be maintained even in the face of flaws in the system; a single travesty or even series of them will bring about rejection of the system

as whole. The interaction of resilience and order creates a capacity without chaos. The lack of resilience in any of the three dimensions creates the conditions for violence. Change without resilience leads to alienation and loss of identity; a system of justice without resilience turns predictable human failures into catalysts for polarization; order without resilience leads to oppression and a corresponding resistance.¹²

Building social resilience is not a task only for the state, though the state can play an important role. But the quality of resilience lies in the much broader sphere of civic culture. A collective commitment to the public good, to managing conflict without violence, depends as much on community groups, non-governmental organizations, religious institutions involving both clergy and laity, volunteer groups, political parties, educational institutions, the media and so forth—all of which have the responsibility and the capability for nurturing a sense of civic responsibility.

Existing social institutions must become the vehicles for creating and expressing this sense of responsibility, but it may also be necessary to create new kinds of institutions at the national level to cultivate the habit of thinking collectively but pluralistically about the

12. Soedjatmoko, *Violence in the Third World, in the Quest for peace.* (Ed) Raimo Vayrynen Sage Publication, 1987. p. 296.

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public good. If resilience is a key concept coping with the strains that lead to domestic violence within societies, restraint is one of the strategic concepts in minimizing violence imposed or inflamed by external forces. Restraint has two major dimensions, one internal to the decision making structures of Third World countries, and one to be exercised by external powers.¹³ The appearance of weapons of total destruction has turned the attention of strategists to the new opportunities provided by bargaining in international relations.¹⁴ The first of these applies chiefly to the ways in which actors in the developing countries express and pursue the very real disputes among themselves. All have a stake in the peaceful resolution of conflicts, limits on the production and importation of arms, and the vigorous application and extension of humanitarian law.

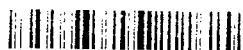
Above all, it is in the interest of the developing countries to wean themselves from external military support and involvement, for two compelling reasons. One is that external involvement almost always increases the scale and destructiveness of violent conflicts, by providing weapons that multiply number of casualties (especially, in recent

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- 13. Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Lessons from Disarmament Negotiations, In Quest for peace (Ed) by Raimo Vayrynen, Sage Publication, 1987. p. 147.
 - 14. Anatol Rapoport, (Ed) Game Theory as a Theory of Conflict Resolution, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland, 1974. p. 12.

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decades, civilian casualties) and do considerable damage to the social and economic infrastructure of the area of conflict.

When one party to a dispute turns to outsiders for support, its adversaries are encouraged to do the same, thereby subjecting the country or region to the expression of rivalries and antagonisms in which it has no direct stake. External military aid is often the trigger for nationwide arms race, which drain the resources and heighten the tension-level of the countries involved. The external patron may discourage client government or factions from entering into negotiations or seriously pursuing negotiations that do get started. It may prefer to continue an armed conflict that costs it relatively little but is an effective source of discomfiture to its rivals.

The second compelling reason to forego external assistance is that such assistance undermines the autonomy of the recipient winner of a battle for control of a state. Furthermore, the acceptance of external aid often entails a serious sacrifice of legitimacy.¹⁵

For the sake of limiting the destructiveness and the duration of violent conflicts, as well as to protect claims to legitimacy, restraint in seeking external military assistance is a serious consideration for all parties to

15. Soedjatmoko, Violence in the Third World, In The Quest for peace (Ed) by Raimo Vayrynen, Sage Publication, 1987. pp. 297-298.

armed conflict in the Third World. But such a regime of self-restraint is unlikely to halt up without a symmetrical restraint on the part of the external powers themselves.

Therefore, any code of conduct that might be devised to discourage interference in armed conflicts will have to be negotiated on an inclusive basis, though regional organizations are often promising venues for initiating such discussions.

The primary obstacle to restraint is desperation, and in that the Third World abounds. To reduce the sources of armed conflict there, as in the north, will call upon the deepest reserves of political innovation that governments and other political actors can command. The task is obviously not one for the Third World alone, given how closely its turbulence is tied to that of the international system as whole.¹⁶

Nonviolence as a practical alternative

The record of violent struggle in achieving objective is in recent years of dismal one: witness the intense and spreading destruction in the Middle East in the Gulf War.

Nonviolence is no just an ideal; it is also a tactic or even a strategy. Its effectiveness as a strategy of the outgunned has been repeatedly demonstrated - most

16. Ibid., p. 219.

recently in the Philippines where the heavily armed Marcos government was unable to resist the massive demonstration of popular support for the opposition led by Corazon Aquino. The practical appeal rather than the moral appeal of non-violent struggle may provide the impetus for reducing violence in the Third World. Nonviolence is often described as the weapon of the weak. But this is not true. Confronting a tank with only one's body requires greater courage and entails greater risk than confronting it with another tank. Non-Violent struggle is not easy; it is not risk-free; and it does not always work. But the physical and psychological and moral costs of violence are so great that an alternative form of political struggle deserves to be given the most serious consideration and trial.

The Third World has a vital stake in the strengthening of collective, multilateral institutions of conflict resolution at the global and regional levels. The lesson that history has taught us so often is that the use of violence, however justified, may demolish the very goals and ideals that were sought, and create the mirror image of the injustice it sought to destroy.

The Roots of Conflict in the Third World

1. The disequilibrium in power is the most dynamic manifestation of the hierarchical nature of the post - Second War World.¹⁷

17. Mohammad Ayoob, The Roots of Conflict, in The conflict and Intervention in the Third World, Vikas Publishing House, 1980. p. 239.

2. Great power intervention in the Third World conflicts therefore is a part of this global inequality of power.¹⁸
3. Third World has been at the receiving end for last 300 to 400 years - receiving end economically militarily and politically, technologically.

In the post - Cold War World this aspect of the international relations becomes very important and the quest of Third World's autonomy not only in economic political and technological fields but also in the resolution of conflicts among the Third world countries, has to acquire a more positive role, a more constructive role as a source of cooperative generic peace values.

Till today, the Great powers used the Third World, territorially and economically to conduct their own rivalries by exploiting the internal/regional or domestic conflicts in the Third World countries. But now with more and more cooperation and confidence building measures the Great powers are disengaging themselves from the regional conflicts. The low level of conflict involvement by the Great powers will surely lessen the arms supply to the Third World which will give an opportunity to the Third World to come out of an economic and military dependence. The Third World therefore should extend its "peace planning" horizon

18. Ibid., p. 239.

and consolidate development and peace. Great powers intervene in the conflicts but they cannot determine all the behavioural variables of Third World conflicts. Many of the conflicts have been an outcome of colonial strategies and their reinforcement by the dominant powers, leading to a variety of situations with a spectrum of conflict levels.

The role of Great powers and particularly the super powers in the international system has been primarily one of conflict management and quite often conflict exhibition, rather than helping in the resolution of regional conflicts. Although the relations between the super powers have been stabilized, there has been a perceptible rise in the level of permissibility of chaos, conflict and violence in those regions of the world which are peripheral for the purposes of the central balance. The Third World initiatives for peace should begin in those areas first, through new learning processes.

The post Second World War international system was managed by an arms transfer in majority of the areas in the Third World by the Superpowers. Now in the post-Cold War period the Third World countries on their own have to decide what they want to receive in any form of a transfer whether it is an arms transfer or technology transfer. While the developed areas of the world are becoming more and more peaceful, conflicts, violence, distrust and lack of any kind of peace initiatives prevail in the Third World. The Third

World has to transform its approach, at individual, social, class, national and regional levels otherwise there is a danger of a global inequality in the guise of preserving world order - an order imposed and controlled by the big few for their own benefit.

Patterns of Armed Conflicts in the Third World¹⁹

1. Conflicts over national borders
2. Conflicts with or among minority groups
3. Conflicts involving questions of self-determination
4. Distributive dispute within or among states or regions
5. Systemic conflicts.

These conflicts expose all the developing countries to tremendous turmoil and fragmentation. Violent contention becomes the mechanism for political representation and civic participation fails to take hold. The passions that lead people to kill and die are often tangible attachments - to a mother tongue to a religion, to recognition of certain rights, to recovery or establishment of identity are not with the power of governments to control, though government and opposition movements often attempt to manipulate them.

The Punjab has been repeatedly cited as one of the great success stories of the region for its great strides in agricultural productivity leading to a remarkable economic

19 Dieter Senghaas, Transcending collective violence, the civilizing process and the peace problem, In The Quest for peace, (Ed) Raimo Vayrynen Sage Publication, 1987. p. 12.

growth. Today, Punjab is in flames. An inability to perceive peace with growth and development, leads to such violence. There is a need to foresee the consequences of planning and especially the developmental schemes. The most important of them are the socio-cultural consequences of economic planning. If the agricultural revolution and industrialization are the structural changes in the socio-economic and political set up of a society then it is required to see how these changes would produce peace structures. If the slums and unemployment is the price people pay for industrial development then that development should be in question. Economic development and prosperity cannot be the end of a society. Economy is an instrument and man in a society is an end. And therefore an ability to perceive peace with growth and development means that the planning has to be man-centered and not the other way round.

The ease with which serious violent disruption can be sustained by small groups if they are well armed well financed and well trained has reduced the cost of interference in the internal affairs of another country and raised its pay offs. This pattern is usually referred to as terrorism. The only real alternative is political accommodation with the aggrieved groups, which requires a great capacity for political innovation. The regional conflict resolution effort has to follow a particular set of proposals and a methodology. Highly innovative and constructive proposals will not however, change the pattern

of armed conflict in the Third world or elsewhere without some commitment to their implementation. Virtually every failed proposal for constructive change founders on this question of political will. Changing the current destructive patterns of armed conflict in the Third World however does not require the wholesale adoption of new policies or negotiating formulae. It requires something that is perhaps a little easier to achieve: restraint.

Restraint by the internal decision-making structures of parties to the Third World conflicts and one to be exercised by external powers. Conflict in many parts of the Third World still ranges on and the Great powers remain involved in it. The system to transfer arms still continues to function. In Eastern Europe - the Soviets withdrew voluntarily and the West is restraining from taking steps that would harm future interests. In the Third World, however all the Great Powers are still involved economically - politically and militarily. The Great powers have not yet realized that they cannot achieve victory but must work for peaceful internal settlements, which do not exclude their involvement.²⁰

Great powers' position in the Third World and for that matter all over the world would be enhanced if they agreed with each other to end or limit arms transfers to

20. Mark N. Katz, Why Does the Cold War Continue in the Third World? Department of Public Affairs, George Hason University, Journal of Peace Research Vol. 27 No. 490. p. 263.

regional conflicts. This is not only for the sake of peace diplomacy but to break the vicious circle of the world militarization process or a world military order.

Establishing priorities for conflict resolution in the Third World

In order to evolve principles for the evolution of a Peace System in the Third World the terms of reference of the discussion have to be formulated by asking three relevant questions:

1. What are the real problems/real issues in the Third World?
2. What is the potential of the Third World?
3. What is the organisation of the Third World in terms of means and resources?

As far as the problems are concerned they are -

1. The North-South dialogue has come to a stand still. It has produced very little.
2. In many international fora the Third World is struggling to preserve the decisions taken during the period when the North was more forthcoming.
3. Superpowers provided two different patterns of development and outlined a model based on an ideology and forced the Third World to follow that particular ideology of development by stating that a coherent and self-reinforcing development is impossible in the

Third World. But many countries have disproved this theory.

4. Increasing economic differences also reinforce the political differences among the Third World countries. Political differences have come to play an increasing role within the Third World where political organizations have been unable to settle internal political conflicts between member states.
5. Both NAM and Group of 77 stand more divided today than previously. It has proved impossible to agree on the creation of a strong secretariat for the Third World and even the South Commission has been set up outside the official organisation.
6. Is it an end of the Third World as a dominant political force in the international system? The real issues in the Third World today are the debt crisis, population explosion, energy problems, religious fundamentalism, and militarization.

One of the first to use the concept of Third World was Alfred Sauvry in France Observateur on 14th August 1952.²¹ The term gained currency because it suggested a link between the sharp opposition and confrontation between East and West, and the advent of many new non-aligned

21. Ibid., p. 263.

states among former colonies in the South. The NAM is particularly important because it is usually there that joint positions of the Third World are prepared and negotiated. The term Third World also described the economic programmes that have been put forward by the Group of 77 and the NAM.

Right from their independence the Third World countries attempted to construct national strategies for controlling their own development process. But these attempts have often led to increased dependence on the international system. The debt crisis has to a certain extent helped maintain political cooperation among the Third World countries by underlining the common economic difficulties of most Third World countries.

Three elements of the power of the Third World can be enumerated-

1. Resources of the Third World - More than 120 countries of the Third World have a combined GNP of about 2,700 billion US dollars compared with Japan's 1,300 billion and the USA's 3,900 billion.²² The largest GNP of any Third World country that of China, was no more than 319,000 million US dollars or less than ten per cent of that of the USA.²³

22. Hans Henrik Holm, The End of the Third World, Journal of Peace Research, Vol 27 No. 1 1990. pp. 1-7.

23. Ibid., p. 5.

2. The Third World as a collective actor is weaker than the USA and in terms of military resources the differences are even greater.
3. Nevertheless, the Third World commands more resources than any other power in the international system. In fact it possesses economic resources that place it among the major powers of the world. It is also here that economic growth will be the fastest and therefore, important to a more modestly growing North. All these factors give a certain collective bargaining power.

The resource base is irrelevant, unless these resources are mobilized. Third World is a legitimate political movement and its demands are also legitimate even though agreement on solution and concrete political measures suggested, is till a long way off. It has been accepted as a common grouping in most international organizations. Representation has been achieved only partly. Economic negotiations among the industrialized countries have not included representatives from the Third World countries. Regional organizations have become more important than the Third World unity. Effective organization of the Third World is a prerequisite for converting power resources into manifest power. It needs common goals.

Third World does not have a high status, however, it does have considerable influence, Third World view points

are often considered as morally superior, in the background of past colonialism, aggression and exploitation.

From Power to Action

The crucial problem is the organisation needed to transform the resources into effective political action. This is the Third World's key to future economic growth. Third World has accepted that its problems have to be negotiated regionally. Regionalization is strengthening the ability of the Third World as a whole to mobilize on common issues - reinforcing political stability. But there is a lack of generally acceptable leaders who could lead a common effort. The international structure is changing the dominant role of the Superpowers and other major powers has been reduced. The ability of the Superpowers to define the structure of the regimes internationally, has diminished. There is also a reduced international importance of military power.

How to actualise the potential of the Third World?

This can be done through Peace Thinking. Three Branches of Peace Thinking²⁴ are

1. Normative Peace
2. Behavioural Peace
3. Structural Peace

24. This model of Peace Thinking is based on the model given by Mackenzie in his book : Power, Violence, Decision, Cox and Wyman Limited, Penguin, London, 1975.

1. Normative Peace : The starting point of normative peace would be organisation and ranking of values. The process of development of normative peace is the elaboration of a system of peace principles by which the evaluation of the current Third World society can be done and the potential capabilities of the Third World can also be realized. The end product of normative peace is a non-violent society. Peace thinking in the Third World should be concerned with the goals of society and with the understanding of the values that should be pursued.

Normative peace should be concerned with the links between the peace proposals and day-to-day experience. Normative peace is exploring moral and political values. Organising and ranking them is most important. Peace as a general principle for reorganizing the various goals, should always be kept in the view. In the post-Cold War World re-evaluating the role of violence, which had played down the role of peace, is necessary.

The process of development of normative peace.

'Normative peace' has to elaborate its blueprints for a good society. For this, three things are essential;

1. It must elaborate its attitudes to its preferred principles and resolve the contradictions that might exist between the various values.
2. Evaluating society in the light of these values, for example, how far the contemporary society already

embodies them.

3. And thinking of potential of mankind to implement these principles.

Clarification of various values (First step)

It is necessary to make an attempt to harmonize and reconcile various values which are contained in the overriding principle. In harmonizing and reconciling all the possible links between the various concepts, the most extreme positions have also to be considered. Conflicting values have to be tackled with straightforward logic. If the thinker believes in peace as the supreme principle for governing society then he must deal with the conflicting claims of war and violence.

Evaluation of the current society (Second Step)

This consists in evaluating current society in the light of the system of principles that has been elaborated. The examination of the potential of mankind very often comes close to asserting a number of laws about human nature. Normative peace aims to analyze the goals of society and proposes the best possible goals for mankind. The ability of 'normative peace' to convince others about change, depends on establishing a link between values, society and man.

The End Products of Normative Peace : Utopias and Ideologies

Normative peace fulfils a much needed role in society - pointing out alternatives facing mankind and reference models which constitute the pillars of reform. All of us build our philosophy of society on the basis of past, present and future by reference to these constructs. It is highly unrealistic to minimize the importance of end products of normative peace system.

An Ideology is a set of interrelated attitudes which indicate a specific approach to society's problem. Ideologies are especially important because they link normative theories and real world descriptions. To understand the possible impact of Normative Peace we need to turn to the description of happenings and examine the problems in analysing behaviours.²⁵

2. Behavioural Peace :

Behavioural Peace means that behaving in a peaceful manner and discovering the laws of violent and non-violent actions. No behavior takes place in a purely physical sense, it implies the action of people. Therefore it is important to study violent and non-violent behaviour. For this 1. Actors, 2. Decisions 3. Time period of violent and non-violent behaviour, should be considered. For this it is necessary to form a peaceful universe of actors

25. Ibid., p. 229.

who are instrumental in decision processes. And the Decisions have to be taken and be accepted as a policy by the community. 'Communication' is the basis of all human relationships and behavioural ways in which men interact. Why relationships exist between some men and not between others ? There is, therefore a need to discover general patterns of relationships by using increasing peace techniques.

End Products of Behavioural Peace - A Rational Choice Model

Broadly, behaviour is said to be rational when it corresponds to a calculation of the best means of achieving chosen ends. (In Gandhi's words - the purest means). Through many rational choice models - concerned with two men situations or two unit situations, it can be possible to state precisely what the optimum decision should be in relation to the clearly known goals of the two partners. For this the Game theory in particular can be used.²⁶

Beyond rational choice model : But one has to go beyond rational choice model by aiming at a truly general descriptive theory of behavioural peace. But there can arise three types of difficulties.

26. Anatol, Rapoport, (Ed), Game Theory as a theory of Conflict Resolution, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland, 1974. pp. 1-14. Game Theory could be formally defined as a theory of rational decision in conflict situations. Models of such situations as they are conceived in game theory involve.

1. Players - a set of decision makers
2. A set of strategies available to players
3. A set of outcomes
4. A set of payoffs

1. Collective character of the choices to be made;
2. Motivation of actors;
3. Overall constraints the social reality imposes on the actors.

1. Collective choice amounts to a choice which is acceptable to each of the conflicting parties. Decision is applicable only to those who have participated in making the choice. But going beyond two or three men situations, that are applicable to a whole community which is very much larger than the number of persons who participated in the process, is very important.

2. Motivation : Relationship between attitude and behaviour between ideal motivation and reality has to be synthesised. Feeling about a problem, have to be known to the parties. Nationalism and pride might lead towards a violent outbreak of conflict, inspite of the motivation for peace. The triumph of anti-colonial national self-determination through decolonization in the wake of the Second World war has also unleashed the more destructive forces of nationalism in the Third World. Since then, the mystique of 'nation-building' has turned sour under the stresses of many conflicts, that have cropped up sooner as in the Indian Subcontinent in 1947, or later.²⁷

3. Constraints under which the society operates : What about potential drives and urges which emerge either slowly

27. Imanuel Geiss, Post Colonial conflicts in the Third World, Pakistan Horizon, Vol. 44, No. 1, Jan. 1991.

or violently and might change the motivation of actors? What if some actors become convinced that they cannot achieve their goals and instead of being rational and being prepared to consider them as their dreams, what if they try to break the constraints under which the system operates? This is the crux of the matter - a large part of 'behavioural peace' consists in just such dreaming about a new reality. Its importance cannot be denied however the dreams are to be implemented. The future of behavioural peace is a peaceful behaviour and producing peace and enforcing peace.

3. Structural Peace²⁸:

Institutions, procedures, customs existing arrangements of all kinds should lead to peace and peaceful social living. Peace as a norm cannot lead to an actual change without a peace theory of behaviour. The peaceful behaviour implies the structures within which the behaviour takes place, and thus it becomes a structural peace. Analysing structures, which should lead to peace and peaceful living is important. Political, Economic, Educational and Legal structures should be seen as a compact whole. Cultural structures are important while considering the institutions that are the product of tradition. We soon

28. The concept of Structural Peace is a binary opposition to the concept of structural violence - given by Johan Galtung in his peace thinking.

notice that there are many similarities between the traditions of various nations-for example colonial tradition in many of the Third World countries. Thus history stresses the need to look at structures, not in isolation but in the content of all the structures of the country.

Interrelationship of Structures

What are the structures that led to the world military orders and how to convert these structures into a non-military order, would be the first step towards structural peace. The effectiveness of the structures diminishes, either because institutions may not be harmoniously related because new demands may render inadequate, some of the structures, as when there is an increased demand for economic development and social equality. Many of the systems in the Third World based on one-party system or on military show the inadequacy of many traditional monarchical systems to fulfil the demands of modern society.

Thus the conditions have to be analysed for maintenance of peace while creating new structures or improving old structures and making them conducive to peace.

Chinese Cultural revolution was a typical attempt to impose new structures, a whole set of new structures-which proved to be expensive. A pattern of structures cannot be easily summarized in a precise language. Structural peace is nowhere near its fulfilment or a

concrete form. Structures are the only means by which new norms could be introduced. Structures shape the habits of citizens and also limit the actions.

The post-Second World War order was a global military order in which the justice, peace, cooperation and development were lost. It was a period of the lost development. Today in the post-Cold War world it is the prime task of the Third World countries to find out the lost peace justice development and cooperation. This search for peace, development and justice should begin with the handling of the regional conflicts cooperatively. Battlegrounds should become the conference halls the areas of disputes should become the areas of debates and the secret as well as open conspiracies should give a way to the confidence and mutual exchange. To achieve these ideals the civic participation becomes most important. In analysing the conflict situation the interests of the various groups of people have to be considered and in this a Gandhian way of analysis should help.

If the increasing interventionism in the developing world was an offshoot of the Cold War, the disengagement of the Superpowers from the regional conflicts is the expected characteristics feature of the post-Cold War world order. It is not contended that without the interventionism of the grate powers the developing world would be peaceful. It will continue to be turbulent. A

policy of restraint by the great powers would reduce the risks of war arising out of their interventions, reduce the scale of casualties in wars in developing world and reduce their sense of insecurity. The entire Cold War system was conceived and designed to win the victories without the wars but there were no victories but only wars in the Third World.

Twentieth Century is a century of wars and revolutions.²⁹ The technical development of the implements of violence and their destructive potential to which no political goal can correspond today, has become absolutely useless. Warfare has lost much of its effectiveness and glamour, and therefore an important problem is how to come out of the deterrence as the best guarantee of peace?

Violence is different from power force or strength in that it always needs implements. The chief reason, warfare is still with us, is the simple fact that no substitute for this final arbiter in international relations has yet appeared on the political scene.

The World War II was not followed by peace but by a Cold War and the establishment of the military - industrial and labour complex. Peace is the continuation of war by other means is the actual level.

29. Lenin had predicted this in his writings.

Power and Violence

Violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power. All politics is a struggle for power, the ultimate kind of power is violence.³⁰ Whether the end of warfare then would mean the end of states ? would the disappearance of violence in relationships between states spell the end of power ? One of the most obvious distinction between power and violence is that power always stands in need of numbers, whereas violence up to a point can manage without them because it relies on implements.³¹

The extreme form of power is all against one and the extreme of violence is one against all.³² Hannah Arendt explains, power, strength, force, authority and violence is distinguished by its instrumental character. Since in foreign relations as well as in domestic affairs violence appears as a last resort to keep the power structure intact against individual challengers. It looks indeed as though violence were the prerequisite of power and power is nothing but a facade. No government exclusively based on the means of violence has ever existed. Power is indeed the essence of all governments but violence is not. Current equation of violence with the power rests on governments being understood as domination of man over man by means of violence.

30. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, New York, 1956. p. 171.

31. Hannah Arendt, *On Violence*, Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1970. pp.41-42.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Terror and violence

Terrorism exists when the violence is in full control. To understand violence, its roots and nature have to be examined. An important link between terrorism and violence is an easy access to arms to the terrorists.³³ In the Third World, Latin America and the Middle East have become the pivotal centres of terrorism. According to one estimate from 1969 to 1980, a total number of 12,690 incidents were committed only in Italy, by the various groups.³⁴

The danger of violence, even if it moves consciously within a non-extremist framework of short term goals will always be that the means overwhelm the end. If goals are not achieved rapidly, the result will be not merely defeat but the introduction of the practice of violence into the whole body politics. The practice of violence like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world. Neither violence nor power is a natural phenomenon, that is a manifestation of a life process, they belong to the political realm of human affairs whose essentially human quality is guaranteed by man's faculty of action, the ability to begin something new.

33. Abu Taher Salahuddin Ahmad, The Nature and outcome of States response to International Terrorism. Biiss Journal, Vol.12, No. 2, 1991.

34. Encyclopedia of Terrorism and Political Violence, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and New York, 1987.

Much of the present glorification of violence is caused by severe frustration of the faculty of action in the modern world. The great powers are bogged down under the monstrous weight of their own bigness and it looks as though the setting of a new example will have a chance.

One of the most distinguished aspects of Gandhi's Satyagraha technique of human emancipation is its concern for the emancipation of oppressors. Gandhi believed that within an oppressive system or abnormal civilization, those who play oppressive roles are themselves oppressed. Their emancipation too, is the concern of the Satyagraha underlying the assumption that there can be no liberation of the oppressed until the oppressors are also lifted up from their degraded depths.

Strategies for dealing with the threat to the Third World

The issues that we aim at tackling in this contribution have been considered in a preliminary way under overarching concepts of Normative peace, Behavioural peace and Structural peace. The strategies for dealing with threats to the Third World cannot be fruitful unless these are outlined in terms of an overall theory of peaceful transformation. The strength of the Gandhian methodology lies in its total commitment to the transformation of the existing violence-prone social system. Rapoport's model also envisages full transformation of the world order away from the war-system. Far from being mutually exclusive,

both the models throw light on the nature and significance of problem-solving perspectives for the real problems and issues of conflict in the Third World.

Towards a Peace System in the Third World:
Preliminary reflections on the systemic approaches
of Gandhi and Rapoport

At a time when global relations are being restructured the general failure to achieve an explicit agreement on mutual or shared norms in the Third World in favour of stable peace, makes it tempting to conclude that people and governments in the developing countries do not have shared beliefs to peace-building. We do not accept this line of argument. The conceptual clarification and theory building we propose to do with synthesis of approaches of Gandhi and Rapoport, provide explanatory devices which can cope with inequitable domestic and international structures. We can reconstruct the central questions pertaining to the building of a Peace System in the Third World.

CHAPTER II

GANDHI AND RAPOPORT : COMPETING AND COMPLEMENTARY

ACCOUNTS IN PEACE THEORY

An attempt has been made in this chapter to provide nothing more than a route-map of exploration of Gandhi's and Rapoport's peace ideas. It does not make any claim of natural harmony of these two peace thinkers. To an extent they provide alternative methods of elaborating approaches to the study of conflict. There are, however, attitudes and predispositions which both have fostered against narrow conception of politics and both have achieved critical assessment of antiquated notions of power structures. The following overview will provide us with directions for future research.

Rapoport identifies three types of struggles and differentiates among them. What is the meaning of opponent? In the Fights the opponent's presence is an unwanted one, a nuisance. He has to be eliminated, cut down in importance or made to disappear. But in the Games an opponent is essential and his strength is also valued¹. Rules of the game are followed with a cooperation and everyone tries to do his best. The opponent speaks the same language; whose interest may be opposed but who exists as a rational being. His inner thought process is important. In Debates the

1. Anatol Rapoport, Conflict Resolution in the light of Game Theory in The Structure of Conflict (ed.), Paul Swingle, Academic Press, , New York and London, 1970. p. 35.

opponents direct their arguments at each other. The objective is to convince the opponent, to make him see things as one sees them. Fights, games and debates are different kinds of intellectual tools for the analysis of conflict situations.

For Rapoport ideas rather than situations are central, though real situations serve as illustrative examples. For him self-defence is not an act of aggression "If every nation were concerned only with self-defence, there would by definition, be no occasion for war, since war could arise only from an aggressive act"².

The race for armaments is self-perpetuating. Underlying grievances and mutual fears are the causes of the race for armaments and the limiting factors for such a race are the constraints of excessive armaments burdens. What can ensure disarmament is an underlying good will. The unit of armament expenditure is some sort of money unit. But what is a unit of mutual suspicion? What is a grievance unit? For Rapoport these questions have to be answered to make any progress towards understanding armament race and disarmament as well. Armament expenditure in money terms could serve as an index of hostility. International trade can be taken as a measure of amount of cooperation between the states and the net amount of hostility should be taken

2. Anatol Rapoport, *The Origins of Violence*, Paragon House, New York, 1989. p. 416.

as the difference between armament expenditures and international trade of the nations concerned. (A study of India and Pakistan as a case in point). Rapoport writes that the post-war outbreaks in India claimed as many victims as some good sized wars.

"Mankind throughout its recorded history has been subjected to constant outbreaks of regular wars between sovereign states - the most organized form of extermination".

Epidemic Violence and Endemic Violence

Constant outbreaks of war and violence as an epidemic violence and isolated, non-propagated instances such as murders and executions are endemic violence³. If outbreaks of mass violence depend on underlying causes similar to those underlying other epidemics it is possible that the ebb and flow of those phenomena will remain uncontrolled until those underlying causes are discovered and countered. People imitate each other is commonly observed. In imitation, a behaviour pattern is transmitted from one individual to another. Moreover, the thing transmitted is not 'conserved' that is the person receiving it, gains it, but the person giving it does not necessarily lose it. Propagation with multiplication becomes possible and we have the necessary ingredients of a generalized epidemic.

3. Ibid., p. 194.

A Theme of Cooperation and Exploitation to study the Social Relations.

Epidemics, explosions, the breakdown of the dynamic systems occur when the bounds of stability are overstepped. A knowledge of such conditions has enabled man to control epidemics and design stable dynamic systems in technology. It is even possible that increased knowledge of economic dynamics has made the control of violent economic fluctuations feasible. Rapoport is in favour of the old Hegelian dictum Freedom is the recognition of necessity. So how do we give freedom to the entire world ? By recognizing and understanding the necessities of the world. By understanding and fulfilling the socio-economic cultural-political, environmental and legal necessities of the world.

If freedom is the recognition of necessity then the Gandhian interpretation of it would be the task facing the democratic world. What is it? It is to achieve union and to enrich the content of democracy. That will make it immune to violence from within and from without. This is the peaceful way and probably the only way of preventing national/domestic and international violence.

Pose the problem of poverty or politics or world peace to an individual and he says, "Nothing can be done about it". In the contemporary world full of violence, terrorism, domination, exploitation and war, the achievement of 'peace' seems to be an other-worldly concept like liberation of the soul or salvation etc.

The most important task in this chapter is to make the concept of peace this worldly, and to emphasize the practice of peace so that a common individual feels that everything should be done to achieve peace and everything can be achieved through peace. Millions were ready to give their lives in the World War II. Millions of civilians gave blood, work, money, time and nerves to win that war. People are ready to die or live worse in order to win a war. People refuse to live better in order to prevent a war. Gandhism asks people to live better. It asks them to be less selfish, less greedy, less money-mad, less self-centred. It asks them to be more kind, more honest, more friendly. It sounds vague until one does it whole heartedly. Beneath all the social, economic and political problems of the democracies is one basic problem, the moral problem, the problem of decent relations between countries and between persons.

Democracy might profit from Gandhi's suggestion,
Turn the searchlight inward⁴

If the freedom is the recognition of necessity then no man is completely free who is starving or unemployed or unable to get an education if he wants it. Slums that create bad health, crime, immorality are not democratic. A democracy that underpays its teachers is not serving democracy. Even the freest elections and a full freedom of

4. Louis Fischer, Gandhi and Stalin, p. 12.

speech would not guarantee democracy in the presence of widespread material want and insecurity.

According to Gandhi modern world concentrates too much on "getting" and too little on "being". "stop and be"⁵ is the Mahatma's philosophy.

For Gandhi self-help and cooperative efforts-are more important than the legal actions. Brotherly love, truth or tolerance cannot be legislated. For Gandhi violence cannot be quenched by superior violence....!

With the Mahatma as a model instead of money, pride, prestige and power as a spur, the citizens of a society could begin to smooth out the conflicts, frictions and injustices that limit the freedom and hamper the growth of individuals. Gandhi's individualism rests on faith in man. 'Do or die' was his slogan. And since he did not want to die his motto was 'Do'. Defeating violence with Gandhi is the way to personal freedom and personal decency and therefore to peace. Gandhi attached great importance to individual and his freedom. To him, "the Individual is the one supreme consideration"., therefore, any concept of freedom must begin with the individual⁶.

Majority of the Third World countries are so hungry, ragged and unhappy that they think with their

5. Ibid., p. 14.

6. Suresh Kumar Soni and Sunera Kapoor, Gandhi's concept of Freedom Gandhi Marg, Jan-March 1992. p. 443.

stomach, see with their nakedness and feel with their misery. The gulf between men with power and men without power is one of the central reasons for the evils of the world. The men with power ought to enter into the hour to hour life of the average citizen; the average citizen should share and thereby diminish the power of the man with power.

As far as the Gandhian plan of action for the resolution of conflict is concerned, it follows three stages through which new social and political structures can be built. These stages are

- 1) Management of confrontations
- 2) Building cooperation
- 3) Opening communication.

The primary strategy in Gandhi's peaceful confrontation ethics was to act in struggle in a manner conducive to the reduction of violence in the long term and there by creating peace structures. In selecting strategies, Gandhi stressed that it is means that determine ends. It is better not to violate rules, if possible, and resist passively when it is not possible. In creating programmes and in approaching confrontations, it is important to stress constructive and positive elements while avoiding negative and punitive ones. Violence and attempts to deal from positions of strength are seen as likely to increase rather than reduce violence.

Peaceful resolution of disputes and maintenance of stability requires trust and cooperation among the parties involved. Trust can be built by stressing common goals and by treating opponents with respect. Peaceful resolution of disputes also is facilitated by accurate communication of as much information as possible.

Secrecy and distortion should be avoided and objectives should never be changed during the course of negotiations. Secret moves should be avoided on the grounds that they create mistrust. One of the problems with the propositions deduced from Gandhian philosophy is that most of them remain untested in a wide range of confrontation situations. Gandhi's theory of satyagraha, nonviolent resistance can be analysed in the framework of two-party game.

Towards Permanent Peace: Gandhi

Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in godliness of human nature. Methods hitherto adopted have failed because rock-bottom sincerity on the part of those who have striven has been lacking. Peace is unattainable by past performance of conditions even as chemical combination is impossible without complete fulfilment of conditions of attainment there of. Non-violent resistance can only be effective in resisting people who are capable of being moved by moral or humanitarian consideration.

Peaceful conflict resolution does not mean an ultimate elimination of conflict or giving theoretical structures to end conflict but the "ways of conducting conflict when it arises, ways which are constructive and not destructive"⁷ What it needs is a philosophy of such an action. It is possible to abstract from the Gandhian experiments a theoretical key to the problem of social and political conflicts.

The problem of human conflict is perhaps the most fundamental problem of all time. In this age of uttermost violence, it is strange to think of the man who talked always of non-violence. He demonstrated to us that there can be a strength far greater than that of armaments and without bitterness and hatred⁸.

Gandhi was never tired of talking about ends and means and of laying stress on the importance of means. "That is the essential difference between his approach and the normal approach which thinks in terms of ends only"⁹ and the means are forgotten. It is not realized that the ends must inevitably come out of the means and are governed by those means. Conflicts are therefore, seldom resolved. The wrong methods pursued in dealing with them lead to further conflict.

7. Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence : The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958. p.v.

8. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

9. *Ibid.*, p. x.

Gandhi's restructuring techniques can be grouped under two heads: non-violent direct action and constructive programme. Being organically related to each other these techniques have to be used jointly while direct action is intended for resisting evils, the progressive exploitation of the creative capacities of constructive work strengthens and reviews social issues and consequently the need for direct action in the long run is obviated. In India, Gandhi combined nonviolent direct action at a political level with constructive programme consisting of a series of activities in rural areas which were non-political in nature.

A continuously hostile and warlike relations between India and Pakistan can be brought to a gradual normalcy especially through non-political constructive activities. Such a constructive foreign policy could also have a moral and psychological impact. Firstly it can serve as a means of broadening the base of the foreign policy of both the states by creating bonds of friendship instead of carrying on a tradition of hostility and bitterness. Today there is an urgent need to experiment nonviolent direct action on an international level which Gandhi experimented in India. Secondly such a constructive foreign policy can demolish the deep-rooted prejudices against each other and make them realize the mistakes they made. Thirdly it has a high developmental value for the backward masses.

The significance of Gandhi today does not lie only in the fact that the popular goals of freedom and justice,

prosperity and peace for which he struggled are identical with those to which masses all over the world are deeply committed. But additionally, and in a limited sense, the true measure of his worth is whether he can contribute to the sum total of thought and endeavour which is being put in the contemporary world to achieve these goals to a fuller extent. Gandhians today should highlight the liberal elements in socio-cultural and political fields and develop an ideological framework that accomodates heterogeneity while stressing bonded fellowship.¹⁰

For Gandhi the lag between man's moral development and social capabilities on the one hand and his technical skills and potentialities on the other is mainly responsible for the growth of overt violence, 'overkill' capacity and dehumanization. Moreover the institutional means which have been evolved to realize great human ends being out of time with the true nature of man, solve one type of problem and create much more complex problems.

Gandhi's answer to all these is to work for the restoration of the balance-uplift of all even if the progress is slow in the body politic and to cut the social and technical institutions to a human scale so that they may not dominate the user, the man.

This analysis should most be acceptable primarily in the developing states in the Third World. These newly

10. Suresh A. Desai, The Twenty First Century and The Third World, Gandhi Marg, Jan - March 1992. p. 441.

freed nations are no doubt attached to some of the values and institutions of the industrial civilization but since institutionally they have not gone very far, Gandhi's approach may spare them the pain and degradation of social and moral injury, rapid technology has done to the West. They may be able to avoid the errors of the West and thus, without suffering the consequences of blind imitation and by a careful analysis of their own needs and potentialities, create a better social order.

Any peace drive in an age of total war must be based on principled opposition to war and ideological support for peace. Deideologization of international relations is the first step towards peace. We need deideologization today because, till yesterday all the ideologies advocated violence and produced nothing. All the ideologies in the past have failed themselves as far as peace was concerned and before they failed us also we go towards the deideologization. But Deideologization towards peace has to take place simultaneously or the violence will fill the vacuum again.

Gandhi's experiments and his doctrines of non-violence could be considered as a base for this kind of positive and peaceful reideologization.

Gandhian Experiments for Political Philosophy as a Reideologization of International Relations

The above lines may sound vague but what they mean

is that there is a need in the contemporary world of further experiments in the Gandhian technique and its adaptation to different levels of conflict in differing cultural settings, the further sophistication of Satyagraha technique by bringing to bear upon them what can be learned from developing different methods - these and many other areas await exploration by those who would know more of the potential suggested by the Gandhian experience and its significance for formulating an adequate theory for the constructive conduct of conflict. In this age of consuming fear, this absolutely fearless individual stands out. He demonstrated to us that there can be a struggle fought and indeed should be fought, without bitterness and hatred. "Satyagraha is not a subject for research, you must experience it, use it, live by it". These words of Gandhi belong to humanity. In his book, Thomas Weber examines satyagraha - Gandhi's method of nonviolence as a method of conflict resolution.¹¹ "The conflict is productive if the participants are satisfied with their outcomes and they feel that they have gained as a result of the conflict."¹²

What are These Gandhian Techniques?

Gandhian techniques include not only Satyagraha which remains the premier technique thus far developed but also Bhoodan, a movement for voluntary sacrifice of land, as

11. Thomas Weber, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics*, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1991.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

well as Nai Talim, the system of basic education which centres all instructions around a craft and is ideally self-supporting. This analysis intends to focus on that part of the Gandhian impact which centres upon Satyagraha, the premier Gandhian means. An analysis of the function of the concept of Satyagraha within and upon Gandhian political thought indicates that Satyagraha provides the key to an understanding of Gandhi's political philosophy. Gandhi was a political activist and a practical philosopher, he was not a theorist. Whatever philosophical formulations he made were inspired by and directed towards the solving of immediate problems. The unsophisticated explanations which Gandhi offered for his methods, his objectives, his policy and creed were part of a programme of action.

According to Mahatma Gandhi Satyagraha was "a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon truth".¹³ What is this truth which Gandhi incorporated as an essential element of his premier technique? How does it become a force and how does it relate to action on the field of conflict? "It excludes the use of violence" Gandhi asserted, "because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and therefore not competent to punish".¹⁴ Gandhi never claimed to know truth in any absolute sense, and he repeatedly reminded others

13. Quoted in Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958. p. 15.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

that man's inability to know the truth required that he maintain an increasingly open approach to those who would differ with him. He discovered through his application of Satyagraha "That pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy".¹⁵ For, he added "What appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other".¹⁶ Satyagraha, the technique, developed at once as the tool whereby Gandhi dealt with practical, social or political problems and the statement of his philosophical beliefs. Gandhi as a social activist always emphasized those partial manifestations of truth: honesty and integrity. When conflict resulted, he resorted to the dynamics of human interrelationships for criteria to judge the truth, or its approximation in a given situation.¹⁷ This led him necessarily back to the realm of ethics. Holding onto truth is a dynamic concept and Satyagraha a technique of action. In order to avoid the confusion of striving after truth differs in various cases Gandhi emphasized that truth is inseparable from Ahimsa.

Gandhi thought that the truth, judged in terms of human needs, would be destroyed, on whichever side it lay, by the use of violence. Non-violence becomes the supreme value, the one cognizable standard by which true action can

15. Ibid., p. 16.

16. Ibid., p. 17.

17. Ibid., pp. 23-23.

be determined. Most of the conflict resolution techniques focus on strategic and tactical considerations, generally leaving aside psychological, philosophical and especially ethical ones. There is a need to look at the phenomenon of conflict and conflict resolution in the light of Gandhi's moral and ethical thought.¹⁸

Gandhi's Militant Non-violence

Gandhi's militant non-violence becomes a political instrument because it can be used on a very large scale and reaching far beyond the issue involved. The most important feature of the militant nonviolence is the rigorous discipline, which for Gandhi, is an intrinsic part of the instrument of activism which he created.

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. Just as Ahimsa carries in the Gandhian ethic the positive meaning of love and goodwill, self-suffering requires the positive attribute of courage.¹⁹ Action based on the refusal to do harm often requires dealing with violence which may be instigated by the opponent in the conflict. In the quest for truth, and in its propagation it is not possible in a proper Satyagraha to inflict harm on others. In behaving truth itself would lose its meaning. He who claims a different version of truth

18. Ibid., p. 25.

19. Thomas Weber, succinctly points at exploring these areas in his book, Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1991.

from the Satyagraha must be converted by gentleness. Meanwhile, the Satyagrahi must re-examine continuously his position for his opponent may be closer to the truth than he. Patience, self-suffering and sacrifice are the cardinal values to be followed by those attached to Satyagraha.²⁰

The objective of Satyagraha is to win the victory over the conflict situation to discover further truths and to persuade the opponent, not to triumph over him.²¹ The most characteristic quality of satyagraha is the flexibility in ends which an emphasis on means implies. Gandhi insisted that individual will and reason can effect social and political change. Satyagraha, the technique he developed to point its direction. The effectiveness of the Satyagraha in action depends upon the degree of persuasion effected, the extensiveness of the constructive programme and the degree to which the non-violent character of the action has been preserved. Thus Satyagraha operates as a force to effect change. Satyagraha is a method of productive resolution of conflict.²²

Approaches to the resolution of conflict

Limitations of Traditional Approaches.

There is difference between the 'settlement' and the 'resolution' of conflict that is a distinction between

20. Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey, 1958. p. 28.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

22. Thomas Weber, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics*, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1991.

an outcome determined by a third party and forced upon those in conflict and an outcome acceptable to the parties which requires no enforcement.²³ Traditional approaches to the settlement of conflict have three basic elements in them: the degree of third party coercive intervention, the degree of participation by the conflicting parties, and the degree of communication between the parties. The history of attempts to deal with conflicts shows a continuous decline in the degree of third party coercion and a continuous increase in both participation and communication between the parties. There has been a continuous shift away from settlements towards attempts at resolution. But there has been so far, as little success with resolution as there was with settlement.

Judicial settlement that is a decision by a court, was and still is, the most favoured means of dealing with a conflict. There is, in case of the judicial settlement, virtually no participation by the parties and no direct communication.²⁴

Judicial settlement being unacceptable the device of arbitration has been employed. The process suffers from the drawbacks of judicial settlement: final decision-making responsibility is removed from the parties concerned.

23. Ibid., p. 27.

24. John W. Burton, *World Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972. p. 150.

Mediation is a convenient form when the parties do not feel themselves free to communicate freely. There is a high degree of participation by the parties but communication between them remains ineffective.²⁵ But in the mediation as far as the mediator is concerned, parties in conflict cannot accept neutral positions. "If you are not with us you are against us", is a common attitude.

Conciliation is more directed towards activities designed to help parties to agreement and there can be a high degree of participation and communication.

Negotiations are the exchanges that take place directly between the parties, that is in the absence of the third parties. In negotiations whole of the relationships can be discussed including the political aspects. However negotiations of a direct type have a limited place in the peaceful settlement of disputes once they occur, especially once the level of conflict has escalated.²⁶ In practice direct negotiation which implies full participation and full communication between the parties, merely transfers the conflict from the battlefields to the conference table.

We have the various processes which eliminate third-party coercion, and provide for participation and communication but still we are no nearer to resolution of conflict.

25. Ibid., p. 151.

26. Ibid., p. 151.

For Gandhi and Rapoport too, conflict need not have win-lose outcomes. When they do have such outcomes, they become games. For Rapoport, the problem of solving conflict whether at the interstate, communal, industrial or any other level, is a problem of transforming a situation that appears to be a power bargaining or win-lose one into a problem solving one in which both sides can gain. That is how we can interpret Rapoport's concept of debate.

According to Karl Deutsch an "Introduction to the study of international relations in our times is an introduction to the art and science of the survival of mankind".²⁷ For Gandhi the entire universe, was an integrated whole and man always remained central in his social, economic and political or developmental thinking. He always lived and worked amidst the problems and conflicts and in fact went to all remote places to face the problems in order to solve them. For Gandhi, the nature of conflict and the ways in which it can be handled were similar at domestic, communal and inter-state levels and experience at any one level was always helpful at others. His are the methods and actions everyone can think about and every one can experiment with.

Today the rich states are getting richer and the poor poorer and there seems no way out. The privileged wish to maintain existing relations and the poor wish to upset

27. Ibid., p. 152.

them, each using violence if necessary. This can be imagined in primitive relationships and it is also a very real element in the contemporary state relationships. The underdeveloped countries feel threatened, becoming relatively poorer and poorer as time goes on and as exchange relations become less favourable to them. Important values are at stake: they feel they should have better opportunities to compete, more control over exploitation of their resources, improved terms of trade. They look upon the world situation and their position in it from a background of exploitation, their lands and resources were taken in the past by white settlers because they did not have bargaining power, techniques and all the requirements of independence. There has been aggression and it continues now in the form of trade, unfavourable terms of trade and rate of exchange.

Gandhi's Satyagraha and Rapoport's Debates

Rapoport writes in his article 'Rules for Debate' "the term 'cold war' suggests that in the minds of men World War II was never ended".²⁸ He regards fights as irrational and subhuman. From fights to games and from games to debates is a process towards rationality and humanity.²⁹ Debate is that category of conflict in which "the problem of

28. Ibid., p. 162.

29. Anatol Rapoport, 'Rules for Debate' in Preventing World War III, Some proposals.

convincing another, that is, the problem of changing another's outlook, is the central aspect.³⁰ The objective to be achieved in the debates is to convince the opponent. 'Fights' which are motivated and determined by hatred are the blind struggles. Though in his analysis of conflict Rapoport gives importance to the strategic considerations, he makes us aware of their limitations and one of them is that the character of human conflict is always multidimensional. A strategy in games and conflicts cannot find out an area of common interests which is mutually recognized. "A human opponent in real life is rarely all enemy. Usually he is part friend, part foe".³¹

Throughout this analysis of conflicts and their resolution, if Rapoport is not talking of truth, non-violence and love then what is it? Rapoport's 'debates' lead the opponents towards more rationality and humanity and the first stage of Gandhi's satyagraha' is characterized by persuasion through reason. ✓ Satyagraha allows for several stages of winning over a conflicting situation. The subsequent stages enter the realm of persuasion through suffering wherein the Satyagrahi attempts to dramatize the issues at stake and to get through the opponent's unprejudiced judgement so that he may willingly come again onto a level where he may be persuaded through rational judgement.

30. Ibid., p. 246.

31. Ibid., p.250.

For Rapoport a rational debate is one which is truly aimed at modifying the outlook of the other. In this sense the diplomatic discussions, talks in various formal bodies, and arguments in the legal institutions are not rational debates. They are merely the representations in the vacuum of deliberately prejudiced people. If the first stage of Satyagraha is persuasion through reason, in Debates, it is to make an opponent listen; not by physical force or negative constraints; but by what Gandhi calls, 'positive coercion'. Non-cooperation, boycott, strike - all of these tools which may be used in Satyagraha, involve an element of compulsion which may effect a change on the part of an opponent which initially was contrary to his will - and he may suffer from the indirect results of these actions. But there remains a significant difference between non-violent and violent coercion for Rapoport too, what he calls as 'negative constraints' aimed, sometimes successfully, at preventing specific actions of others.

~How to get the opponent listen to you ? 'By setting an example or appealing to the other's self-interest!³² Satyagraha also specifies the rules of individual self-living in the persistence of truth. Satyagraha is essentially an ethical principle, the essence of which is a social technique of action. In Satyagraha there is a positive coercion of the opponent, in the sense that, he is also brought into the process of achieving the

32. Ibid., p.251.

truth in his own way. In 'Debates' too, Rapoport points out that usually a person acts in socially acceptable manner only if he is convinced that others, too normally act that way. Thus if Satyagraha is an ethical social technique of action, 'debates' too make an individual social-minded which helps him to be convinced that the other persons are also social-minded.

Conviction and Truth

The results of the 'debates' cannot be measured by any type of an empiricism or scale. The outcome of the 'debates' is a matter of conviction. Debates are the conflicts of conviction. And how to decide the fairness and justice of the conviction? By taking 'group' interest versus 'Self-interest' as a point of departure. In Satyagraha too it is a conflict of truths. However honestly a man may strive in his search for truth, his notions of truth may be different from the notions of others. Who then is to determine the truth? There is an abundant evidence that Gandhi adopted a social criterion for judging the truth in a given situation. The conflict of conviction is a problem of objectivity. This problem is solved in the Gandhian method. While admitting truth to be relative, some objective standard is established. The solution is in terms of "man, the measure".

Principles of Rational Debate and Principles of Satyagraha

Apart from setting an example to make an opponent

listen and by 'making listening advantageous' in a debate, Rapoport goes on to prescribe further principles of rational debate. Most important of them is finding out the conditions in which the opponent's position can be justified. He cites an example. If someone maintains that black is white, we can always say "yes, that is true, if you are interpreting a photographic negative".³³ Going out of the way for the opponent, respecting his opinion and trying to find out the positive implications of it, in order to have a healthy and fruitful debate, is a matter of principle and not of strategy. For Gandhi this is a continuous assessment of the conflict situation by constructive efforts, through positive resistance towards a process of persuasion and adjustment in order to press the movement of satyagraha ever forward. Gandhi, persistent search for avenues of cooperation with the adversary on honorable terms is one of the fundamental rules of satyagraha. This demonstrates sincerity of the satyagrahi to achieve an agreement with rather than a triumph over the adversary.

Other important principle of 'rational debate' is an assumption of similarity.³⁴ Psychic unity of the two opponents is not just a part of the debate but is the debate itself. To believe in and be convinced of the good sense of

33. Ibid., p.252.

34. Anatol Rapoport, *Fights, Games, Debates*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960. p. 210.

the other leads the 'debate' towards a movement of the resolution of conflict. The principle of psychic unity means freeing the mind from the division of 'us and they', 'I and you'. This is what Rapoport calls 'transcendence of dichotomy',³⁵ and what Gandhi calls the spiritual unity of mankind. For Gandhi, not to believe in the godliness of human nature is to refuse the existence of God itself. The principle of 'spiritual unit of mankind' leads the way on the non-violent path because an injury done to one's opponent is a violence done to one's ownself. For Rapoport transcending the 'schism between us and them is coming out of an illusion and becoming wiser'. For Gandhi it is a self realization and seeing God face-to-face.

The Need for Debate and Satyagraha as a Way of Life

Once we realize through the assumption of similarity and spiritual unity of mankind that conflict is not between the two human beings but between two different sets of conflicting situations, we experience the need for the debate. We experience its need because we experience the issues to be faced, we understand the positive aspects of the opponent's position and we find ourselves in the process of a unity between us and them. Fight mentality leads to disaster and when we realize that the game mentality demoralizes the players, the process of probing within starts. Debate means probing within and satyagraha

35. Ibid., p. 252.

means turning the search-light inwards. Satyagraha is a way of life as well as a technique of self-realization. Debates are the techniques of becoming critical, aware of our values in the presence of a rival opposing set of values. The goal of nonviolent resistance is not to humiliate or defeat the opponent but to find a solution through self-suffering which is most satisfactory to both, the opponent and the satyagrahi.³⁶ In a nonviolent fight the aim is to convert the opponent, to change his understanding and his sense of values so that he will join whole heartedly with the resister in seeking a settlement truly amicable and truly satisfying to both sides.³⁷

Satyagraha, a non-violent way of confronting the conflict situation is not a weapon of the weak. It is a way of life, which, in order to live requires a different kind of courage. So does the debate. The courage needed to become genuinely engaged in a genuine debate is the courage to be prepared to accept a change in one's own outlook.³⁸ In Satyagraha, on the path of truth and nonviolence, the satyagrahi is prepared to give his life but at any cost he will not harm his opponent in thought as well as action and prevent the opponent from harming himself.

36. Ibid., p. 253.

37. Meena Dutta, Gandhian way of Resisting Aggression, Gandhi Marg, July - September 1991. p. 179.

38. Richard Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960. pp. 50-51.

The most important moral and ethical aspect of Satyagraha is that, in the process of achieving truth through nonviolence, it brings the opponent on the same path in order to achieve a relative truth by changing the opponent's image of himself. So is the object of debate. It is to modify the opponent's image of himself and of the world.³⁹ New insights come into the debates and so into the participants which form an essential part of the outcomes of debates. These outcomes, Gandhi and Rapoport, may regard as the creative resolution of conflict.

'Debate' is one of the steps in the way and process of Satyagraha. 'Debate' is an intellectual academic experiment where as Satyagraha is a moral experiment which transcends not only violence towards opponent in a physical sense but also in thought and words. It not only transcends violence in thought, words and action but also hatred and hostility towards the opponent. In fact there is not an opponent as such but a conflict situation and Satyagrahi tries to lift himself and the other party in the conflict, above the level of the conflict situation from where they can see the issues involved and find a way out of it. This is a creative constructive resolution of conflict.

Gandhi's Philosophy is an outcome of his experiments in the field. India's freedom struggle was a vast laboratory for Gandhi and in that he experimented with

39. Anatol Rapoport, *Fights, Games, Debates*, Ann Arbor : The University of Michigan Press, 1960. p. 230.

himself too. Gandhi's field practice is greater than his philosophy because Gandhi was neither a theorist nor a philosopher but a practical philosopher and therefore those who intend to experiment Gandhi's philosophy on an international level can always go back to Gandhi's socio-economic and political practice. Once when Gandhi was requested to write a treatise on the science of Ahimsa he said: "I am not built for academic writings. Action is my domain. The world does not hunger for 'shastras'. What it craves and will always crave is sincere action. One who can appease this hunger will not occupy his time in elaborating a shastra". Gandhi was too big for mere intellectual effort. Gandhian ideas are not primarily academic constructs but the living and concrete formulation of a great man of action in the midst of a mass movement of reform and revolution.

CHAPTER III

PEACE VERSUS POWER AT THE LEVEL OF STRATEGY

PEACE Vs POWER

Gandhi used his nonviolent approach to deal with India's internal problems as well as to combat the British occupation of his country, and he encouraged other to do likewise. Gandhi is better known, however, for his struggles against British domination. In these struggles he operated on the basis of a view of power and based his newly developed approach to conflict - Satyagraha - upon a theory of power. The basic principle of his grand strategy was "In politics the use of power is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed".¹

In Gandhi's view, if the maintenance of an unjust or non-democratic regime depends on the cooperation, submission and obedience of the masses, then the means for changing or abolishing it lies in the nonco-operation, defiance and disobedience of that masses.² These, he was convinced, could be undertaken without the use of physical violence: and even without hostility towards the members of the opponent group.

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1. M.K. Gandhi, Nonviolent Resistance, Nagjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, p. 35.
 2. Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Porter Sargent Publishers USA, 1973. p. 84.

In 'Hind Swaraj' Gandhi expressed his theory of control of political power in a passage addressed to the British Rulers, : "You have great military resources. Your naval power is matchless. But we cease to play the part of the ruled. You may if you like, cut us to pieces. If you act contrary to our will, we shall not help you and without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward."³

Gandhi held it to be a crime against man and God to submit to a rule that had caused a fourfold disaster to his country. He convinced most of the people that the most effective way of gaining freedom was not through violence. He, therefore, prepared the masses by withdrawing, so far as they could, all voluntary association from the British government and prepared for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. Gandhi was convinced that if the masses could but withdraw their voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of the inhuman British rule was certain.

The withdrawal of support, Gandhi thought, should be in proportion to the ability of the masses to preserve order in the social structure without the assistance of the ruler. The way to control political power therefore became, in his view " to noncooperate with the system by withdrawing

3. M.K. Gandhi, Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, Nagjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1938. p. 100.

all the voluntary assistance possible and refusing all its so-called benefits."⁴ On this basis he had formulated Satyagraha.

Violence and centralization of power

We have recognized and experienced that violent revolutions and wars have been accompanied and followed by an increase, both in the absolute power of the state and in the relative centralization of power in its hands.⁵ The concentration of increased power in the hands of the state generally does not bring to the subjects increased ability to control political power; on the contrary it puts the subject on the most unfavourable conditions. The Stalinization of the U.S.S.R. for more than four decades till early 1980s proved that the political violence, even when used against a particular tyrant, may contribute to increased difficulties in controlling the power of future rulers of that society and in preventing or combating future tyranny.⁶ Gandhi thought that the new regime which was born out of violence would require continued reliance on violence, and therefore centralization, to defend itself from internal and external disturbances and enemies. Technological developments in modern weaponry, communications, police methods, transportation, computers and the -

4. M.K. Gandhi, Young India, 4 August, 1920.

5. Gene Sharp, The politics of Nonviolent Action, Porter Sargent Publishers, USA, 1973. p. 800.

6. Ibid., p. 801.

like, all these various factors and the related ones help to reduce the capacity of subjects to control political power in a society which has relied upon violence as its supreme sanction and technique of struggle.

Nonviolent action and decentralization of power

Nonviolent action appears to have quite different long term effects on the distribution of power in the society. Nonviolent action appears by its very nature to contribute to the diffusion of effective power throughout the society.⁷ This diffusion, in turn, is likely to make it easier in the long run for the subjects to control their ruler's exercise of power in the future. The greater self-reliance of the people using the nonviolent technique reduces the chances of continuing domination by a leadership group. One more point is that a nonviolent struggle cannot be centrally controlled by regulation of the supply and distribution of weapons to the combatants and populace, because in non-violent action there are no material weapons.⁸ Nonviolent activists depend on such qualities as their bravery, ability to maintain nonviolent discipline, skill in applying the technique and the like. People, capable of wielding effective power for their own objectives, cannot be treated by the elites as passive masses to be controlled and acted upon.

7. Ibid., p. 802.

8. Ibid., p. 803.

It cannot be expected that a nonviolent campaign for specific objectives will be followed immediately by that society's full rejection of violence in all situations. Increased confidence and understanding of the potential and requirements of the nonviolent technique will need to be accompanied by efforts to work out specific strategies to deal with specific issues, since lasting substitution hinges on the nonviolent alternative being, and being seen to be, effective for each specific conflict. Changes won by nonviolence means are unlikely to be seen to require violence to maintain them, in contrast to changes won by violence.⁹ Changes won in the struggle by nonviolent action are accompanied by the capacity developed in struggle to defend those changes nonviolently against future threats, whereas changes which are given by the opponent without struggle, can be easily taken away. The nonviolent changes are especially associated with a new sense of self-respect, self-confidence and a realization of the power, people can wield in controlling their own lives through learning to use the nonviolent technique.

Indian experiments under Gandhi produced a similar sense of power among nonviolent activists as they learned a "new way" to act. Gandhi often described a nonviolent action campaign as a means by which the people would generate the strength to enable them to advance towards achieving their political goals. It was through non-

9. Ibid., p. 805.

cooperation that people come to realize "their true power". At the beginning of 1930-31 struggle, Gandhi wrote, "The mission of the Satyagrahi ends when they have shown the way to the nation to become conscious of the power lying latent in it". Gandhi insisted that nonviolent action enables people to feel their own power, and added that "possession of such power is independence".¹⁰

Nonviolent struggle may now be entering a new phase of its development. It is remarkable that this development in nonviolent alternatives should begin at the same time that important trends in politics, technology, social control, social organization and violence are moving in the opposite direction : towards capacity for super destruction, towards computer and other technological aids to regimentation, towards psychological and chemical control of people's behaviour, towards centralized control of the economy by the small elites and even towards genetic control of future mankind. But for those who still believe that human dignity, creativity, justice and freedom are important, the nonviolent technique of struggle may provide one of our last hopes for effective reversal of the current directions towards dehumanization, regimentation, manipulation and the dominance of political structures of violence and tyranny.

10. Pratibha Jain, *Gandhian Ideas, Social Movements And Creativity*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1985. p. 170.

An important step involves efforts to explore and develop various extensions in the practical application of this technique in place of violence, in a variety of specific tasks for meeting pressing problems. Nonviolent action is not a substitute for, but an aid to, other peaceful ways of dealing with problems and carrying out common tasks where they are responsive to popular control. Gandhi's entire strategy and plan of action in achieving independence for India was not limited to his Party - Indian National Congress -neither was it limited to the leaders of the congress but for each and every individual there was a peaceful plan of action to be followed and that was how his strategy was a constructive one with its foundation among individuals as well as in the community at large.

All that Gandhi wanted to do was to use force in a manner so as to build up his country's strength and weaken that of the adversary and this, he thought, could be done more effectively by using force in a nonviolent manner, the withdrawal of cooperation and obedience by the subjects from their masters.

Power is generally associated with violence. Political power can be won through nonviolent action-this was Gandhi's message for humanity. Government or any system for that matter, in order to be effective has to depend on the people's good will, decisions and support. Nonviolent action as, Gene Sharp has pointed out, is based on the view that Governments depend on the people, that power is

pluralistic and that political power is fragile because it depends on many groups for re-inforcement of its power resources.¹¹ Gandhi took the view of power that power is rooted in the society. He believed that the roots of political power reached beyond and below the formal structure of the state into the society itself.

Social roots of political power

Power is not a one-way traffic. It is exercised by certain people over certain other people, and, therefore it cannot be exercised on unwilling people unless it takes resort to physical force, which also has its limitations. "What does it mean", Tolstoy had asked "thirty thousand men have subdued two hundred millions ...? Do not the figures make it clear that it is not the English who have enslaved Indians but the Indians who have enslaved themselves?"¹² Gandhi experimenting on a large scale with the political potentialities of disobedience emphasized most of all on a change of will as a prerequisite for a change in patterns of obedience and cooperation. There was first of all, he argued, need for a psychological change away from passive submission and in the direction of self-respect and courage. Secondly there has to be recognition on the part of the subject that it is only his assistance which makes the

11. Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Porter Sargent Publishers, USA, 1973. p. 807.

12. Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi The Great Soul, p. 24.

regime possible. "It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary cooperation".¹³ Thirdly the people have to build up a determination to withdraw cooperation and obedience.

Gandhi also believed that this was not a simple task. It would imply a great deal of self-restraint and self-suffering on the part of individuals, for which they would need systematic training as well as the setting up of institutional arrangements of a highly organized character.

Gandhi saw humanity and even his own India tending towards the pursuit of power for its own sake and the subjugation of the individual by the state and by huge agglomerations of private wealth. Like most Indians Gandhi too was "Indocentric" but in an attempt to understand Gandhi one sees the entire world in the mirror of India. Understanding Gandhi's thinking about conditions and facts does not remain on a pedestrian level. He lifts it with a phrase to a higher plane and soon one sees the topic in the larger philosophical aspect of the ultimate problems that confront man on this earth.

According to Gandhi too much power is unhealthy for those who exercise it and for those who suffer from it. The dictator has power because he has a monopoly of force. But Gandhi had power without any force. He could neither reward nor punish. He did not hold office. Gandhi's

13. M.K. Gandhi wrote in Young India, 9th Feb., 1921.

influence came from his interest in man. Gandhi was an individualist but his individualism did not give him the right to take everything he could get within the law. For him, individualism is maximum freedom from outward circumstances and maximum development of inner qualities.

Addiction to power : Rapoport

The most important characteristic feature of addiction according to Rapoport is an increasing quantity of dosage required to relieve the distress. This increasing dependence is what is known as the social problem of drug addiction.

"There is however, one form of psychologically insatiable appetite that is almost always destructive. This is the lust for power. This lust is marked by the most essential feature of addiction. More power increases the need for more power. This is a consequence, principally of the social results attendant on the acquisition of power".¹⁴
What is power ? Power is a commodity which remains constant in amount, which Rapoport calls 'conservative' and scarce, for which there is an intense competition always going on.

"The addictive aspect of power derives from the circumstance that the more of it acquired, the more intense

14. Anatol Rapoport, The Orgins of Violence, Paragon House, New York, 1989, p. 153.

the need for it becomes. Why ? "Because persons with great power usually make enemies".¹⁵

Socio-political factors which are conducive to the emergence of an intense struggle for power in political life - Societies where power is held with the high esteem and as a prestigious commodity, 'where the perceived "rewards" of power are greatest, the struggles for power will be most intense.¹⁶ In such societies power is not just an instrument but is valued because it is necessary to have power to acquire more and more power.

Tyranny can be resisted through mass mobilization and 'a collective will' of the people. Actions taken under 'collective will' require a certain state of mind and the rulers whose rule depends on terror prevent the learning of such a state of mind and there by of a collective will. But the ruler creates another type of state of mind 'that makes it seem impossible to resist the ruler's power'.¹⁷

Apart from a political and military 'addiction to power' Rapoport also talks about 'an addiction to intellectual power'. He makes a comparison of Lenin's addiction to power which was an intellectual power and Stalin's addiction which was to 'ordinary brute power, the power of the despot wielded through organized terror'.¹⁸

15. Ibid., p. 154.

16. Ibid., p. 154.

17. Ibid., p. 156.

18. Ibid., p. 160.

"Lenin was addicted to intellectual power."¹⁹ This was the power he wielded to bring his fellow revolutionaries into line. Stalin, before the revolution was practically unknown in intellectual revolutionary circles. For him the object of power was power.

The characteristic features of the Stalinized Soviet Union were 'rejection of compromise, resort to overwhelming force, demand of iron discipline and intolerance of dissent, this was 'the second ethical system' of the Soviet Culture.²⁰ The totalitarian regimes try to understand consciously that their power resides in the control of the mass mind.

Mass mind is controlled, not only in the totalitarian states but by any ruler or regime addicted to power, through the monopoly of education and communication, especially through the control and domination of the mass media in the modern world. "The film 'Star Wars' was the obvious source of inspiration or the 'Strategic Defense Initiative', as evidenced by the epithet 'evil empire' applied to the Soviet Union." ²¹

Much of the consumer advertising is aimed at children because by influencing and persuading their parents they can make the products more popular. Children often get

19. Ibid., p. 160.

20. Ibid., p. 161.

21. Ibid., p. 161.

influenced by the serious television violence. And therefore " it is not unlikely that viewing 'funny' violence may induce the idea that violence is fun."²²

According to D. Senghaas there is a 'hegemony cycle' in the international power conflicts.²³ This 'hegemony cycle' began with the globalization of navigation. European states became dominant in world trade and various resources.

Another factor in the 'hegemony cycle' was the Industrial Revolution and thus the economic hegemony reduced the importance of military power. The Superpower rivalry in the Post World War II world was a 'hegemonial crisis' according to D. Senghaas. The emergence of Third World, the disengagement of the Superpowers from the violent conflicts in the Third World and the declined importance of the Superpower status are the trends towards multipolarity in the 'hegemonial crisis'.

A follow - up of disengagement

If the great powers are disengaging themselves from the Third World conflicts then these are the indications for the Third World countries to take bold initiatives for their own rehabilitation. The most

22. Ibid., p. 161.

23. Quoted by Rapoport in The Origins of Violence, Paragon House, New York, 1989. p. 171.

important task is of the decision makers in the developing states who have to disengage themselves from the past meaningless negotiations to the meaningful constructive action: through which an atmosphere of trust is created; and trust should gradually lead to peace.

A peace policy - revolutionary nonviolence

In taking new initiatives every nation should have a peace policy the way it has its own foreign policy. The peace policy should consist of strategies against violence and a design for a nonviolent change.

A peace policy must begin at the neighborhood level first; because peaceful and friendly neighbours, as a group, can act as a catalyst of a peaceful transformation of international relations. A nation stands for certain values and peace should get the highest priority in the list of the national values which will frame the peace policy of the state. The countries that have disputes or conflicts with each other should have peace diplomats as an additional personnel in their foreign offices. It is true that people will never be able to give up war until they have confidence in a substitute way of dealing with threats and tyranny; dealing with those crises for which they have traditionally relied upon war. The answer to this problem, therefore, is not one of reasserting this belief, but of developing a course of action in which ordinary people as well as political leaders can have confidence, a course of action

which can preserve and extend freedom in the face of modern tyranny but which can do this without the necessity of military means. The peace policy which will become an important or rather the most important aspect of every foreign policy of every state will guide the states to move beyond militarism, beyond national self-interest, not against it, but beyond it. It is not an utopian thinking. It is not even a dream of a Kellog-Briand Pact to outlaw war or a Holy Alliance to treat all men as brothers. It is only a 'Peace counselling' to save each other from committing suicide by committing violence. We do not need just diplomats, today, what we need is, therefore, 'Peace counsellors'. And what the 'Peace counsellors' have to keep in mind is "Do not do any thing unless you can seriously recommend all men to do it." [Immanuel Kant]

Confidence building in international diplomacy

Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. (Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO). Confidence building is peace building. It is an extension of diplomacy. Today we need a new and broad based diplomacy to overcome the misperceptions and prejudices which dominate political thinking and actions. No confidence building can be expected to flourish under the traditional diplomatic framework.²⁴ Good international relations depend upon

24. Michael Harbottle, Confidence Building in International Diplomacy, in World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol I Pergamon Press, England, 1986. p. 165.

mutual trust and confidence, and these in turn can only be acquired if there is adequate communication.²⁵ If trust and confidence are lacking and instead there are fear and distrust, the chances of peaceful coexistence become remote. The tensions and misunderstandings which as a result prevail create obstacles to communication and in themselves endanger peace. Weapons replace logic and lead to an upward spiral in military expenditure and growth and to the ultimate arms race in sophisticated weapons technology. Only by creating confidence will it be possible to halt the upward trend of the arms race and embark upon a process of de-escalation. To day, little progress has been made by the Indian and Pakistan Governments or for that matter, by any other country in conflict situations or which are hostile towards each other most of the time, to initiate a fresh approach to their relations based upon constructive confidence building measures and a new appraisal of the perceptions which for too long have governed the political and military Indo-Pak confrontation and provided the spur for the arms race between the two states and there by on the entire Indian subcontinent. The perceptions which dictate attitudes and reactions of India and Pakistan to one another reflect the degree of perceived threat. In Indo-Pak confrontation these perceptions are very similar. Each side is convinced that given the chance, the other will attack and destroy. This is hardly a rational appreciation, for it is well recognized

25. Ibid., pp. 165-66.

that it would be suicidal for either to attempt to attack the other. If the rationale is suspect, then it is high time to rethink perceptions and arrive at judgments of a more positive and constructive kind. Unless India and Pakistan develop a new diplomacy of constructive communication, something that has been lacking to any real extent since the division of India into two separate states, and unless we can devise positive confidence building measures, then the traditional perceptions and prejudices will remain unaltered and the chances of achieving real progress towards arms control and friendship are remote.²⁶ It is surely time for a new concept of diplomacy which meets the requirements of present day international relations.

A firm base of understanding and objectivity

The art of constructive negotiations has to start with those issues on which it is easiest to agree, and to proceed from there, step by step.²⁷ Dealing with the easier question first makes discussion of succeeding issues easier because of the increased sense of confidence and Rapport derived from the earlier exchanges.²⁸

It is unfortunate that we place our faith in nuclear weapons to provide us with security and peace. Many

26. Ibid., p. 166.

27. Ibid., p. 166.

28. Ibid., p. 166.

people believe that strength through armaments is the best negotiating tool and guarantee of peace and security. But we have experienced that build-up of armaments only increases insecurity and the likelihood of war. Peace is a state and not an act. It provides stability as well as security and peaceful co-existence between people. Peace will not come between India and Pakistan as a result of the single act of abolition of all the armaments and weapons. They are only the symptoms and not the causes of the unrest between the two countries. If the symptoms are to be removed effectively, the causes have to be resolved first. Initiating the proposal of South Asia as a nuclear weapon free zone by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and at the same time cancellation of Indo-Pak cricket matches because of the communal tensions between both the countries is case in point. If both the countries are not able to agree on their sports programmes, how can they agree on denuclearizing their respective states. There, therefore, has to be a process of confidence building before positive disarmament agreements can be expected. This will require a peace building process.

Apart from the act of peacemaking and peacekeeping, being the two dimensions of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the third dimension of peacebuilding, the rebuilding and restructuring of inter communal and international relations, has rarely been attempted.²⁹ Peacemaking and Peacekeeping can have no

29. Ibid., p. 167.

lasting effect so long as the structural causes of a conflict remain unresolved.

Peacebuilding is by no means a purely political exercise in reconciliation. It needs the broadest possible base involving the whole spectrum of society. It requires a holiest approach reaching into every avenue of inter-social activity so that people, rather than just governments, are involved.³⁰ For reconciliation to take place, every opportunity to talk has to be taken. There are two levels of talking, the formal negotiations on the one hand and the less formal dialogue and exchange on the other. Till today the less formal dialogues have hardly been explored. The talks on both these levels should be and are complementary. Every communicating door should be open and be kept open. Controversial issues, however pertinent, should not be allowed to divert attention from the peacebuilding process and better understanding between the two countries.

But the initiatives at governmental and ministerial level are only a part of the peacebuilding, confidence building process. A significant contribution to their ultimate success can be made by ordinary people undertaking their own confidence building initiatives described as "people's diplomacy".

30. Ibid., p. 167.

Helsinki accord of 1975 - " A people's diplomacy"³¹

The Final Act of the Helsinki accord (1975) sets out a blueprint for the kind of initiatives which can be taken to improve international relations. This blueprint can very well act as a constructive programme of action to achieve a state of friendship between India and Pakistan. Some of the proposals in the Helsinki Accord are:

- * Inter-travel between states with improvements in conditions for tourism on an individual or collective basis.
- * Meeting among young people with increased exchanges and contacts involving working, training and learning together.
- * Expansion of sporting links.
- * Improvement in the general cooperation within the field of information, including film and broadcasting and in the media generally.
- * Extending the opportunities for cooperation and exchanges in the fields of culture, arts, literature, and education.
- * The furtherance of access and contact between competent bodies and enterprises, specialists in all fields of common interests, including joint studies.
- * The proposals stress the importance of exchanges which encourage youth and adults to work together on those

31. For Helsinki Accord, refer to World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol I. Pergamon Press, England, 1986. p. 167.

major problems of mankind whose solution call for a common approach and wider international cooperation.

Young people particularly have a prominent role in this diplomacy. There is no limit to its potential, and it involves professionals, technologists, artists, business personnel and many common interest groups. But to be positive and constructive, all such contacts must involve interaction so that it is the "doing" as well as the "speaking" together which can promote understanding and trust.

The Brandt (1979) and Palme (1982) commissions³²

They set out blueprints for what is required to provide economic and social stability and common security respectively for the Third World. The industrial nations need to abandon their policies of exploitation, self-interest, and "knowing what is best" for the underdeveloped countries. Instead, these countries should be encouraged to forge their own collective security structures with their neighbouring states, based on social and economic arrangements, a sharing of responsibility and common interest cooperation. Peace building founded on relationships of this kind would reduce the dependency of those countries upon weapons and armed forces for their security and stability.

32. Michael Harbottle, Confidence Building in International Diplomacy, in World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol I. Pergamon Press, England, 1986. p. 168.

If all these things have to be made possible today, the first requisite is a change of attitude by governments towards capacity of ordinary people to play a role in building peace and a willingness to devolve to them the responsibility to assume such a role. At the same time this requires a realization on the part of such people that by interacting together they have an added responsibility to use the opportunities so presented to further the confidence - building process.

The process of confidence building is also one of mutual learning. Unless we are prepared to learn from every culture, the peacebuilding process is likely to be futile. India and Pakistan share many cultural similarities, rather they inherit a common culture. There is a strong cultural foundation on which the defences of peace can be constructed.

Gandhi - a saint in politics

If the process of peace-building can get its inspiration from religion, it would not be a revivalism but laying great emphasis on the tradition of peace building. Toynbee has spoken of Gandhi as "a Hindu Statesman - saint".³³ Gandhi's conscience derived inspirations from Truth and Ahimsa enabling him to transcend all narrow

33. Quoted in Pratibha Jain, Gandhian Ideas, Social Movements and Creativity, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1985. p. 167.

discriminations and exhibit a sense of identification with humanity as a whole.³⁴

Gandhi's religion did not hamper his rationality or close his mind from imbibing ideas from extraneous sources. As he had read the Hindu scriptures, he had also read the Quran and the Bible and was particularly impressed by the 'Sermon on the Mount'. In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru on 2nd May 1933, Gandhi wrote, "My life would be a burden to me if Hinduism failed me".³⁵ Religion and peace can go together when the religions are raised to another dimension where they transcend all the communal discriminations and their concepts can be applied to all situations of life. There is a need to connect deep springs of religious feelings to the field of human society and so bring a fresh life to a society which in the name of God kills God's own creation and thereby God himself.

Satyagraha - strategy of redistribution of power

How was the redistribution of power³⁶ - between those who are in control of political, economic and social power today and those who are being deprived of it - to be brought about? Nonviolent struggle is a way in which the participation by the people changes their entire outlook on

34. Ibid., p. 167.

35. Ibid., p. 169.

36. For the concept of Redistribution of Power refer to Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Porter Sargent Publishers, USA, 1978. pp. 777-814.

life and character. By adopting the technique of Satyagraha people give up their sense of submissiveness and learn a technique which shows them that they are no longer powerless. In fact, the end of submissiveness is the very first step in nonviolent action. Gandhi often described a nonviolent action campaign as a means by which the people would generate the strength to enable them to advance towards achieving their political goals. It was through non-cooperation, Gandhi said, that people come to realize "their true power" Gandhi wrote at the beginning of the 1930-31 campaign, " the mission of the Satyagrahis ends when they have shown the way to nation to become conscious of the power lying latent in it". Participation in a nonviolent movement also increases group unity as well as the spirit of internal cooperation. It is here that Gandhi's concept of constructive programme³⁷ leading to the establishment of parallel substitute institutions to replace those of the opponent, has an important role to play.

Technology Vs Culture

Neither the West nor the Communist world has been able to resolve the basic conflict lying behind the contemporary crisis between technology and culture. The

37. For details of Gandhi's Constructive Programme, refer to M.K. Gandhi, Constructive Programme, its meaning and Place, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1941. and Gene Sharp, The Constructive Programme, Mankind, Vol. 1, No. 12, July 1957. pp. 1102-1112.

sociological concept of 'Cultural lag'³⁸ explains a gap between the advanced material culture, material development and a nonmaterial culture which lags behind the development. But what we are facing today is a 'technological lag'. The world civilization today represents a military and weapons system which leads to violent conflicts. But people all over the world and their cultures have always stood for peace and have always wanted a peaceful life. Today weapons not only represent the instruments of the resolution of conflicts (which they can never resolve) but a way to life. To fill this gap between weapons and human beings what we need to do is the humanization of weapons and not the weaponization of human beings. Satyagraha stands for the humanization of weapons. It is a weapon, an instrument of creative conflict resolution as well as a way of life. Today satyagraha stands for Shanti-Agraha.

Shanti-Agraha

Gandhi gave us an instrument of nonviolence and applied it in the context of a particular time, place and situation. Each age and each problem needs a solution of its own and techniques of its own to resolve the problem. Those who propose to follow in the footsteps of Gandhi have

38. This concept was first developed by W.F. Ogburn in Social Change, Part IV, The Viking Press, New York, 1922. The idea of cultural lag was developed by Ogburn in response to crude economic determinism, in which cultural political and social phenomena change in direct and immediate response to changes in the economic basis of society.

to evolve techniques different from the one that Gandhi evolved. If Satyagraha, today stands for Shanti-Agraha, then what is Shanti-Agraha ? Shanti-Agraha is a Paradigm shift,' from a security paradigm to a development-welfare paradigm. It is a process of transformation of military system into a peace system; nonviolent socio-political and international relations.

Gandhi on a science of peace

Theodore Lentz, advocated the idea of a science of peace in 1945 and in 1967 gave a concept of 'technology of peace.'³⁹ But Gandhi, as early as 1937, August 26, firmly believed that there is a Science of Peace and wrote a letter to Mrs Edith Hunter, Secretary, Friends of India Society, in which he writes, " attainment of real world peace is impossible except for greater patience and greater resources than required for the invention and consolidation of the means of mutual slaughter. It cannot be attained by millions of mankind desiring peace. But it can, if there is a Science of Peace, as I hold there is, by a few devoting themselves to the discovery of the means."⁴⁰

The next chapter will try to find out what is this science of peace, an experimental action for peace i.e. Shanti - Agraha.

39. Refer to Theodore F. Lentz, 'Towards a Technology of Peace', Peace Research Laboratory, St. Louis Missionri, 1972.

40. M.K. Gandhi, Towards Lasting Peace (Ed.) Anand T. Hingorani, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1966, p.84

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOPE FOR A GRAND STRATEGY FOR PEACE BUILDING IN THE THIRD WORLD

A PARADIGM SHIFT : FROM A SECURITY PARADIGM TO A WELFARE - DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

"War and violence have become a matter of money and resourcefulness in inventing weapons of mass destruction. It is no longer a matter of personal bravery or endurance. To complete the destruction of men, women and children, it might be enough for me to press a button and drop poison on them in a second."¹

An American correspondent sent Gandhi a cutting from 'The World Tomorrow', August 1928. It was a remarkable article on "Pacifism and National Security" by John Nevin Sayre. In his article Sayre asks people to consider whether national armament can really conduce to security in a civilization which uses the tools of twentieth century science. He writes, "No matter what may be said for defence by armament in the past, we believe that it is an utterly obsolete and extremely dangerous way of attempting to attain security now. In the world in which we live and in the decades immediately ahead, it is open to the double objection of (I) mounting cost and (II) diminishing effectiveness for defence".

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1. M.K. Gandhi, Young India, 22nd August,, 1929, Our Choice.

Another worse fact is that an increasing military expenditure can not purchase increasing security. It might have done for a few years but the policy is of diminishing returns and leads towards a disaster. What is a military preparedness of a nation? The huge public debts and constantly increasing tax burdens which governments are putting on their people throughout the world.

Do we wish to continue this method of defending ourselves? Even if we do have we the financial ability? The need of the hour, is to learn a lesson from the agonies of the arms race that the Superpowers have gone through for more than four decades. What is our immediate aspiration? Do we first want to copy the Superpowers and then in the dim and distant future after having gone through the same agony, retrace our steps? Or do we want to strike out an original path? What is wanted is a deliberate giving up of violence out of strength. To be able to do this, requires imagination coupled with a penetrating study of the world drift. If we are to be saved and are to make a substantial contribution to the world's progress, ours must predominantly be the way of peace, because the opposite way surely will lead us to death.

Towards a sustainable peace

Since peace ultimately depends on the actions of many nations, a change of consciousness among even millions

of people in one country would not necessarily bring peace, unless that change of consciousness is matched by changing perceptions and actions inside those nations that are potential adversaries.

Peace-making is the term for creative conflict prevention. It includes sighting potential crises before they happen and ordering objective fact finding. It also includes mediating, arbitration, lending good offices or creating incentives for the parties to resolve their disputes at less cost than they would face if they went ahead with ultimatums, brinkmanship, military build-ups or actual warfare. Society is getting used to the currently popular idea that preventive health care is more sensible than remedial care. The same understanding is needed in the international relations.

Reinventing the United Nations : United Nations just exists but the world also needs to reinvent it if it is not to stagnate. The ancillary operations of the UN and its family of organizations are practical and help the globe run better but without consistent success in the peacekeeping and peacemaking field, the organization loses its core reason for being.

Formation of 'National Peace Commissions:

Such a commission helps to design long-range strategies for reducing the root causes of wars and global

discontent. Johan Galtung once predicted, 'disarmament does not appear to be the road to peace but peace may be the road to disarmament'.

The Technique of conflict resolution

(How to transcend violence and reach agreements)

The technique of conflict resolution is a methodology of separating "people" from the "problem"², and how to reach agreements, agreement on principles of peace and nonviolence before specifics and maintaining a friendly atmosphere. The method of separating "people" from the "problem"³ facilitates participants coming to see themselves working together in a civil, noncombative manner to attack the problem, not each other. It focuses on underlying interests and common grounds, not stated positions. The basic components of the technology of conflict resolution are patience, diplomatic and communicative skill and perception and sensitivity to the other party's feelings and reactions. Apart from this it also needs the use of trained arbiters and an 'active feed back system.

An achievement of a peaceful world cannot be an Utopia because there are always new problems to challenge us, but, at least some basic processes for globally

2. This idea has been given by Rapoport in his book 'The Origins of Violence', Paragon House, New York, 1989.

3. Ibid.

cooperative problem solving towards a sustainable peace for all the world's people is possible. But it would be misleading to think that peace is a product of clever international arrangements. The age old enemies of peace-fear, ignorance, want, bigotry and hatred-remain in one form or another. The price of peace, like that of freedom, is eternal vigilance.

A Ten year Gandhian Plan for Third World Peace by 2001 AD

The factor that this plan focuses on is the emergence of the world citizen as a critical new centre of power and the definition of positive world peace with the capacity to check the failure of negative peace, traditionally defined as the goal of sovereign states. It emphasizes the redirection of the individual that eventually changes the state of the world.

Till few months back or rather till the last year a balance of power between the Superpowers was maintained to continue the Cold War. Today balance of power to maintain a very uncomfortable peace, is no more a reality between the Superpowers because the balance of power became a power without balance: the international mechanism which was holding the balance, itself was reshuffled. Balance of power stood for a peace through strength; which was a negative peace. Strength through peace stands for a positive peace, a lasting peace. Positive peace stems from

the contexts of community and an interpretation of the self that finds identity in the community of others. Such patterns assume a comfortable sense of self and stability and are characteristic of both, the individual and institution even at the national level. A lasting peace will depend not on treaties between the Great powers but on an understanding and acceptance of the human situation. Strength through peace is peace, that allows us to see clearly; peace which enables us to harness our resources in the service of life, peace; through which we come to enjoy the power of cooperation and build institutions out of love. That is the strength the only strength-worthy of us and capable of guiding us to greatness.

What is peace?

Peace is about timeless ethical principles. The Superpowers and in fact all the major powers had to bury their old enmity and hostilities because they were paralyzing them. If those powers can create the Common Market and European Unity from the ruins of 1945, we can also look for a common life. What is peace today? Peace is a common life which consists of common structures about trade formula, third world equalizing formula, sharing of technology, regional parliaments and super-parliaments which rest not on idealism but the reality of saving each other from the outbreak of violence. In such a peaceful common

life, religious tension may exist, nuclear technology will exist, economic suffering may also exist. The one thing that would no longer exist is hostile and violent conflict between nations. We have been forced to develop peace as a common way of life, because all the answers with which we fooled ourselves, have failed us. The marxist answers failed and the capitalist ones too. Now we have to find out a workable framework of peace and we know we have no other choice.

The Place of such a Gandhian peace plan today

The checks and balances based upon the balance of power which functioned as a temporary peace mechanism in the international system divided into two warring blocs, have become obsolete today. The peace which was maintained by the balance of power was a warring peace. What the world needs today is a permanent peace. Peace in narrow sense can be defined as an absence of war. In a wide sense peace is not only the absence of war but also refers to the state in which humanistic spirit prevails and people live in mutual harmony and cooperation without any hostile relationships, among themselves.⁴ Young Seek Choue in his White Paper on World Peace gives a peace model that covers the whole range of peace in the wide sense, which he calls an OUGHTOPIAN PEACE MODEL. His model consists firstly of establishment of

4. Young, Seek Choue, Peace in Global Village, Kyung Hee University Press, 1987. p. 169.

transitory balance of power. Secondary the efforts have to be made to spread the peace loving thoughts. Thirdly he suggests that the willingness to defend peace has to be cultivated because the love of peace alone does not bring about peace. Fourthly the United Nations should be reorganized and lastly a regional network of common society should be built. Arms race, militarization, mutual distress, all are civilizational crises and therefore peace building is going to be a civilizational achievement. Not only is man less valued than machines and efficiency, but he has ended up being ruled by civilization, institutions, science and technology which he has created. In short ours is an age in which man has lost the meaning of his own existence.⁵ Gandhi called the Western civilization as Satanic in which man has lost all the meaningfulness of his life. Therefore, a starting point should be made with man as a centre of all the ideas and plans and that is what Gandhi did. All his activities in the struggle for India's independence were based on the assumption that a new centre of power were the masses, active, thinking masses with a common value system and a normative pattern. This basic assumption is followed in the following pages while giving a ten year Gandhian plan to achieve Third World peace. The assumption is that man becomes a new creative force in the

5. Young, Seek Choue, White Paper on World Peace, Kyung Hee University Press, 1991. p. 257.

achievement of global peace. This plan can be called a grass root peace movement on a South Asian Regional level because a conflict between India and Pakistan has been given as an example in enumerating the peace plan because the present scholar truly and honestly believes that India and Pakistan should be friends and that is the basis on which South Asia can become a dynamic region in the achievement of global peace.

This ten year peace plan is an idea. Max Weber has given a concept of an Ideal Type.⁶ Ideal Type is a methodology and it can be likened to a caricature, in a non-pejorative sense, of a picture when the most characteristic features are deliberately exaggerated.⁷ And any particular situation may be understood by comparing with the ideal type.⁸ Ideal types are therefore, hypothetical constructions, formed from real phenomena, which have an explanatory value. The ten year Gandhian plan in the following pages is also an ideal type. It is a heuristic tool, a methodology to understand the situation and hope for the best. It is a futuristic plan,

6. Max Weber, *The Methodology of Social Sciences*, 1949.

7. G., Duncan Mitchell, (Ed) *A New Dictionary of Sociology*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970. p.99.

8. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* by Nicholas - Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, Penguin Books. p. 117.

futurological concept to understand the past and the present and plan for the future.

Why such a Plan? A rationale behind the ten year Gandhian plan for Third World peace

The ten year Gandhian peace plan is an experiment of individuals and then a generalized vision for the future. People must act within the existent even when they act against it and so doing they may preserve their existing culture or break out of it.⁹ For Gandhi, in order to break out of the room and renovate it the individual must purposely knock up against the doors and windows.¹⁰ Gandhi always tried to find out the passage points any situation provided, to break through that situation. Gandhi's experiments were cultural innovations to change the existing culture. Such cultural innovations are always based on Utopian experiments in Gandhi's terms.¹¹ Gandhi denied an existing system of domination and cultural meanings it sponsored. British colonialist wanted to replace India's traditional strength with Western modern weakness. The system of exploitation and domination propounded by the British Colonial culture was the target of Gandhi's entire socio-political and cultural-economic thinking. If almost a

9. Richard Fox, Gandhian Utopia - Experiments with Culture, Beacon Press, Boston, 1989. p. 70.

10. Ibid., p. 70.

11. Ibid., p. 75.

century ago Gandhi was trying to evolve a new system to replace the system of exploitation and domination; it should be clear in the minds of the contemporary world and national leaders, what types of system do they want to evolve and which system do they want to replace. Can we say that today's international system is characterized by an excessive militarization, violence and an interdependence of few and dependence of many? We can say so, for example G-7 as an interdependent group and G-77 as a dependent group. Immanuel Wallerstein posits a "Capitalist world system" which converted the other places into a subordinated periphery within an emerging unequal world economy. Once the capitalist world system emerged what needed was the hegemony of the transnational capital and many agencies were created or got created to carry forward this task. The Trilateral Commission is the most important of a range of private international relations councils that have merged since 1945; to promote a reconstructed capitalist world order which is compatible with the forces of transnationalization. Only most wealthy countries are represented on the Trilateral Commission. The commission was founded by U.S. banker David Rockefeller and a small group of wealthy and influential private citizens in 1972.¹² The aim of the commission is an achievement of hegemonic international

12. Stephen, Gill, Chapter Six, in World Leadership and Hegemony (Ed)., David P. Pakin, Lyune Ricnner Publishers, Bounder and London, 1990. p. 121.

system. Engaged in the intellectual aspects of this process are some of the world's most accomplished social scientists and the heads of top think-tanks and universities. Apart from connections with major financial and industrial corporations and extensive links with government, Trilateral commission members have been influential in important business associations, media enterprises, important (U.S.) law firms in their respective countries.¹³ On the other hand, peace groups, environmentalists, and antinuclear movements are totally absent in the commission. So the Trilateral commission is not the People's party. The commission is committed to the internationalization and expansion of capitalism. It has advocated certain universalistic values such as the integrity of scientific research, commitment to global economic welfare, though not global equality, and the preservation of the ecosystem. What are the ultimate ends? In the commission's own words, "the goal is to devise a global system where the communist philosophy withers and has no new converts."¹⁴

Thus, the Trilateral commission is a closed, private, self-selecting forum detached from the masses that represents a transnational historic bloc of social forces which are trying to shape the entire globe and thereby all the countries and especially the poor developing countries,

13. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

14. Ibid., p. 142.

even without their knowledge.

The Gandhian Peace Place is a heuristic tool to challenge any such type of commission with vested interests. It is a strategy to oppose hegemony and monopoly by giving an open mass based forum with active and participating individuals all over the world to build an interdependent and peaceful society.

The Ten year Gandhian plan for Third World Peace by 2001 AD

The plan begins with an assumption that "disagreement is inevitable but war is unacceptable." The fundamental element in this plan, a global consciousness-lifting, is a discovery of and a commitment of the realization that the individual can contribute in valuable ways to the development and maintenance of positive peace. This realization and commitment rests at the heart of a new internationalism. It is this realization and commitment that effects a positive rather than a negative world peace.

YEAR 1992 begins with Gandhi's concept of Nai Talim, a pedagogical approach to the resolution of conflict; a new education. The countries which are in a persistent conflict, almost on the verge of war, and violence and that wish to resolve their conflict peacefully must experiment this "Nai Talim". We can take an example of India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan, both are spending more money on national defence than any other nation in the South Asian

region. Relations between India and Pakistan is an example of how weapons and warheads accumulate and the peace decays. Both the countries are siphoning their money away from their own needs. Schools for their children, social services for the disadvantaged, research and development all have begun to suffer severely. The economic stress of militarizing themselves has begun to tear apart the fabric of their national life. This is the time when people of both the countries are on the edge of the break-through towards a regional peace and there by a world peace.

Nai Talim begins with an organization of Pakistani High School teachers meeting with their Indian counterparts so that each can comment on the way their country is presented in the other's text books. Many sobering corrections can be offered on both sides and many can be implemented too. So by end of the twentieth century a generation of young people in both countries can move into careers of responsibility who have not been too severely indoctrinated with polarizing propaganda about the other state. This unknown teachers project can become the committee of understanding. Thus the teachers project can undertake work without official sanction by absolutely ordinary people. The Nai Talim approach can be the first demonstration of the organizable power of nonviolence to a world prepared to understand its significance. The end of a gigantically destructive and dangerous Cold War must mark

the beginning of the end of war. The teachers project is a peace enterprise and its eventual effectiveness lies not only in what it does but also in what it symbolizes, what it teaches about possibility; the possibility of peace, the possibility of demilitarization. Militarization shows that the states run away in fear from the name of peace and think that highly organized violence is sage. This has continued for a long time by putting peace further beyond the bounds of possibility. The military, material and Superpowered civilization failed to establish a sustainable peaceful community. It was always dominated by aggression. But it still continues. The militaristic materialism is forcing the states to miss the points, they are focusing on the wrong issues.

India and Pakistan, and many more countries like them, must look back over their more than forty years of unproductive investment in war and violence and must conclude that the future is very different from the past. Future needs an investments in peace. Some of the ideologies of violence and violent fundamentalists still find that peace can come only with the total defeat of one's enemies; total military industrial complex. But a total war and total violence do not know a defeat of the enemy and victory of the other. It knows only 'total death. National defence has become the greatest enemy today, not only of national security but also of the human race itself.

As a part of **Nai Talim**, there can an agreement between the two or more than two countries in the conflict, for example India and Pakistan, to exchange at least 10,000 children of each country in the boarding schools and colleges of the other. This proposal may make much more difficult to commit violence against one another and secondly, produce much greater knowledge of each culture by the potentially powerful citizens of the country. It can have an extra ordinary effect in minimizing the misunderstanding of people of different cultures, ideologies, religions and so on, which distorts the human relations. This proposal can create new human chain beyond borders, there will be voluntary unofficial diplomats as peacemakers and peace counsellors; because our statesmen and national leaders have thrown money at our security problems, but have not made us more secure.

A teachers' Project, a committee of understanding can definitely, become in future an Indo-Pak University of Peace. This practical expression of concern and programme of activity, which can help to build bridges of communication over a wide field of mutual interest will become a reality only through a holistic thinking which aims not at 'nuclear weapons free zone' but at an Indian subcontinent as 'continent of Peace.'

YEAR 1993 : Beyond war movement

What people think as peace and want as peace is never going to be achieved by the politicians but will come about only if the people find some way to take interest in preserving humanity around the globe as their own responsibility. Beyond war movement is a movement for national reconciliation between the two conflicting countries that are hostile to each other. Beyond war movement is a call to the people to participate actively in the search for a common solution. The message has to spread from person to person, through friendship circles, neighbourhoods, the professional associations. There should be neighbourhood gatherings and town meetings, focusing on discovering the elements of a new national consensus. Television and media can play a critical role, enabling people to conduct national discussions via satellite and communicate with each other in creative new ways. Why can we not have an electronically based or computer based interactive democracy in place of a computerized militarization and weaponization? It needs efforts of committed individuals and groups, committed to peace, to express themselves in national life; and discovering new options for national action to define a shared strategy for preventing war and violence. The weapons that have taken the place of human beings, have to be told 'Quit India', because weapons have replaced the diplomats in the country's

foreign relations, foreign relations have become weapon relations because the statesmen do not so much interact in or react to the conferences or dialogues. They react to the weapons by producing the counterparts of such weapons in their own countries.

YEAR 1994 : An year of disarmament and development : Either bomb or butter

The acceptance of the link between armament and underdevelopment was the major change in emphasis which came with the UN Report on the subject - The relationship between Disarmament and Development, published in 1982. The arms race and underdevelopment are not two problems; they are once. They must be solved together or neither will ever be solved.

A common theme running through all efforts to link disarmament with development has been the attempt to establish some form of institutional arrangement for the reallocation of resources released by disarmament. These proposals have most commonly taken the form of a fund for development to be financed from the resources released by disarmament. The vision of the major military power forgoing successive generations of armaments and directing the resources, saved into funds for Third World development, is utopian because these same major powers have till today, deprived their own population of several social benefits,

educational and research opportunities and a general well being as a whole in the name of arms race and national security. Another important point to be noted, is that the disarmament funds from the developed world cannot be diverted for the development of the Third World, when the Third World itself, has been continuously engaged in regional conflicts, weaponization of its states and military industrial complex.

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A more just and practical approach to the disarmament and development link is a decision by each and every state, whether to produce more and more bombs or to supply more and more bread and butter to their population. Each country should have its own disarmament fund.

It can begin with a unilateral disarmament because till today all the militarized states have lived beyond their means. And there is no time to wait for someone else to start. Peace begins at home. After huge military and weapons spendings, if each country checks its balance sheet today, it will find an increasing poverty for the masses. With the deideologization of international relations the balance of power is disappearing, what has to appear now is a balance of peace.

YEAR 1995 : From peaceful domestic structures to peaceful foreign affairs

Peacebuilding is a process of nation building, it is creating peaceful structures and thereby a 'structural

peace.' There is always a linkage between domestic unrest and foreign conflict. In addition, there is a common argument that leaders sometimes engage in adventurist foreign policies, including war, to boost their domestic political support, because there are some empirical evidence suggesting that such policies work at least in the short term. Therefore, it is important to identify and understand, what type of domestic structures lead to war and what type of domestic structures lead to peace.¹⁵ It becomes important to adopt a 'structural strategy' to achieve peace, where we create economy of peace, technology of peace, culture of peace and religious peace. All states face the problem of dealing simultaneously with internal and external pressures. It is important to develop peaceful political structures in which people can experience an interactive democracy, decentralization and participation in the decision making. There are certain national political structures and political culture that are related to war and violence-proneness. The growth of technological know-how in the Third World countries means that some of them are capable not only of constructing a nuclear warhead but also of developing the corresponding launching systems. This is a technology of violence; which encourages the domestic

15. T. Clifton, Morgan, And Sally Howard, Campbell, Domestic Structure, Decisional constraints and War, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 35, No. 2, June 1991. p. 187.

political leadership to strengthen a race for the bomb in several parts of the world. The arms race between India and Pakistan, between Iraq and Israel, may serve as illustrations. We cannot ignore the fact that the national leadership in number of countries in the Third World wish to acquire nuclear weapons in order to attain regional supremacy. Another factor is the prestige attached to possessing such weapons. The peaceful domestic structure-political, economic, cultural, social, legal and religious must contain regional arms race and demilitarise and denuclearize regional conflicts. Peace building, a positive peace building, is a nation building and nation building is creating peaceful structures, for which an investment in weapons has to be rediverted into an investment in human beings., a 'human' and 'humane' investment.

YEAR 1996 : Beyond national security and national interest

The cold war understanding of world politics maintaining security required a permanent military mobilization and an active foreign policy to influence events around the globe. In the Cold War era, the foreign policies of most of the countries and the concept of National Security have always been provocative. In the post- Cold War world, especially in the Third World what we need today is a rethinking of 'National Security' and 'National Interest'. For example, in the immediate future what has to be achieved is a transcendence of bipolar

political identities of India and Pakistan on the Indian subcontinent and a radically demilitarized region. It is a process of challenging the central tenets of Cold War 'national security' concept. A new concept of national Security should be a common security emphasizing the importance of civil society in contrast to the political forms of the state. It must refuse the militarization because militarization itself is a security problem and not a response to a security problem. The concept of 'national security' in the post Cold War Third World must address economic issues. national interest should not mean a continuation of nationalism and egoism beyond borders. National security and national interest must be non-provocative and non-retaliating. National security has led to the militarization, common security must lead to disarmament.

YEAR 1997 : Breaking enemy image campaign

An enemy is an image or precept which is embedded in the concept of hostility or unfriendliness which, in turn, is embedded in the evaluation of such a person or a group as being bad or evil. Thus, attitude and beliefs are integral parts of any image, including enemy images.

It is always acceptable to say something positive about one's group, nation, religion, race etc., and even more acceptable to say some thing negative about the other.

If this is the way to make enemies, then the way to make friends is to say something as positive about the other as one says about oneself, which sounds very much like the Golden Rule.¹⁶ Consequently, breaking enemy images can be done simply by saying positive things about the enemy. Rapoport's analysis of fights, games and debates, provides a sound basis for the ready recognition and practice of peace talks. Rapoport concludes that the most effective way of resolving conflicts is through ethical debate, which can be called a peace talk. Unlike the accusations and condemnations, of war talks, peace talk is characterized by understanding, tolerance, and empathy. Enemy images, and enemies are made by accusations and condemnations. This war propaganda, or war talk, is a psychological preparation for war. We have to talk ourselves out of war talks by peace talks. This, then, is based on trying to understand our opponents, granting them the benefit of as many doubts as possible and assuming that they are generally human beings like us, with similar values, even though they may have different priorities and different preferences. The purpose of war talk is to get what we want at their expense, if necessary. The purpose of peace talk is to arrive at an ethical resolution of conflict where all parties get that

16. William, Eckhardt, Making and Breaking Enemy Images, Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol 22, No. 1, March 1991. p. 89.

they want as much as possible under current conditions. War talk is a positional superiority where as peace talk is an assumption of similarity between self and others; so that there is a better chance of making friends and breaking enemy images.

YEAR 1998 : (From violent peace to a conflict management)
from a World War II World to a Warless WORLD

The period of the Second World War and even before that of the First World war and an inter war period was a period of peaceless violence because even after the wars and various treaties, agreements, establishment of the League of Nations, there was no peace. With the end of the Second World War, the United Nation was set up and with it a Cold War period started, which was a period of **violent peace** - a synthetic peace, maintained with the help of balance of terror and arms race. The post-Cold War world must mark the beginning of an end of violence and wars. From a peaceless violence and violent peace we must come to 'peaceful peace' and that is the ultimate aim but before that a more practical step has to be taken and that is a "Conflict management mechanism' 'Conflict management mechanism' process must compete with the process of warfare which is highly specialized, technological and professionalized. The process of conflict management mechanism has to be specialized and professionalized too. The socio-cultural and politico-economic structures need conflict managers who

can handle the conflicts without taking a resort to war and violence and who will be the peace diplomats, in the country as well as abroad. The resolution of conflict may not take place, not even the agreement will be reached but there will be a 'peaceful pending' of the conflict which will keep the process of the 'conflict management' going. The idea of permanent peace in the immediate future is not a very realistic goal, because we cannot envision a time when the various groups of mankind would not have some conflicting goals. Instead we must see the possibility of successful conflict management through the pursuit of whatever areas of commonality, exist between the parties in the conflict. Many governments of the countries work very hard to make agreements with a government or with each other whom they do not like or trust. They must begin to look at each other as partners in the survival of the world. It is only by creating communication links covering the whole spectrum of society, could there be any possibility of changing attitudes and perceptions. The thinking of a warless world, not a conflictless world, will begin to demilitarize the entire world. It is this ability to envision positive change that will in some way have to be made concrete if today's war and violence system is to change. It is an alteration in public mood that will transform the present national security into a common security through welfare of the masses. For example if India and Pakistan begin to look

at each other as partners in the survival of the world, they have a partner they trust and respect, they can carry on their business on a handshake. On the other hand when two partners have a poor relationship, when they are continuously striving for advantage, then no contract is sufficient. Therefore, countries must find ways to prove their relationship. If they do this, agreements would be much easier to conclude, in fact, such an improvement would make many agreements unnecessary. Conflict management is a very realistic goal. It allows conflicts to develop and find resolution but direct them away from violence. With it begins an 'era of good feelings' between nations.

YEAR 1999 : A Satyagraha, Shanti-Agraha Network
(A Peace-net/work)

A Satyagraha-Shanti-Agraha network is a computerized peace network containing a few low cost steps to improve the international relations and especially the relations of the countries in the conflict. This is not a plan to express great ideas but simply to illustrate that once the focus is on the improving relationships, instead of the arms control agreements, defence budgets and nuclear weapons, it is easy to find ways.

Some of the things which can be suggested are the establishment of a joint Indo-Pak trade centre with a database to aid in matching products and markets, a jointly

financed and operated nuclear energy programmes for peaceful purposes, diplomatic restraint when there is a direct conflict between the two etc. All these steps should help to make contact through which the New Relations working Group can be formed. In such meetings even a national leadership can also participate, from both the countries. But being busy people, the national leaders of different countries generally do not have time for such meetings, so there can be formed a Shanti. Agraha network, a computerised peace network to exchange views. Participants can come and go, adding their perspectives and experience. A peace network system must focus on measures that will improve the relationships between nations.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation can have such a 'Regional Peace-Network' in any formal agreement that will improve a relationship between the nations. India must look at actions it can take which will draw all the nations into regional economy and regional culture exchange without threatening others' identity. Ways can be explored in which national currencies can be turned into regional currency to facilitate a regional trade on an equal basis. This is to save the regional economy which is ailing. India must look at its defence policy to find ways of improving relationships. Many actions can be taken which may make India's defence policy posture less threatening to others without endangering its own security. There can be a

'minimum assured deterrence". The idea is that, India should have the minimum amount of force available to profit herself. Holding excess force in reserve tends to look threatening from the other side and draws a response which leads to escalation. India must take actions that it could take militarily to de-escalate the arms race in the region and on the Indian subcontinent. This can create an irresistible opportunity for Pakistan to low its own spendings on arms.

In exploring such a 'regional peace network' it is important to know who has the power to implement such an idea or programme and what group in the regional society will benefit by its implementation and what group can influence the policy makers. Ways must be searched out to create a coalition between these three groups to get the job done. Many active people will come and join and participate in programmes and discussions and in the building of the database on conflict management in the peace network.

YEAR 2000 : Conflict-management industry - Peace as business

When the masses want something and that something is not being delivered to them, what we have is a market. There can be a plan of simply going into the business of delivering a world free of weapons of mass destruction and creating a working peace between the nations in conflicts. if the conflict - management database are available there

can be various consulting groups and conflict - management centres in the 'peace industry'. If there can be a military - industrial complex, why can there be not a commercial nature of the peace - network? It is important for people to be able to earn a living in this line of work. After all, people have been earning a living on war for thousands of years. Why not on peace? If anyone really wants to get any thing done in this world, he/she needs two things : lots of money and the best minds in the community. How to get money for peace - industry? Today, for example, in India, suppose the government spends sixteen paisa per rupee on the defence purposes where does this money come from ? Naturally it comes from the public money. If tomorrow people refuse to pay this sixteen paisa per rupee of their income tax, the people themselves can create a peace-budget. That sixteen paisa per rupee will be a peace-tax which will have two goals in its planned expenditure: eliminate, dismantle and ban all weapons of mass destruction and create and build a peaceful relationship with the neighbours and every one else. Out of this peace-fund a professional agency for conflict - prevention and mass destruction weapons elimination can be established. There can be a regional conference on peace - budgets and peace-taxes in South Asia to develop a long-term working solutions to their own problems for which they can invite voices and ideas from their own countries.

YEAR 2001 : Non-military missions

Gradually people will reach the necessary realization that war is obsolete, that war, which is used to resolve conflicts among nations, have to be replaced by other means. They will begin to see that their concept of an enemy needs to be revised. They could no longer permit themselves to pose, to declare some nation or some one as an enemy. They could no longer defer the responsibility to their elected representatives; it is a personal issue. Either they must work to implement the 'new modes of thinking' in their lives or they will all perish.

Thus a peace between the conflicting nations will not only reduce the risk of war and violence but will also allow those nations to address the very fundamental human concerns of the world and especially of the Third World: hunger, health, poverty and the environment. These are the new missions which the military can undertake. Though the defence and military budgets will be dropped, the nations will still have an army. All these years the military has defended its respective states and their sovereignty, now it must defend the earth itself. The world is facing ecological imbalances and sooner or later it is going to face the ecological disasters. The military can undertake a massive reforestration programme on a large scale. It can contribute to preserve the ecosystem and aiding in the construction of transportation and communication system. They can undertake various scientific projects and works on

seas and in space providing us with greater understanding of our world and our place in it.

The military must move beyond conflict -management because people will become better manager of their own conflicts. Various approaches must be developed to emphasize the constructive uses of conflict. After all once the connection between conflict and violence is broken, it can be a very creative experience.

This plan of action for Third World peace by 2001 A.D. is called a Gandhian Plan because it tries to use many Gandhian ideas like unilateral disarmament, noncooperation, new education etc. on an international level. It is not just a practice of his ideas but reexperimenting his experiments in truth and nonviolence on a much broader platform on a global level. It is an experiment of thinking globally, acting locally and perceiving newly.

This plan, definitely, is not a very scholarly or sophisticated plan, but as mentioned earlier, its importance does not lie in what it can do or what it does but in what it symbolizes. So inspite of its unsophisticated nature, this plan symbolizes and intends to start an era of good feelings among the nations. If such an era of good feelings among nations is to begin there has to be a process of turning the search light inwards as Gandhi said it. It also means that a nation should not do anything unless it can recommend all to do the same. World

peace or peaceful relations between the nations do not mean the international agreements and arms control measures or various treaties but an emphasis on simple communications, familiar activities and ordinary human relations. What the world peace represents is a new world wide network of human connections.

The ten year plan for Third World Peace presented here will not in itself solve any of the international problems that we face today. But it can add a new element and provide a necessary impetus for us to work out our differences by peaceful means. The plan can serve as a necessary first step in the right direction. Since the negative attitudes of rivalry and distrust which fuel the arms race and violence cannot be quickly dismantled they will simply will have to be allowed to remain in place, while a parallel countervalent structures should be created, which generate positive attitudes.

The ten years plan is not a fixed or time bound programme. It is just an idea a future oriented idea. What this plan presents or symbolizes may not be achieved in ten years not even in fifty years not in hundred years. But let us begin it today. What we always experience in the government machinery is a chronic shortage of philosophizing and a future oriented planning. This plan may help such a machinery to be future oriented with a philosophy and practice of peace.

CONCLUSION

PROBLEMATIQUE OF THIRD WORLD'S GLOBAL ROLE IN THE CONTEXT OF GANDHI AND RAPOPORT'S PEACE THINKING

The aim of this study has been to make explicit the conceptual underpinnings to the peace thinking of Gandhi and Rapoport and to develop a mode of interpretation of their peace ideas to address the problems which are emerging in the Third World even as the end of the Cold War has rendered inoperative the old coordinates on which the Third World was facing difficult choices for building peace. The reduction of cold war tensions between the two power-blocs were supposed to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity with new stances of non-involvement in military competition which had frustrated progress towards global prosperity. The post-Cold War disorder in the Third World has not proved susceptible to rationalisation on the basis of conventional international relations theory. A closer look at the state of the Third world after the end of the American and Soviet politico-military support to opposing parties reveals serious and deep rooted problems which require a revisioning of the peace-building process. We have shown that Gandhi developed a new and provocative framework which provides both a definition and statement of the problem of conflict in the Third World. The Gandhian model is in a position to offer many lessons to policy makers for the formulation of an international peace system. There is a fundamental flaw in the thinking of those who assert that Gandhian insights

have been given final form by their authors and can prove effective only on the scale represented by the pristine and natural participation of the leader who was involved in the miraculous events leading to Indian freedom. We have tried to show that Gandhian concepts can be elaborated and his insights expanded by utilising the modes of discourse provided by peace researcher like Anatol Rapoport. Gandhi's conception of peace building is fully compatible with the following description by Rapoport:

"The infrastructure of peace activism, peace research, and peace education is probably not receptive to technological fixes. A quick fix would be the elimination of weapons, but elimination of these obvious "causes" of war is precluded by the absence of appropriate institutions. Given the difficulty of taking their toys away from war-makers, the most promising path towards the elimination of war seems to be the elimination of the will to make war. This goal can be pursued only by strengthening the infrastructure of peace. Providing a heaven for research workers, attracting them to the peace infrastructure might help create a potential counterforce to the infrastructure of war."

Since Gandhi did not have the opportunity to analyse the complexities of the concrete historical situation which developed during the East-West Cold War and did not have the inclination for data gathering with respect

to the "technological fixes" and the indices, parameters and trends of the war system, the application of this peace-philosophical categories to new situations can be updated by making Rapoport his interlocutor to cope with the new conflict-generating structures. Gandhi's notion of experiment and "utopian dream" can be combined with Rapoport's recommendations for structural changes to extend the horizons of the new internationalist agenda.

The Basic Characteristics of the Gandhian model which have relevance for supporting practical proposals for peace policy across a range of specific Third World problems can be summarised:

1. Power
2. Peace Activism
3. Sources of Conflict
4. Resolution of Conflict
5. Preservation of Peace

1. **Power**

Regimes born out of violence require continued reliance on violence and therefore centralisation to defend themselves from internal and external disturbance. There is as a consequence an increasing resort to violence and oppression. Swaraj according to Gandhi meant self control and involved a sharp break with the idolatry of power of the modern state.

2. Peace Activism

Gandhi's formulations as a political strategist stress the constructive use of non-violent action, with its foundation in both the individual and the community at large. The central problem is an effort to develop and explore various extensions in the practical application of new techniques in place of violence in exposing and articulating values of freedom and independence. To quote Richard Fox, "Gandhi's notion of experiments meant struggles against others and against oneself, but it did not simply mean practice. The truth could come only from being both an experimentalist with future truth and a visionary who struggled against current falsehood."¹

3. Sources of Conflict

In concrete terms, for Gandhi "exploitation" is the source of both conflict and violence. Poverty, hunger and human deprivation are the direct consequences of the accumulation of wealth and exploitation of the masses by a small minority. The entire exploitation-domination syndrome which leads to structural violence is to be overcome by Sarvodaya since economic development cannot be meaningful without the ethical uplift of the individual. The normative order that Gandhi articulates is conceived in terms of

1. Richard G. Fox, *Gandhian Utopia - Experiments with Culture*, Boston, 1989. p.277.

morality and basic human values and outlined in plans for reconstruction of the nexus of human relations.

4. Resolution of Conflict

Violence is excluded as a method of resolution of conflict since it ultimately produces contradiction and discord even when it seems attractive in the short run. It is necessary for the parties involved in a conflict situation to ascend to a level from which they can view the conflict with detachment. The main theme in Gandhian conflict-resolution is the emphasis on understanding the viewpoint of the opponent and winning him over through peaceful persuasion. There should be a basic agreement (i.e. Shanti-Agraha) that conflict has to be eliminated and not the parties to it. The possibility of establishing a consensus is never ruled out.

5. Preservation of Peace

Gandhi conceptualised basic changes both as a political activist and as a peace philosopher. During India's struggle for independence, his techniques were mirrored in a nation-wide experimental laboratory for conflict management. He never thought specifically of "science of peace" but his experiments with truth involving satyagraha, ahimsa, swadeshi, trusteeship and related concepts led to a "peace-paradigm". The peace-paradigm rested on a macro-process of rehumanisation of the oppressors and affirmative action grounded in non-violence.

Gandhi endeavoured to carryout in practice the peace-vision espoused in his writings through communicative transactions in which his fellow satyagrahis gained control over their conflict-ridden environmental actualising truth and spiritual solidarity.

Rapoport's critique of "doctrine-dominated ideological conflict" led him to clarify and refine key concepts of cataclysmic and strategic models of conflict. The basic characteristics of his model were shaped by his response to the prevailing strife between America and Russia and particularly by his criticism of the dehumanising political and strategic power of the United States:

1. Power
2. Peace Activism
3. Sources of Conflict
4. Resolution of Conflict
5. Preservation of Peace

1. **Power**

The concept of "addiction to power" indicates that as power accumulates, its instrumental value loses importance and there is a general "disavowal of rationality". Just as rich people value money for its money-making potential, in the same way power is valued because it is necessary to develop the illusion of omnipotence. This view of power results in a hegemonial

crisis because any encroachment is answered by violence totally incommensurate with the importance of the encroachment. Parallel manifestations of the power addiction must be closely examined to discover conditions for effective transformation. Power addiction transcends cultural and ideological differences.

2. Peace Activism

Rapoport stresses intellectual responsibility for building peace and coming out of the "trap of power". His peace activism which is based on empirical engagement and experimentation challenges the rationality of international politics in the implementation of "clever" strategies. He levels three criticism: (1) Game theory itself is not adequate to deal with all behavioural situations (2) The unconscious and biologically rooted aspects of human behaviour are not attended to (3) the ethical problems are forgotten.²

Thinking in terms of strategy exclusively leads to a fortress mentality and the very basis of strategy, contact with reality, is lost. In order to come out of human-kind's obsession with warfare and violence, military strategies have to be replaced by peace-strategies i.e. not by fighting fire with fire, but by rejecting fire as a weapon.

2. Anthony de Reuck and Julie Knight, *Conflict in Society*, London, 1966. pp.292-293.

3. Sources of Conflict

Rapoport analyses the sources of arms race and the militarisation of economic, political and cultural structures of society and arrives at the concept of "intellectualisation of war". He explains how all systems are employed to strengthen the war culture in order to sustain the fabric of nationalism which is manipulated by the quasi-entity called the state. The fundamental goal of peace research is to identify the sources of conflict and to develop therapeutic efforts directed towards imparting self-knowledge to eliminate unwarranted generalisations about the war system as an institutions.

4. Resolution of Conflict

"Debates" are a common enterprise for the resolution of conflict unlike "fight" and "games", and do not require either harming or outwitting the opponent. Rapoport prescribes "debates" in preference to fights and games for transcending the dehumanising mentalities and as a cooperative enterprise to "separate the people from the problem. The key to productive negotiations is "steering it so as to have both sides face the same problem.

5. Preservation of Peace

As a contemporary peace thinker, Rapoport has emphasised the dangers of the strategic mode of thought which sustained the Cold War and the militarisation and

arms race between the Superpowers. He also warns against complacency regarding the war establishment as an institution in the organismic sense. The preservation of peace is specially threatened by institutions which adapt themselves to the environment of the war system. This includes research institutes and institutions of higher learning which prosper in close relationship with the military-industrial complex. The process of rationalising options and choices in foreign policy will be diverted towards war and violence unless a new conscience is generated. Rapoport therefore outlines to goal of peace education as a continuation of the process of enlightenment and he related (1) peace research (2) peace education and (3) peace activism as a unified enterprise for human survival and linking international peace and the development of civilization.

The Gandhi-Rapoport model for the Third World's global role

Gandhi's suggestions started with a deconstruction of Western values and thought on violence and conflict. As a peace researcher Rapoport has chosen a path which sharply diverges from western thinkers like Clausewitz and Herman Kahn and his writing offers a striking description of constructive and forward looking perspectives for mitigation of conflict and disagreement. What are the implications of bringing together the conceptual approaches of Gandhi and Rapoport for the international community of the Third World? First of all, by bring together the epistemological and

ontological issues of power in Gandhi and Rapoport's models we provide ourselves with a useful way to eliminate the overemphasis on hegemonial leadership which has militated against cooperation in the Third World. The comforting images of "technolatriy" are challenged and traditional networks of identity and interest in the Third World can be strengthened by new ways of thinking which insulate the political and economic system from dehumanisation.

Secondly, although there is a significant disparity between the peace activism of Gandhi and Rapoport, the search for self-knowledge and self-examination in both models strikes a chord of recognition among the policy makers who are developing projects for peace and conflict-resolution. In fact the thinking stimulated by mathematical models and the relevance of behavioural and social sciences to problems of peace research can provide considerable resources to non-violent struggles against oppression. The new peace-philosophy with a sharp focus on environmental and ecological issues formulated by Rapoport contains an important element of truth which has a bearing on peace activism in the Third world. Third world tensions are not only manifestations of economic and social transformation, they are also related to the impending ecological catastrophe. Ideas on peace activism developed by Gandhi and Rapoport will prove viable for Third world peace movements which will have to focus on survival mechanisms which were left unaddressed by political action based on

power addiction. (See Appendix : Anatol Rapoport has offered thoughtful and constructive suggestions in a personal communication, which he is applying and developing in forthcoming study.)

Thirdly, relations between conflicting parties can achieve a major break through only if a critique of conventional categories of conflict has been initiated. Both Gandhi and Rapoport provide a multiplicity of symbols to operationalise interpretative hypothesis on the sources of aggression, violence and conflict. When we scan the Third world conflict processes, with the help of the fundamental themes in Gandhi and Rapoport we can move to a "planetary view point" and avoid the political morass which has resulted from the reductionist forms of analysis of Third world conflicts.

Fourthly, the composite Gandhi-Rapoport emphasis on the non-zero-sum nature of the game, strengthens genuine dialogue and the possibilities of peace through reconciliation and eschews the role of coercive strategies in conflict resolution. To eliminate the roots of violence-oriented politics in the Third world, neither war-proneness of states nor militarisation of the economies can be regarded as marginal issues. Geopolitical tensions can only grow if strategic choices are restricted to rigid ideational frameworks of society. The resolution of conflict in the Third world required recontextualising

orientations towards the past, present and future and transmitting skills of peacemaking and peacekeeping to citizens and elites. Both Gandhi and Rapoport articulate a variety of norms and principles to guide conflict resolution and to strengthened peace and stability in the Third world.

Fifthly, Gandhi's prescriptology for preservation of peace is of immense value in Third world societies where traditions and inherited culture are predominant in shaping interests, indentities and long term goals. Gandhi's innovative initiatives also call for indegenously determined self-reliant development strategies. Rapoport's discussion of the "science of peace" provides the testing ground for "facts, theories, conjectures and speculations" which are necessary for the Third World to manage the process of change in the post- Cold war world.

Problems of peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Third World

Peacekeeping is inseparably united to the new relationships that are necessary if a coherent and integral new world order has to be created. The clarity of Gandhi's philosophical thought and his emphasis on satyagraha and ahimsa have helped to develop "long-sightedness" necessary for internatinal cooperation. Afghanistan has been in deep trouble first on account of Superpower rivalry and later following soviet withdrawal and collapse of the Soviet Union and latter on account of deep ethnic pressures which have led to bloodshed and upheaval. The shift from a military

solution to a peaceful negotiated settlement requires a study of the social matrix of conflict and development of multiple positions which can enhance the peace role of Afghanistan in the world. A wide-ranging and realistic examination of the reform options of the United Nations as has been suggested by United Nations Secretary General Ghali, can find stimulation and substance from the Gandhian Utopia and the approach to the study of conflict of Rapoport.

The trend towards democratisation in the Third World

In a relative sense the spread of democracy in the Third World seems to be a characteristic of the growing decline in polarisation between the power blocs. The domestic political constellations in the developing world are moving away from the restrictive conditions which were imposed by military and authoritarian regimes. Gandhi and Rapoport have a common point of departure : mitigation of conflict and disagreement and rejection of narrow self-serving ideology. The trend towards democratisation in the Third World can be made meaningful only if after the end of the Cold War there can develop a new world view which enables influential decision-makers to stress common agreement rather than disagreement. Rapoport is right of course in his statement about the malignant growth of military establishments which have impeded democracy in the Third world :

"In countries of the Third World, military establishments have assured their parasitic existence by direct use of force. At propitious times they would take over the government and run the country as it suited them, simply by virtue of possessing physical power. These establishments have adapted themselves to underdeveloped economies and underdeveloped political institutions."³

Political and economic conflicts and ethnic identities in the Third World

It needs to be emphasised that strategic thinking and the ideology of state interests cannot hope to alleviate political and economic conflicts which are fuelled by sharply divided ethnic identities. In Central Asia, the fighting in many areas threatens to expand and involve not only regional powers but more remote international actors. The nationalities policy under Soviet rule was the very negation of "Gandhi's notion of experiment and utopian dream, and in any case there was no question of the Soviets tolerating" a confrontation with existing systems of authority and their legitimising ideologies". Neither Gandhi nor Rapoport are in favour of patch-up jobs and neither is in favour of creating "winners" and "losers" in the ethnic conflict. Alienation can be overcome and ethnic animosities stabilized by applying the results of scientific

3. A.Rapoport, *The Origins of Violence*, New York, 1989. p. 438.

research on peace. Deeper knowledge of ethnic disputes can also be gained through a public discourse which rejects solutions effected through the exercise of force and power "To prepare for peace means to create an infrastructure that will encroach on the one built in the course of preparing for war and will ultimately replace it."⁴

Reconceptualisation of National interest and cooperative and conflictual outcomes in international affairs.

Gandhi's and Rapoport's writings are helpful in clarifying the notion of "national interest" and provide a much needed corrective to the anxieties created in the name of management of the national security apparatus. To both of them all attempts to promote dominance, aggression and war by the bureaucratic and political elites are misguided and misleading from the point of view of genuine national interest. The anachronisms in the formulation of national interest are the result of the power addiction which Rapoport describes as a "possibly fatal disease of Humanity. "The Third World has broken age-old chains of imperialism but there can be little doubt that the task of securing long term peace for the Third World must recognize the variety of ideological, strategic and systemic concomitants of conflicts which results from the basic orientation of self-fulfilling assumptions about "national interest."

4. Ibid., p.584.

The Third world and the shadow of Clausewitz's historic-empirical studies

The Clausewitzian view of war (and as Rapoport has shown the "nuclear age version of it") has cast a shadow over the problem created by the world-wide crises which the Cold War proliferated. The situation in the Third World is even more complicated since decision makers show confidence in the dialectical elements of Clausewitz's view on war even when strategic analysis has shown that the "Clausewitzian world equipped with nuclear weapons, leads only to obscene nightmares". Gandhi has insightfully shown the superiority of the non-violent means of politics (i.e. diplomacy, negotiations, treaties,) to the application of coercive force. Rapoport's criticism of Herman Kahn, whom he correctly calls the twentieth century exponent of the Clausewitzian view, challenges the logic of outdated historic-empirical studies in a complex and interdependent world. Rather than seeing war as the continuation of politics by different means, we should recognise that the basic conditions and general principles of war identified by Clausewitz must be rejected if the Third World is not to close avenues to preventive diplomacy.

The Third World's development needs

The politics of the Third World's development needs is involved in the criteria of social justice considered from a global standpoint. The worldviews of both

Gandhi and Rapoport assume possibilities of achieving positive peace. Rapoport approvingly quotes the components of a just public order given by McDougal and Lasswell:⁵

1. Power- Is power in a society widely shared or narrowly concentrated.
2. Wealth- What is the relative weight of property interests (savings, investments) and human needs (levels of consumption, hours of work) in determining economic policies? Does the system tend to increase or decrease disparities in assets or income? Is there compulsory labour?
3. Respect- Is status determined by birth? How protected are the rights of privacy of conscience, freedom from torture, humiliation, degradation?
4. Well-being- How available is health care, decent housing adequate nutrition to every one regardless of social status?
5. Skills- To what extent is education available to those that want it? To what extent are opportunities to practice skills available?
6. Enlightenment- How free is access to information? How available are facilities for transmitting and disseminating both information and interpretation of information, opinions, convictions?

5. M.S. McDougal and H. Lasswell: "The identification and appraisal of diverse systems of public order" in *The Strategy of World Order*, R.A. Falk and S.H. Mendlovitz, Ed. Vol. 2, International Law, World Law Fund, New York, 1966. p. 49)

7. Rectitude- How free is worship and education based on certain special spiritual values?
8. Affection- What protection is given to institutions fostering congeniality e.g. the family ? How free are associations based on love, friendship, commitment to common values?

The construction of Ram Rajya on Gandhian lines is an open process that makes provision for a positive relation between morality and politics and seeks to ensure the full functioning of all mechanisms of self-realisation which are necessary for the Third World's development needs. Gandhi's rejection of "modern civilisation" has an explanatory power which can help the Third World to remove cultural and economic domination in the world system.

Richard Fox has pointed out that "when Gandhi considered his social experiments akin to scientific ones, he perhaps did not realise that the likeness held true the other way as well; scientific experiments are also social struggles." We trust that this study reflects in some measure the "new consciousness" born out of the social struggle of the Indian exemplar of peace and non-violence and the Russian-American social scientists' "science of peace" based on game theory and general systems theory. A major challenge for peace research in the post Cold war Third world is to facilitate communication and cooperation among different traditions as a means of promoting world peace.

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APPENDIX



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
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TORONTO, CANADA
M5S 1A1

July 3, 1991

Miss Madhavee Inamadar
232 Ganga-Hostel
Jawahar Lal Nehru - University
New Delhi 110067
India

Dear Miss Inamadar:

Thank you for your very kind letter of May 22, which I found upon returning from Europe.

In answer to your question, I have the highest regard for Mahatma Gandhi as a person and as a peace activist. As you may have surmised from what I have written, my own approach to peace action is somewhat different from Gandhi's being based on other than religious convictions. I think, however, that Gandhi's approach was most suitable in his social environment. Each social environment requires a specific approach.

If I can be of any assistance to you in the work you have undertaken, please let me know. Which of my writings have you read? Do you have any questions about the views and arguments developed there? I shall be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Anatol Rapoport".

Anatol Rapoport



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
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TORONTO, CANADA
M5S 1A1

August 10, 1991

Miss Madhavee Inamdar
232 Ganga Girls' Hostel
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110067 India

Dear Miss Inamdar:

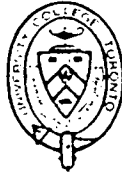
Thank you for your very kind letter of July 15. I shall certainly welcome your comments on my work and will respond to them.

Enclosed is a recent paper of mine which you may find of interest. My Origins of Violence, published by Paragon House, New York in 1989, may also be of interest to you. Perhaps it is available in the library of your university. Another book, Peace: An Idea Whose Time Has Come, is scheduled to appear in fall (University of Michigan Press).

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Anatol Rapoport'.

Anatol Rapoport



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
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TORONTO, CANADA
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January 17, 1992


Miss Madhavee Inamadar
232 Ganga
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110067
India

Dear Miss Inamadar:

Please excuse the delay in responding to your very kind letter of November 27.

I am exceedingly flattered by your comparison between my ideas and Gandhi's. It is gratifying to perceive similarities and analogies in the thinking of people belonging to disparate cultures. Evidently there is a human unifying principle that transcends even wide cultural differences.

Sincerely yours,


Anatol Rapoport

1845

