

**GANDHIAN ETHICS IN NEGOTIATION: A  
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
For the award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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INDIA  
2002**



Date: 31-12-2002

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "*GANDHIAN ETHICS IN NEGOTIATION: A THEORITICAL PERSPECTIVE*" submitted by *NANDKISHORE K.WAIRALE* in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of *MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*, is his original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any other university.

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*Dedicated to  
My parents who taught me  
to serve the humanity*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe a debt to my supervisor *Prof. PUSHPESH PANT*, who shown the confidence on my capability to allow me to attempt on such as an odd topic—*Gandhian Ethics in Negotiation: A Theoretical Perspective*. He deserves my greatest thanks. He influenced my research and thinking at almost every stage and proved a tough but fair critic. I express my gratitude to *Prof. K.D. KAPOOR*, *Associate Prof. V.K.H. JAMBHOLKAR* and *Dr. VINAYAK RAO*, *Dr. RAJASHREE*, and *Dr. INDRAJIT*.

I wish to express my emotional debt to my family members includes—my mother-like sisters *KALPANATAI*, *VANDANATAI*, *SUVERNATAI* and my two elderly brother-like brother-in-law—*RAJESHJI MAHAJAN* and *PRAKASH RAO*, both inspired me to continue my study, and thanks for their timely advise to continue this endeavour.

Last, but not least, I express my gratitude to all of my friends who helped me step by step in my life those includes--all *friends* from my colony, from my school and college and I wish my especial thanks to all my *JNU friends* who help lot to write this dissertation. I take on my own responsibility of the errors.

Finally, I express my gratitude to *God* who provided spiritual power rather than intellectual to complete this dissertation.

**NANDKISHORE K. WAIRALE**

## PREFACE

This is an attempt to find out an individual's divine qualities like-honesty, integrity of character, truthfulness, openness, patience, compassion, tolerance, hard work, to solve the human problems with the help of one's innovative powerful negotiation technique. A aim of this endeavour to discover how spiritually, morality and ethics help individuals to negotiate man's ultimate aim (To serve the people) strongly with opponents (friends) for the betterment of the human kind, and how one can able to use these qualities (honesty, integrity of character, truthfulness, openness, patience, compassion, tolerance and hard work) in negotiation process to win over an opponents (friends) in any types of conflict in the life. This is an attempt to find out individual's powerful negotiation technique.

This is honest endeavour to emphasis on individualism for the betterment of the human kind. Gandhi is a classic example of individualism and negotiation technique brought together to serve humanity. He proved that divine qualities, which mentioned above, are possible to use in construction negotiation process to solve any types of conflict in the life.

According to Gandhian negotiation practice, in order for needs to be met they must first be understood, and this requires true self-awareness. For Gandhi, the discovery of self was the primary task of life. Taking personal responsibility for negotiation, rather than assigning the process to arbitrators, offers an increased opportunity for personal growth by exposing parties to the views of the other, and provided the opportunity for deep self-reflection. For him, self-suffering would melt the stoniest heart. His non-violence does work in conflict situation, although in more subtle ways. Gandhian literature acknowledges that conversion may not come by such direct methods but rely on conversion of third parties who in turn push the opponent into behavioral change.

While the Gandhian conflict process is generally seen as a bilateral one, Gandhi himself may have perceived a role for mediators similar to the one advocated by the champions of transformative conflict resolution as aiding in a spiritually and morally

enriching process by not merely going beyond issues of power and rights, but even those of interests, one of relatedness. Gandhian point that conflict affords opportunity for moral development and that the role of the mediators is not only to find solutions to problems but also to change opponents themselves for the better.

No one has yet devised techniques of conflict resolution or negotiation practice that are so specifically Gandhian as to place a large emphasis on self-suffering. This is my attempt to find out individual's negotiation technique which could be based on self-suffering. This negotiation technique forces the opponents to choose between "Gandhian ethics" (To merge one's interest into the interest of the all humankind) and "self-interest" (Give the preference to one's interest, neglecting the interest of the all humankind). Perhaps this is not possible or even thought to be desirable, however, the shift from a model of conflict resolution that was traditionally based on power and coercive bargaining to one of problem-solving processes that aimed to resolve conflicts (rather than merely settle immediate disputes) seems to have produced conflict resolution process with strong similarities to the preliminary phases of Gandhi's satyagraha.

At last, conducting negotiation in Gandhian context may not only be instrumentally valuable but may be intrinsically important forever.

# **Chapter I**



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

“LOVE” is the best weapon discovered by God-like people to solve the human problems through the universal acceptable good qualities like honesty, integrity, forgiveness, compassion, tolerance, morality, spirituality, and other divine qualities. Those who say that, these qualities are highly impossible in negotiation process or conflict resolution ignores that Jimmy Carter won the Noble Peace Prize in 2002 for the humanitarian way of solving conflicts throughout his life. The committee said in its official citation ‘in a situation currently marked by threats of the use of power, Carter has stood by the principles that conflicts must as far as possible be resolved through mediation and international cooperation based on international law, respect for human rights and economic development’.<sup>1</sup>

The prize reflects admiration for his achievements in office and since. In a statement posted on the Carter Center’s Website, he said:

“My concept of human rights has grown to include not only the rights to live in peace but, also to adequate health care, shelter, food, and to economic opportunity. I hope this award reflects a universal acceptance and even embrace of this broad-base concept”.<sup>2</sup>

What is conflict? ‘An action-system is said to be in conflict if the system has two or more incompatible goal-states. Thus, “conflict” is seen as a property of an “action-system”, and by the latter terms we mean a system of actors’.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Steele Jonathan, “Salute to President Who Sent No Soldiers into War” in London: *Guardian Weekly*, October 17-23, 2002, Vol.167, no.17, p.3. (Also see [www.noble.no](http://www.noble.no)).

<sup>2</sup> <http://cartercenter.org>, (Submenu—News, Date: October 11, 2002) (Also see [www.noble.no](http://www.noble.no)).

<sup>3</sup> Galtung Johan, *Peace and Social Structure: Essays in Peace Research* (Copenhagen: Christian Eilers, 1978), Vol. 3, p.434-a.

**Table 1: Types of Action-Systems in Conflict**

	<b>Intrasystem Conflict</b>	<b>Intersystem Conflict</b>
Individual level (Bilateral Negotiator)	Intrapersonal	Interpersonal
Collective levels (Negotiator for Government)	Intranational (Group conflict)	International

Source: Galtung Johan, *Peace and Social Structure: Essay in Peace Research*, (Copenhagen: Christian Eilers, 1978), Vol. 3, p.434-b.

Exactly what is meant by resolution of a conflict? According to the definition of Johan Galtung, 'it must be a process that leads the action-system to a state where the condition mentioned in the definition of "conflict" above is no longer present; the system must no longer have two or more incompatible goal states. There are many ways in which this can be brought about, ranging from complete agreement on one of the conflicting goal-states or some compromise, to total annihilation of one of the parties to the conflict (in the inter system case) and suppression of one of the parties (in the intrasystem case). Thus, a solution may involve the elimination of one of the parties to the conflict, what is characteristic of the solution is that there is no more incompatibility. Thus solution is a state of the action system, and resolution is the process that by 'intent or accident leads to a solution'.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that Buddha gives a theoretical aspect of conflict resolution and Gandhi practiced it. Resolution of any conflict through bilateral way is the best way, because individual takes the total responsibility of solving it. He won't blame to anybody if resolution fails. People in conflict see each other as selfish and villainous, and stack up the injustice to be avenged. If you asked them to tell you what the fight was about they would quote from this list. That is the reality, as they perceive it. For the Buddha, this is just the surface. Reality, like the iceberg, extends for beneath what

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 438.

can be seen. The real cause of the conflict is the dart or arrow... underlying mental processes... difficult to perceive.

Maw Prowait Wasi, a Buddhist monk puts it this way:

“The manner of thinking leads to unsolvable conflict which escalate to violence... we tend to think in a static, extreme manner... a dualistic manner. We will divide things into plus and minus, black or white, they or we. Always in this way, then that leads to conformation. But Buddha said don't approach the static extreme: always think in terms of dynamic relationship. Apply to everything---mind, society, everything. The dynamic interconnectedness – this way always”.<sup>5</sup>

For the Buddha, suffering and conflict arise as the result of mental processes of attachment. When we look superficially at our suffering it does not seem this way at all. But with *Sati* (mindfulness), we begin to see these processes taking place in our minds. Thought feeling sequences of revenge, dominance or victimization creates patterns of attachment, which take over our behavior– perhaps lying dormant until some new provocation occurs. According to Hume, he does so by trying ‘to account for people’s dissatisfaction with the “doctrine of necessity”, and for the attractiveness of “the doctrine of liberty”, in so far as liberty is thought to conflict with necessity’.<sup>6</sup>

Normally, people are caught up in these mental processes but do not see them for what they are. Especially for the peacemaker, we try to be aware of the processes by which our own minds create and sustain conflict. Some of these will be found in ways, in which we think of self and others, while others will lie in the chemistry of personal, and group, interaction.

The Buddha used two kinds of concepts of identifying causal processes, and mentions conflicts and violence (cheating, tactics, shrewdness, ditching in negotiation) as a result of each. They are the “*akusala-mula*” and the “*patikkasamuppada*”. The *akusala-mula* is lobha (greed), dosa (hate) and moha (delusion). Using the *akusala-mula*, we can note the broad psychological dynamics of a conflict.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.p.317.

<sup>6</sup> Barry Stroud, *Hume: The Arguments of the Philosophers* (edited by Ted Honderich, 7<sup>th</sup> edition) (London: Routledge, 1994), p.144.

The *paticcasamuppada* cycle consists of a cycle of stages tracing the changes by which spiritual ignorance leads to attachment, ego birth, and suffering. In addition, there are several *paticcasamuppada*-like sequences that are clearly psychological in purport and relate explicitly to the arising of conflict and violence. These we include within the general sense of *paticcasamuppada*, which means, (literally, *paticca* = ‘on account of’, *samuppada* = ‘coming to be’) law of dependent origination. Using the *paticcasamuppada* we can trace the moment by-moment process of attachment by which hate, greed or delusion come to dominates the mind. That is why it is said that war creates in the mind; defenses for it must be create in mind.

It is important to note that this is somewhat different from what we think of as the common-sense view of a reasonable response. We tend to think of the interaction between the conflict ants as being more real than our own feelings. These, we see as the by products of what has happened. From the standpoint of dependent origination, however, these mental processes are an equal part of the whole process. Indeed, they may be much closer to the causes of the situation than we realize. The sense of despair at being overwhelmed by conflict (or any problem in life) is part of the cycle.

Mahaghosananda expresses it this way:

“In every moment if you want to see the Buddha you have to see the Dhamma. If you want to see the Dhamma you have to see the *paticcasamuppada*. If you want to see the *paticcasamuppada* you have to see your own feelings... here and now. That is the Dhamma... The future is not yet reborn. Just the present is real”.<sup>7</sup>

Gandhi claimed, “My life is my message”. Although he wrote forewords to over 40 books, most of them dealing with various aspects of his philosophy, in an interview with Joan Bondurant he went as far as to say that ‘Satyagraha is not a subject for research—you must experience it, use it, live by it’.<sup>8</sup> Gandhi is now part of history and his words belong to humanity. These words, it is to be hoped, can instill in those who have not yet been touched by his example, or by the example of those

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<sup>7</sup> MacConnell John, “The Realism of Applying Dhamma to Situations of conflict” in *Socially Engaged Buddhism for the New Millennium: Essays in Honor of the Ven Phsa Dhammapitaka on his 60<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary* (Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation and Foundation for Children, 1999 (2542), p.317.

<sup>8</sup> Bondurant John V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.146.

following him, a sense of the idea of Gandhi's philosophy of conflict, a realization of the possibility that inter-personal and other relations can be conducted in a more effective manner, and a desire to experiment with, experience and live by a code of dignified idealism.

The Gandhian technique of bilateral negotiation is known by its Gujarati name of 'Satyagraha', which has variously been interpreted as "*passive resistance*", "*non-violent resistance*", "*non-violent direct action*", and according to E. H. Erikson as "*militant non violence*". Satyagraha, Gandhi explained, 'is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, "truth-force". Truth is soul or spirit. It is therefore known as soul-force'.<sup>9</sup> Satyagraha means, in effect, the discovery of truth and working steadily towards it, thus converting the opponent into a friend. In other words, Satyagraha is not used against anybody but is done with somebody. 'It is based on the idea that the moral appeal to the heart or conscience is... more effective than an appeal based on threat or bodily pain or violence'.<sup>10</sup>

Most have realized that the use of techniques of Satyagraha as a policy, that is, a method to be brought into play in a given situation where it is considered effective in securing victory, is contrary to its primary teaching. It must be a creed, a way of life, to be truly effective. Gandhi has made the point:

"Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that ahimsa is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use therefore should be limited to that sphere. In fact that is not the case. Ahimsa is definitely an attitude of society. It is blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practiced by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals".<sup>11</sup>

Martin Luther King was enlightened by 'the realization that Satyagraha could in fact be used in conflicts larger than interpersonal conflicts'.<sup>12</sup> Dhawan, Shridharani, and Naess examine 'Satyagraha' from the perspective of the political scientists, their primary concern being social conflict. Some of them for example, Iyer, include the

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<sup>9</sup> *Young India*, 23 March 1921.

<sup>10</sup> Kamarappa, Foreword to Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance*, (New York: Schocken, 1961), p.iii.

<sup>11</sup> *Harijan*, 12 November 1938.

<sup>12</sup> King M L, *Stride Towards Freedom* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), pp. 96-97.

individual to the point of concentrating on the central philosophy of Gandhi's political action as a variant of worship, while others, such as Gregg, emphasizes the need for realizing the importance of human unity in order to solve conflicts effectively. While Bondurant aims to demonstrate that it is valid in a secularized form.

E.H. Erikson analyzed Gandhi's psychology of Satyagraha. The best books on Satyagraha have done an admirable job explaining its precepts, and in part they all do touch on the relevance of these for individuals. None of them, however, analyze Satyagraha primary form the point of view of the individual. Therefore, my attempt would be to analyze Satyagraha from this point of view. The aim of this work will be to bring the various points that they make to direct relevance to the individual in conflict situations together, and then bring Satyagraha back specifically to the individual level. Rather than reiterating the already excellent work done on the applicability of Satyagraha to the dynamics of group conflict, as well as interpersonal to international conflict and the position of the individual within larger conflicts will be examined from the Gandhian perspective.

Attention should not be diverted away form the exploration of the resolution of conflicts at the macro level, nor should studies of micro conflicts be neglected. This area may be somewhat less glamorous. But for an average person leading a normal life, it is important to have insights into ways of solving conflicts, which occur regularly and in which he or she is directly involved, so that the quality of life at the individual level may improve. This study aims at exploring these areas specifically and to look at the phenomenon of the conflict and conflict resolution in the light of Gandhi's moral and ethical thought.

This dissertation comprises three chapters. First chapter—Constructive Negotiation deals with, how man could solve the conflict with the help of good qualities in himself for the betterment of human beings to aims for the developments of man—socially, politically, economically and more importantly spiritually. Therefore, those who want to serve the humanity, they could use this technique very effectively at the any level of the conflict—local, administrative, inter-state, national, and international levels also. This technique is based on the Truth. Therefore, it will be effective when individual is ready to search for the Truth, searching the truth is

individual's matter, that is why it is very effective, especially in a bilateral way of negotiation. This (Gandhian technique) could be an only weapon, which is available in the armory of negotiation process to convince an opponent very effectively when you fail to convince an opponent through intellectual argument. It convinces an opponent emotionally to win over him for complete victory. When all negotiation tactics fails to convince an opponent intellectually, I am sure it will work. It starts from there, where the all negotiation tactics ends. Do not strike an opponent's mind; strike his heart, because, I think, heart is the only precious thing in the world than anything else. I believe heart control the mind, not mind control the heart. Therefore, emotions matters more in any type of relationships. I believe if you deal the people emotionally, you will get the success not only in the negotiation but in the life also. For that you have to raise yourself to the highest level of spirituality, according to one's own way, without that it seems highly impossible.

Gandhi proved that emotional dealing is the only weapon in the hands of spiritual negotiator to win over the highly qualified an intellectual opponent. Nelson Mandela again proved this technique. Dalai Lama, John Hume, Aung San Suu Kyi are trying to convince their respective opponents with the help of this technique only.

The second chapter deals with the technique of Satyagraha is an essentially founded on an individual's attitude towards life. It can, according to Gandhi, be used by nations, communities and individuals; used equally by men, women and children. It is a method that can be used effectively with a close friend or loved one, belligerent stranger, unjust government or an invading army. The training for all kinds of Satyagraha, however, begins with the peaceful resolution of small interpersonal conflicts. 'If one does not practice non-violence in one's personal relations with others and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is vastly mistaken. Non-violence like charity, must begin at home'.<sup>13</sup> Gandhi illustrated the contagious nature of interpersonal Satyagraha with an example from his own life:

"I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will, on the other hand, and

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<sup>13</sup> *Harijan*, 28 January 1939.

her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidity involved, on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity".<sup>14</sup>

Even in social and national Satyagraha, Gandhi places a heavy emphasis on an individual. In fact, according to Gandhi, even in a mass struggle the Satyagraha of a committed individual can be such that 'If a single Satyagrahi holds out to the end, victory is certain?' 'If there is one individual who is almost completely non-violent, he can put out the conflagration' and if a lone individual cannot neutralize violence, 'you must take it that he is not a true representative of ahimsa'.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately all Satyagraha is a personal matter. That's why it is effective in a bilateral way. Not only in this—the Gandhian way of solving conflicts—more efficient in the long term and more objectively profitable to an individual than being engaged in zero-sum conflicts, but there are also subjective benefits which are difficult to measure. The Gandhian way of conflict resolution should relieve the individual of feelings of helplessness in conflict situations. But, more than that Gandhi clearly states that living within rules required for successful Satyagraha is the type of life that is worth living. Satyagraha can be a means of providing human dignity and, in the existential sense, give more, "realness" to life:

"A Satyagrahi enjoys a degree of freedom not possible for others, for he becomes a truly fearless person. Once his mind is rid of fear, he will never agree to be another's slave. Having achieved this state of mind he will never submit to any arbitrary action".<sup>16</sup>

Satyagraha is therefore more than a method of conflict resolution that lends itself easily to scientific analysis. It is in fact an ethical system that places heavy emphasis on the quality of the relationship between individuals. Throughout this dissertation the efficiency of the Gandhian approach to the resolution of conflicts, in the sense of mutual satisfaction with the outcome, is to be stressed.

The successful application of Gandhian ethics in negotiation in the conflict situations is based on a positive belief as to the possibilities for the future and on personal idealism. Gandhi himself claimed that Satyagraha was more than idealistic; it

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<sup>14</sup> Pyarelal, *A Pilgrimage for Peace: Gandhi and Frontier Gandhi among N.W.F. Pathan* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1950), p.90.

<sup>15</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p. xiv.

<sup>16</sup> *Indian Opinion*, 22 February 1908.



was also practical. He stated 'I am not a visionary, I claim to be a practical idealist'<sup>17</sup>. Gandhi was also, as he often liked to say, an irrepressible optimist. He believed in his ability consciously to change himself for the better, he believed that having 'faith in one's ideals constitutes true life, in fact, it is man's all in all'.<sup>18</sup> He had an abiding faith in human nature, and without the possession of any tangible proof, he believed that 'eventually good would win over evil'.<sup>19</sup>

With all this emphasis on the individual, one point must clearly be made, however, there is a vast difference between Gandhi's concept of the importance of the individual and of what is generally thought of the individualism. The individual as Gandhi designed him to be was an altruistic idealist rather than a hedonist:

"Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talent consistently with equal use by his neighbours, but no one is entitled to the arbitrary use of the gains from the talents. He is part of the nation or, say the social structure surrounding him. Therefore, he can use his talent not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but a part and on whose sufferance he lives".<sup>20</sup>

The Satyagrahi is more concerned with his duties to the world than with the right he claims for himself, because, as Gandhi notes:

"The true sense of right is duty if we all discharge our duties, rights will not be for to seek. If leaving duties unperformed we run after rights, they will escape us like a will-o-the-wisp".<sup>21</sup>

Gandhi often speaks of the necessity of a belief in God for the practice of Satyagraha. 'Satyagraha is... based on an unquestionable faith in God and His justice, Satyagrahi's strength comes from within, from his reliance on God, Satyagrahi's must cultivate a living faith in God, and "Satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God',<sup>22</sup> on a closer examination of his writings, even taking into account his many references to God as a person, it can be seen than in reality for him God is

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<sup>17</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.7.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> *Young India*, 11 August 1920.

<sup>20</sup> *Harijan*, 2 August 1942.

<sup>21</sup> *Young India*, 8 January 1925.

<sup>22</sup> *Young India*, 18 February 1926.

'an undefinable and universal power that cannot be conceived apart from humanity or from the whole of nature'.<sup>23</sup> For Gandhi, then, God can be viewed in many ways. His own words provide the best summary:

"... God is Truth and Love, God is ethics and morality, God is fearlessness, God is the source of light and life and yet He is above and beyond all these. God is conscience, He is even the atheism of the atheist, He transcends speech and reason, He is a personal God to those who need his touch".<sup>24</sup>

Along with vegetarianism and non-possession, two other qualities very dear to Gandhi's heart, Gandhi's very subjective brand of sexual morality is not necessary for Satyagraha as 'an ethic principle, the essence of which is a social technique of action'.<sup>25</sup> If one wanted to devote his/her life completely to the service of humanity and shared Gandhi's metaphysical beliefs, the concept of *brahmacharya* as he expounded it might become more relevant. He claimed that 'if a person devotes himself or herself to a life's partner "a boundary wall" will be created "around their love", which prevents them from looking upon all mankind as kith and kin'.<sup>26</sup> At any rate, a non-exploitative sexual morality does, and the other factors may, play a part in which Gandhi "considered right living—the Satyagrahi lifestyle". Without a lifestyle in which truth and non-violence are of paramount importance, social campaigns of Satyagraha may be undertaken. But the solution to interpersonal conflicts, which occur daily, will prove impossible to resolve in the Gandhian spirit.

Third chapter deals with the relevance of this technique in the contemporary relationships between/among man to man, state to states, man to God and God to man. This is not only useful in conflicting situations but also to strengthen the friendly bond between/among the people. This (Gandhian technique) is based on the Truth and Non-violence. Isn't truth relevant for one century and not for another century? I

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<sup>23</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.94.

<sup>24</sup> *Young India*, 5 March 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.12.

<sup>26</sup> Gandhi M K, *Letter from Yeravada Mandir* (translated by V.G. Desai) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1932), p.7.

believe it relevant forever. 'God and man are not separate entities. It is God who, through the process of evolution, creates the universe and all beings and objects, and then lies concealed in the case of every man as of other creatures'.<sup>27</sup> Till man is relevant for this earth, then God is relevant for life, God is Truth. 'To attain God, you must be God-like yourself'.<sup>28</sup> But for Gandhi, Truth is God. Iyer further summarizes Gandhi's position of an individual's (Satyagrahi) relationship to truth in the following paraphrases of various quotations from Gandhi:

"A Truth is the substance of morality, man is a moral agent only to the extent that he embraces and seeks truth. By truth is not merely meant the abstention from lies, not just the prudential conviction that honesty is the best policy in the long run, but even more that we must rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. We must say No when we mean No regardless of consequences. He who ignores this law does not know what it is to speak and to stand for the truth, is like a fake coin, valueless. He has abdicated from his role and status as a moral being. Devotion to truth is the sole reason for human existence, and the truth alone really sustains us at all times. Without truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life".<sup>29</sup>

'Ahimsa, or non-violence, according to Hinduism, does not signify merely abstention animal food or non-killing of animals for nay purposes, but the positive duty of loving all sentient beings, as the equal embodiment of the universal soul, which is a sine quo non for salvation. It means abstention from the causing of pain or affliction to any other being (even your opponent in negotiation process) by the use of one's (Satyagrahi's) physique, mind or words. Unless hatred towards the other creatures is thus totally eliminated, root and branch, a person cannot realize that he and they are one, because the creator dwells in them as in himself. The *Geeta*, therefore, repeatedly emphasizes the need for the practice of ahimsa for the spiritual aspirant'.<sup>30</sup> Especially in this context, spiritual aspirant means a bilateral negotiator.

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<sup>27</sup> Basu Durga Das, *The Essence of Hinduism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India, 2002), p.13.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Weber Thomas, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shantisena and Unarmed Peacekeeping* (New York, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p.56.

<sup>30</sup> Basu Durga Das, *The Essence of Hinduism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India, 2002), p.91.

There is no doubt that non-violence is currently incapable of resolving some of the problems that must be solved if the human race is to survive. Those who are convinced that non-violence can be used in all conflict situations have a responsibility to devise concrete methods by which it can be made effective. This is an attempt to find out a new technique of bilateral negotiation within the perspective of old Satyagraha with the focus on a neo-Satyagraha, which solely depends on an individual's capability irrespective of the other party's non-cooperation in the negotiation process. 'The key attitudes stem from a feeling for the solidarity of all human beings even those who find themselves in deep conflict. George Meredith once said that a truly cultivated man (Satyagrahi) is one who realizes that the things which seem to separate him from his fellows are as nothing compared with those which unite him with all humanity'.<sup>31</sup> 'Without "ethical culture" there is no salvation for humanity'.<sup>32</sup>

For me, Truth is the aim of human beings. To realize it we need to have continuous efforts towards the welfare of the all human beings and animals. As far as negotiation is concerned, each and every act in this process should be aimed at solving the conflict for the mutual gain, or to reach the common agreement between the two parties. It must be used for the solving the conflicting issues between two parties. It should not be produce dirty motive of a party. We should not use the destructive way of solving the conflict. It should be constructive way to solve it. I differentiated between the constructive and destructive way of solving the conflict, especially in a bilateral way of negotiation in the second chapter in details. But in short, constructive negotiation aims towards to realize the Truth by doing continuous service to humanity without expecting anything in return. Destructive negotiation aims at to gain as they can possible as for only themselves without taking the interest into the consideration of another party. It shows the greedy nature of the one party. It creates the distrust, which gives an opportunity for deadlock in negotiation process.

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<sup>31</sup> Dellinger Dave, "The Future of Non-Violence" in *Revolutionary Non-Violence: Essays by Dave Dellinger*, (New York: The Bobbs-Merill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, 1970), p.296.

<sup>32</sup> Einstein Albert, *Ideas & Opinions* (Based on MEIDWELTBILD, edited by Carl Seeling, & other sources, New translations and revisions by SONJA BARGMANN) (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 1999), p.54.

Non-violence in negotiation means use the good qualities of one's to create the trust between the two parties to solve the conflicting issues and cooperate strongly to each other on the common issues to realize Absolute Truth (For me, service to the people), relative truth may be differ between two parties, but Absolute is one. Therefore, Truth is relevant forever. This Gandhian technique of bilateral negotiation is based on Truth and Non-violence, therefore, it is also relevant forever, if individual is ready to take it seriously in practical life. This technique is definitely not good in doing a research or empirical study, but it could be very effective in practical life. It is not only a theory, which we can write and discuss in the seminar or tea canteen, but it has the practical application for the betterment of the human beings forever. Once Swami Vivekananda said that knowledge is "useless" if one is not applying it in practical life.

## **Chapter II**

## CHAPTER II

### CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATION

Of course, the fact that mankind persists shows that 'the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, the centripetal force greater than centrifugal'.<sup>1</sup>

*—Mahatma Gandhi*

'Insistence on truth can come into play when one party practices untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligation of friendship'.<sup>2</sup>

*—Mahatma Gandhi*

'Make Global interest as our national interest'.<sup>3</sup>

*—Kofi Annan*

'The (proper) punishment to those who have done evil (to you) is to put them to shame by showing them kindness in return and to forget both the evil and the good done on both sides'.<sup>4</sup>

*—UNESCO*

'A single individual standing for the right (constructive negotiation) is worth more than the largest of majorities standing for the wrong'.<sup>5</sup> (destructive negotiation).

*—Henry Thoreau*

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<sup>1</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.104.

<sup>2</sup> Bhalla Shalu (compiled by). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, Reprinted 1995), p.7.

<sup>3</sup> Annan K, UN's Secretary-General, Addressing 57<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly in New York on September 12, 2002 (Thursday), Indian Time: 7.55 pm, Live on *BBC WORLD & CNN*.

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO, *Birthright of Man* (Paris: Unesco, 1969), p.26.

<sup>5</sup> Burns E M, *Ideas in Conflict: Political Theories of the Contemporary World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company INL, New York, 1960), p.528.

There are always the two sides of a coin. Same applies to life where we find two types of peoples, one who supports the misdeeds and other who oppose it for the sake of survival of humankind which is, according to my view point is the best way to serve the humanity. 'The perfect man does not seek private salvation but works for the emancipation of the whole of humanity'.<sup>6</sup> 'I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and therefore there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law world a well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life. We have to work it out in daily life. Whenever there are jass, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with Love. In this crude manner I have work it out in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done... The more I work at this law the more I feel the delight in life, the delight in the scheme of the universe. If gives me a peace and a meaning of the mysteries of nature that I have not power to describe'.<sup>7</sup>

A life theory applies to negotiation process. Negotiation is the part of life. When the child takes place birth, he/she negotiates with his/her mother by body language asking her to fulfill his/her demands. 'According to Professor Lasserre, children are persistent, they are innocent observers, they are uninhibited, they know what they want, they know when to ask, they make clear demands, they are creative, and (perhaps most menacingly), *they play parents off against one another*'.<sup>8</sup>

Negotiation is no exception to natural law. That's why it also has two sides. One is constructive negotiation, which aim at to the development of human beings--- socially, economically, politically and most importantly spiritually. Spiritual development is most important because it brings changes in man's attitude, purifies heart, which is the precious thing on this earth. That is individual's Truth. 'What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is follower of lie'.<sup>9</sup> 'If it be

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<sup>6</sup> Iyer R., *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: OUP, 2000), p.108.

<sup>7</sup> Gandhi M K, *Letter from Yeravada Mandir* (translated by V.G. Desai) (Ahemadabad: Navjivan, 1932), pp.47-48.

<sup>8</sup> Sunshine Russell B, *Negotiating for International Development: A Practitioner's Handbook* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990), p.151.

<sup>9</sup> UNESCO, *Birthright of Man* (Paris: Unesco), 1969, p.27.



well weighed, to say that a man as to say, that he is brave towards God, a coward towards men; for a lie faces God, and shrinks from man'---Francis Bacon. Second is destructive negotiation, which aims at to gain largest part of the cake for that they negotiate. For them, they see another negotiation party as an opponent, not friend. To get the largest part of the cake, they don't see anything wrong if they use the wrong ways to get it like shrewdness, bluff, tactics, deceive, ditching, deception, and cheating. 'I believe that cunning is not only morally wrong but also politically in expedient, and have therefore always discountenanced its use even from the practical standpoint'.<sup>10</sup> I don't want to go in depth that what is wrong and what is right. It is continuous debatable issue, philosophically and politically. Two wrongs can't make one right. 'Man has always justified unlimited coercion by rightly or wrongly assuming and monopolizing the position of some political truth'<sup>11</sup>---HANS BARTH. During the conflict President Lincoln wrote of the tragic situation that 'each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be wrong. God cannot act be for and against the same thing at the same time'.<sup>12</sup>

Whatever my heart tells me at the particular time that is right for me and that is truth for me. And at this point constructive negotiation is right to study it and if possible to contribute it, irrespective of national interest and personal gains. 'Manliness consists not in bluff, bravado or lordliness. It consists in daring to do the right and facing consequences whether it is in matters social, political or other. It consists in deeds, not in words'.<sup>13</sup> 'The main purpose of life is to live rightly, think rightly and act rightly. The soul must languish when we give all our thought to the body'.<sup>14</sup> 'The wielder of brute force does not scruple about the means to be used. He does not question the prosperity of means, if he can somehow achieve this purpose. This is not Dharma, it is Adharma (shrewdness, bluff, tactics, deceive, ditching, deception, and cheating). In Dharma there cannot be a particle of truth...sacrifice of

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<sup>10</sup> Bhalla Shalu (compiled by). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 1995), p. 119.

<sup>11</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: OUP, 2000), p.156.

<sup>12</sup> Thompson Kenneth W, *Traditions and Values in Politics and Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Baton Range: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p.180.

<sup>13</sup> Bhalla Shalu (compiled). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 1995), p. 127.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.p.171.

truth is the foundation of nation's destruction'.<sup>15</sup> There must be complete truth. 'The only diplomacy it admits of it's the statement and pursuance of truth at any cost'.<sup>16</sup> 'I believe that cunning is not only morally wrong but also politically in expedient, have therefore always discountenanced its use even them the practical standpoint'.<sup>17</sup> 'When you perceive a truth look for a balancing truth. According to Freund, we suffer in western civilization from the decline of the ancient art of moral reasoning, the essence of which is weighing and balancing not only good and evil but competing goods'.<sup>18</sup>

When we compare Gandhian techniques to those prevalent in the world of international dealings today one cannot but struck by a sense of contrast. While simplicity and frankness was the essence of the Gandhian technique, secrecy is the order of the day. 'While Gandhiji had a window to his soul modern nations delight in setting up iron curtains while Gandhiji laid all the cards on the table (not that he ever played bridge) modern diplomacy is a very hush-hush affair. While Gandhiji believed in telling everything, we believe in keeping the enemy guessing all the time'.<sup>19</sup>

Gandhian techniques are the strongest on the individual level (Bilateral negotiation). The problem of co-existence on the individual level is an ethnical one. Regarding certain matters co-existence is impossible. 'No man can serve two masters. We cannot owe allegiance to light and darkness, truth and falsehood, God and the devil at the same time'.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Speeches and Writing of Mahatma Gandhi, Natesan 1934. All references are to the 4<sup>th</sup> edition, except when specific mention is made of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (Also see Iyer R, p.162).

<sup>16</sup> Shalu Bhalla (compiled). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 1995), p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.p.119.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson Kenneth W, *Traditions and Values in Politics and Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Baton Range: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p.175.

<sup>19</sup> Adinarayan S P, *Essays in Philosophy: Presented to T.M.P. Mahadevan contributed by 52 scholars Eastern and Western* (Madras: Ganesh & Co. Madras Pvt. Ltd, 1962), p.210.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.p.213.

## NEGOTIATION:

In his *The Fundamentals of Negotiating*, Nierenberg has tried to define negotiation as follows:

“Negotiation depends on communication...negotiation can be considered an element of human behaviour...dealt with by both the traditional and the new behavioural sciences, from history, jurisprudence, economics, sociology and psychology to cybernetics, general semantic, game and decision-making theory and general semantics...the full scope of negotiation is too broad to be confined to one or even a group of the existing behavioural sciences”.<sup>21</sup>

‘Negotiation is a process in which explicit proposals are put forward ostensibly for the purpose of reaching agreement on an exchanging or on the realization of a common interest whose conflicting interests are present’.<sup>22</sup>

Michael Nicholson attempt a subtle distinction between bargaining and negotiation: ‘The activity whereby two contending parties decide between themselves what actions to take, when same are better for one than for the other, is called bargaining. When it is done by explicit verbal communication, we refer to it as negotiation’.<sup>23</sup> I give below the definitions for bargaining and negotiation from the Oxford English Dictionary. These tell us more about the bargaining process than the definition given above:

*Bargain: An agreement between two parties settling how much each gives and takes, or what each performs and receives in a transaction between them. ‘The second blow makes the fray. The second word makes the bargain---Francis Bacon. Of the colours of Good and Evil, 1597’.*<sup>24</sup>

*Negotiation: To hold communication and conference (with another) for the purpose of arranging some matters by mutual agreement to discuss a matter with a view to some settlement or compromise. But Gandhi said, ‘All compromise is based*

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<sup>21</sup> Nierenberg Gerald, *The fundamentals of Negotiating* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> Ikle Fred Charles, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Frederick A. Prager Publishers, 1964), p.3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Nicholson Michael, *Conflict Analysis* (London: The English Universities Press, 1970), p.2.

<sup>24</sup> Rangarajan L N, *The Limitation of Conflict: A Theory of Bargaining and Negotiation* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p.1.

on give and take, but there can be not give and take on fundamentals is a surrender. For *it is all give and no take*'.<sup>25</sup> Negotiation is a process, which gives an opportunity to strengthen our moral and spiritual power to attempt to solve the fundamental problems of the human beings through bilateral negotiation.

#### AIMS OF NEGOTIATION:

Negotiation is a process in which each and every individual can use his/her intelligence; innovative tactics, which is, depends on the particular circumstances. So it is very difficult to find out the objectives or aims of negotiation, especially in bilateral negotiation, objectives or aim of negotiation is also depends on in which environment (atmosphere) a negotiator born and brought up.

Despite all this difficulties, Fred Charles Ikle tried to find out the some general objectives of negotiations:

1. Extension, 2. Normalization, 3. Redistribution, 4. Innovation, 5. Side Effects

#### FIVE OBJECTIVES OF NEGOTIATION

	Extension Agreement	Normalization Agreement	Redistribution Agreement	Innovation Agreement	Side-Effects
1) Subject of Negotiation	Continuation of normal (renewals or replacements).	Termination of abnormal (cease-fire, truce, resumption of diplomatic selections).	New distribution in favor of offensive side (surrender of territory, liberation of colonies).	New institutions or other assignments of mutual interest.	
2) Main characteristics of negotiating process	Strong influence of previous agreement: as a precedent, and in limiting area of dispute.	Strong influence of situation at times of negotiations. Domestic or third party pressures towards normalization.	Continuous division both offensive and defensive side. Continuous open threat of offensive side.	Inducement of mutual benefits, and risk of exclusion. A especially interested party may act as initiator.	The less likely the agreement, the more important the side-effects.
3) In case of prolonged negotiations	Both sides lose.	In case of continuing hostilities, stronger party may win by force instead of negotiation.	Defensive side postpones loss, but redistribution may begin to look like normalization.	Interest in innovation may shift from one side to the other.	Side-effects continue to flow from negotiating process.
4) In case of no agreement	Interruption of customary arrangements.	Either continuation of fighting (or of abnormal relations) or subsiding of fighting (tacit truce).	Either status quo or implementation of threat by offensive side.	Continuation of status quo.	Side-effects nonetheless materialize and may be used to vindicate negotiation.

Source: Ikle Fred Charles, *How Nations Negotiate* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1964), p.41.

<sup>25</sup>Bhalla Shalu (compiled). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 1995), p. 202.

‘The long-term goal of ongoing negotiation is to edge both sides carefully towards a mutually beneficial situation. First, both parties should seek to work together to achieve a result that is satisfactory to both—a so-called “win-win” situation’.<sup>26</sup> ‘An objective to negotiation defines a negotiation in the analyst’s own terms, not the parties. It is an approach, which is concerned with the contradictions contained within any social structure and the extent to which distinct groups develop incompatible goals as a result of these contradiction’.<sup>27</sup> ‘The objectives and goals of negotiations are by no means limited to seeking an agreement’.<sup>28</sup>

### **DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATION:**

The purpose of negotiation of the diplomatic level, especially when two states representative meet each other to negotiate the conflicting issues as well as cooperative issues to strengthen the bond between two states. ‘The purpose of diplomatic negotiation is to obtain the acquiescence of another state (or states) in adjustments in relation that advance national interests and address national concerns’.<sup>29</sup> An offer to negotiate need not imply willingness—still less eagerness—to settle the matter in dispute. It may gain time or divert the attention of the other party while efforts are made to strengthen national power and lay a basis for prolonged defiance. It may serve to silence a government’s critics while building domestic and international political support for its bargaining position. It may give the politically useful appearance of doing something about a problem without actually having to address it.

‘When the other party sees much to lose and little to gain in reaching an agreement on the issue in dispute, it may be necessary to broaden the controversy or to create additional controversies that can be related to it. The purpose of doing this is

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<sup>26</sup> Deegan Denise, *Managing Activism* (London: Kogan Page, The Institute of Public Relations, Page, 2001), p.72.

<sup>27</sup> Bercovitch Jacob, *Social Conflicts and Third Parties: Strategies of Conflict Resolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), p.6.

<sup>28</sup> Craig Golden A, Alexander C George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of our Time* (New York: OUP, 5th edition, 1995), p.165.

<sup>29</sup> Freeman Jr Chas W, *Arts of Power: State Craft & Diplomacy* (Washington DC: United State Institute of Peace Press, 1997), p.88.

to make the status quo no longer acceptable to the other party'.<sup>30</sup> 'The principle objective of a negotiation may be to overcome serious political differences that have precluded strategic co-operation between states rather than to resolve the issues in apparent dispute between them. When this is the objective, states may choose to resort to creative ambiguity or to a tacit'.<sup>31</sup>

The basic difference between the purpose of diplomatic negotiation and individual negotiation is former take into consideration only the particular nations gain or sometime when they discuss on an element of co-operative issues, maximum they see the interest of only both parties with whom they are negotiating. But the purpose of individual's negotiation process is endeavoring to minimize the suffering of the whole human beings. Individual negotiator sees unity in all and all in one. That's why he thinks that if he tries his best to minimize the suffering of human beings, he will get satisfaction. This is, according to my view, a constructive negotiation. Anna Hazare, a social activist in Maharashtra has shown the path that Gandhian method of conflict resolution is still relevant. 'At many levels conflict resolution is a new and welcome activity. Skills are being developed and used by officials and others to resolve disputes between countries and within countries, to resolve community disputes'.<sup>32</sup>

#### OBJECTIVES OF CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATION:

- 1) 'To prevent disputes arising between states or both governments, and minority parties within states;
- 2) To prevent an existing dispute from being transformed into an open conflict;
- 3) If a conflict breaks out, to ensure that it spreads as little as possible'.<sup>33</sup>

'The outcome of a negotiation is essentially one that in each party's opinion in the perceived circumstances, is at least satisfactory enough and is perhaps considered

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.p.88.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.p.89.

<sup>32</sup> Alger Chadwick, and Stohl Michale (ed), *A Just Peace Through Transformation* (Boulder: Westview Social Studies in Peace, Conflict, & Conflict Resolution, 1988), p.107.

<sup>33</sup> Ghali Boutros Boutros, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: UN Document, June 17, 1992), A/47277-S/24111.



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to be the best that is obtainable. It often represents a compromise between the parties initial demands and expectations but there may be in part or whole, the joint creation of some new terms not originally conceived of by either party'.<sup>34</sup> 'Indeed the purpose of the negotiation is to develop mutual trust and understanding. The negotiator must always keep in mind that he is going to work closely with the other parties to the negotiation, in implementing agreement. If he bluffs or deceives, it will create problems in proper implementation later'.<sup>35</sup>

According to my view, the constructive negotiation's objective is clear indication that Gandhi's strategy of negotiation is still relevant because it directly deals with both the people and their basic problems. Gandhi finds out the root cause of the conflict in human nature. The root causes of conflict are as varied as their origins. No one has described these causes as cogently as James Madison:

"The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man, and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government and many other points, as well speculation as of practice, an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for prominence and power, or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have in turn divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that where no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passion and excite their most violent conflicts. But the common to durable source of factions, has been the various unequal distribution of property".<sup>36</sup>

People in conflict see each other as selfish and villainous, and stack up the injustices to be averaged. That is the reality, as they perceive it. For the Buddha, this

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<sup>34</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.23.

<sup>35</sup> Rao S L, *Successful Negotiation: Strategies and Tactics for Mutual Gain* (Allahabad: Wheeler Publishing, 1994), p.204.

<sup>36</sup> Burns James MacGregor, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1978), p. 38-39.

is just like surface. Reality, like the iceberg, extends for beneath what can be seen. The real cause of the conflict is the dart or arrow... underlying mental processes... difficult to perceive.

“The manner of thinking leads to unsolvable conflicts which escalate to violence... we tend to think in a static, extreme manner... a dualistic manner. We will divide things into plus and minus, black or white, they or we. Always in this way, then that leads to confrontation. But Buddha said don't approach the static extreme, always think in terms of dynamic relationship. Apply to everything—mind, society, everything. The dynamic interconnectedness – this way always”.<sup>37</sup>

For the Buddha, suffering and conflict arise as the result of mental process of attachment. That's why Gandhian ethics is still relevant because it talks about the merge our interest into opponent's interest. It is possible only when your heart is pure, and to purify it you have to go through suffering. Thought feeling sequence of revenge, dominance or victimization create pattern of attachment, which take over behavior... perhaps lying dormant until same new provocation occurs.

‘The Buddha used two kinds of concepts in identify in causal processes, and mentions conflict and violence as a result each. They are the “*akusala-mula*” and the “*paticcasamuppada*”. The “*akusala-mula*” is *lobha*(greed), *dosa*(hate), and *moha*(delusion), we can note the broad psychological dynamics of a conflict. The “*paticcasamuppada*” cycle consists of a cycle of stages tracing the changes by which “spiritual ignorance” leads to attachment’.<sup>38</sup> Gandhi gave importance to the spirituality to solve the problem. He raised the highest level of spirituality to merge his own interest in opponent's one, although he claimed that he haven't reached highest level of spirituality. Buddha gave the theoretical concept of conflict resolution and Gandhi practice it with the help of honesty, toughness, and morality. Conflict produces thoughts of greed for the things at issue in the dispute, ill will towards the other side, and a distorted understanding of self and others. Right thought is care with each thought that arises so that these are not indulged but give way to detached

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<sup>37</sup> McConnell John, “The Realism of Applying Dhamma to Situations of conflict” in *Socially Engaged Buddhism for the New Millennium: Essays in honour of the Ven. Phra Dhammapitaka on his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary* (Bangkok: Sathisakoses–Nagapradipa Foundation and Foundation for Children, 1999), p.317.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.



awareness of need, to a friendly attitude, and clear understanding of what all conflictants think. It (conflict) produces all kinds of harsh, hurtful speech. Right speech is the saying of what needs to be said in ways that do not cause unnecessary bad feelings.

As the Prime-Minister Jawaharlal Nehru reflected upon Gandhian experiments in which he himself had played so great a part, he saw in them a new dynamic that Gandhi brought into political and social field:

“That dynamic largely justified itself in India, in spite of the weakness and failings of many who call themselves his followers. Do not pretend to understand fully the significance of that technique of action, in which I myself took part. But feel more and more convinced that it offers us some key to understanding and to the proper resolution of conflict, we see conflict all round us in the world. That is perhaps not surprising. But what is surprising is that the methods adopted to end that conflict have almost always failed miserably and produced grater conflict and more difficult problems. In spite of this patent fact, we pursue the old methods blindly and do not even learn from our experiences”.<sup>39</sup>

I strongly believe that especially in bilateral negotiations heart is more important than mind because mind generally depends on the intellectual argument to convince the opponent whereas in case of heart, it struck directly heart of an opponent, which gives rise to emotion. Some critics can say that it is emotional blackmail or violent coercion to convert an opponent. But I feel it is their way to thinking. Let them think in according to their own way. But we have not only to think but also to act it. Heart and mind has interrelatedness. But it becomes a personal matter to believe which is strongest than other. That’s why I believe in heart because I think mind controlled by heart, not the heart controlled by mind. Those who thinks that mind is the supreme element in dealing the relationship, for them intellectual argument matters lot, in case of those who believe that heart matter more than anything else in the world. For them to convince an opponent with the help of spirituality. But before to convince an opponent we have to believe and raises the highest level of spirituality, according one’s own way. Only purity of heart brings spirituality to achieve that purity, we have to be honest, open, patience, integrity of the character and good qualities. That’s the function of ethics. And in the most

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<sup>39</sup> Bondurant John V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.x.

dangerous part of human history where two world wars took place. Despite that Gandhi proved that ethics could be used to solve the problem. Real test of man lies in the difficult time. Once Vinoba Bhave said, 'virtue lies in taking up only an impossible program'.<sup>40</sup>

Before turning to the difference between constructive and destructive negotiations, I would like to add:

"Truthfulness is the master key. Do not lie under any circumstances whatsoever, keep nothing secret, take your teachers and your elders into your confidence and make a clean breast of everything to them...Bear ill will to none, do not say an evil thing of anyone behind his back above all "to thine own self be true", so that you are false to no one else. Truthful dealing even in the least, little things of life is the only secret of a pure life'.<sup>41</sup> 'The Buddha's power is still living that energy that spirituality is still living round the world. It is coming from inside not from outside. When we come to *samadhi* the Buddha's spirituality also comes to us. We cannot divide the enlightened mind as Christian, Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist... it is the same. The labels are not important. We cannot divide pure water. Is it Muslim water, or Christian water, or Buddhist water? The labels are unimportant. It is just pure".<sup>42</sup>

Gandhi believed that change the heart of an opponent ideologically for permanent victory over him, and if possible bring opponent according to your own way of thinking. That's only possible when we take chances to convert him ideologically. 'When a new ideology is inculcated in an adult, it is likely to be colored by the individual's pre-existing affective posture, which in its turn may eventually undergo some metamorphosis under the impact of the new ideology. The interaction between ideological change and affect development within a person is thus a two-way operation (bilateral negotiations). Owing to the relative slowness of change in affective postures, however, it will take the time for the ideological and emotional aspects of the individual's personality to become congruent. For some adults, exposure to new ideology totally alien to their previous affect socialization is so

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<sup>40</sup> Weber Thomas, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shantisena and Unarmed Peacekeeping* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p.v.

<sup>41</sup> *Young India*, 25 December 1925.

<sup>42</sup> McConnell John, "The Realism of Applying Dhamma to Situations of Conflict" in *Socially Engaged Buddhism for the New Millennium: Essays in honor of the Ven Phra Dhammapitaka on his 60th birthday anniversary* (Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation and Foundation for Children, 1999), p.329.

disruptive that they may not be able to achieve any harmony at all between their persistent affective postures and their newly acquired ideologies'.<sup>43</sup> 'Discontinuities between perception, cognition, affect and action are the rule and not the exception. They are a source not only of stress and strain, but of development...It is just because there is relative independence of perception, ideology, affect and action that human beings can be influenced to change'.<sup>44</sup>

That's why to understand opponent fully we have to know the all aspects of bilateral negotiations like psychological, scientific, cultural, historical and so on. As far cultural aspects is concerned, we have to keep in mind that where, when our an opponent (friend) born and brought up, and studied, in which types of ideological family he born because, if we turn to biological aspects father's genes can play a crucial role in developing personality. I don't want to go into detail of biological aspect. That's why if any person wants to become good negotiator he has to be generalist, not only specialist in negotiations only.

The purpose of negotiation at the individual level, especially when two individual persons negotiate to struck the deal, deadlock or extension of negotiation rounds to reach the common agreement which gives both parties satisfaction, in a constructive way. Fred C. Ikle has written that whatever, 'the context or the substantive issue, two elements must normally be present for negotiation to takes place, there must be both common interests and issues of conflict. Without common interests there is nothing to negotiate for, without conflict there is nothing to negotiate about'.<sup>45</sup> Fred Ikle says that conflict is one of the essential element to negotiate, but I agree with him on the aspect of common interest to negotiate, my argument is when we negotiate at the individual levels with our friends, teachers, father or in society, it is not necessary that conflict must be there. When the child takes place birth, he/she negotiates with his/her mother by body language asking her to fulfill his/her demands.

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<sup>43</sup> Tsusami Kazuko, *Social Change and the Individual* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), p.36.

<sup>44</sup> Tomkins S Silvan, *Affect, Imagery Consciousness: The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer, 1963), Vol.2, p. 303.

<sup>45</sup> Graig G A, and Alexander C George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic problems of our time* (New York: OUP, 1985), p.164.

According to Professor Lassesse, 'children are persistent, they are innocent observers, they are uninhibited, they know what they want, they know when to ask, they make clear demands, they are creative and (perhaps most menacingly) they 'play parents' off against one another'.<sup>46</sup> If that is the case, according to Fred C. Ikle, conflict is one aspect of the negotiation; my question is where is the conflicting element between mother and child?

But I agree with Ikle at the diplomatic level, both aspect conflict and cooperation always present there to reach some agreement, but certainly not at individuals level. Thomas Schelling has explained why most conflicts are essentially bargaining situations. 'They are situations in which the ability of one participant to gain his end is dependent to an important degree on the choices or decisions that the other participant will make'.<sup>47</sup> 'If we exclude those conflicts in which there is no common interest whatsoever between the antagonists, we shall find that most conflict are a mixture of competition and co-operation'.<sup>48</sup>

#### **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATION:**

Negotiation is an instrument to serve the people, the ultimate aim of constructive negotiation, whereas destructive negotiation is concerned; it aims at only very short-term goal, personal interest or maximum the interest of one particular nation, which is harmful for the civil society of the world.

This is the continuous debate in international relation about realism v/s idealism. Constructive negotiation is based on idealism. Destructive negotiation is based on realism. 'Even if realists err less frequently than their competitors, that is not a strong, let alone a persuasive, reason for using realism to analysis any particular

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<sup>46</sup> Sunshine Russell B, *Negotiating for International Development: A Practitioner's Handbook* (Dortrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990), p.151.

<sup>47</sup> Schelling Thomas C, *The Strategy of Conflict* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.5.

<sup>48</sup> Rangarajan, L N, *The Limitation of conflict: A Theory of Bargaining and Negotiation* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p.6.

issue. And it is not good reason at all to be a realist'.<sup>49</sup> According Tomkins, 'by an "ideo-affective-posture" a loosely organized set of feelings and ideas about feelings. Ideologies, he maintains, tend to polarize into opposing principles, such as idealism v/s realism in epistemology and humanistic v/s normative orientation in social theory. His first hypothesis states that those who hold positive ideo-affective postures are inclined toward idealistic (or humanistic) ideologies, whereas those who hold negative ideo-affective postures tend to sympathize with realistic (or normative) ideologies'.<sup>50</sup> This hypothesis not only applies personal levels, but to nations also. That's why India's foreign policy was based on idealistic view during Nehru's period, because our leaders always think not only our nation but also the whole world and humanity. 'For material and normative reasons, therefore, it seems the time is ripe to reconsider the normative principles upon which politics is organized'.<sup>51</sup> Because of this, we have to rise above all differences for the sake of humanity, and concentrate only on constructive negotiation because negotiation is the only process which can solve the problems of the world. I personally feel there should be blending of both theories—idealism and realism, but still my inclination towards idealism. Chief Executive Officer of the combined firm of H-P (Hewlett-Packard) and Compaq---one of the Computer giant, Carly Fiorina says that 'Success requires.... clear idealism and pragmatism, I mean, you can't be sentimental about it'.<sup>52</sup>

And it is the Kant who recognized that 'political thought should not be split between political theory (speculation about relations between citizens and their state) and international theory, including theory of negotiation (speculation about relation between states), but should also incorporate what we might call "Cosmopolitical theory", (speculation about relations between humans irrespective of state borders). It

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<sup>49</sup> Donnelly Jack, "Beyond Realism and its Critics: The Decline of Structural neo-realism and Opportunities for Constructive Engagement" in Lawson (ed), *The New Agenda for International Relations* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell publishers Ltd, 2002), p.125.

<sup>50</sup> Tsusumi Kazuko, *Social Change and the Individual* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), p.29.

<sup>51</sup> Devetak Richard, "Sign of a New Enlightenment and Concept of Community and Humanity after the Cold War" in Stephanie Lawson (ed), *The New Agenda for International Relations* (Cambridge: Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002), p.170.

<sup>52</sup> Lashinsky Adam, "Now for the Hard Part" in Special Issue of *Fortune*, (New York: Time Inc Publication, Until November 18, 2002 /No.22) Vol. 146, no.9, p.73.

is from this Kant that the most interesting developments in recent international theory have developed'.<sup>53</sup> 'Fairer and more complex mediations of universality and argues Linklater, differences can be only developed, by transcending the "destructive fusion" achieved by the modern state and promoting wider communities of dialogue'.<sup>54</sup> 'Whereas Kant puts the generalizability of principles and norms to the test in an imaginary dialogue, real speaking and listening, debating and deliberating human beings. This is, to be sure, a distinctly political, rather than epistemological, approach to deciding questions of governance'.<sup>55</sup>

As far as negotiation and conflict is concerned, there are two sides of it. One is constructive, and other is destructive. 'A conflict can be termed "destructive" when the participants in it are dissatisfied with the outcomes and they feel they have lost as a result of the conflict. It is "productive" if the participants are satisfied with their outcomes and feel that they have gained as a result of conflict'.<sup>56</sup> Deutsch, in his work on the differences between constructive and destructive processes in the resolution of conflict, summarized the position as follows:

"If one wants to create the conditions for a destructive process of conflict resolution, one would introduce into the conflict typical characteristics and effects of a competitive process: poor communication; coercive tactics; suspicion; the perception of basic differences in values; an orientation to increasing the power differences; challenges to the legitimacy of the parties and so forth. On the other hand, if one want to create the conditions for a constructive process of conflict resolution, one would introduce into the conflict the typical effects of co-operative process: good communication; the perception of similarity in beliefs and values; full acceptance of another's legitimacy; problem-centered negotiations; mutual trust and confidence; information sharing and so forth".<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Devetak Richard, "Sign of a New Enlightenment and Concept of Community and Humanity after the Cold War" in Stephanie Lawson (ed), *The New Agenda for International Relations* (Cambridge: Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002), p.170-171.

<sup>54</sup> Linklater Andrew, *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundation of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), pp.60 & 74.

<sup>55</sup> "Why fight? Humanitarianism, Principles and Post-Structuralism", *Millennium*, 27(3), 1998, p.520.

<sup>56</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.23.

<sup>57</sup> Deutsch Morton, "A Theoretical Perspective in Conflict and Conflict Resolution", in Dennis J.D. Sandole, and Ingrid Sandole-Stratose (ed), *Conflict Management and Problem Solving: Interpersonal to International Applications* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), pp.38-49.

When Deutsch talks about the constructive process of negotiation, he says that the perception of similarity in beliefs and values, that means Gandhian tolerance is important because we can see the opponent's perception towards conflict and negotiation process, according to his own perception. Don't force your perception on the others. Allow the opponent (friend) to see the conflict according his own way. This leads to build trust between two parties. Tolerance is one of an element of Gandhian ethics. 'Understanding of the opponent's point of view was always emphasized in Gandhi's campaigns. Actually he meant more than a mere intellectual grasp of the ideology of the adversary, he meant what we might call "empathy", to understand and feel the conflict situation as the adversary does. It seems that this served the double function of using the adversary as a mirror with which one can learn and of increasing the capacity for prediction by understanding fully the motives (also the merit able one) of the adversary. A third functions sometimes mentioned by Gandhi seems to be that of helping the opponent to greater clarity about his own position, this implementing the ideology that opposition in meaning is a kind of division of labor where everyone represent a part of the Truth and there may be synthesis on a higher level'<sup>58</sup>. 'Tying in with the foregoing point comes the already mentioned norm of fighting the antagonism, not the antagonist. This norm has many facets, one of which is an expression of Gandhi's insight into what frequently happens in the earlier phases of group conflict. The conflict is no longer seen in terms of conflicting values & issues, but the person behind the values are seen as the real causes of the conflict. The disagreement with the value is correspondingly transformed to a depreciation of the person'<sup>59</sup>. One another major differences of purpose of these two, individuals negotiation and diplomatic negotiation, former is interested in solving the conflict at the permanent level whereas in case of latter is interested only managing the crisis or engaging other party into constant negotiation because doing this act they can continuously strengthen their ties against their common enemy in international politics.

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<sup>58</sup> Galtung Johan, *Peace, War, and Defence: Essays in Peace Research* (Copenhegan: Christian Ejlars, 1976), Vol.2, p. 319.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Dean Pruitt also notes several possible outcomes to a negotiation in his article 'Creative Approaches to Negotiation'. 'Where an agreement is reached, the outcome may be the capitulation of one of the parties, or, more positively, the traditional outcome of a compromise, or, most positively, what he calls an "integrative" agreement. Compromises are reasonable, but not outstanding. Integrative agreements, on the other hand, resolve party's interests so that both parties are satisfied. They reconcile the strongest interests of the parties, are more lasting than compromises and strengthen relationship as well as improve the chances of finding subsequent integrative agreements'<sup>60</sup>. Nevertheless, if we look at popular negotiation manuals we find many propositions that are backed up by empirical research and Gandhian favored statements. For example 'you look for mutual gains wherever possible, and where your interests conflict, you should insist that the result be based on some fair standards independent of the will of either side. The method of principles negotiation is hard on the merits, soft on the people. It employs no tricks and no posturing. Principled negotiation shows you how to obtain what you are entitled to and still be decent. It enables you to be fair while protecting you against those who would take advantage of your fairness'.<sup>61</sup> 'A satyagrahi bids good-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid of trusting his opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false "twenty" times, the satyagrahi is ready to trust him for the "twenty-first" time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed'.<sup>62</sup> 'Gandhi pointed out the importance not only of meeting the adversary but also of showing confidence in him'.<sup>63</sup> If you want to great achievement in politics and in negotiation, you have to be fool or scoundrel including shrewd, tactician; but I prefer foolness in politics because second category which contain shrewdness and tactics; 'You can be wrong in politics without being a fool or scoundrel', said Eric Hobsbaron, the eminent Marxist historian, who

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<sup>60</sup> Pruitt Dean G, "Creative Approaches to Negotiation", in Dennis J D. Sandole, & Ingrid Sandole-Stratose (ed), *Conflict Management & Problem-Solving: Interpersonal to International Application* (London: Frances Pinter Publisher, 1987), p. 62-76.

<sup>61</sup> Fisher Roger, and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (London: Arrow, 1987), p.xii.

<sup>62</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (Madras: G. Natesan, 1928), p.147.

<sup>63</sup> Galtung Johan, *Peace War and Defence: Essays in Peace Research* (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, 1976), vol.2, p.319.



described about politics in his coming autobiography which is expected to be published in August 2003'.<sup>64</sup> I personally don't like shrewdness in politics because you can't make the all people fool at the all time, but you make some people fool at the some time of being clever. But being the fool you can make the all people fool all the time.

'And separating the people from the problem allows you to deal directly and empathetically with the other negotiator as a human being thus, making possible an amicable agreement'.<sup>65</sup> 'The adoption of a win-win outlook, incorporating the need to prepare for the negotiation by planning, studying the situation, setting objectives, establishing priorities and plotting the course of action, concentrating on the negotiators needs and employing a problem- solving approach to ensure that they are met, considering sources of power and implementing appropriate tactics, endeavoring to communicate adroitly so that areas of common concerns are pinpointed, underlying intentions discovered, basic assumptions and understandings checked and misinterpretation minimized, demonstrating a willingness to co-operate and adopt by showing that win-win solution is sought and the desire for one conveyed, and finalizing agreements clearly so that they are definite enough to promote commitment and compliance'.<sup>66</sup> 'Stating one's position in terms of problems to be solved, rather than terms to be accepted, and remaining open to possible solutions that may present themselves in negotiation means that these cannot be commitment to a position that is most favorable to one's own interest. Further, providing the opponent with an accurate picture of one's needs precludes the tactic of preventing the opponent from learning in advance one's bottom line'.<sup>67</sup> If a negotiator concentrates on satisfying his counterpart's intangible needs, that would seem to be all for the better, and that needs lend themselves to a greater number of solutions than do positions.

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<sup>64</sup> *The Economist*, "Giving Account" in 'Section Books and Arts' (London: The Economist Newspaper Limited, September 21-27, 2002), Vol.364, no.8291, p.79.

<sup>65</sup> Fisher R, and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (London: Arrow, 1987), p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> Weiss-Wik Stephen, "Enhancing Negotiators Successfulness: Self-Help Books and Related Empirical Research", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1983, Vol.24, no.4, pp.715-716.

<sup>67</sup> Pruitt Dean G, "Methods of Resolving Differences of Interest: A Theoretical Analysis", *Journal of Social Science*, 1972, 28(1), p.141.

## CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATION:

'Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, political, social and religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all'.<sup>68</sup> 'Gandhi's belief in conscience led him to respect the conscience of those who disregard with him. In the days of negotiation that finally led to the partition of India, he wrote to Wavell citing Wordsworth's Happy warrior and urging him, "to dare to do the right".<sup>69</sup>

Negotiation is an element of all activities of human beings—political, social and religious. It aims to solve the problems or conflict for the betterment of human beings, that's why man's ultimate aim is serve the people, and constructive negotiation is the only way to do that. God & man have the similarities in objective--reduce the suffering of all human beings. It is a theory of cosmic law that if both sides have the common objectives or interests, has to come together. That is my attempt to bring these two sides— one is Gandhian thinking and other is negotiation's objectives altogether. But the Gandhian method put the stress on means, because it justifies ends. If your way were pure to reach particular objective, it would be permanent peace. If your means is not pure to achieve objectives, although if you achieved it in short-term, it will be not long lasting. Therefore, we have to keep in mind that when we deal with our opponent (friend), which tool we should have to use in negotiation process, and which should not. Negotiation is not the objective, but it is tool to solve the problems or strengthen the bond between (or among) the parties. Negotiation is a means, therefore, according to Gandhi, its elements should be pure to deal with opponent, not shrewdness, tactics, deceive and cheating, especially in bilateral negotiation:

"Point not the goal until you plot the course  
For ends and means to man are tangled so  
That different means quite different aims enforce  
Conceive the means as end in embryo".<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Gandhi M K, Collected Volumes, Vol.6, p.88.

<sup>69</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: OUP, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2000), p.124.

<sup>70</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of conflict* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.v.

‘Let every aspirant after a pure life taken from me that impure thought is often as powerful in undermining the body as an impure act. Purity is the only weapon of the weak in body’.<sup>71</sup> The negotiator who is in weak position in negotiation game, he can use it, but before he uses it, he has to achieve the spiritual strength, otherwise it could be dangerous. ‘Without the will and the purity the sacrifice is nothing worth’.<sup>72</sup> Due to this, I appeal the negotiator to achieve spiritual strength to change the will, attitude and heart to merge our interest in opponent’s interests.

To win over the intellectual argument, the only weapon remains in the armory of negotiation tactics is spirituality. Gandhi used this tool in bilateral negotiation to deal with Winston Churchill, who still considers the one of the genius in diplomacy and negotiation. Don’t consider spirituality a tactical weapon against an opponent. But to change the attitude of other side to see negotiation process differently means, it is an opportunity of moral and spiritual growth. ‘Put all your knowledge, learning and scholarship in one scale and truth and purity in the other and the latter will by far outweigh the other. Man’s destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to the rightful place’.<sup>73</sup>

As far as constructive negotiation is concerned, earlier, the sub-section of this chapter clearly differentiated between the constructive and destructive processes of negotiation. Constructive negotiation is an important instrument through that we can alleviate poverty, improve the standard of health especially in developing countries; education, and other developmental activities. Today we must wake up in our wisdom and take recourse to a more effective approach, which will be better than the two approaches that have failed:

- 1) Negotiations, and
- 2) Use of destructive weaponry

It is clear that political negotiations, treaties and the use of arms have never succeeded in creating a lasting state of world peace.

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<sup>71</sup> Sen N B (éd), *Wit and Wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: New Book Society of India, 1995), p.235.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.p.236.

What is the way out of this predicament? Maharishi says: "Only a new seed will yield a new crop". "Only a new philosophy and new effort based on new knowledge will fulfill the age-old dream of the wise for prevention of crime, terrorism, and wars, and maintenance of world peace on a permanent basis".<sup>74</sup>

It is obvious that world peace will be fragile if the element of relationship between nations is based on the man-made concepts of peace and harmony—negotiations to change the moods and whims of nations—as has been the case with the concept of United Nations. The knowledge and experience of total negotiation process, which is based on traditional concept of diplomacy, should be changed. And I think constructive negotiation is one of the instruments, which we can use it.

To define the constructive negotiation is not easy. Each individual can define, according to his/her convenience in particular circumstances, as I attempt to define it at the initial stages. But Deutsch is one who work lot on the constructive and destructive processes of conflict resolution:

"If one wants to create the conditions for a constructive process of conflict resolution, one would introduce into the conflict the typical effects of a cooperative process: good communication; the perception of similarity in beliefs and values; full acceptance of another's legitimacy; problem-centred negotiations; mutual trust and confidence; information sharing and so forth".<sup>75</sup>

According to my view, constructive negotiation is a process in which we have to use the good qualities of human nature to win over the opponent (friend) permanently, especially in bilateral way of negotiation. It is in which we have to use the good qualities of human beings like faith on human goodness, which gives you the hope for the solution of conflict. Truth which is fragment, through it we can see opponent's (friends) perception of particular conflict or negotiation (tolerance), non-violence—not to condemn, criticize, hate, abuse which could be build the trust between two parties, means and ends should be pure. When we deal with the conflict or conducting negotiation, don't use the shrewdness, tactics, shrewdness, or even

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<sup>74</sup> "Maharishi's Proposal for Permanent world Peace", *International Herald Tribune* (Bangkok: Bangkok edition, September 25, 2001), p.6.

<sup>75</sup> Deutsch Morton, "A Theoretical Perspective on Conflict and Conflict Resolution", in Dennis I.D. Sandole, and Ingrid Sandle-Stratose (ed), *Conflict Management and Problem-Solving: Interpersonal to International Applications* (London: Frances Pinter Publishers, 1987), p.38-49.

political craft, because your means justifies the ends (Solution of conflict). Fearlessness is one of the important an element of negotiation because when you deal with the opponent (friend) you don't have to see his/her powerful status. What your heart tells to you at the particular time. You have to go with it and it only comes through fearlessness.

When we bring these good human qualities into practice then we find the most effective bargaining was achieved when goals and orientations were formulated co-operatively. 'In a cooperative context a conflict is seen as a common problem in which the opponents "have the joint interest of reaching a mutually satisfactory solution". This process is likely to lead to a productive conflict resolution because it aids open and honest communication of relevant information between the participants "reducing misunderstanding" which can lead to confusion and mistrust, it tends to limit rather than expand the scope of the conflict by encouraging "the recognition of legitimacy of each others interests and of the necessity of searching for a solution which is responsive to the needs of each side", and it leads to a "trusting, friendly attitude" which increases sensitivity to similarities and common interests while minimizing the salience of differences'.<sup>76</sup> 'Whether a conflict takes a productive or a destructive course is thus open to influence even under the most unfavourable conditions'.<sup>77</sup> If this is correct then the onus is placed on each individual to ensure that rather than the conflict becoming a competitive encounter remains cooperative and thus maximizing the chances of a productive conflict resolution.

'In some cases the probability of reaching an agreement was lowered if bargainers began with the position they eventually expected to settle upon'.<sup>78</sup> This may be because extreme positions show that one will not allow oneself to be exploited. A study by Wilson and Bixenstine indicated that unjustified insult, unfair

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<sup>76</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.24.

<sup>77</sup> Deutsch Morton, "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive", *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, 25(1), p.9.

<sup>78</sup> Komorita S.S., & Arline R Brenner, "Bargaining and Concession-Making under Bilateral Monopoly", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1968, 9(1), pp. 15-20. (Also see Rubin Jeffrey Z, and Best R Brown, *The Social Psychology of Bargaining and Negotiation*, (New York: Academic Press, 1975), p. 268.

reduction of one party's outcomes by an opponent, or other behaviour posing a threat or damage to face usually resulted in retaliation and mutual loss rather than cooperative effort. This experiment indicates that when negotiators have been made to look foolish and weak before important audiences, they are likely to retaliate against those causing the humiliation. And this may occur despite the knowledge that doing so may require the sacrifice of or large portions of the available outcomes. 'Some negotiations collapse when one party becomes incensed at the other, and henceforth strives to maximize his opponent's displeasure rather than his own satisfaction'.<sup>79</sup> 'Whose demand are seen as excessive, giving into them may be viewed as tantamount to appeasement, and this may be seen as disadvantageous because appeasement would only encourage them to make even stronger demands'.<sup>80</sup> 'Good relationships make genuine agreements possible, whereas if the relationship is bad chances of agreement are missed through misunderstanding, energies are absorbed in useless belligerency, and dealings are distorted by attempts to retaliate for imagined past injustices and insults'.<sup>81</sup> This means being cautious about employing extremely tough strategies and avoiding the use of threats. 'Negotiators view the midpoint between their offers and demand as just, and strive to reach it, and consequently negotiations only proceed smoothly as long as there is collectivist desire for fairness. The reason negotiators do not zero in on the agreement they eventually expect to reach is because this may lead to exploitation by the opponent'.<sup>82</sup> Bartos, therefore, recommends that negotiators be scrupulously fair and avoid the temptation to take advantage of opponents, because a tough stance may result in larger early concessions but eventually opponents will discover that they are being treated unfairly and then become tough themselves, leading to deadlocks or breakdown in negotiations.

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<sup>79</sup> Siegel Sidney, & Lawrence E Fousaker, *Bargaining & Group Decision Making* (New York: McCraw-Hill, 1960), p.100.

<sup>80</sup> Tedeschi James T, and Paul Roenfeld, "Communication in Negotiation and Bargaining", in Michael E Roloff, and Gerald R Miller (ed), *Persuasion: New Direction in Theory and Research* (Beverly Hills CA: Sage, 1980), p.241.

<sup>81</sup> Diesing Paul, "Bargaining Strategy and Union-Management Relationships", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1961, 5(4), p. 369.

<sup>82</sup> Bartos, Otomar J., "Simple Model of Negotiation: A Sociological Point of View", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1977, 21(4), pp.565-579.

When pressure tactics are employed in a negotiation, they are generally incompatible with the aim of persuading the adversary to make concessions; and such tactics actually subverts the aim of a constructive negotiation. Further, while tactics that center on bluffing and deceitful statements may be successful in the short term and in one-off bargaining sequences, 'they are likely to backfire in the long run and across a series of bargaining sessions because of the distrust that is generated once one learns that a player continually bluffs and misrepresents his or her hand in a poker game, those tactics lose their effectiveness'.<sup>83</sup> That's why sincerity and trust is important to reach common deal or an agreement between two parties. It comes when you give indication that you are not going to deceive, bluff or cheat in bilateral negotiation. Gandhi used these two qualities in his negotiation or in method of resolving conflicts. During the second World War, when British were in trouble, that time many Indian people tried that Gandhi should have use this opportunity and pressurize British to leave India, but Gandhi was totally against it because he was planning to build the trust among the British people to negotiating India's case strongly and moreover, it was morally not good to pressurize opponent. Negotiators who know their opponent's bargaining range conceded more than uniformed ones because their norms of fairness came into play and restrained their demands, so as not to exploit an advantage. 'Negotiators will conduct themselves in ways consistent with their values and ethical standards of behaviour, and that pointing out that a certain course of action will allow the opponent to act in accordance with a higher code of conduct is a powerful negotiating tool'.<sup>84</sup> 'The best strategy to use in order to got another party (and this can refer to anyone from individuals to nations) to cooperate rather than to try to win an advantage, claims that there is a remarkable convergence of findings. It appears that "a policy of unconditional cooperation tends to bring exploitation" by an adversary whereas a policy of consistent coerciveness tends to

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<sup>83</sup> Tedeschi James T, & Paul Rosenfeld, "Communication in Negotiation and Bargaining", in Michael E Roloff, and Gerlad R Miller (ed), *Persuasion: New Direction in Theory and Research* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), p.232.

<sup>84</sup> Lewicki R J, Joseph A Litterer, John W Minton, and David M Saunders, *Negotiation* (Chicago: Irwin, 1994), p. 209.

lead to a fight'.<sup>85</sup> However it seems that a strategy that begins with firmness, including a threat, coercion, and then moves to conciliation, will be effective in securing cooperation from opponents.

Studies in the negotiation literature found that those who employed pacifist strategies that are those by ethically motivated cooperators who rejected violence and coercion and instead aimed for conversion in bargaining were not successful. For example 'although pacifists tried to get their opponents to see the unfairness of their claims and the immorality of their actions, and tried to establish their own personal resolve and give assurance that all their actions were in good faith, a favorable image of the pacifist was not enough for an effective appeal. Dominators did not become cooperators because of the pacifist tactics, and such tactics could even invite exploitation and aggression'.<sup>86</sup> And similarly, found that a 'turn the other cheek strategy was not successful in eliciting cooperation it was in fact more likely to be exploited'.<sup>87</sup> This, at first glance, seems to go against strategy that one could consider Gandhian. But Gandhian strategy is backed up by Reychler who found that 'a pacifist strategy tend to be most effective in reducing violence and exploitative behaviour when the human distance between the opponents and subject is small, the subject is well informed of pacifist strategy, the subject is required to justify his or her behaviour after the fact and when a third party is present. Pacifist strategies, and this is the key aim of Gandhian model, force an opponent to choose between "morality and self-interest" and the strongest predictor of the effectiveness of the pacifist strategy is the image of the pacifist held by the subject'.<sup>88</sup> 'A negotiator's reputation plays a critical role in how persuasive he/she will be: those with better reputations will

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<sup>85</sup> Patchen Martin, "Strategies for Eliciting Cooperation from an Adversary: Laboratory and International Findings", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1987, 31(1), p.182.

<sup>86</sup> Shure Gerald H, Robert J Meeker, & Earle A Hansford, "The Effectiveness of Pacifist Strategies in Bargaining Games", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1965, 9(1), pp. 106-117.

<sup>87</sup> Deutsch, Morton, Yakov Epstein, Donah Canavan and Peter Gumpert, "Strategies of Inducing Cooperation: An Experimental Study", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 11(3), 1967, pp.345-360.

<sup>88</sup> Reychler Luc, "The Effectiveness of a Pacifist Strategy in Conflict Resolution: An Experimental Study", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1979, 23(2), p.257.



be more persuasive, especially in the long term, they add that being nice and pleasant is a logical step in being more persuasive'.<sup>89</sup>

Rapoport in an old but still useful, classifies disputes in terms of fights (attempted mutual coercion, where the object is to harm the enemy), games (where the object is to outwit the competitor) or debates (where the object is to convert the potential ally, to come to "win-win" solution, in short to resolve conflict). This classification ranks conflicts in order of increasing resolution potential and with an increasing level of humanity of the conflicting parties. Debates can involve the assistance of third parties or they can be based in face-to-face negotiation. 'For a debate, the opponent must be heard and understood, and they must know that they have been heard, the areas of validity in the opponent's stand must be delineated, and an assumption of similarity showed be induced'.<sup>90</sup> 'The best method of doing this is to state the opponent's case back to them, for "to make a dent in the opponent's armor", you must make him listen, and something he is sure to listen'.<sup>91</sup>

This means that opponents should not be threatened, and a relationship of trust and mutual responsiveness should be built up. It is easier to move from cooperation to competition than from competition to cooperation, so trust needs to be built early in the relationship. This is particularly important because approaches to trust can create self-fulfilling prophecies. Trust building can be done by showing a positive interest in the opponent's welfare and demonstrating a readiness to respond helpfully to their needs and requests. Of course, "trust" can be exploited, but too often conflicts are conducted on the assumption that if parties are not sufficiently tough they will be exploited. There is risk, but the risk is less than the risk of the loss of a mutually acceptable resolution that would result from the use of pressure tactics. To create the trust in the opponent's mind is one of the important characteristics of Gandhian technique of negotiation.

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<sup>89</sup> Lewicki J Roy, Joseph A Litterer, John W Minton, & David M Saunders, *Negotiation* (Chicago: Irwin, 1994), p.217.

<sup>90</sup> Rapoport Anatol, *Fights, Game and Debates* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1960), pp.286-287.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* p.291.

Finally, the best-known work to propose adoption of the “win-win” approach was “Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In” by Roger Fisher, William Ury, & Bruce Patton (editor), with the Harvard University Negotiation Project is basically founded on the Gandhian technique of negotiation which talks about the “win-win” solution of the any problem. As a “win-win” alternative, Fisher and Ury recommended “principled-bargaining”. This approach, tested on four guidelines.

- 1) ‘Separating “people problems” (i.e. differences between negotiators) from substantive problems (issues) and trying to focus mutual energies on the latter.
- 2) Focusing on underlying interests, not positions.
- 3) Investing mutually satisfying options, and
- 4) Insisting on objective criteria, including “fair standards” like precedent or community practice’.<sup>92</sup>

This old technique seems new, only possible with the help of “Satyagraha”. I think, Gandhian ethics is give stress on the mutually acceptable agreements, sees an opponent’s interests, and if possible merge our interest into opponents. Without searching for Truth, it is impossible to use this technique; therefore to study “Satyagraha” unconditionally becomes necessity.

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<sup>92</sup> Sunshine Russell B, *Negotiating for International Development: A Practitioner’s Handbook*, (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990), p.37.

## **Chapter III**

## CHAPTER III

### SATYAGRAHI—THE GANDHIAN WAY TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATION

'I do not believe that an *individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer*. I believe in *Advaita* (Monism or non-dualism). I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter all that lives. Therefore, I believe that if one man gains spiritually the whole world gains with him and, if one fails, the whole world fails to that extent'.<sup>1</sup>

--M.K. Gandhi

'The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence tests is that what holds good in respect of oneself equally applies to the whole universe. All mankind in essence is alike. What is therefore possible for me, is possible for everybody'.<sup>2</sup>

--M.K. Gandhi

'If you haven't the strength to improve your terms upon life, you must accept the terms it offers you'.<sup>3</sup>

--T.S. Eliot  
*The Confidential Clerk*

'I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress'.<sup>4</sup>

--M.K. Gandhi

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<sup>1</sup> *Young India*, 4 December 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *Harijan*, 29 April 1939.

<sup>3</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.107.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108.

‘A little individual initiative can make the difference between victory and defeat’.<sup>5</sup>

‘Be careful in dealing with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasures, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes is right. He is dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body which you can always conquer gives you so little purchase over his “soul”. His appeal to his conscience derives value from his appeal to ours’.<sup>6</sup>

– *Gilbert Murry has written about Gandhi*

Ethics is a branch of philosophy, which deals with the morals of fundamental human nature. ‘In so far as human beings exist, so philosophizing occurs in a certain form’.<sup>7</sup> Each and every individual has the right to decide what is right and what is not. Because no person has the final authority of morality, no even God. And God is Truth. Truth may differ. But, according to Gandhi, Truth is God. There lies individualism (Satyagrahi). Each individual has the right to see the Truth according his/her own consciousness, *heart*. Therefore, any individual don’t have any right to say that I am right that’s why you should follow me or accept whatever I am saying. Human being can’t find the final truth, it does not mean we should stop searching Truth, that’s why we don’t have moral authority to say follow me or accept my ideology. On this basis, Gandhi rejected the idea of coercion in negotiation. Truth is fragment or relative, that’s Godlike people also don’t know the Absolute Truth. Only the individual person can judge the relative truth for himself/herself. King Ram was not God but he was an individual man who reaches the level of God because of his good qualities, which he applied in practical life. Therefore, He symbolizes God. This is the role of the ethics to implement the good qualities into practical life. Therefore, we recognize Him as God. God can negotiate with devil as well as God (other Godlike individual).

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<sup>5</sup> Picco Giandomenico, “Balancing Bureaucracy & the Individual: Institutional Reform and Peace Operations” in *Journal of International Affairs* (New York: Columbia University), Spring 2002, Vol.55, no.2, p.237.

<sup>6</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: OUP, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2000), p.126.

<sup>7</sup> Hodge Joanna, *Heidegger & Ethics* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.1.

‘Devotion to truth is the sole reason for human existence, and the truth alone really sustains us at all times. Without truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life’.<sup>8</sup> The main function of ethics is behaves according to individual’s morality throughout the human life with the help of good qualities like *honesty, righteousness, compassion, tolerance and others*, to reach the divine life. It (ethics) has to conduct the right norms of human nature. It shapes to life. This is an instrument, which we can use to find Truth, which is the final destiny of man. ‘Truth is that which you believe to be true at the particular moment, and that is your God’.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, I think, believing your heart, firm on your stand is your Truth. ‘Can speak from experience his innermost conviction that he is not this body but *Atman* (soul) and that he may use the body only with a view to expressing *Atman*, only with a view to self-realization. And from that experience he evolves the ethics of subduing desires, anger, ignorance, malice, and other passions’.<sup>10</sup> Ethics is a branch of human principles and rules of human life. The aim of ethics is to give one reflective understanding of how one can achieve happiness by living an ethical life within society. When we serve the people then only we feel satisfactory:

“Man’s ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, political, social and religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all”.<sup>11</sup>

Kant claims that an ordinary view of morality would have it that moral experience is essentially the experience of obligation. There are clearly occasions, he notes, when our own and others interests would be greatly damaged were we to do what is morally required, and when no gain in satisfaction, happiness, well being or flourishing can be imagined a consequence of the act, yet we understand that we are

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<sup>8</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.157.

<sup>9</sup> *Young India*, 22 December 1921, CWMG, vol. 22: 63-64. (CWMG–Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.)

<sup>10</sup> Borman William, *Gandhi and Non-Violence* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), p.8.

<sup>11</sup> CWMG, Vol.6, p.88.

obliged anyway, unconditionally. We also reserve our highest approval for agents who do what is required just because it is required, who act “from duty alone”. While everyone without exception seeks happiness, reason cannot determine the content of any material end the achievement of which would constitute happiness for everyone, an end that would then always be rational for all humans to seek. If we look deeper, we see that the Kantian Center is occupied by a commitment to a fundamental value to which everyone is unavoidably committed. ‘This value is variously expressed “humanity as an end in itself”, rational agency, autonomy, the capacity to set ends rationally, and freedom’.<sup>12</sup> Kant does say in *Lecturers on Ethics* ‘Freedom is therefore the inner value of the world, and revisionists have often been fond of the humanity as an end in itself formulation of the categorical imperative’.<sup>13</sup>

Freedom is the essence of ethics that is why being ethical, it is very difficult for the government official to negotiate with the opponent in bilateral or multilateral negotiation because they are guided and controlled by particular countries national interests. But it is easy for them who negotiate outside the government to solve the conflict because they can enjoy the freedom, and therefore actors in many non-governmental organizations negotiate at the different levels to solve the social, political and economic conflicts because nobody can restrict them, control them, not guided by personal gains nor by national interest. They are guided by their “Consciousness and heart”. Their aim is to serve the humanity, not the particular countries national interest. The countries national interest is not always necessary the interest of the people. Classic examples, Baba Amte and Anna Hazare, both are from Maharashtra, contributing their best to serve the people. ‘Any person who does not believe in the morality or immorality of action is ready to commit any number of unwholesome actions without compunction. In any society, morality and ethical principles are necessary to regulate people’s lives. Without this voluntary self-regulation and self-control people become immoral and eventually even amoral. All

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<sup>12</sup> Pippin Robert B, “A Mandatory Reading of Kant’s Ethics?” in *The Philosophical Quarterly* (Oxford: Published by Blackwell Publishers, July2001), Vol.51, no.204, p.387.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 389.

society suffers as a result of a decline in moral behaviour'.<sup>14</sup> Negotiation is no exception for this:

“All religion is a powerful tool, if handled and used correctly it can exert a beneficial influence on people’s lives and in society. This is true of Buddhism, too. It is important for all of us to understand that the Buddha-Dhamma is not something to be worshipped or intellectualized, nor is it a matter for philosophical speculation and debate. It is for more useful and practical as it is not merely a set of religious values and ideals but a way of life that can be and ought to be practiced in our daily lives, if its benefits are to be fully experienced”.<sup>15</sup>

### GANDHIAN ETHICS:

Ethics can generally be defined as the realization of the need to justify one’s life and the decision to be ethical entails the choice of a particular value: ‘the sense of satisfaction derived from knowing that one may judge his own life as he would judge another’s and find it good’.<sup>16</sup> This requires some critical self-analysis and for Gandhi the quest for truth largely depended upon the truth about the self. When Gandhi claimed that an individual’s *‘highest duty in life is to serve mankind and take his share in bettering its condition’*, he added that this could not be done unless one understands and respects the self. True morality, that is, life based on following ethical rules, then, for Gandhi, consists not in conformity but in discovering the subjectively true path and in fearlessly following it.

Although Gandhi placed the individual at the center of his moral thought as a free acting being, he strongly stressed that the nature of human was one of cooperation rather than individualism. In order to fulfill their nature the individual had to exercise their individualism for the good of all, and this includes working towards the reformation and reorientation of society to enable greater scope for the self-realization of all individuals:

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<sup>14</sup> Bhikkhu Rewata Dhamma, “The Human and Environmental Crisis: A Buddhist Perspective” in *Socially Engaged Buddhism for the Next Millennium: Essays in honor of the Ven Phsa Dhammapitika (Bhikkhu P.A. Payutto) on his 60<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary* (Bangkok: Sathisakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, and Foundation for Children, 12 May 2542(1999)), p.494.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.p.496.

<sup>16</sup> Gandhi M K, *Ethical Religion in the Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Narayan ed) (Ahemadabad: Navjivan, 1968), Vol.4, p.5.



“I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer. I believe in *advaita* (Monism or non-dualism). I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter all that lives. Therefore I believe that if one gains spiritually the whole world gains with him and, if one man fails the whole world fails to that extent”.<sup>17</sup>

This belief in the possibility of changing and perfecting the self, a possibility open equally to all, means that for him the choice of an individual is a choice for mankind because the self and mankind are ultimately one. Gandhi’s approach to conflict is, therefore, a major part of the quest for self-realization, because:

- 1) ‘Self-realization presupposes a search for truth.
- 2) In the last analysis humankind (or even all life) is one.
- 3) Himsa against oneself makes complete self-realization impossible.
- 4) Himsa against another is himsa against the self.
- 5) Himsa against another makes complete self-realization impossible’.<sup>18</sup>

Himsa in bilateral negotiation means not truthful to oneself. It means use the shrewdness, tactics, deceives the friend (opponent), dishonesty in negotiation for one’s own gain. Therefore those who want to use spirituality in bilateral negotiation must keep in mind, without good qualities of human being, it becomes highly impossible or dangerous to your own party. So, you must use honesty, co-operation, when you frame the objective of the negotiation, not for competition; but for co-operation, which create trust into opponent’s heart (friend). Once you able to find the place in opponent’s heart that leads slowly to complete victory over him:

“It is noble voluntarily to do what is good and right. The true sign of man’s nobility is the fact that, instead of being driven about like a cloud before the wind, he stands firm and can do, and in fact does, what he deems proper”.<sup>19</sup>

Gandhi wondered how this true morality that disregards loss or gain, life or death, and is ever ready to sacrifice the self for an ideal, could be practiced without the support of religion. He concluded that in order to survive the difficulties in this path such “the morality” had to be grounded in religion—it had to be a living creed

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<sup>17</sup> *Young India*, 4 December 1924.

<sup>18</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and the Nuclear Age* (Totowa NJ: Bedminister Press, 1965), p.29.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pp.8, 24, 32-33.

rather than a policy of experience. He included the non-orthodox religions in his definition by explaining that this in fact meant that 'morality should be observed as religion'.<sup>20</sup> The highest form of morality in Gandhi's ethical system is the practice of altruism defined by the sociologist Wilson as self-sacrificing behaviour performed for the benefit of others. The rewards for altruism/self-suffering are external to the extent that they aid the satisfactory resolution of conflicts, but even independent of these are subjective rewards. From the view of 'existentialist philosophy even selfless self-destruction may provide a dramatic avenue for self-affirmation. Gandhi was firmly convinced that to suffer wrongs was less degrading than to inflict them, and he felt that degradation was most complete when injustice provoked individuals to fight back with further injustice'.<sup>21</sup>

In the Gandhian analysis whether altruism is a function of sympathy and empathy or whether it occurs out of self-interest (even where the cost is self-destruction and the only benefit a prior enhanced self-image) is not important sympathy and empathy are tied to self-interest. The ability to feel them shows that one is near the truth, and one becomes nearer the truth by feeling them. The rewards may not be those usually sought for specified behaviour but Gandhi was adamant that "a man does some good deed...not...To win applause, but he does it because he must, it is man's purpose for existence, we are what we do".<sup>22</sup>

For Gandhi it was never enough that an individual merely avoided causing evil, they had actively promote good and actively prevent evil. The problems of the minority could never be overlooked; the individual was of great importance to be disregarded in favor of the abstract 'good of the many'. His philosophy diverges from the utilitarian principle of striving to maximize the happiness of the majority. Truth could not be measured by majority vote, therefore:

"A votary of ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula. He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal...The greatest good of all inevitably includes the good of the greatest

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.p.22.

<sup>21</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.136.

<sup>22</sup> *Harijan*, 1 June 1935.

number, and therefore, he and the Utilitarians will converge in many points in their career but these does come a time when they must part company, and even work in opposite directions”<sup>23</sup>.

He uses the World War I as an example:

“Judged by the standards of non-violence the late war was highly wrong. Judged by the utilitarian standard each party has justified it according to its idea of utility... Precisely on the same ground the anarchist justified his assassinations. But none of these act can possibly be justified on the greatest good of all principle’.<sup>24</sup> ‘Gandhi adds that the doctrine of utilitarianism ‘means in its nakedness that in order to achieve the supposed good of 51 percent the interest of 49% may be, or rather, should be sacrificed. It is a heartless doctrine and has done harm to humanity’.<sup>25</sup>

In conflict situations it can be difficult to remember to forsake possible satisfaction by the active prevention of evil to the opponent by working for the good of all parties. The question of why one should act in a moral way has occupied much time in the history of philosophical inquiry. Gandhi’s answer that happiness, religion, and wealth depends upon sincerity to the self, an absence of malice towards, and exploitation of others, and always acting “with a pure mind”, possibly does little to solve the dilemma. Others have attempted to close the debate with arguments reminiscent of Gandhi’s. Taylor, for example, claims that the ultimate moral aspiration is to be a warm hearted and loving human being, adding that it is the ultimate answer because no question of why can be asked concerning it without misunderstanding it... It invites one to be, he continues rather than commanding him to do, and yet it cannot fail to enable whatever one does. Perhaps this view is bad faith applied to problems too complex to be easily analyzed. It is, however, in understanding the basis of “Satyagraha”.

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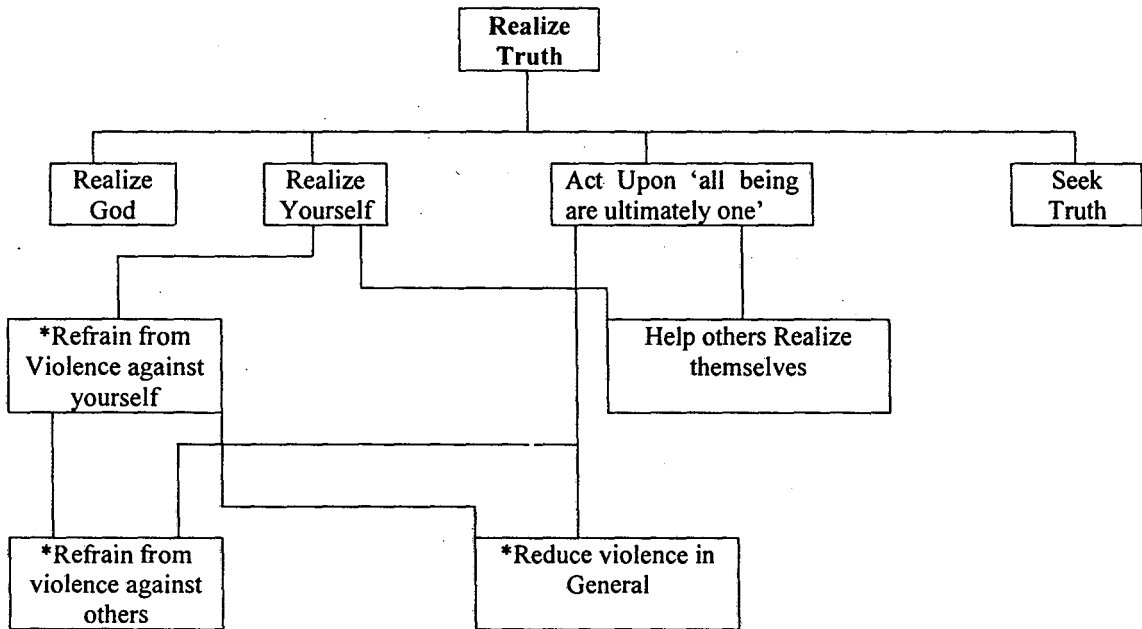
<sup>23</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: The Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.137.

<sup>24</sup> *Young India*, 9 December 1926.

<sup>25</sup> Desai M, *The Diary of Mahadev Desai* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1953), p.149.

**SPIRITUAL BASIS OF SATYAGRAHI:**

Once Vinoba Bhave said ‘all revolutions which take place, whether they are social or economic, have their roots in spiritual ideas. At first there is a change in spiritual values and later on social, political and economic values undergo change’.<sup>26</sup> According to me, without raising the level of ethics to spirituality, it becomes difficult to deal with the opponent (friend) especially in bilateral negotiations. Therefore, before going to bilateral negotiations theory, we have to look into the matter spirituality.



Source: Weber Thomas, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p.59.

\* Violence in bilateral negotiation means abuse an opponent (friend), criticize, condemn, hate, pressurized friend, or use the cheating, deceit, ditching, and shrewdness in negotiation process. Use good qualities in negotiations process.

<sup>26</sup> Tandon V (ed), *Selections from Vinoba* (Varanasi: Serva Seva Sangh, 1981), p.91.

Gandhi's ultimate aim in all his activities is spiritual realization. "Satyagraha" is the means by which he hoped ultimately to achieve that aim. By 'realization' Gandhi does not mean 'knowledge in the empirical or discursive sense'. His aim is to come into possession of this spiritual awareness or thought current as a vital and permanent experience, not as a piece of information. This realization and faith are specific to the individual, and so essentially incommunicable. This produces in physical, emotional and mental life a progressive substitution of Truth for untruth and of soul-force for brute-force. He says that such realization means essentially coming into a consciousness of reality, which transcends that consciousness given by the five senses and the mind. It is therefore indescribable.

Gandhi calls 'faith' a faculty or 'sixth sense', which can be progressively awakened into cognition of that reality by judicious training and purification. Gandhi sums up his conception as follows:

"This God whom we seek to realize is Truth or to put it another way Truth is God. This truth is not merely the truth we are expected to speak. It is that which alone is, which constitutes the stuff of which all things are made, which subsists by virtue of its own power, which is not supported by anything else but supports everything that exists. Truth alone is eternal, everything else is momentary, it need not assume shape or form. It is pure intelligence as well as pure bliss. We call it *Isvara* because everything is regulated by Its (His) will. It and the Law it promulgates are one. Therefore it is not blind Law. It governs the entire universe".<sup>27</sup>

This Truth to be realized is also the God and the power that is the Satyagrahi's soul-force. Soul-force originates in that power. Its attributes define points of contact and linkage needed to bring that reality into practical relation with material life. "Satyagrahi" denotes an experimental inquiry into the term of non-violent exact conduct for solving every conceivable problem of human relations, and Satyagraha thus constitutes a '*sadhana*' of karma, a means of spiritual realization through practical activity. To see God face-to-face we have to try to solve human problems with the help of good qualities through the bilateral way.

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<sup>27</sup> Borman William, *Gandhi and Non-Violence* (Albany: State University of New York, 1986), p.22. (Gandhi's quotation cited in Borman's book).

According to me, since spiritual Truth is all-inclusive, therefore its practical means should be universal and infallible. Thus an essential component of Gandhi's efforts for spiritual realization are the program to demonstrate that only the translation of non-violence to exact conduct and non-retaliation, as Satyagraha is capable of the universal application and perfect practical efficacy implied in the progressive realization of Truth. Gandhi asserts that inapplicability is always the result of ignorance of the actual application-conditions, and that faithful inspection of them and examination of oneself in terms of the ideals of Truth and Non-violence will invariably reveal the true conditions.

Gandhi claimed that these principles are not his original discovery. The most ancient and time-honored texts of all religions were based on the same laws. This effort merely constituted his mission to demonstrate their universal validity and thus to propagate their use:

"I believe that non-violence is a law not only for highly qualified spiritual participants, but even more so for the common man. 'Treat all as one's brother' could not be a command only for the specially qualified individual. Gandhi's probable answer to those who are pessimistic as to the utility of Satyagraha as a solver of conflicts as: "*Have you tried? I have, and it works*".<sup>28</sup>

The basic sources for Gandhi's investigations were the *Upanisads* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*. According to Gandhi, the *Upanisads* provide a compendium of spiritual knowledge and the *Gita* elaborates the means by which that knowledge may be gained through practical action and daily activity-negotiation is one process we come across daily. In these texts the distinction between the material and the spiritual translates as that of the ephemeral and the permanent or real. The *Upanisads* teach what constitutes the real, what constitutes the ephemeral and what is the relation between them.

Satyagraha is based on the *Upanisadic* analysis of reality as *atma-brahma*, which Gandhi translates as *Satya*, Truth. These are two aspects of Reality: atman (आत्मा), essential self-conscious reality, single but thought of as many from the point

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<sup>28</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and the Nuclear Age* (Totowa NJ: Bedminister Press, 1965), p.78.

of view of the individuals who comprise its external but non-separate parts, and Brahman, the 'large or full' all-inclusive reality of the Absolute, also self-conscious but rather of itself as the individual whole, the body composed of and the materials composing, all the externalized atman (phenomenal individuals).

The key to Gandhi's Satyagraha is the set of logical principles that he derives from this identity, and the categorical difference between Truth and reality thus realized and the finite truth and reality apprehended in empirical consciousness. The basic features of *Upanisadic* reality as Gandhi perceives them are as follows:

"The eternality of the Absolute corresponds to the immortality of the soul, their realization as such is not the result of any karma (action) since the infinite and eternal reality cannot be seen by means of a finite and ephemeral body. They are therefore beyond, good and evil, (which are attributes of action), unless those actions are being judged good or evil relatively to realization of *atma-brahma*".<sup>29</sup>

The *Upanisads* also analyze reality as Being (Sat), and not being (asat), and as Truth (Satyam) beyond these both. Gandhi considers Truth, (Satyam), to be the best designation of God or Reality. He finds *Sat* the designation most useful for aiding his own realization, so far as this relies on preparation of consciousness by serious thought. To Gandhi, *Satyam* comprehends all aspects of reality, i.e. spiritual, metaphysical, logical, psychological, scientific and ethical. Gandhi takes the *Upanisadic* formula, *yatha pinde tatha brahmande* (यथा पिंढे तथा ब्रह्मांडे), "as within, so without", "as the atom, so the universe", "as here, so there"—as the basic positive formula of Truth. When Truth appears in dual or plural form, as it does to empirical observation. Therefore, in any conflict, both parties see truth according to their own position, then there need to go for empirical observation.

Gandhi's ideological interpretation adds to this spiritual pragmatism of the *Upanisads* the moral prescription of Satyagraha that one ought always to act so as to reveal in the "means" its intrinsic identity with the "ends", and so in every action to strive to manifest the truth of "*yatha pinde*"...and "*brahmsatyam*". Along with Huxley who asserted that 'Good ends...can only be achieved by the employment of

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<sup>29</sup> Borman William, *Gandhi and Non-violence* (Albany: State University of New York, 1986), p.27.

appropriate means and that the end can not justify the means, for the simple and obvious reasons that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced'.<sup>30</sup> Gandhi maintained:

“The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree: and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. They say ‘means are after all means’ I would say means are after all everything. As the means so the end. There is no wall of separation between means and ends... If one takes care of means, the end will take care of itself”.<sup>31</sup>

‘There is law of nature that a thing can be retained by the same means by which it has been acquired. A thing acquired by violence can be retained by violence alone’.<sup>32</sup>

Three days before his death, in an interview with Vincent Sheean, Gandhi claimed:

“No good act can produce an evil result. Evil means, even for a good end, produce evil results’.<sup>33</sup>

This is the aim of his non-violent exact conduct. Therefore, giving importance to use the good qualities of human nature in negotiation process against deceive, cheat, ditching, and shrewdness.

Gandhi finds in the *Upanisads* a moral connection between one’s orientation towards Truth and the means of spiritual realization. He writes that the materialist believes that desire makes one seek the knowledge which is necessary for its fulfillment, so the materialist believes that the multiplication of wants leads one progressively towards knowledge of Infinite. The spiritualist believes just the opposite. He believes that no accumulation of finite empirical information can give realization of the Infinite. Reduction of wants, which by nature thrive on the difference, is the correct preparation for realization of Truth. Truth reveals itself when there is not the empirical superimposition that desire inherently produces. Therefore, according to Gandhian way to solving the problem, empirical argument or intellectual

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<sup>30</sup> Huxley A, *Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for their Realization* (Edinburgh: Readers Union and Chatto and Windus, 1938), p.9.

<sup>31</sup> Gandhi M K, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* (revised edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1939), p.71.

<sup>32</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.306.

<sup>33</sup> Sheean V, *Lead Kindly Light* (London: Cassell, 1950), p.197



argument is useless, because it basic is convince an opponent (friend) spiritually, for permanently.

Gandhi believes that serious and faithful study of the texts bring one to feel the need of disillusionment and transmit the triumphant quality of the declaration "*Satyam eva jayate*", this creates the current of faith that is the basis of satyagraha. He defines *moksha*, liberation, as the culmination of realization of one's true status as soul. This recognition is essential to Satyagraha because one cannot have use of his own soul-force if he has no vital recognition of his spiritual status. He is like the "lion raised among lambs" and so cannot resort to this true lion-nature even for self-defense.

Gandhi believes that recognition of the nature of this moving and changing reality and especially of the triviality of its isolated passing events, is "*more than half the battle*" in re-identifying with one's true nature and escaping the illusion of separate mortal existence. Study of this knowledge given by the *Upanisads* accomplishes this change in both perception and outlook and thus gives new values and feelings, and, consequently, a new orientation towards reality and a new basis to action and practical life. The reasons why different people perceive the same objective situation differently are many and varied:

"The individual in a state of need is more likely to perceive something which will satisfy his need, if he thinks it will probably be there. If the perceptual situation is ill defined he may imagine for a time something appropriate to his need, but he ceases to do this after prolonged frustration... In an experiment on adults, hungry and thirsty observers perceived pictures of articles of food and drink as being relatively brighter than those of objects unrelated to food or drink. The estimates of brightness increased steadily in amount until the observers had been eight hours without drinking. They were then allowed to drink all they wanted, and immediately the estimated brightness of the pictures fell to the same value as it had at the beginning of the experiment".<sup>34</sup>

'When a negotiator acts on his own behalf, we need to take into account only his perception. However, when he acts on behalf of an institution or government, we have

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<sup>34</sup> Vernon M D, *The Psychology of Perception* (Pelican Books, 1962), pp.197, 204.

to take note of two sets of perceptions—his own and the collective perception of the institution’.<sup>35</sup>

Gandhi considers the *Bhagavad-Gita* to be a commentary on the *Isa Upanisad*, in that it shows how to give “eternal verities” active shape in practical actions that lead to spiritual realization. He claims that his doctrines of Satyagraha, though originally derived from the *Gita* and the *Upanisads*, stand on their own, independently of the texts, as any reasoned and scientific knowledge must do. He cites the canons of trained and sober reason, of disciplined and refined moral sense when reason can be applied, and of faith in the uniform experience of trusted guides or companions where understanding involves states of awareness not accessible to mind and intellect in their present state of evolution, or to senses where facts are not deducible from phenomenal experience.

The inner moral battle is the context in which Satyagrahi must be understood since it is from this battle of good with evil that Gandhi evolved the doctrine and method of Satyagraha as a means to realize the state beyond good and evil, beyond the life and state of alternating happiness and suffering since the battle is within a perpetual. The *Gita’s* principles must apply to every act, and the exact conduct of Satyagraha must be based on these same principles. Sin and ignominy lie rather in abandonment of duty and righteousness. The real moral order is sustained by duty and justice, not by institutions among bodies. Before going to Satyagraha, we must keep in mind that “Our right is to work only, but never to the fruit thereof. Let not the fruit of action be our object, nor let our attachment be to inaction”.

Gandhi interprets the opening scene of the *Gita* as depicting the *origin of conflict*. Arjuna does not refuse to fight on principle, but from attachment to his relatives and friends. Gandhi writes in his commentary on the *Gita* that the root of evil is the ego-sense, which puts pride of self, “I”, and pride of possession and power, “mine” behind all acts. He believes that the solution to this conflict is ridding the mind and senses of their inborn tendencies, thus removing the ego’s imposition of “I” and “mine” that sustains and is sustained by those tendencies. If the origin of conflict

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<sup>35</sup> Rangarajan L N, *The Limitation of Conflict: A Theory of Bargaining and Negotiation* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), p.69.

in this indiscriminate and arbitrary distinction and untruth, partiality and injustice, then the means of its resolution is the establishment of Truth wherein all interests are viewed and protected equally.

According to Kriesberg, reconciliation refers to developing a *mutual conciliation accommodation* between antagonists and establishing an amicable relationship after a rupture involving extreme injury. At the inter communal level, Kriesberg describes the phenomenon as follows:

“Reconciliation have refers to accommodative ways members of adversary entities have come to regard each other after having engaged in intense, and often destructive struggle. They have become able to put aside feelings of hate, fear, and loathing to put aside views of the other or dangerous and subhuman, and to put aside the desire for revenge and retribution. To put aside does not mean not to have such feelings, perceptions, and goals, but not to make them paramount nor to act on them against the former adversary”.<sup>36</sup>

Gandhi finds in the *Gita's* theory of action the science of materially accomplishing this substitution of Truth (peace) for conflict. He finds Arjuna's dejection and dependency are the result of a confusion about duty. It comes from ignorance. Duty as the Truth of action and relations is clear so long as there are no personal considerations. Duty is spontaneous. But when there is an upsurge of ego and desire which is not in accordance with Truth, *confrontation and conflict* result—usually bolstered and augmented on both sides by untruth and self-deception, as reason aligns with ego to justify desire. For Gandhi, the importance of the *Gita* is in this demonstration that the natural condition of all human action is perpetuation of bondage in ignorance born of ego and desire. The *Gita* depicts this same state from the standpoint of action and of the common experience of conflict between duty and desire. Gandhi finds that, in both the *Upanisads*, and the *Gita*, knowledge completes action and only action based on Truth can accomplish its projected purposes. Therefore, when we negotiate with an opponent for outcome, our method of negotiation should be based on Truth. Truth is fragment, that's why we have to see the opponent's position according to his point of view of negotiation or conflict, then

only possibility arise to reaching a possible agreement between two parties. Here Truth is tolerance. Tolerance is one important element of Gandhian ethics.

A fundamental fact for Satyagraha in the *Gita's* science of action is that not only the content of knowledge, but also even more so the state of the subjective material make-up of the knowing faculties is the determining factor in the outcome of an action. Satyagraha is based on the surrender and nullification of ego. This nullification, according to Gandhi, allows God's plan and power to work manifestly through the Satyagrahi. Gandhi derives this doctrine directly from the *Gita's* analysis of action as the independent interplay of the *gunas* (Individual's merit) and material forces, here means negotiation process:

“There are three things that inspire action: knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the knower. And these are three constituents of action, the organ, the deed, and the doer. The thing to be done is the object of knowledge, the method of doing it is the knowledge, and he who knows is the knower. After he has thus received an impulse to action, he performs an action in which the sense serves as instruments. Thought is thus translated into action’.<sup>37</sup> Thus if one is truly the soul, then he is free to separate himself from bondage in the circle of karmas by realizing that the ego really is no cause of results at all. ‘He who does not abandon the fruits of action, must enjoy or put up with the natural consequences of his own acts, and is thus a bond-slave for ever. But he, who gives up the fruits of action, achieves freedom. And why should a man feel attachments for action? It is idle for anybody to imagine that he himself is a doer. There are five causes for the accomplishment of all actions, namely, this body, the doer, the various instruments, effort, and, last but by no means the least, providence’.<sup>38</sup> ‘Realizing this, a man should give up pride. He who does something without egoism, may be said to be not doing it in spite of his doing it, for he is not bound by his action...a humble man, has reduced himself to zero.’<sup>39</sup>

To reach that zero level, we need to be *sthitaprajna*. This states are virtues, attitudes and disposition which have, as an actively motivating component, knowledge of the comparative nature of the knower and the field—freedom from pride,

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<sup>36</sup> Fisher J Ronald, “Social-psychological Processes in Interactive Conflict Analysis and Reconciliation”, in Ho-Won Jeong (ed), *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p.83.

<sup>37</sup> Gandhi M K, *Discourses on the Gita* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan Publishing House, 1960), (Hingorani ed). Gita—My Mother, p.189.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

non-violence, forgiveness, uprightness, steadfastness, self-restrain, aversion to sense objects, absence of attachment, unwavering devotion to *Isvara*.

The *Gita* defines the mechanism of bondage in moral terms of the form of sin as that which causes the ignorance, which allows material reality to bind. Attachment (*raga*), aversion (*dvesa*), desire (*kama*), anger (*krodha*), lust, greed, and ego cause action to be based on false views and thus leads to binding action. That's why any government in the world has the false views because it is based on lust, greed and ego; therefore, the conflict arises between/among states. Any negotiator who works for any government in the world sees his national interest--the first priority, and an opponent do the same. But if our relationship is based on good qualities not a single conflict will arise in the world. Government negotiator's interest attach with or within the institution, therefore, it is difficult for the government negotiator to rise above the self-interest, but it seems very easy for the non-governmental negotiator, but not that much easy.

"Soul" is the basis of satyagrahi. Soul-force becomes the natural an instrument of action and of spiritual realization and a part of one's constant consciousness. Satyagrahi should renounce his internal make up as well by the attitude of surrender of mind and soul to *Brahama (brahmasamarpana)*. Every movement is geared to the benefit of all. Gandhi finds Satyagraha doctrine of self-purification by which the votary seeks to reduce the ego-sense to zero and become an instrument of the divine will. Duty or Truth become the natural mode of one's activity, sacrifice is one of the element of Satyagrahi. Sacrifice is the core of religion. But when you sacrifice anything, you should feel happy, joyful, inner satisfactory, and not painful.

The final consideration for both the *Upnisads* and the *Gita*, and the keystone of Satyagraha is grace. The final realization and external success are ultimately determined only by the will of *Mahesvara*--the superintendent creating, protecting and destroying conscious power which is itself the object of realization. The purpose of spirituality is "true happiness" and "true beauty". Satyagraha seek practical means...this should not mean that we can obtain from the *Gita*, the direct answers to all the questions that arise from day to day, just as we find the meaning of words by looking up in the dictionary. This would not be desirable even if it were possible, for,

in that case, there would be nothing like progress or discovery for mankind. Human intelligence would then simply atrophy from disuse.

Therefore, questions that arise in each age must be solved by the people of that age through their own effort. Our difficulties at present, such as terrorism, poverty, health-care, and the complexity in negotiation process must be met by applying the general principles derived from the *Gita* and similar books, which can only be of help to a limited extent. Real help can come only from our endeavours and struggle.

“Satyagraha” can be applied under the distinction between good and evil. But when Gandhi says that sages have taught the means of realization from the truth of their own realization, it is not a scholar’s or scientist’s study, he is reporting but that of an ideologist. Behind his views, can be found the ardent religious and social reformer.

#### **FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF SATYAGRAHA:**

The interrelationship between faith in human goodness, truth, non-violence, self-suffering is what is meant by Satyagraha—therefore an understanding of Satyagraha as a method of conflict resolution and as a way of life, its *raison d’etre* and its operation, rests upon the understanding of these concepts.

##### **1) FAITH IN HUMAN GOODNESS:**

The entire rationale of a method of non-violent conflict resolution which sees conversion of the opponent as its aim must rest upon the assumption that the opponent is open to reason, that they have a conscience, that human nature is such that it is bound, or at least likely to respond to any noble and friendly action. It is enough, Gregg claims, ‘to take as our starting point that ‘each person has inherently at the time both capacities, for good and for evil, and that both potentialities are plastic’.<sup>40</sup> Gandhi says that ‘every one of us is a mixture of good and evil... The difference that there is between human beings is a difference of degree’.<sup>41</sup> ‘Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature.

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<sup>40</sup> Gregg R R, *The Power of Non-violence* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1960), p.131

<sup>41</sup> *Harijan*, 10 June 1939.

Methods have failed because rock-bottom sincerity on the part of those who have striven has been lacking'.<sup>42</sup>

A belief in human rationality is as important to Satyagraha as is the belief in human goodness. It merely requires 'the assumption that man is endowed with reason, that man can utilize reason to direct his actions, and that a technique for conducting conflict can appeal to the rational in man.'<sup>43</sup> A belief in this combination of reason and goodness allows for a faith in the possibility of conversion and although this process may take considerable time. 'A Satyagrahi bids god-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid of trusting his opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the satyagrahi is ready to trust him for the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed'.<sup>44</sup>

Satyagraha rests on the belief that opponents can in fact be influenced to alter their dispositions and their worldviews. It should be noted, however, that, as with religious beliefs, belief in the goodness of human nature and the operation of reason ultimately is the optimist's act of faith in the empirically untestable.

## 2) TRUTH:

सत्य ही ईश्वर है, ईश्वर ही सत्य है। सुंदर ही सत्य है।  
सत्यम शिवम सुंदरम, सत्यमेव जयते।

Gandhi explains the metaphysical nature of the connection between "Truth" and "God". 'In 'God is Truth' is certainly does not mean "equal to" nor does it merely mean, "is truthful". Truth is not a mere attribute of God, but He is That. He is nothing, if he is That. Truth in Sanskrit means *sat*. *Sat* means *Is* Therefore, Truth is implied in *Is* (ईश). God is nothing else *Is*: Therefore the more truthful we are, the nearer we are to God we are only to the extent that we are truthful'.<sup>45</sup> Iyer further summarizes

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<sup>42</sup> *Harijan*, 16 May 1936.

<sup>43</sup> Bondurnat J V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p.194.

<sup>44</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.147.

<sup>45</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG), Vol. L, p. 175.

Gandhi's position of man's relationship to truth in the following paraphrase of various quotations from Gandhi:

“As Truth is the substance of morality, man is a moral agent only to the extent that he embraces and seek truth. By truth, is not merely meant the abstention from lies, not just the prudential conviction that honesty is the best policy in the long run, but even more that we must rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. We must say No when we mean No regardless of consequences. He who ignores this law does not know what it is to speak and stand for Truth, is like a fake coin, valueless. He has abdicated from his role and status as a moral being. Devotion to truth is the sole reason for human existence, and the truth alone really sustains us at all times. Without truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life”.<sup>46</sup>

Therefore, one should be truthful in bilateral negotiation. This can be useful, I think, in, when you deal with an opponent without any instruction or guideline, which generally government gives to their diplomats or negotiators of the particular issues. But if you act individually at the social level, it could be very effective to solving the social, political and economic problems at the grassroots level.

Gandhi makes a distinction between “Truth”, that is Absolute Truth, and ‘truth’, being relative truth. The reality of the Absolute Truth discoveries on the way to the realization of Truth he called ‘relative truth’. ‘As long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold to the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must meanwhile be my beacon, my shield, my buckler’.<sup>47</sup> While such a quest for truth, the foundation of the Satyagrahi lifestyle, leads to a more honest appreciation of shared humanity, or more directly in E. H. Erikson's words ‘to the next step in man's realization of man as one all-human species, and thus to our only chance to transcend what we are’,<sup>48</sup> it may, paradoxically also lead to conflict. So how is one to decide whose truth is nearer to Truth? ‘The final arbiter in times of such conflict must remain “The still small voice within”. We have a duty to live up to truth

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<sup>46</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.157.

<sup>47</sup> Gandhi M K, *An Autobiography: The Story of my Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1927), p.xiii.

<sup>48</sup> Erikson E H, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-violence* (New York: Norton, 1969), p.413.



as we see it at the time. This call of the “*Voice of Conscience*” is the highest call of all, and it must be obeyed at all costs as this ‘obedience is the law of our Being’.<sup>49</sup>

Because the human mind works through innumerable media and...the evolution of the human mind is not the same for all... What may be truth for one may be untruth for another. No one, therefore, has the right to coerce others to act according to his view of truth. These differences would be greatly reduced with discipline and humility—two very important qualities for Satyagraha:

“It is because we have at the present movement everybody claiming the right of conscience without going through any discipline whatsoever that there is so much untruth being delivered to a bewildered world... Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility”.<sup>50</sup>

For Mahatma Gandhi, Truth is the goal; ahimsa or non-violence becomes the necessary and only means of realizing it. Because of these conflict that may result from the differing conceptions of truth, non-violence and self-suffering become very important elements in ensuring that coercion does not occur. Although this interchange concerned the outbreak of physical violence during mass civil disobedience campaigns, it is also applicable to interpersonal conflict where the words ‘violence’ and ‘non-violence’ take on very broad definitions:

‘Sir Chimanlal:	However honesty 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?
Gandhi:	The individual himself would determine that.
Sir Chimanlal:	Different individuals would have different views as to truth. Would that not lead to confusion?
Gandhi:	I do not think so.
Sir Chimanlal:	Honesty striving after a truth differs in every case.
Gandhi:	That is why the non-violence* part was a necessary corollary without that there would be confusion or worse’. <sup>51</sup>

\*Non-violence in bilateral negotiation means use honesty, love, patience, forgiveness, etc. in process.

<sup>49</sup> Gandhi M K, *God is Truth* (A.T. Hingorani edited) (Bombay: Bharitya Vidhya Bhavan, 1970), pp.33-34.

<sup>50</sup> *Harijan*, 24 November 1933, and *Young India*, 31 December 1931.

<sup>51</sup> Tendulkar D G, *Mahatma: Life of M.K. Gandhi* (revised edition, 8 Volumes) (New Delhi: Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1961), Vol.1, p.282.

The practical steps towards living the truth include the public admission of mistake. The confession of an error, Gandhi points out, 'is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before, but it is a million times better to appeal untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves'.<sup>52</sup> The most important practical way to live the life of truth that Satyagraha requires is that 'A lover of Truth will not appear different from what he is. His thoughts, words and actions will be harmonious'.<sup>53</sup>

### 3) NON-VIOLENCE:

"Without ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth. Ahimsa and Truth are so interwined that it is practically impossible to distangle and separate them. They are like two sides of a coin or rather a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say, which is the obverse, and which is the reverse? Nevertheless, ahimsa is the means, Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means we are bound to reach the end sooner or later".<sup>54</sup>

The discovery of truth is not dependent upon violence; it is in fact obscured by violence. Iyer, for example notes that 'the need for violence is often a sign of insecurity and incomplete conviction and that through it victory becomes more important than truth'.<sup>55</sup> If the violence is used in a conflict situation the sin and the sinner can no longer be separated. The importance of ahimsa for Tolstoy when he asks, 'how are we to harmonize the conflicts of men, when some consider to be good, and vice-versa? And so, to consider that an evil, which I consider an evil, although my adversary may consider it good, is no answer. There can be but two answers: either we have to find a true and indisputable criterion of *what an evil is* or *we must not resist evil with violence*'.<sup>56</sup> 'There is no "pure" violence and hatred are always linked'.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *Young India*, 16 February 1922.

<sup>53</sup> Desai M, *The Diary of Mahadev Desai* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1953), p.249.

<sup>54</sup> Gandhi M K, *From Yervada Mandir* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1932), p.6.

<sup>55</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.249.

<sup>56</sup> Tolstoy L, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (New York: Noonday, 1961), p.55.

<sup>57</sup> Ellul J, *Violence: Reflections from a Christian Perspective* (New York: Seabury Press, 1969), pp.103-104.

But Fanon maintains:

“At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force; it forces the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect”.<sup>58</sup>

Gandhi argued ‘Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence. I would advise violence. The crux of his message was that generally these are not the only two alternatives—non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment’.<sup>59</sup>

In *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud makes the point even more strongly.

“... Men are not gentle creatures who meant to be loved... they are, on the contrary, creatures among whose instinctual endowments is to be reckoned a powerful shore of aggressiveness...*Homo homini lupas* (man is wolf to man). Who in the face of all his experience of life and of history will have the courage to dispute this assertion? As a rule this cruel aggressiveness waits for some provocation or puts itself at the service of some other purpose, whose goal might also have been reached by milder measures. In circumstances that are favourable to it, when the mental counter forces which ordinarily inhibit it are out of action, it also manifests itself spontaneously and reveals man as a savage beast to whom consideration towards his own kind is something alien”.<sup>60</sup>

Freud seems to be pointing to the inevitability of aggression.

But Lannoy, argued Gandhi’s point more strongly when he stated, ‘Nonviolence is a synthesis arrived at by resolving an inner conflict between aggressive and non-aggressive instincts. Non-violence is not an instinct but an ethical stance, which demands training and self-discipline’.<sup>61</sup> Aggressive behaviour has been accounted for not only as the manifestation of an innate violent drive determined by genetic factors, or as a learned way of responding to particular situation, but also as a reaction to frustrations. Frustrations arise when feelings of strong needs are coupled with feelings of being prevented from satisfying those needs:

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<sup>58</sup> Fanon F, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), p.94.

<sup>59</sup> *Young India*, 11 August 1920.

<sup>60</sup> Freud Sigmund, *Civilization and its Discontents* (London: Hogarth Press, 1963), pp. 48-49.

<sup>61</sup> Lannoy R, *The Speaking Tree* (London: OUP, 1971), p.379.

“Fighting arising from competition for dominance, food, sexual partners or territory clearly attests to the role of external stimulation in animal aggression. The aggressive activity in these cases is the product of some perceived obstacle to the attainment of a desirable goal state”.<sup>62</sup> ‘Frustration is.... likely to lead to aggression because in many cases the cause of frustration is another individual, and attacking him will drive him away or cause him to stop his activity. In other words, aggression is a useful response in many frustrating situations’.<sup>63</sup>

In bilateral negotiations, when an opponent try to cheat, deceive or dishonest in the negotiation process with Satyagrahi. Satyagrahi should keep in mind that an opponent (friend) using this out of frustrations. So Satyagrahi should not disturb if an opponent use it for short term. He should concentrate on the complete victory over an opponent, by converting him to our side.

#### 4) CREATIVE SELF-SUFFERING:

“...The individual seldom changes his life merely in accordance with the indications of reason, but as a rule, in spite of the new meaning and the new aims indicated by reason, continues to live his former life and changes it only when his life becomes entirely contradictory to his conscience, and, therefore agonizing”.<sup>64</sup>

With these words Tolstoy encapsulates one of the reasons that self-suffering is so important for Satyagraha. The role of the self-suffering is to break a deadlock to ‘cut through the rationalized defences of the opponent’.<sup>65</sup> ‘Reason has to be strengthened by suffering and suffering open the eyes of understanding because an appeal of reason is more to the head but penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding of man’.<sup>66</sup>

Pelton claims that this idea of self-suffering melting the heart of the opponent is a gross over simplification, that it may even elicit a negative reaction towards the

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<sup>62</sup> Berkowitz L, “Aggression: Psychological Aspects”, in Sillis D.S. (ed), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), Vol.1, p.168.

<sup>63</sup> Scott J P, *Aggression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p.128.

<sup>64</sup> Tolstoy L, *The Kingdom of God Within You* (New York: Noonday, 1961), p.117.

<sup>65</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton N J: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 227-228.

<sup>66</sup> Sharp Gene, *The Politics of Non-Violent Action* (Boston: Portor Sargent, 1973), p. 709.

victim. Gandhi, however, insisted on retaining a faith in human nature that maintained that such a process does work. Gandhi warned that the suffering or hardship undertaken had to be functional, he 'was not in favour of martyrs of suffering not caused by acts conducive to the solution of the present conflict or future conflicts'.<sup>67</sup> The opponent must not be encouraged to act against the Satyagrahi to bring on self-suffering because brutalizing the adversary can but make his conversion the more difficult. This brutalization must be avoided so that the opponent is not compelled to inflict punishment—the 'secret of Satyagraha', according to Gandhi, 'lies in not tempting the wrong-doer to do wrong'.<sup>68</sup> Self-suffering aims to demonstrate the sincerity of the sufferers as an appeal to the opponent and also aims to purify the sufferers by proving their own sincerity to themselves. Gandhi mentions both these practical and existential benefits, and self-suffering when he says:

"Suffering injury in one's own person is ... of the essence of non-violence and it is the chosen substitute of violence others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for Satyagraha but because I know that it results in the long run in the least loss of life, and, what is more it ennoble those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice".<sup>69</sup>

Both the sufferer and the opponent are transformed. The opponents by being forced to confront their views on the nature of the truth of the given situation and possibly by being converted, and the sufferer by being morally enriched in not compromising fundamental principles. Even where self-suffering does not touch the conscience of the opponent it can have objective benefits in a conflict situation, especially in social conflicts. The opponent may be converted indirectly or coerced by non-violence if the endured suffering moves public opinion to the side of the Satyagrahi. Gandhi has on occasion claimed that 'the method of reaching the heart is to awaken public opinion'.<sup>70</sup> Besides the hoped for efficacy of self-suffering to appeal

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<sup>67</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha---Theoretical Background* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.85.

<sup>68</sup> Dhawan G N, *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1957), p.143.

<sup>69</sup> *Young India*, 11 August 1920.

<sup>70</sup> *Young India*, 19 March 1925.

to the reason of an opponent it has one other very important function—‘if this kind of force is used in a course that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes’.<sup>71</sup> Iyer summarized suffering in Gandhi’s words:

“Suffering is the law of human beings, war is the law of jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his eyes, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or espoused more forlorn causes than I, and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding of man. Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword”.<sup>72</sup>

Gandhi spelled about the bilateral negotiation when he commented that ‘immediately we begin to think of things as one opponent thinks of them we shall be able to do them full justice. I know that this requires a detached state of mind, and it is a state very difficult to reach. Nevertheless for a Satyagrahi it is absolutely essential. Three fourths of the miseries and misunderstanding in the world will disappear, if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We will then agree with our adversaries quickly or think of them charitably’.<sup>73</sup>

The person offering the Satyagraha instead undergoes self-suffering with the optimistic belief that the opponent can be converted to see the truth of his or her claim by touching the opponent’s conscience, or that a clear vision of truth will grow out of the dialectical process for both parties. While Satyagrahi’s try to convert, they must themselves also remain open to persuasion.

Satyagraha in its pure sense aims not so much at changing the behaviour of the opponent as at changing their attitudes so that they may then change their behaviour. Changed behaviour without changed attitudes can only be maintained through coercion, which is fundamentally opposed by the philosophy of Satyagraha. Satyagraha, then, goes beyond redressing merely the immediate grievance that has

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<sup>71</sup> Gandhi M K, *Hind Swaraj* (revised edition) (Ahemdabad: Navjivan, 1939), p.79.

<sup>72</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.287.

<sup>73</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 66, p. 271.

surfaced as conflict, but aims to resolve the distrust and friction that are the underlying sources of the conflict. In order to achieve this, 'Satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is a direct opposite of compulsion. It was conceived as a complete substitute for violence. The reformer must have consciousness of the truth of his cause. He will not be impatient with the opponent, he will be impatient with himself'.<sup>74</sup> Conversion of an opponent may take a far greater time than bringing a conflict to head through violence. Attempts may be met by unresponsiveness. Therefore, patience and understanding are two important qualities that need be cultivated. 'Suffering cheerfully endured, ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy'.<sup>75</sup> 'I am but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good, wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought, word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. It is a painful climb, but the pain of it is a positive pleasure to me. Each step upwards makes me feel stronger and fit for the next'.<sup>76</sup> 'Real suffering, bravely borne, melts even a heart of stone. Such is the potency of suffering and there lies the key to Satyagraha'.<sup>77</sup>

##### 5) MEANS AND ENDS:

Showing little understanding of the central importance (objective) of the relationship of means to ends as an essential principle of Gandhi's thought. Huxley, who asserted that 'good ends... can only be achieved by the employment of appropriate means, and that the end can not justify the means, for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced'.<sup>78</sup> Gandhi maintained:

"The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree: and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is

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<sup>74</sup> *Harijan*, 15 April 1933.

<sup>75</sup> Bhalla Shalu (Compiled by). *Quotes of Gandhi* (reprinted) (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 1995), p.24.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p.110.

<sup>78</sup> Huxley A, *Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for their Realization* (Edinburgh: Readers Union and Chatto and Windus, 1938), p.9

between the seed and the tree. They say 'means are after all means'. I would say, 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. There is no wall of separation between means and ends.... If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself'.<sup>79</sup>

These principles for Gandhi were not merely a reflection of the Hindu belief in Karma. The law of reaping what you sow applied as much in this life as it affected future lives. 'There is a law of nature that a thing can be retained by the same means by which it has been acquired. A thing acquired by violence can be retained by violence alone'.<sup>80</sup> Three days before his death, in an interview with Vincent Sheean, Gandhi claimed:

"No good act can produce an evil result. Evil means, even for a good end, produce evil results".<sup>81</sup>

Huxley notes that the almost universal desire to believe in short cuts to Utopia makes us less than dispassionate when looking at means 'which we know quite certainly to be abominable'.<sup>82</sup> Satyagraha, being a search for truth requires such dispassion, and being nonviolent insists that Satyagrahi's do more than merely focus on the means of an opponent 'and condemn him for his inhumanity while focusing only on their own ends and revelling in their righteousness'.<sup>83</sup> Gandhi made it clear that he believed his energies had to be devoted to looking after purity of the means rather than to seeing if they would be the most expedient way of achieving the immediate goal. 'I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means. The method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest'.<sup>84</sup>

In line with these principles Gandhi called off a major civil disobedience campaign in early 1922 after 22 policemen were murdered in the town of Chauri

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<sup>79</sup> Gandhi M K, *Hind Swaraj* (revised edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1939), p.71.

<sup>80</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.306.

<sup>81</sup> Sheean V, *Lead Kindly Light* (London: Cassell, 1950), p.197.

<sup>82</sup> Huxley A, *Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for their Realization* (Edinburgh: Readers Union and Chatto and Windus, 1938), p.25.

<sup>83</sup> Pelton L H, *The Psychology of Non-Violence* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1974), p.44.

<sup>84</sup> Weber Thomas, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991), p.56.



Chaura. He had pledged that the campaign would be non-violent and this incident was the final straw forcing him to totally reverse the agitation against the British. He did not mind that the opponent had the opportunity to glory in our humiliation and so-called defeat. It was better, he claimed, 'to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and to sin against God'.<sup>85</sup>

Means can be chosen merely by deciding to live by certain rules of the ethics of these rules are not shared by others, conflicts are bound to arise, 'When dealing with conflicts the principles with which the Satyagrahis started still serve as guidelines for their actions'.<sup>86</sup> Huxley suggests that the golden rule to be kept in mind when ends and the means to achieve them are chosen is to ask whether the result will be to transform the society to which they are applied 'into a just, peaceable, morally and intellectually progressive community of non-attached and responsible men and women'.<sup>87</sup>

As far as bilateral negotiation is concerned, if one party adopts the good instruments like ethics, honesty, patience and other good human virtues into the negotiation process, the second party has to come to adopt the same tool for successful "win-win" objective. There is also the danger that second party could deceive or threaten you, but those are trying to apply the Gandhian technique into negotiation, they must have patience, determined and focus about their long-term goal—the complete victory over an opponent or turn the opponent "to our side", for the welfare of the human beings. This technique seems to be ideal, but, of course, certainly not impossible.

#### 6) REJECTION OF COERCION:

On the foundation of Hinduism's universal tolerance, Gandhi's belief strengthened that "Truth is Fragrant". It is because of this distinction, never forgotten by the Hindus, between Truth and Dogma, that Hinduism could acquire its

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<sup>85</sup> *Young India*, 16 February 1922.

<sup>86</sup> Horsburgh H J N, *Non-violence and Aggression: A Study of Gandhi's Moral Equivalent of War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 49-51.

<sup>87</sup> Huxley A, *Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for their Realization* (Edinburgh: Readers Union and Chatto and Windus, 1938), p.32.

universality, elasticity and unlimited tolerance, which knows no one has monopoly or copyright of Truth. Each and everyone have the right to seek Truth, according his/her own way, but goal is one—Absolute Truth. That’s why Gandhi rejected the coercion in the negotiation process because perceptions of truth vary from person to person and no one can be absolutely certain that their perception is the correct one. ‘The fit of philosophy within the humanities can be even tighter when philosophy is oriented towards the goals of explanation and understanding, rather than proof and convincing, carrying on philosophy non-coercively, no longer with the goal of compelling argument or forcing someone to believe something, may itself be responsive—in addition to whatever value it responds to in its subject matter—to the opponents value and autonomy’.<sup>88</sup> Gandhi makes it clear that:

“There is no such thing as compulsion in the scheme of non-violence. Reliance has to be placed upon the ability to reach the intellect and the heart”, and make the policy statements that “non-violence is never a method of coercion, it is one of conversion”, and that ‘coercion is an offspring of violence. Conversion is the fruit of non-violence and love’.<sup>89</sup>

Non-violent coercion is not to be seen as a just means of settling conflicts because it not only militates against the moral development of the parties to the conflict, or because it fails to express the respect which non-violence claims for an opponent, but also because it does nothing to clarify the Truth, to confirm the justice of the objective sought in short, it does not encourage a dialectical process.

The problem of deciding just what coercion is, however, is not an easy task. It can be defined as the use of force, including moral force, to compel an opponent to act in a way that is contrary to either their will or judgment. Despite his insistence on a principle of non-coercion, and on a broad definition for the term, at times Gandhi himself was guilty of it. Some of his interpreters, for example, Bondurant, claim that as a method Satyagraha itself contains a positive element of coercion. She points out that ‘the tools of non-cooperation, boycott, and strike, which can be used in Satyagraha, do involve elements of compulsion which may effect a change on the part

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<sup>88</sup> Nozick Robert, *Philosophical Explanations* (Oxford: OUP and Clarendon Press, 1981), p.624.

<sup>89</sup> *Young India*, 23 September 1926.

of the opponent which was originally against their will'.<sup>90</sup> E.M. Case meanwhile asserts that Satyagraha is 'explicitly non-violent and implicitly coercive',<sup>91</sup> and Shridharani likewise claims that 'Satyagraha does contain an aspect of coercion, albeit in a modified form which he prefers to call the compelling element'.<sup>92</sup>

Occasionally, such distinctions are difficult to make, and the question of just where to draw the line and remain within the spirit of Satyagraha is equally perplexing. Naess attempts this task in the following hypothetical situation:

"Suppose, for a moment, that M carries P against his will into the streets where there is a riot, and that as a consequence of what he sees P changes some of his attitudes and opinions. Was the changed coerced? We suggest that the change of P's opinions or attitudes was not coerced, but that P himself was coerced into seeing something that caused the change. The distinction is relevant, because Satyagraha is certainly incompatible with coerced changes of opinions or attitudes".<sup>93</sup>

Gandhi held that fasting for the sake of personal gain is nothing short of intimidation. A fast amounts to coercion or undue influence if an opponent in a conflict gives in because they did not want the person fasting to die rather than because they had been converted. In such situations Gandhi unhesitatingly advocates resistance to such undue influence. He claimed, in keeping with his belief that 'self-suffering in an unjust cause should affect only the sufferer, that there is no occasion... at anytime for yielding to the pressure of such a fast'.<sup>94</sup>

Coercion very rarely leads to conversion. Gandhi himself had observed that things done under the pressure of a fast have been undone after the fast is over. If such a thing happens it would be a tragedy of the highest degree. If a fast, however, convinces an opponent and converts them by fasting them to think about the issues, thus enabling them to see the justice in the position of the person undergoing the fast,

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<sup>90</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.9.

<sup>91</sup> Case E M, *Non-Violent Coercion: A Study in Methods of Social Pressure* (New York: Century, 1923), p. 379.

<sup>92</sup> Shridharani K, *War Without Violence* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962), p.264.

<sup>93</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha—Theoretical Background* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.92.

<sup>94</sup> *Young India*, 30 September 1926.

then that is not coercion. This outcome cannot, however, be predicted without fail and so Gandhi warns that such measures can only be used against those who are near and dear and then not to extort rights but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks. Because the fast can so easily become a weapon of violence, Gandhi warns against its use 'unless it is used by one skilled in the art'.<sup>95</sup>

Coercion in any form is not in keeping with the spirit of Satyagraha, moral coercion, however, is always preferable to physical coercion. It can galvanize public support and has a greater chance of leading eventually to conversion than has physical coercion.

#### 7) **FEARLESSNESS:**

Without fearlessness the growth of other noble qualities becomes difficult—how can one seek Truth, or cherish love without fearlessness. The courage that Satyagrahi calls for is not dependent on physical strength, 'it is not a matter of muscle; it is a matter of the heart. The toughest muscle has been known to tremble before an imaginary fear'.<sup>96</sup> In the end such courage must come from 'determined and constant endeavour, ... by cultivating self-confidence and from an indomitable will'.<sup>97</sup>

Once Satyagrahi clarified about the fundamental concepts of Satyagraha required. He can be used this qualities in-group conflict, bilateral or any types of negotiations to solve the people's problems as well as his owns. But he has to inculcate these qualities into his personality, without that, it is difficult to get success in both forms of negotiations. I am not saying that satyagrahi should mastered over these qualities, but I am sure that he could try to adopt those universal values which is the master key of Satyagraha.

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<sup>95</sup> *Harijan*, 25 January 1948.

<sup>96</sup> Gandhi, M.K., *From Yeravda Mandir* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1932), p.19.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, or *Mahatma*, Vol.5, p.263.

## THE PROCESS OF SATYAGRAHA:

The success of a Satyagraha campaign to resolve any conflict rests upon three basic assumptions:

- 1) 'That there can always be found some elements of common interest to all the contending parties;
- 2) that the parties are, or at least might be amenable to an 'appeal to the heart'; and
- 3) that those in a position to commence Satyagraha are also in a position to carry it through to the end'.<sup>98</sup>

If these prerequisites are fulfilled the scene is set for the process aimed at the required conversion to be initiated. This can involve several steps, firstly reasoning with the opponent then persuasion through self suffering 'where in the Satyagrahi attempts to dramatize the issues at stake and to get through to the opponent's unprejudiced judgement so that he may willingly come again onto a level where he may be persuaded through natural argument'.<sup>99</sup> This process of moral appeal through self-suffering in lieu of violence or coercion, a moral choice is demanded of the opponent, which they otherwise may not even contemplate. Gregg summaries the dynamics of this position by explaining that the attacker loses his or her moral balance:

"He suddenly and unexpectedly loses the moral support which he usual violent resistance of most victims would render him. He plunges forward, as it were, into a new world of values. He feels insecure because of the novelty of the situation and his ignorance of how to handle it. He loses his poise and self-confidence. The victim not only sets the attacker come, but, as it were, pulls him forward by kindness, generosity and voluntary suffering, so that the attacker loses his moral balance".<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and the Nuclear Age* (Totowa NJ: Bedminister Press, 1965), pp. 60-62.

<sup>99</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton N J: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.11

<sup>100</sup> Gregg R R, *The Power of Non-Violence* (2<sup>nd</sup> Indian edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1960), p.41.

It does not mean to force an opponent to loss his/her confidence but Gregg himself point out that this induced loss of self-confidence is not to be interpreted in the sense that the opponent becomes despondent—‘Non violent resistance does not break the opponent’s will but alters it, does not destroy his confidence, enthusiasm and hope but transfers them to a finer purpose’.<sup>101</sup> Gandhi himself summarizes this process thus:

“I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant’s sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition from him which recognition would not humiliate him but uplift him”.<sup>102</sup>

If the attempts at conversion through these measures fail the tools of non-cooperation or civil disobedience may be brought into play. Civil disobedience can be worked in a group conflict where people are/were with Satyagrahi or Satyagrahi should be with people. But as far as non-cooperation is concerned, Satyagrahi can be used it in bilateral negotiation very effectively. Suppose, a teacher or boss not behaving according to your own terms, then the best option remains with Satyagrahi is to leave the institution or establishment where he/she is working. Because, if you leave the institution or establishment, your teacher or boss’s credibility will be in doubt.

#### **SATYAGRAHI’S BILATERAL NEGOTIATION THEORY:**

The Gandhian technique of bilateral negotiation (non-violence) is known by its Gujarati name of Satyagraha, which has been variously interpreted as “*passive resistance*”, “*non-violent resistant*”, “*non-violent direct action*”, and even, according to E.H. Erikson, as “*militant non-violence*”.<sup>103</sup> Gandhi explained, ‘Satyagraha is literally holding on to truth and it means, therefore, truth-force’.<sup>104</sup> The word was

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 76.

<sup>102</sup> *Young India*, 8 October 1925.

<sup>103</sup> Weber Thomas, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping* (Sycacuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p.62.

<sup>104</sup> *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 19, p. 466.

coined out of a felt necessity. The technique of non-violent struggle (negotiation) that Gandhi had evolved in South Africa for the conduct of the Indian indentured laborers disputes with the government was originally described by the English phrase “*passive resistance*”. Gandhi, however, found that the term ‘was too narrowly constructed, that it was supposed to be a weapon of the weak, that it could be characterized by hatred, and that it could finally manifest itself as violence’.<sup>105</sup>

When Gandhi felt that a new word had to be coined for struggle (for me bilateral negotiation). ‘But I could not for the life of me find out a new name, and therefore offered a nominal prize through Indian opinion to the render who made the best suggestion on the subject. As a result Maganlal Gandhi coined the Sadagraha (Sat: truth, Agraha: firmness) and won the prize. But in order to make it clearer I changed the word to Satyagraha (Sat: Truth, Agraha: firmness)’.<sup>106</sup> Satyagraha means, in effect, the discovery of truth and working steadily toward it, thus converting the opponent into a friend. In other words, Satyagraha is not used against anybody but is done with somebody. ‘It is based on the idea that the moral appeal to the heart or conscience is.... more effective than an appeal based on thereat or bodily pain or violence’.<sup>107</sup> (Violence in bilateral negotiation means threat, coercion, tactics, shrewdness, deceiving, ditching, and cheating).

Conflicts and clashes of interest will always occur and, approached with a limited understanding of the psychology of the disputing process, violence (cheating, shrewdness, tactics, and etc.) often appear to be a superior technique for solving them than non-violence (honesty, ethics, spiritually, forgiveness and other humanly good qualities), because, it has obvious and tangible strategies and weapons. Man’s natural instinct is evil. But I think, human born with the balance attitude of both sides—good and evil. Finally, it become subjective to human beings, which sides he/she wants to go. One side leads to animal instinct that is—evil, on the other hand, second side leads to divine life that is – good. Generally, it is very easy for human being to go to evil

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<sup>105</sup> Gandhi M K, *An Autobiography* (Translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1927), p.266.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Kumarappa B, “Editor’s Note” in M.K. Gandhi, *Non-violent Resistance* (New York: Schocken, 1961), pp. iii-vi.

way, but to turn the good way human being has to suffer lot to acquire divine qualities of life—honesty, integrity, forgiveness, tolerance, and spirituality. Especially in bilateral negotiation, each party wants short term goal and maximum gain out of relationship which can be managed the disputes or conflicting interests, but not able to solve them permanently. That is why I am strongly favored that both parties who are engaged in negotiation should adopt the good tool to solve the problem and strengthen the relationship between both parties for the welfare of the society and the world.

Non-violent ways of resolving conflicts through bilateral way, however, have a far greater chance than other methods of falling within Deutsch's definition of "productive", where the participants are 'satisfied with their outcomes and feel that they have gained as a result of the conflict',<sup>108</sup> rather than "destructive" conflict, where the participants are 'dissatisfied with the outcomes and they feel they have lost as a result of the conflict'.<sup>109</sup> A productive resolution of conflict is more likely to be achieved if it is based on non-violence (honesty, forgiveness, spirituality and good human qualities) in bilateral negotiation (and this is further increased if conversion is successfully carried out) because, in the words of Gregg, it leaves 'no aftermath of resentment, bitterness or revenge, no necessity for further threat or forces'.<sup>110</sup>

The Gandhian technique of Satyagraha rests on the belief that the striving for conversion is the most effective method of conducting a bilateral negotiation or bringing lasting peace to conflicting parties on a pragmatic assessment of the outcome; but more than that Gandhi believed that it is the morally correct way to conduct negotiation because only through a dialectical process can truth be arrived at, or at least approached, and such quest for truth is, according to him, the aim of human life.

This dialectical process is essentially creative and inherently constructive. Its immediate object is 'a restructuring of the opposing elements to achieve a situation which is satisfactory to both the original elements to achieve a situation which is

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<sup>108</sup> Deutsch M, "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive", *Journal of Social Issues*, 1967, Vol.25, no.1 p.10.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Gregg R R, *The Power of Non-violence* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1960), p.109.



satisfactory to both the original opposing antagonists but in such a way as to present an entirely new total circumstance through the operation of non-violent action the truth or judged by the fulfillment of human needs will emerged in the form of a mutually satisfactory and agreed upon solution'.<sup>111</sup> Bondurant points out that 'the objective is not to assert propositions, but to create possibilities. In opening up new choices and in confronting an opponent with the demand that he make a choice, the Satyagrahi involves himself in acts of "ethical existence". The process forces a continuing examination of one's own motives, an examination undertaken within the context relationship as they are changed towards a new, restructured and reintegrated pattern'.<sup>112</sup>

In conflict situations, then, Satyagraha merely means that the Satyagrahi follows no other plan than the adherence to non-violence and has no other goal than to reach the Truth, the Truth being the end of the process, non-violence the means to achieve it. Because, for Gandhi, good ends can never grow out of bad means, the opponent is not forced to expose him or herself to loss. There is no threat, coercion, or punishment. The person offering the Satyagraha instead undergoes self-suffering with the optimistic belief that opponents can be converted to see the truth of their claims by touch in the opponent's consciences, or that a clearer vision of truth will grow out of the dialectical process for both parties. While Satyagrahi try to convert, they must also remain open to persuasion. Gandhi, moreover, believed that nobody was entirely out of reach of such appeals 'especially if one's good will is made sufficiently manifest and one's willingness to suffer for the truth is clearly demonstrated'.<sup>113</sup>

Satyagraha in its pure sense aims not so much at changing the behavior of the opponent as at bringing about a change in values so that a change in behavior will result. Changed behavior without changed attitudes can only be maintained through coercion, which is fundamentally opposed by the philosophy of Satyagraha. Satyagraha, in short, goes beyond redressing merely the immediate grievance that has

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<sup>111</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton N J: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.195.

<sup>112</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. vi-vii.

<sup>113</sup> Horsburgh H J N, *Mahatma Gandhi* (Lutterworth Press, 1972), p.36.

surfaced as conflict and aims to resolve the distrust and friction that may be the underlying sources of the conflict. And with its ultimate achievement of realizing the unity of all, such distrust and friction is by definition extinguished.

Before turning to the Gandhian technique of bilateral negotiation to solve the problems, Satyagrahi must keep in mind that spiritual basis is the strength of the technique, that is why he should raise his soul to realize or understand an opponents totally – psychologically, which is one of important aspects of opponent's personality. Again I am reiterating my stand by saying that this technique is purely *subjective*, this is not likely to do research or write book, but to implement it into the practical life.

Satyagraha is far more than a set of actions. It is also an attitude, for example, a boycott may be part of a Satyagraha campaign but if the underlying principles of Satyagraha are not present then a boycott alone cannot accurately be described as Satyagraha. It becomes what Bondurant has termed "*duragraha*". Unlike Satyagraha, '*duragraha* starts off with prejudgments aimed at overcoming and destroying the position of the opponent'.<sup>114</sup>

The basic precepts and rules of a Satyagraha, negotiation process (campaign) can be systematized in the following eleven points:

1. 'Violence is invited from opponents if they are humiliated or provoked'.<sup>115</sup> (Not only consider physical violence but violence in words if anyone's action leads to anger, condemn, criticize, hate, an opponent's position are the form of non-physical violence which could escalate tensions or create the distrust between the two parties). 'It is never the intention of a Satyagrahi to embarrass the wrongdoer. The appeal is never to his fear, it is, must be always to his heart'.<sup>116</sup>
2. 'A violent attitude is less likely on the part of a would be Satyagrahi if they have made clear to themselves the essential elements of their case and the purpose of

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<sup>114</sup> Bondurant J V, "Satyagraha Versus Duragraha: The Limits Symbolic violence" in Ramachandran and Mahadevan (ed), *Gandhi: His Relevance for Our Times* (Berkeley: World Without War, 1967), pp.99-112.

<sup>115</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.70.

<sup>116</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 69, p. 69.

the struggle'<sup>117</sup> (negotiation). The sincere undertaking of a conflict along Gandhian lines requires an affirmative answer to the question:

“Is my motive when starting this new direct action unmixed—is it just to realize the goal of the campaign (negotiation), and not also to wish to injure the opponent or due to other deviant motive?”<sup>118</sup>

3. ‘Opponents are less likely to use violent means the better understand the Satyagrahi’s case and conduct’.<sup>119</sup> ‘As a satyagrahi I must always allow my cards to be examined and reexamined at all times and make separation if an error is discovered’.<sup>120</sup> ‘... An essential ingredient of nonviolent persuasion is the honest and straight forward dissemination of information...the withholding of information, the making of unsubstantiated charges...the packaging of an issue, and appeals to greed, prejudice and hatred can not under any circumstances be reconciled with the philosophy of nonviolence’.<sup>121</sup>

4. ‘The essential interest which opponents have in common should be clearly formulated and cooperation established on this basis’.<sup>122</sup> This is an extension of Rapoport’s idea of “debate” – it explicitly avoids his definition of the “game” mentality. Pelton notes that disputes between friends differ from those between strangers or between those who have enmity towards each other. In the former case, the dispute occurs within a framework of much mutual agreement, ties and friendship. In the latter case, the disagreement itself becomes the most salient source of information that one party has of the other. This can become the primary base of development of inferences and constructs by and about the disputants. Unchecked by further information from other sources ‘they can balloon into and undifferentiated

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<sup>117</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.71.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p. 104.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.p.71.

<sup>120</sup> *Harijan*, 11 March 1939.

<sup>121</sup> Pelton L H, *The Psychology of Non-Violence* (NewYork: Pergamon Press, 1974), p.86.

<sup>122</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.75.

negative images that can only generate fear and distrust'.<sup>123</sup> One way of avoiding this is through personal contact. 'Many times when Gandhi found himself in deadlocked position, he tried to interview his critic or antagonist personally'.<sup>124</sup> In all cases, whether the dispute is between friends or strangers, whether the parties meet face to face or not, the most important principle in Satyagraha is to attempt to see the validity in the opponent's position:

"Immediately we begin to think of things as our opponent thinks of them, we shall be able to do them full justice. I know that this requires a detached state of mind, and it is a state very difficult to reach. Nevertheless, for a Satyagrahi it is absolutely essential. Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world will disappear, if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We will then agree with our adversaries quickly or think of them charitably".<sup>125</sup>

5. 'Opponents should not be judged harder than the self'.<sup>126</sup>

"The golden rule of conduct... is mutual toleration, seeing that we will never all think alike and we shall see truth in fragment and from different angles of vision. Conscience is not the same thing for all. Whilst, therefore, it is a good guide for individual conduct, imposition of the conduct upon all will be an insufferable interference with everyone's freedom of conscience.

We must refrain from crying, "shame, shame" to anybody, we must not use any coercion to persuade other people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves".<sup>127</sup>

An opponent is entitled to the same regard for his principles or we would expect others to have for ours (tolerance). Gandhi believed that love must be shown to opponents and that the way to do this is to give them the same credit for honesty, as we would claim for ourselves (compassion and human values). Tolerance is important because we will never all think alike and we shall see truth in fragment and from different angles of vision.

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<sup>123</sup> Pelton L H, *The Psychology of Non-violence* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1974), p.221.

<sup>124</sup> Shridharani K, *War Without Violence* (Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962), p.211 (Also see; Shridharani K, *War Without violence. A Study of Gandhi's Method and It's Accomplishments* (London: Victor Gollance Ltd, 1939).

<sup>125</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG), Vol. 66, p. 271.

<sup>126</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.79.

6. 'Opponents should be trusted'.<sup>128</sup> Gandhian way of bilateral negotiations is based on the principle 'that the only way to make a man trustworthy is to trust him, and the surest way to make him untrustworthy is to distrust him'.<sup>129</sup> 'I believe in trusting. Trust begets trust. Suspicion is foetid and only stinks. He who trusts has never yet lost in the world'.<sup>130</sup> Pelton, however, notes that trusting behavior does not unequivocally beget co-operation, it may in fact lead to exploitation. Experiments in this area tend to support this somewhat depressing conclusion, however, the experimenters gave no values to the important subjective payoffs of living by one's personal morality. But Gandhi claimed that, 'it is true that I have often been let down. Many have deceived me and many have been found wanting. But I do not repent of my association with them... The most practical, the most dignified way of going in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary'.<sup>131</sup>

The satyagrahi need not wait endlessly for conversion to occur. 'When therefore the limit is reached he takes risks and conceives plans of active Satyagraha (negotiation) which may mean civil disobedience and the like. His patience is never exhausted to the point of giving up his creed'.<sup>132</sup>

7. 'An unwillingness to compromise on non-essentials decreases the likelihood of converting the opponent'.<sup>133</sup> Gandhian technique of bilateral negotiation requires that demands made be the "irreducible minimum", they should never be lowered just to please the adversary, but both parties should be prepared to make large concessions on all points except where a principle is involved. "A satyagrahi never misses, can never miss, a chance of compromise on honourable terms". Gandhi claimed that he

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<sup>127</sup> Young India, 23 September 1926.

<sup>128</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.79.

<sup>129</sup> Gregg R B, "The Best Solver of Conflicts", *Gandhi Marg*, 1962, Vol. 6, pp.116-121.

<sup>130</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 27, p. 195.

<sup>131</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 25, p. 450.

<sup>132</sup> *Young India*, 6 February 1930.

<sup>133</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.81.

himself was essentially a man of compromise 'because I can never be sure that I am right'.<sup>134</sup> Fundamentally, however, as Bondurant rightly points out, Satyagraha (for me negotiation) is a process of synthesis rather than compromise. The Satyagrahi is never prepared to yield any position, which he holds to be the truth, but 'he maybe persuaded that he is in error in so holding them'.<sup>135</sup>

8. 'The conversion of an opponent is furthered by personal sincerity'.<sup>136</sup> Opponents are more likely to resort to violence if they believe that the Satyagrahi's case is unjust and they are more likely to think this if they see their 'own point of view distorted and caricatured, and your case described without regard to your actual, far from perfect, behaviour'.<sup>137</sup> Genuine Satyagraha, however, by definition being a quest for truth, cannot be used in an unjust cause or *duragraha*, according to Bondurant.

9. 'The best way of convincing an opponent of the sincerity of the Satyagrahi is to make sacrifices for the given cause'.<sup>138</sup>

10. 'A position of weakness in an opponent should not be exploited'.<sup>139</sup> Intrigue and manipulation of opinion are to be rejected, as is surprise 'in so far as this takes the form of exploiting temporary advantages in order to embarrass or to bring undue pressure upon one's opponent'.<sup>140</sup> Advantage should not be taken of an opponent's weak moments 'if they have not been the result of Satyagraha, but due to extraneous reasons'.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Fischer L, *A Week with Gandhi* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1943), p.102. (Also see; Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.146.

<sup>135</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton N J: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.197.

<sup>136</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and Group Conflict: An Exploration of Satyagraha* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1974), p.81, 104.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* p.104.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* p.81.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* p.84, 104.

<sup>140</sup> Horsburgh H J N, *Non-violence and Aggression: A Study of Gandhi's Moral Equivalent of War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.36.

<sup>141</sup> Bose N K, *Studies in Gandhism* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1972), p.116.

“In a pure fight the fighters would never go beyond the objective fixed when the fight began even if they received an accession to their strength in the course of the fighting, and on other hand they could not give up their objective if they found their strength dwindling away”.<sup>142</sup>

11. Surrender without negotiation is not an ideal Gandhian way.

Besides the obvious moral reason, such weaknesses should not be exploited because surrender caused by some misfortune suffered by the opponent making it necessary to call off the negotiation may leave them, after their surrender, as opposed to the position of the Satyagrahi as before the negotiation commenced. Surrender without conversion is not the ideal way of terminating a negotiation, conversely, the demonstration of goodwill by not taking advantage of his position may induce the opponent to trust the sincerity of the Satyagrahi and ‘prepare a suitable atmosphere for a settlement’.<sup>143</sup>

#### VINOBA BHAVE’S VIEW OF SATYAGRAHI (NEGOTIATOR):

In early 1958 Vinoba laid down what he saw as the four principles of Satyagraha, it is positive not negative, it should proceed from gentle to gentler to gentlest, there should be happiness on the mere hearing of the word Satyagraha, and, finally, that there should be not insistence on the part of the Satyagrahi, insistence should come from Truth itself. ‘It is one mark of *Swaraj* not to allow any outside power in the world to exercise control over oneself. And the second mark of *Swaraj* is not to exercise power over any other. These two things together make *Swaraj*—no submission and no exploitation’.<sup>144</sup> ‘In the maintenance of consistency this meant that Satyagrahi had to remain non coercive and had to respect the sovereignty of the opponent by relying solely on conversion’.<sup>145</sup>

To achieve this Satyagraha had to be spiritualized by conforming to the precepts laid down by Vinoba. Gandhi had to practice the “science of Satyagraha” in

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<sup>142</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.247.

<sup>143</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Violence* (revised edition) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p.11.

<sup>144</sup> Bhave V, *Democratic Values* (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sang, 1962), pp. 13-14.

<sup>145</sup> Ostergaard G, “Vinoba’s Gradualist Versus Western Immediatist Anarchism”, *Gandhi Marg*, 1983, Vol.5, No.8/9, p.517.

an atmosphere of foreign domination, whereas in an atmosphere of democracy, Vinoba was under much less pressure to compromise on the ideals.

There was another factor according to Vinoba. He explained that with the progress of science and the creation of nuclear weapons humanity faced ultimate destruction. To neutralize this force of violence and to arouse the world's conscience, Gandhi's negotiation theory had to take on subtler and finer forms. 'Satyagraha could no longer afford to create agitation or tensions in the minds of the opponent, it had to avoid a collision of minds and seek harmony in thought'.<sup>146</sup> Understanding and acceptance, rather than through imposition, the seeds of violence, imperialism and world wars would not be rooted out.

Satyagraha had to progress as the political situation progressed and as science progressed. 'Consequently, Vinoba declared that Jesus's concept of "*resist not evil*" and Gandhi's "*non-violent resistance*" were no longer adequate, and what no had to take their place was "*non-violent assistance*" in right thinking'.<sup>147</sup> I am going one step further to say that merge our interest into opponent interest, and for that Satyagrahi needs to be spiritually at the highest level. Because Vinoba said, 'all revolutions which take place, whether they are social or economic, they their roots in spiritual ideas. At first there is a change in spiritual values and later on social, political (negotiation) and economic values undergo'.<sup>148</sup>

There are, however, other factors besides effectiveness of the Gandhian 11 points bilateral negotiation theory to be taken into account when assessing the usefulness of Gandhi's alternatives to conflict as a means of solving international as well as social, and domestic conflict. This is especially important from the Gandhian standpoint, which refuses to put an end above means. The most important of these is that fairness, honesty, forgiveness, openness in negotiation, because Gandhi stressed on means, not an end. That is why in any type of negotiation process, an instrument should be fair to reach the common agreement, which could be mutually acceptable to both parties.

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<sup>146</sup> Tandon V (ed), *Selections from Vinoba* (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh, 1981), p.281.

<sup>147</sup> Shah K (ed), *Vinoba on Gandhi* (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh, 1985), p.52.



Finally, Horsburgh makes the point that, although 'the achievements of non violence in India owe as much to Gandhi's moral greatness as to the technique of Satyagraha themselves'.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Tandon V (ed), *Selections from Vinoba* (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh, 1981), p.91.

<sup>149</sup> Horsburgh H J N, *Non-violence and Aggression: A Study of Gandhi's Moral Equivalent of War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.165.

## CONCLUSION:

When facing a conflict there are alternatives to coercion or the reliance upon the judgment of third parties. Like mediation, bilateral negotiation is a search for an outcome that is adequately suitable to both parties, but unlike mediation, the dispute is settled bilaterally, that is, the two parties are themselves the decision makers. The first two of the above methods can be termed competitive modes of conflict resolution, being generally characterized by the presence of a third party with decision making powers, coercive power, emphasis on norms, looking at past behavior, verdicts, zero-sum decisions and guilt findings. The latter two examples, on the other hand, can be termed compromise modes. 'They are characterized by the bilateral meeting of the parties involved, the lack of coercive power, emphasis on the pursuit of interests, looking to the future of the relationship, agreements, compromise decisions and the avoidance of guilt or innocence as an issue'.<sup>150</sup>

Negotiations are attempts to arrange a new combination of some of the common and conflicting interests of the parties but they can only result in agreement 'if there exists at least one set of terms that each party would prefer to having no agreement'.<sup>151</sup> Negotiators have various choices open to them, they can accept the other party's offer or propose a preferred alternative. They can also push the dispute to the position where the intervention of a third party becomes a probability either 'by refusing to consider the issues further, by refusing to hear the other's views, or by walking out and refusing to return',<sup>152</sup> that is, by accepting the status quo.

Negotiations have the advantage over the other methods of dispute settlement that they are most likely to effect lasting resolution of conflict as well as reduce dependence on "experts" thereby making the parties self-reliant, giving them control over important decisions that need to be made concerning their own lives. As a

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<sup>150</sup> Starr J, & Yngvesson B, "Scarcity and Disputing: Zeroing in on Compromise Decision", *American Ethnologist*, 1975, Vol.2, p.553.

<sup>151</sup> Ikle FC, "Negotiation" in Sillis D.S. (ed), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), Vol.2, p.117.

<sup>152</sup> Gulliver P H, *Disputes and Negotiations: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), p.78.

dialectical process negotiations also occasionally aid the discovery of entirely new approaches to the problem:

“The outcome of a negotiation is essentially one that, in each party’s opinion in the perceived circumstances, is at least satisfactory enough and is perhaps considered to be the best that is obtainable. It often represents a compromise between the parties, initial demands and expectations but there may be in part or whole, the joint creation of some new terms to originally conceived of by either party”.<sup>153</sup>

Further than that, negotiations offer the opportunity for personal moral growth by exposing each party to the views of the other, providing a situation for learning---the decision being ‘the culmination of an interactive process of information exchange’.<sup>154</sup> This prevents personal, and in the long term and on a larger scale, social and national stagnation---when an agreement between the parties is reached ‘the position of each has been subtly changed not only by terms offered, but by its experience of the other and exposure to the other’s persuasion’.<sup>155</sup>

Gandhian bilateral negotiation theory is stressing to solve the conflict permanently, not just to manage it for very short term. Managing conflict is dangerous because it creates the doubt in the mind of both parties about each other that could change their perception of the problem. This theory is very effective in social conflict as well as from interpersonal to international conflict, is the *only alternative* to any type of conflict, relevant forever.

This theory very fast is moving toward the constructive negotiation or cooperative negotiation. ‘A cooperative process, which is more likely to result in productive conflict resolution, employs the strategy of persuasion and the tactics of conciliation, minimization of differences and the enhancement of mutual understanding and goodwill’.<sup>156</sup> The aim is to maintain open and honest communication of all information relevant to the participants, thus reducing the likelihood of the development of misunderstandings, which often led to confusion and mistrust. The cooperative process entails the recognition of the legitimacy of the

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid.p.50.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.p.6.

<sup>155</sup> Vickers G, *Freedom in a Rocking Boat* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p.151.

<sup>156</sup> Deutsch M, *The Resolution of Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p.352.

adversary's interests and the necessity to engage in the search for a solution that adequately meets the needs of both parties. Positions, therefore, should be stated in terms of the problem, to be solved rather than a solution to be accepted by the adversary.

This negotiation (process) is analogous with the third mode of conducting a conflict in Rapoport's typology, that is, "debate". According to Rapoport, a debate, having the objective of convincing the opponent and making them see things as you see them, is composed of three elements. 'These can be summarized as (a) conveying the message to the opponent that they have been heard, and understood, (b) delineating the region of validity of the opponent's stand, and (c) inducing the assumption of similarity'.<sup>157</sup> In order for this to be done successfully the opponent must not be threatened, a relationship of trust and mutual responsiveness must be built up. It should be remembered that it is easier to move in the direction of cooperation to competition than from competition to cooperation. 'Trust when violated is more likely to turn into suspicion than negated suspicion is to turn into trust',<sup>158</sup> according to Deutsch.

Trust can be built up by showing a positive interest in the opponent's welfare, and demonstrating a readiness to respond helpfully to their needs and requests. There is however the obvious problems with trust--what if opponents take advantage of a trust-inducing or breakthrough-creating action for their own ends? Or if such concession is interpreted as a sign of weakness and thus emboldens the opponent to make more vigorous use of pressure tactics against the one offering the trust-inducing concession? Of course this may happen, but all too often, conflicts are conducted on the assumption that it will happen if the parties are not sufficiently tough. The cooperative method of negotiation does involve the taking of some risk, however this risk is for less than the risk of the loss of a mutually acceptable resolution incurred by the use of pressure tactics.

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<sup>157</sup> Rapoport A, *Fights, Games and Debates* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960) p.11, 286-287.

<sup>158</sup> Deutsch M, "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive", *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, Vol.25, No.1, p.15.

The other main element of a “debate” is the emphasis placed on mutual responsiveness and reciprocity. This first step in building up the climate for these elements starts with the self. It requires giving others credit one gives oneself and on undoing of the normal bias ‘towards perceiving one’s own behaviour towards the other as being more benevolent and more legitimate than the other’s behaviour towards oneself’.<sup>159</sup>

While mutual responsiveness is reasonably altruistic in the first instance, being governed by the other party’s needs, it, like the well established norm of reciprocity. One should help those who have helped you and you should not injure those who have helped you, assumes that in the long term such actions will be repaid. In short, ‘if you want to be helped by others you must help them’.<sup>160</sup> When people or groups enter into a relationship with other people or groups, an expectation is built up that they will be attentive to the others needs. This norm however, also operates in situation where there is no close relationship and even in situations where power differences might invite exploitation:

“The norms thus safeguards powerful people against the temptations of their own status, it motivates and regulates reciprocity as an exchange pattern, striving to inhibit the emergence of exploitative relations which would undermine the social system and the very power arrangements which had made exploitation possible”.<sup>161</sup>

Mutual responsiveness can be developed outside of the close relationships in which it is the expected mode of interaction by the performing of acts of generosity:

“One party must necessarily start the ball rolling by being generous, and his behaviour at this time may well be an effort to ingratiate or an expression of initial attraction towards the other party. The fact that the ball continues rolling may at first be a matter of reciprocity, with the other party reciprocating this reciprocity. But eventually a norm of mutual responsiveness emerges that is quite distinct from such historical origins”.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

<sup>160</sup> Gouldner A W, “The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement”, *American Sociological Review*, 1962, Vol.25, p.173.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid. p. 174.

<sup>162</sup> Pruitt D G, “Methods for Resolving Differences of Interest”, *Journal of Social Issues*, 1972, Vol.28, p.151.

Bearing these factor in mind Rapoport's ideal cooperation form of conflict resolution is forwarded as the most productive method, the one most in keeping with the Gandhian tradition, and the one upon which a Satyagraha campaign (negotiation) can be superimposed without contradiction. Rapoport claims that where most negotiation fail in modifying outlooks the failure can be traced to either the unwillingness or the inability of the parties to listen to each other. The first step for overcoming this potential stumbling block is the removal of threat by the conveyance of assurances that the opponent has been clearly and accurately understood. The best method of doing this is by stating the opponent's case back to them, for in order 'To make a dent in the opponent's mental armor, you must make him listen, and something he is sure to listen to is his own case'.<sup>163</sup>

Usually in a debate we point out the grounds on which we consider the opponent's position to be invalid. Rapoport argues that if we want to reduce threats to the opponent this procedure must be reserved—we should point out 'conditions under which the opponent's point of view is valid'. Having shown that their point of view has been understood, they should be invited to perform the same exercise with respect to us. This is difficult because there are no rules for such a procedure. This however may be advantageous, for, as Rapoport points out, if there were such rules a game could ensue where the opponent became suspicious that they were being outwitted.

The object of this procedure is to induce the opponent to treat you the way they would wish to be treated, to induce them:

"To assume that you are like him, if he feels that he deserves to be believed and trusted; that if he feels that he has been relieved by the removal of threat, then it is to his advantage to relieve you, in order that threats... do not interfere with the cooperative potentialities of the situation".<sup>164</sup>

With this reversal of the normal procedure of conflict handling, one's own shortcomings and aggressive urges are not imputed to the adversary, instead:

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<sup>163</sup> Rapoport A, *Fights, Games and Debates* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), p.291.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 287-288.

“One seeks within himself the clearly perceived shortcomings of the opponent. The opponent often seems stupid or rigid or dishonest or ruthless. It will serve us well to ask ourselves to what extent we resemble him... To convince, we must be heard, and to be heard, we must be listened to, people listen most attentively to what they like to hear, they like to hear their own shortcomings projected on others; no others shortcomings projected on them. Our ultimate purpose in raising questions about ourselves is to induce the opponent to raise similar questions about himself. We see ourselves as intelligent, honest and considerate. It will serve us well to imagine that the opponent possesses these qualities to some degree. Maybe he does not, but may be this ‘delusion’ of course will induce a similar delusion in him about us”.<sup>165</sup>

The Gandhian model of bilateral negotiation rests upon the assumption that a committed individual will be able to resolve conflicts in a productive way if they put maximum effort into the process. Spiegel has established that in conflicts between partners in a close relationship, conflicts do move from the competitive to the cooperative. The Gandhian model rests on the belief that this is also possible in other distant relationships. The successful resolution of manifest conflicts, even where the underlying conflicts are completely sidestepped, can also still be useful.

The productive resolution of conflict is a learner’s procedure, and even though our society sets great store by teaching competitiveness and conflict suppression and provides little formal training in the techniques of constructive negotiation or provides few institutional resources to aid such actions, each small victory for productive conflict is a step in the right direction. The successful management of manifest conflicts may give the parties the confidence to face more fundamental conflicts through bilateral negotiation in the future.

In conclusion, to quote Curle:

“It is within the capacity of everyone to increase the number of peaceful relationships in which he is involved, and to decrease the number of unpeaceful ones. If our concepts of peace and unpeacefulness, and consequently our objectives, are clear, there are several spheres of life in which we can take action and in so doing possibly have an effect (though often too indirect and obscure for recognition) upon a larger sphere”.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid. p. 306.

<sup>166</sup> Curle A, *Making Peace* (London: Tavistock, 1971), p.274.

The substance of the Gandhian bilateral negotiation theory is, when an individual (Satyagrahi) is seriously applies this theory into the life he leads himself towards to attain divine life---this is missing with other negotiating techniques.



## **Chapter IV**

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

Isn't Truth relevant for one century and not for another? Truth is relevant forever. And that is why Gandhian technique of negotiation which is mainly based on Truth, therefore, it relevant forever. Each and every individual has to realize truth according his/her own consciousness. That's why this negotiation theory is more effective in bilateral way, because individual has to apply it throughout his/her life. It is a not matter of research or an empirical argument to convince the opponents, it is a matter of faith. But some western negotiation theorists tried to argue that faith could be used to solve the problem for personal gain. Humanitarian way of solving the conflicts not for personal gain, but for "win-win" or "lose-win" solution of the problems; lose position should be of a person who practiced this technique of negotiation.

The Gandhian negotiation theory is more useful to solve the community dispute, local environmental problems, and where the people's participation directly attached to problems. Certainly, this negotiation theory is not much more effective for government negotiator or diplomat who always guided by the Government's instructions, not by his/her own consciousness. Those who believe in the heart (consciousness) also aims to serve the humanity, not particular country's interests. In the words of Martin Luther King (Jr), 'if humanity is to progress, Gandhi is inseparable...we may ignore him at our own risk'. Isn't service to humanity relevant for one millennium and not for another? It may be relevant for one person, may be not for another.

No person in this world can judge, what is relevant for others? Each has to judge according to his/her own way. According to Hume, 'to approve or disapprove of something is to have a perception before the mind, and so he sees the task of understanding morality as that of explaining what those perceptions are like, and how and why they get there. In fact, he begins with the question:

“Whether ’tis by means of our ideas or impressions we distinguish betwixt vice and virtue, and pronounce an action blameable or praise-worthy?”<sup>1</sup>

If reasoning were enough to produce moral judgments, it would do so either by demonstration (or the comparison of ideas) or by means of interferences to some matter of fact. Since for Hume those are the only kinds of reasoning there are, he tries to show that neither leads us to the conclusion that a particular act or character is good, or that a he concludes that no reasoning at all ever leads us to a moral conclusion:

“Morals excite passions, and produce or prevent actions. Reason of itself is utterly impotent in this particular. The rules of morality, therefore, are not conclusions of reason”<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, reason is not enough to judge the relevance of any thing in the life, but I think consciousness matter more than empirical way of judging the relevance of anything in the life. So, no one can judge the consciousness of others, therefore, no one can decide that what is relevant others. Individual has to decide that what is relevant for himself?

Critics used to say, Mahatma Gandhi does not belong to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, meaning thereby that with old fashion ideas, he belonged to the previous century, but I could not help agreeing with them, as I knew that he belongs to the coming centuries. As time passes, Gandhi becomes more and more relevant, not only for India, but for the whole world. The force of Truth words reminds us that we should not rest till we are able to internalize in ourselves the twin principles of Truth and non-violence (good tools in negotiation) in our thought and action. We should be optimistic and hope that we would be able to overcome the present crisis in negotiation which world is facing today.

I believed to have greater relevance in the present world of modern Science and Technology. Modern science and technology has produced geographical neighborhood (internet, phone, fax, media), but the distance between man and man has increased. We have become highly individualistic. We feel no longer concerned

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Stroud, *Hume: The Arguments of the Philosophers* (edited by, Ted Honderich), (London: Routledge, 1994, 7<sup>th</sup> edition), p.172.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

with each other's welfare, except in commercial and business terms. Co-operation has been replaced by competition and consumerism. Therefore, need of time is to move fast from competitive negotiation to cooperative negotiation. Much intelligence and much energy are going to get personal gains, not the welfare of human beings.

Yet it seems more important than ever that an even the greater efforts be made to achieve positive and mutually helpful relationship. Reconciliation involves re-establishing harmony and cooperation between antagonists who have inflicted harm in either a one-sided or reciprocal manner. According to Kriesberg, reconciliation refers to developing a mutual conciliatory accommodation between antagonists and establishing an amicable relationship after a rupture involving extreme injury. At the inter communal level, Kriesberg describes the phenomenon as follows:

“Reconciliation here refers to accommodative ways members of adversary entities have come to regard each other after having engaged in intense, and often destructive struggle. They have become able to put aside feelings of hate, fear, and loathing, to put aside views of the other as dangerous and subhuman, and to put aside the for revenge and retribution. To put aside does not mean not to have such feelings, perceptions, and goals, but not to make them paramount nor to act on them against the former adversary”<sup>3</sup>

This cannot be accomplished by harnessing technical forces but only through man himself; working with other men based on Gandhian ideals, and with those who reject this model. I think western negotiation model is based on to make man machine, because it teaches how to communicate, how to negotiate to gain larger part of the cake for personal gains, not for the welfare of the whole world. When we follow the western model of negotiation; in that process we have to pretend that we are working to reach mutually acceptable agreement, but actually not. Pretending is more dangerous in negotiation process, because next party could lose the trust in you. Western negotiation model is technical because what are you communicating with other party is not coming out of heart. It won't believe individual's passion, enthusiasm, feelings, sympathy, emotion and other human values. It believes only in mind, not in heart, that is why I am saying it is technical.

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<sup>3</sup> Fisher R J, “Social-Psychological Processes in Interactive Conflict Analysis and Reconciliation” in Ho-Won Jeong (ed), *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p.83.

But Gandhian negotiation model is based on heart, not on the mind. To get success through this model of negotiation, we must have faith in human beings. Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore has put it beautifully, "Every child brings proof that God has not lost faith in man". The message of Surdas, the blind Vaishnava Saint and poet was "O Lord, look not upon my evil qualities. Thy name, O Lord, is same-sighted. One piece of iron is in the image in the temple, and another in the butcher's hand, but when they touch the philosopher's stone, both alike turn into gold. So Lord, look not upon my evil qualities".

The whole song expresses the truth that God dwells in everyone in everything (Negotiator and Negotiation). This had touched Gandhi deeply. The way to happiness and prosperity has never been through despair. (Bad tools in negotiation process like tactic, dishonesty, and shrewdness). Only the one who never despairs can have hope and enthusiasm in negotiation. Just as we cannot live without the "sun" we cannot live in "peace" in the world without Gandhi's twin ideals of Truth and Non-violence.

Gandhi regarded truth as the source of Dharma. Hence there should be truth in thought, speech and action (negotiation). The man has realized truth completely has nothing else to know, because all knowledge is necessarily included in it. And that is why truth is perhaps the most important name of God. In fact, it is better to say that Truth is God, than to say God is truth. The metaphysical nature of the connection between "Truth" and "God" is explained by Gandhi in a private letter:

"In 'God is Truth' is certainly does not mean 'equal to' nor does it merely mean, 'is truthful'. Truth is not mere attribute of God, but He is that. He is nothing if he is that. Truth in Sanskrit means *sat*, *sat* means *Is*. Therefore truth is implied in *Is*. God is nothing else is. Therefore more truthful we are, the nearer we are to God. We are only to the extent that we are truthful".<sup>4</sup>

Iyer further summarizes Gandhi's position of Satyagrahi's relationship to the truth in the following paraphrase of various quotations from Gandhi:

"As truth is the substance of morality, man is a moral agent only to the extent that he embraces and seeks truth. By truth is not merely meant the abstention from lies, not just the prudential conviction that honesty is best

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<sup>4</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. L, p. 175.

policy in the long run, but even more that we must rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. We must say No when we mean No regardless of consequences. He who ignores this law does not know what it is to speak and to stand for truth, is like a fake coin, valueless. He has abdicated from his role and status as a moral being. Devotion to truth is the sole reason for human existence, and the truth alone really sustains us at all times. Without truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life".<sup>5</sup>

The most important practical way to the life of truth that Satyagrahi requires is that 'A lover of Truth will not appear different from what he is. His thoughts, words and actions will be harmonious'.<sup>6</sup> His concept of truth involves complete tolerance to those who differ in negotiation. According to him, the aim of human life is to attain truth and non-violence. Truth is two types, ultimate (Absolute) and relative. It is comparatively easy to achieve relative truth. However, the endeavour should be to know the ultimate truth, because this results in the realization of God, even possible through the negotiation process.

Gandhi considered non-violence, beside truth, as synonymous with God. He believed that non-violence has its own relevance in resolving conflict and is also related to the reconstruction of society. Non-violent resolution of conflict is in accordance with dignity of man's spirit. He (satyagrahi) can save his spirit by observing non-violence, which is in tune with his spirituality. Another aspect of non-violence is progress. It binds people together, promoting cooperation, harmony and unity, and preventing destruction, contributes to development. Practice of absolute non-violence is not possible so long one exists physically. It is not the same as non-killing, nor it is non-resistance borne out of cowardice. It implies absence of hatred or ill will, love for wrong doer; courage in the face of violence, non-possession, bread labor, truthfulness and freedom from possession.

The refusal to use violence indicates a respect for both the personality and moral integrity of the opponent. It aims at establishing a realization of an existing mutually shared humanity. Satyagrahi is capable of, indeed aims at, creating the conditions necessary for such a dialogue in Buber's sense:

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<sup>5</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: OUP, 1973), p.157.

<sup>6</sup> Desai M, *The Diary of Mahadev Desai* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1953), p.249,

“There is necessarily a dialogue in non-violence, because through it you wish to convince the other party and to bring him to discover in you not his adversary, but a man like him”.<sup>7</sup>

In its practical application this may mean that in a situation where one finds it difficult to actually love an opponent, it is still possible to act towards them on the assumption that all men’s lives are of value, and that there is something about any man to be loved, whether he can feel love for him or not.

Of course, in order to come out of the present malaise and dilemma, the only remedy lies in adopting Gandhian path to resolve conflicts. Arnold Toynbee has rightly observed:

“At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is the Indian way—Emperor Ashoka’s and Mahatma Gandhi’s principles of non-violence and Sri Ramakrishna’s testimony to the harmony of religions. Here we have an attitude and spirit that can make it possible for the human race to grow together into a single family, and in the Atomic Age this is the only alternative to destroying ourselves”.<sup>8</sup>

If conflict arises from divergence and opposition, accommodation and cooperation arises from Complementarity, balance of power and consensus. Complementarity means the possibility of mutual advantage and cooperative interdependence is probable to be highly advantageous. The more integrated into the society are parties to conflict, the less likely will be chances of conflict being violent. This is the Gandhian way of negotiation to create peaceful society, and serve humanity. Power can be political or economic in its nature; it may emerge from the sword or the pen, or from the common voice of a collective people. Power can also come out of faith, one’s conviction that one’s way is the right or righteous way. It is this belief oneself (Satyagrahi) that we see at work in the mission of Mahatma Gandhi, in this practice of Satyagraha, insistence on truth.

Ethical values, however, sound they are, must have a backing of *Samarthyaa* (power) otherwise they are like a bow and arrow without anchor to use them. The

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<sup>7</sup> Ramana Murti V V, “Buber’s Dialogue and Gandhi’s Satyagraha”, *The Journal of History of Ideas*, 1968, Vol.29, p.608.

<sup>8</sup> Gangrade K D, “Gandhi’s Eternal Relevance” in *Yojana: A Development Journal* (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, October 2002), Vol.46, p.8.

weapon has neither strength, nor accuracy, nor purpose by itself. A leader (Satyagrahi) of the nation has the responsibility of uniting the people or solving to their problems. He must constantly remind himself of his responsibilities as a ruler. He should not be engrossed in his own life, in the pursuit of self-gratification. He must not become an uncaring and callous leader towards citizens. He must turn power from a gratification into responsibility. This is expected of all leaders from top to bottom, or bottom to top, to serve people and build. Resolution of conflict or negotiation aims to emerge a winner, leader.

We need a man of values at the head of a government. We need a philosopher King, whose head is clear and whose heart is in the right place. Gandhi believed that there is divinity in all life, and thus fundamental unity in diversity. The Gandhian model envisaged that development and governance should be bottom-up and not be top-down, goal should be self-defined. A moral person or a citizen is one who is concerned with the welfare and happiness of his or her fellow beings. He subordinates his individual goals in the larger interest of society. He is expected to move from the egocentric self to a de-centering activity, leading to the formation of a harmonious and reciprocal relationship. These ideals and values are inculcated and transmitted into an individual by the society in which he lives.

After the Gandhi's assassination, as the pyre was lit and Gandhi's frail body consigned to flames, someone from the mourning millions exclaimed: "Now he belongs to the ages". He brought back the vanished pride of India. He made truth more important than consistency. In the words of Nehru: "he did not grow much more truthful perhaps than we had been but Gandhi was always there to pull us up and shame us into truth". Swami Ranganathananda said, 'Never before in history has the death of an individual evoked human sorrow on so vast a scale. From the response that Gandhiji's passing away has evoked from millions and millions of people in India and abroad, we can have an idea of the great thirst in the hearts of men and women today for universal and abiding spiritual and moral values which the great martyr strove so successfully to express his fully lived life of about 79 years. By holding high the banner of love and service through thick and thin in the midst of his socio-political programmes and activities, and the banner of truth and non-violence in his



personal life, Gandhiji has left an imperishable legacy which, as the years pass by, humanity in India and elsewhere will recognize, as the only values capable of expressing dignity and worth of man, as the only hope of civilization and progress, and as the only guarantee of the march of man everywhere to all-round growth and fulfillment. Gandhi was not a mere individual; he was a universal man who stood for collective human welfare. Swamiji concluded by saying that although as a physical presence Gandhiji is no more but as a spiritual force he is immortal'.<sup>9</sup>

Violence is going to be the greatest challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and there in lies the relevance of Gandhi. As the first Prime Minister of India, Nehru reflected upon Gandhian experiments in which he himself had played so great a part, he saw in them a new dynamic that Gandhi brought into the political and social field including negotiation and conflict resolution theories:

“That dynamic largely justified in India, in spite of the weaknesses and failing of many who call themselves his followers. I do not pretend to understand fully the significance of that technique of action, in which I myself took part. But I feel more and more convinced that it offers us some key to understanding and to the proper resolution of conflict. We see conflict all round us in the world. That is perhaps not surprising. But what is surprising is that the methods adopted to end that conflict have almost always failed miserably and produce greater conflict and more difficult problems. In spite of this patent fact, we pursue the old methods blindly and do not even learn from our own experiences”.<sup>10</sup>

Gandhi was never tired of talking about means and ends and of laying stress on the importance of the means. That is the essential difference, between his approach and the normal approach, which thinks in terms of ends only, and because means are forgotten, the ends aimed at escape one. 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. The mistaken belief still persists that violence can end a conflict or that war can bring salvation to the world. Gandhi pointed another way and, what is more, lived

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<sup>9</sup> Khullar K K, “He Belongs to the Ages” in *Yojana: A Development Journal* (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, October 2002), vol.46, p.13.

<sup>10</sup> Bondurant Joan V, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton N J: Princeton University Press, 1958), p.x.

it and showed achievement. That surely should at least make us try to understand what this new way was and how far it is possible for us to shape our thoughts and actions (negotiation) in accordance with it. Gandhi believed that "If there is victor left, the very victory would be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious". He ridiculed the idea of wars to end wars. Wars do not end anything except humanity. If, therefore, humanity is to survive, we must go back to Gandhi and bring peace to the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

According to him, war can be fought only through peace and goodness to be effective must be coupled with courage and character. Gandhi is not exclusive, he is universal, he does not belong to any particular country; he belongs to the ages.

### **NEGOTIATION: WHY GANDHIAN WAY?**

Gandhi firmly believed that life could not be compartmentalized, that actions, and the reasons on which actions are based, whether they be political (negotiation & conflict resolution), economic or social, are interrelated, that these actions have a direct bearing upon the achievement of the ultimate aim of life. Gandhi himself named this aim as "Truth" or *moksha*, and claimed that his life including his 'ventures in the political field are directed to this same end'.<sup>11</sup> The ideal of conscientious action which; is conducive to an attainment of this aim must, in Gandhi's moral philosophy, continually be born in mind--and this obviously includes the way one goes about resolving conflicts.

Sharp and Gregg both point out that the conversion of an opponent may not be achievable in all cases--that occasionally they must be defeated first. The problem is how to know this in advance. How long does one keep up Satyagraha before accepting failure? If a Satyagraha action is commences with the attitude that failing the achievement of the desired result within a certain, specified period (that is, if Satyagraha is used as a policy rather than a creed) another method will be used, then the desired outcome may be doomed to non-actualization from the outset. Satyagraha, to be effective, requires complete effort.

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<sup>11</sup> Gandhi M K, *An Autobiography: The Story of my Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1927), p.x.

The Satyagrahi lifestyle is one, which reduces the likelihood of conflicts reaching the grievances stage. It is based on humility yet it is designed to build self-respect, it teaches patience and toleration in the face of insults, it does not threaten opponents, it insists on compromise on all but fundamental matters of principle, and it acknowledges the truth in the opponent's position. Satyagraha as a method of negotiation, on the other hand, is methods of fighting where conflicts have reach this stage. That in this sense Satyagraha is effective has, it is to be hoped, been sufficiently illustrated by examples throughout the world like Mandela's struggle, John Hume's contribution to Irish Peace Process, Baba Amte and Anna Hazare's both contribution to humanity, but it should be noted that as a method it guarantees no automatic and unflinching success; no method of conflict resolution does. Naess sums up Gandhi's probable answer to those who are pessimistic as to the utility of Satyagraha as a solver of conflicts as:

*"Have you tried? I have, and it works".<sup>12</sup>*

Gandhi was quite aware that his belief in a better, more peaceful world resulting from the increased practice of non-violence could not be proved by argument, but this did not overly concern him. His answer was that if Satyagraha failed the attempt has not been pure enough:

*"Supposing I can not produce a single instance in life of a man who truly converted his adversary, would then say that it is because no one has yet been found to express Ahimsa in its fullness".<sup>13</sup>*

The failure to reach an ideal, therefore, is not to be seen as the defeat of either the individual or the ideal. Personal victory comes from effort and although the ideal may remain ever unattained it is never unattainable.

This along with his assertion that 'Sometimes men of truth appear to have failed, but that is no more than a fleeting appearance',<sup>14</sup> may well leave empiricists grossly unsatisfied. Iyer, however, quite correctly points out that it would certainly be

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<sup>12</sup> Naess A, *Gandhi and the Nuclear Age* (Totowa NJ: Bedminster Press, 1965), p.78.

<sup>13</sup> *Harijan*, 14 March 1936.

<sup>14</sup> *Indian Opinion*, 8 February 1908.

wrong to judge Satyagraha 'entirely on utilitarian grounds, on the practical result achieved, because the doctrine depends essentially on non-utilitarian assumptions'.<sup>15</sup> Even where Satyagraha does fail to resolve a conflict, "*the subjective benefit of dignity that comes from leading a moral life, is always present and this is missing with other negotiations methods*".

The words "conflict resolution" can mean very different things to different peoples. For Burton, conflicts may be managed and disputes may be settled without conflicts being resolved. In contrast to an 'adversarial power approach', Burton, a champion of problem-solving approach, which is grounded in his view of innate human needs, which transcend cultures, and which must be satisfied if deep-seated conflicts are to be resolved. For Burton, the violation of the drives that stem from these needs leads to conflict and crime, while their satisfaction, through problem-solving processes, prevents violence and conflicts can be resolved by getting to the roots of a problem through a searching analysis by all those concerned in the light of which an agreement can be reached without any compromise of human needs.

This collaborative problem-solving approach to conflict resolution seems to have its origins in developments in industrial relations in the 1960s, 'when the idea arose that more "cooperative interaction" between the parties could lead to a greater increase in productivity than that which ensued from more traditional forms of power bargaining'.<sup>16</sup> In the mid 1960s, Burton instituted 'international problem-solving workshops' at the "Center for the Analysis of Conflict" in London. One of the facilitators at the first workshop was the Harvard Professor of International Law Roger Fisher. Also, around those time some peace activists turned their attention to peacemaking activities, and dissatisfaction with the costly, slow and adversarial court system led to the development of what has come to be known as the "alternative dispute resolution" movement.

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<sup>15</sup> Iyer R, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.302.

<sup>16</sup> Scimecca Joseph A, "What is Conflict Resolution?" in Harold E Pepinsky, and Richard Quinney (ed), *Criminology as Peacemaking* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1989), pp.267-268.

This alternative conflict resolution method (ADR) grew out of the adjudicative legal tradition and maintained the role of a third party to determine the outcome in accordance with prevailing norms, and according to theorists like Burton still operated with the power-bargaining frame, with legal or industrial norms determining the outcome. Later in the 1960s a new approach was focusing on human needs, became more fashionable. In this approach, conflicting parties are brought together to analyze the conflict in a non-bargaining way that looks at its deep rooted sources so that the conflict can be truly resolved, rather than creating a situation where merely the manifest dispute is settled. For simple interpersonal disputes, community or neighborhood justice centers became popular, providing cheap mediation as an alternative to legal and quasi-legal processes.

These developments were gradually moving towards the Gandhian model, and particularly so in the recent non-mainstream approach known as transformative mediation that sees mediation as a process that potentially can change individuals, and through then society, for the better. This approach, very reminiscent of Bondurant's characterization of a Gandhian view of conflict, starts from the premise that conflicts need not be seen as problems in the first place. 'Instead it suggests that they should be seen as an opportunities for moral growth and transformation'.<sup>17</sup>

The modern ADR (Alternative Dispute Resolution) movement has established a system aimed at avoiding legal adjudication and giving disputants a measure of control over the outcome of disputes in something of a Gandhian spirit through the good offices of a mediator. It is a mediator's job to assist the parties to come to their own resolution of dispute. There is no power to compel settlement, the disputants must rely on their own mutual agreement with assistance from the mediator and, because it is in their interest, they themselves make settlement work. While the outcome sought is an accommodation between the parties, it could lead to the conversion aimed at by Satyagraha and so come close to the Gandhian ideal. In other words, this level of third party involvement is not totally outside the parameters of the ideal Gandhian conflicting process, as adjudication or even arbitration would be.

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<sup>17</sup> Bush Robert A, Baruch, and Joseph P Golger, *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict Through Empowerment and Recognition* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), p.81.

After all, Gandhi himself took pride in being a third party assistant in so many disputes. 'As early as 1918, Gandhi tested himself and his ideas on Indian soil by undertaking an organized action in the city of Ahmedabad in West-Central India. The ostensible reason for the encounter was a dispute between mill workers and mill owners, both sides in the dispute being personally known to Gandhi. But Gandhi used the occasion to work out methods—including personal fast—through which both sides could negotiate constructively. His goal in this and subsequent actions was to reach a resolution that would respect the interests of both parties and leave them equally strengthened by their participation in the structured, at times virtually ritualized conflict'.<sup>18</sup> In short, while the conflict process is generally seen as a bilateral one, 'Gandhi himself may have perceived a role for mediators similar to the one advocated by the champions of transformative conflict resolution as aiding in a spiritually and morally enriching process by not merely going beyond issues of power and rights, but even those of interests, to ones of relatedness'.<sup>19</sup> 'Gandhi's success means that non-violent techniques sometimes can win over force'.<sup>20</sup>

Bush and Folger have argued that mediation has the potential to do more than produce agreements and improve relationships. They go so far to argue that it can transform people's lives. They make the very Gandhian point that 'conflict affords opportunity for moral development and that the role of the mediator is not only to find solutions but also to change people themselves for the better'.<sup>21</sup> They (Bush and Folger) see this transformation process coming about through two effects: empowerment (giving disputing parties a sense of their own value and strength and their own capacity to handle life's problems) and recognition (generating feelings of empathy for the situation and problems of others). Recently this approach has been utilized in victim/offender mediation but perhaps its value has not been taken as far as

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<sup>18</sup> Gardner Howard in collaboration with Emma Laskin, *Leading Minds: An Anatomy of Leadership* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), p.274.

<sup>19</sup> Dukes Frank, "Public Conflict Resolution: A Transformative Approach", *Negotiation Journal*, 1993, 9(1), p.50.

<sup>20</sup> Nozick Robert, *Philosophical Explanations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press & OUP Press, 1981), p.574.

<sup>21</sup> Bush Robert A, Baruch, & Joseph P Folger, *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict Through Empowerment and Recognition* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), p.xv.

it could be. 'Some theorists feel that the transformative dimensions of mediation, that is, empowerment and recognition, matter more than the settlement, not only because of their intrinsic value but also as expressions of a much broader shift to a new moral and social vision'.<sup>22</sup>

Although role-plays by non-violent activists, in preparation for involvement in situations of direct physical conflict, may explore the use of creative suffering, no one has yet devised techniques of conflict resolution or negotiation practice that are so specifically Gandhian as to place a large emphasis on self-suffering. Perhaps this is not possible or even thought to be desirable, however, the shift from a model of conflict resolution that was traditionally based on power and coercive bargaining to one of problem-solving processes that aimed to resolve conflicts (rather than merely settle immediate disputes) seems to have produced conflict resolution processes with strong similarities to the preliminary phases of Gandhi's Satyagraha, and some new theoretical thinking about the broader dimensions of approaches to conflict has strong parallels with Gandhi's quest for an existentially more satisfying life.

In Gandhi's vision Satyagraha was not only a useful technique for the resolution of conflicts, and the Satyagrahi was far more than a mere practitioner of a certain skill. The Satyagrahi was the embodiment of an ideal, and the Satyagrahi life style was the life-style worth living. In claiming that '*person's highest duty in life is to serve mankind and take his share in bettering its condition*'.<sup>23</sup> Gandhi was making the point that the ultimate congruence of the self and the other means that the highest form of morality is the practice of altruism. While self-suffering was quite likely to be a consequence of altruism; Gandhi was firmly convinced that to suffer wrongs was less degrading than to inflict them.

Although none of the authors of the popular negotiation books espousing the new "win-win" models acknowledge any debt to Gandhi, except Thomas Weber, who not directly dealt with negotiations, and although it seems that the theoretical work on which this new literature is based can not be casually linked to Gandhi's Satyagraha. Further, the empirical literature, while not going as far as Gandhian theory, does

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p.4.

<sup>23</sup> *Indian Opinion*, 23 February 1907.

seems to provide reasonably strong backing for the validity of the Gandhian approach to conflict resolution, especially bilateral way, that grew out of a lifetime of conducting conflict and seeking Truth for the Mahatma. Practitioners and popularizers of negotiation theories could gain much by realizing that they are in fact part of the same discourse. They could profitably read that part of the negotiation literature that is unfamiliar to them in order to help them better conceptualize bilateral negotiation theories. And perhaps skilled mediators could consider whether, consistent with Gandhi's approach, these may be broader normative and transformative dimensions in their search for integrative agreements.

Mahatma Gandhi set high standards for himself and had faith in the possibility of achieving them:

“... I am an irrepressible optimist, because I believe in myself. That sounds very arrogant doesn't it? But I say it from the depths of my humility... I am an optimist because I expect many things from myself. I have not got them, I know, as I am not yet a perfect being...”<sup>24</sup>

Woodcock in his small popular biography of Gandhi summed up the core of Gandhi's philosophy in action when he noted that:

“With an extraordinary persistence he made and kept himself one of the few free men of our time”<sup>25</sup>

Is it possible for all to attain this freedom, to find the courage to undergo self-suffering and mercilessly seek the truth, and return love for violence? Or is this only possible for Mahatmas? In short, is Satyagraha a viable method of solving conflicts especially through negotiation for those that are not Gandhis?

Basham, a great historian, once noted that on his first visit to India, not long after the death of Bapu, he found cities, towns and railway stations displaying posters of his feet and the message, “He showed us the way”. ‘A few years later all the posters had disappeared and had been replaced by splendid statues of Gandhi’.<sup>26</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup> *Young India*, 30 August 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Woodcock G, *Gandhi* (London: Fontana, 1972), p.6.

<sup>26</sup> Basham, “Foreword” to Ray (ed), in *Gandhi, India and the World: An International Symposium* (Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1970), p.13.



process of neutralization by deification had begun. No longer was Gandhi to be a source of inspiration for all to strive a little harder to lead a better life, after all he was for more than merely human, he had become a saint—and saints are to be admired or worshipped but not followed.

The Gandhi as saint myth has been as destructive of the spread of Satyagraha as a method of negotiation, and the Satyagrahi lifestyle as the foundation of a worthwhile life. Bose points out that Gandhi has often been 'depicted as a man without traits which belong to common human beings... men reading take shelter under the view that while non-violence is good for super human beings like Gandhiji, it is beyond the reach of the average individual'.<sup>27</sup> Many of the dozens of biographies of Gandhi are in fact hagiographies aiding the process of neutralization—destroying Gandhi's impact while glorifying his name which could have inspire many more to serves the humanity.

Books that depict Gandhi had an unattractive features have the positive attribute of showing that he was human, achieving his greatness by immense struggle rather than by divine providence. Gandhi continually, throughout his life, rejected the superhuman claims made for him. He stated quite clearly that:

“The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what holds good in respect of oneself equally applies to the whole universe. All mankind in essence is alike. What is therefore possible for me, is possible for everybody”.<sup>28</sup>

Gandhi maintained that eventually we would become what we believe ourselves to be. If we offer Gandhian way of negotiation believing ourselves to be strong, to clear consequences result from it. Fostering the idea of strength, we grow stronger and stronger every day. With the increase in our strength, our negotiation, too, becomes more effective. Towards the end of his life he concluded that his work would finally be finished when he had convinced, 'the human family that every man or women,

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<sup>27</sup> Bose N K, *My Days with Gandhi* (New Delhi: Orient Longmen, 1971), p.97.

<sup>28</sup> *Harijan*, 29 April 1939.

however weak in body, is the guardian of his or her self-respect and liberty regardless of the odds'.<sup>29</sup>

If the world is going to be destroyed by war then a study of a Gandhian model of interpersonal conflict is irrelevant. This is of course true in the sense that if the world is destroyed there will no longer be interpersonal conflict because there will be no persons. Hopefully, it has been demonstrated that by conducting these smaller conflicts in a Gandhian way, larger ones may be prevented. From the point of view of Gandhian ethics, however, it should be stressed that if the world is to be destroyed that makes it all the important for the individual to retain his or her dignity by adhering to a personal belief in soul-force regardless of the odds.

The result of this study will undoubtedly have major bearing on the livelihood of the adoption of Gandhian way of negotiation approaches to dispute settlement and conflict resolution. If the question is about the practicability of Gandhian techniques, however, then there are not the only, and perhaps not even the primary, questions that need to be asked.

Gordon Zahn once noted that people tend to judge actions and ideals almost entirely in narrowly defined pragmatic terms with questions such as 'How practical is it?' or 'what are the real chances of affecting events or changing attitudes?' He adds that where one does take note of things such as 'the subject's personal intentions or spiritual satisfactions, it is only to determine into which of the currently popular psychological or psychopathological categories the actions should be slotted'.<sup>30</sup> Yet these "spiritual satisfactions" are precisely the values that are given the highest consideration in the Gandhian way of negotiation.

If, in Gandhian cosmology, Truth is God and non-violence is the means of realizing this truth, then the spiritual interpretation is correct. Or if there is a strong belief in "existence as unity" then a life devoted to welfare work or solving the conflict, even in the face of extreme personal danger, makes sense. If however, the religious tradition is different like Christian or Muslim, where duality is taken for

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<sup>29</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) (Ahmedabad: Navjivan, 1961), p.105.

<sup>30</sup> Zahn G, "The Ethics of Martyrdom", *Gandhi Marg*, 1966, Vol.10, no.4, p.291.

granted rather than being seen as an illusion, perhaps such self-sacrifice does not make quite as much sense, because charity is important for Christian and spread of particular faith (religion), not spiritual realization. All that can be said is that it is probably more likely in a culture where belief in reincarnation is the prevailing norm and where the self and the other are intimately and directly connected God.

Gandhi's belief in the interrelationship of means and ends was not merely a reflection of the Hindu belief in Karma. The cosmic law of reaping what one sows applies as much in this life as in future lives:

“There is a law of nature that thing can be retained by the same means by which it has been acquired. A thing acquired by violence can be retained by violence alone”.<sup>31</sup>

However, an understanding of, and belief in, the Karmic law that operates over innumerable lives and the acceptance of the principles of Karmayoga help to put the ideal of Gandhian way of negotiation into the action in the world. That is why I strongly believe that if individual is ready to live Satyagrahi lifestyle, he is certainly contribute at least something for humanity, through the negotiation.

After the Gandhi's assassination, Jawaharlal Nehru declaimed that night, fighting back tears as he delivered his beautifully poignant tribute to Gandhi over Radio India, “The light has gone out of our lives. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him... is no more... We will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years. We will not run to him for advice and seek solace from him... the light has gone out, I said, and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country...represented...the living, the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom”. Nehru remarked when he was scattering Gandhi's ashes in the churning yellow water, “The last journey has ended. But why should we grieve? Do we grieve for him or... for ourselves, for our own weaknesses, for the ill will in one hearts, for our conflicts with others? We have to remember that it was to remove all these that Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life”.

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<sup>31</sup> Gandhi M K, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (Madras: Ganeshan, 1928), p.508.

In his birth centenary tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, G. Ramachandran sadly noted, 'the world seems to have little to do with Gandhi and Satyagraha... Civilization is now in the grip of escalating violence... Non-violence is still only a trickle against the tidal waves of violence sweeping the world. But militarism and nuclear weapons is blood-soaked sign of posts of a vanishing era. Gandhi and non-violence are the vibrant symbols of a slowly emerging epoch of justice and peace'.<sup>32</sup>

India's brilliant second president, philosopher Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, had wisely cautioned his countrymen and the world:

"Man's greatest enemy is nuclear weapons which in war may completely destroy civilization and in peace inflict grievous and lasting damage on the human race. Gandhi sought to prepare us for life in a disarmed world. We must pull out of the world of strife and hatred and get ready to work on the basis of co-operation and harmony... absolute adherence to truth, practice of love and self-suffering by the resister in cases of conflict".<sup>33</sup>

Gandhi courted pain as most men did pleasure, welcomed sorrow as others greeted joy, and was always ready to face any opponent or his own death with a disarming smile of love. He lived to the full his Mantra, "Do or die!". Still he failed to convert most of modern India to his faith in the ancient Yogic powers of *Tapas* and *Ahimsa* as superior to the atom bomb. He was not, of course, the first or only prophet of peace murdered by a self-righteous killer, nor, most unfortunately, would he be the last, but he was the greatest Indian since the fifth-century B.C. "Enlightened one" the Buddha.

Not only the Indians realized the power of non-violence but the whole world. In 1959, when Martin Luther King Jr. came to India, he remarked, 'to other countries I may go as a tourist but to India I come as a pilgrim. This is because India means to me Mahatma Gandhi, a truly great man of the age'.<sup>34</sup> In 1964, when King accepted his Noble Peace Prize, he spoke in the language of non-violent revolt made famous by Gandhi and Thoreau. 'We will not obey unjust laws nor submit to unjust practices.

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<sup>32</sup> Ramchandran G, "The Core of Gandhi", in S Radhakrishnan (ed), *Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1968), pp.320-321.

<sup>33</sup> Radhakrishnan S, "Introduction", Ibid. pp. 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> Lewis Levering David, *King: A Biography* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), p.99.

We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully, because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of non-violence because our end is a community at peace with itself...we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses the truth...This approach to the problem of racial justice...was used in a magnificent way by Mohandas K. Gandhi to challenge the might of British empire and free his people from the political domination and economic exploitation inflicted upon them for centuries'.<sup>35</sup>

Soon after Gandhi was assassinated, Albert Einstein wrote, 'The veneration in which Gandhi has been held throughout the accord rests on the recognition that in our age of moral decay he was the only statesman who represented that higher conception of human relations in the political sphere to which we must aspire with all our power... The future of mankind will only be tolerable when our course, in world affairs as in all other matters, is based upon justice and law rather than the threat of naked power as has been true so far'.<sup>36</sup>

After noting the uncanny temporal coincidence between the development of destructive method of negotiation or conflict management and the development of Satyagraha, Albert Einstein commented:

"Gandhi had demonstrated that a powerful human following can be assembled not only through the cunning game of the usual political maneuvers and trickeries but through the cogent example of a morally superior conduct of life. In our time of utter moral decadence he was the only true statesman to stand for a higher human relationship in the political sphere... Generations to come...will scarcely believe that a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".<sup>37</sup>

And King himself insightfully joined together these two titans. 'Man has thought twice in our century, once with Einstein, then with Gandhi. Einstein's thought

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<sup>35</sup> Homer A Jack, "Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr.", in S. Radhakrishnan (ed), *Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1968), p.137.

<sup>36</sup> Einstein's Tribute of February 11, 1948, quoted in Sarojini G Henry, "Gandhi and Albert Einstein" in *Gandhi Marg*, Oct-Dec.1993, Vol.15, No.3, p.336.

<sup>37</sup> Gardner Howard in collaboration with Emma Laskin, *Leading Minds: An Anatomy of Leadership* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), p.276.

transformed understanding of the physical world, Gandhi's thought transformed understanding of the political world'.<sup>38</sup>

UNESCO celebrated the one hundred twenty fifth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's birth by proclaiming a year of "International Tolerance". The director-general of UNESCO, or Federico Mayor wrote in his tribute that 'Mahatma Gandhi gave us the example that throughout our lives we can be dissenters, even rebels, but never through violence, and this is what we must try to teach our children, ... that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights'.<sup>39</sup> Berma's V. Thant, the first Buddhist Secretary-General of the UN noted: 'The Buddha taught his disciples never to show anger nor bear malice...Gandhiji believed that non-violence methods...could achieve more enduring results those obtained by the use of forces'.<sup>40</sup> Gandhi's emphasis on the primary of moral principles and non-violent means above any and all material ends, his faith in "God" and "Truth" and "Love", immortalize his global legacy. "Mahatma Gandhi cannot die!" wrote Kenneth Kaunda, first president of Zambia, who proudly considered himself and his nation's great Nobel Peace Prize winner chief Luthuli, disciples of Gandhi, 'his thoughts, words and deeds continue to influence and free millions of people in this our one world. Indeed they will continue to be a positive force for good... through non-violence'.<sup>41</sup> Gandhi's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi in "The Good Boatman" notes that 'most Indians were moved by Gandhi's moral sense as well as his passion to identify with all'.<sup>42</sup> His life thus became a spark for consciences across the world. Horace Alexander wrote in his "Gandhi through western eyes", 'Gandhi not only as the "Moses" and "George Washington" of India but also as a world figure, a man who belongs to us all, and who has something to say that all the world should attend to'.<sup>43</sup> Gandhi's most

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 276.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in N. Radhakrishnan, *Gandhi: The quest for Tolerance and Survival* (New Delhi: Gandhi Smriti, 1995), p.ix.

<sup>40</sup> Thant U, "Non-Violence and World Peace", in *Mahatma Gandhi: 100 Years* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1968), pp. 372-374.

<sup>41</sup> Wolpert Stanley, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.266.

<sup>42</sup> Gandhi Rajmohan, *The Good Boatman: A Portrait of Gandhi* (New Delhi: Viking, 1995) p.446.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Horace, *Gandhi through Western Eyes* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1969), p.v.

important universal message was embodied in “non-violence” (means at least for me is good tools in negotiations process, not to criticize, no condemn, no hate of the opponents [friends]). To Alexander he conveyed his last pacifist message just a few months before his death. ‘The world is sick of the application of the law of the jungle. It is thirsting for the brave law of love for hate truth for untruth, tolerance for intolerance’.<sup>44</sup>

Professor Judith M. Brown concluded in her biography, “Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope”. ‘Gandhi was no plaster saint. He was caught in compromises, inevitable in public life. But fundamentally he was a man of vision and action who asked many of the profoundest questions that face humankind as it struggle to live in community... As a man of his time who asked the deepest questions, even though he could not answer them, he became a man for all times and all places’.<sup>45</sup> American greatest Indologist, Professor W. Norman Brown, believed that the underlying basis of Gandhi’s lifelong quest was “simple”. As Gandhi put it:

“To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creatures as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life (including daily negotiation process). That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics... (Negotiation is an important instrument of success in life and politics). Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means’.<sup>46</sup> ‘Religion is a matter of the heart. No physical inconvenience can warrant abandonment of one’s own religion’.<sup>47</sup> ‘Man’s destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. If religion does not teach us how to achieve this conquest, it teaches us nothing’.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.p.187.

<sup>45</sup> Brown M Judith, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 394.

<sup>46</sup> Brown W. Norman, *The United States and India, Pakistan, Bangladesh* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p.95.

<sup>47</sup> Bhalla Shalu (Compiled by). *Quotes of Gandhi* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, reprinted 1995), p.13.

<sup>48</sup> Sen N B (ed), *Wit and Wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: New Book Society of India, 1995), pp. 242-243.

Gandhi's reply to those who says that morality has nothing to do with politics is in his own words:

"Politics bereft of religion are a depth-trap because they kill the soul. I have sacrificed no principles to gain a political end. Ours is a movement of self-purification. There are some who think that morality has nothing to do with politics. We do not concern ourselves with the character of our leaders. The democracies of Europe and America steer clear of any notion of morality having anything to do with politics. Bad characters often great intellects, and they can manage certain affairs well enough by the force of intellect. The private character of some of the leading men of the House of Commons will not bear examination. We too have often carried in our political movement in the same fashion. We did not concern ourselves with the morals of the Congress delegates or leaders. But in 1920, we struck declared that since Truth and non-violence were the sole means to be employed by the congress to reach its goal; self-purification was necessary even in political life.

For me there is no politics without religion, not the religion of the superstitious and the blind religion that hates and fights, but the universal religion of toleration. Politics without morality is a thing to be avoided. There are so many who secretly believe that politics should have nothing to do with morality. That is why our progress is so slow and in some respects even nil'.<sup>49</sup> 'You must understand that I can not isolate politics from the deepest things of my life, for the simple reason that my politics are not corrupt, they are inextricably bound up with Non-violence and Truth'.<sup>50</sup> 'Pouring ridicule on one's opponent is an approved method in civilized politics'.<sup>51</sup>

Gandhi faced death without fear, thanks to his passionate faith in God's "Truth" as in the "Law of love- Ahimsa"—which he believed was potent a remedy as prayer for all "our ills". He failed to avert partition or to convince his own heirs of the wisdom of his non violent faith neither nullifies the power of his passion to which he sacrificed his all nor the wisdom of his warning against every war.

In New Delhi, Birla House has been turned into a museum, repository of Bapu's last few precious possessions and the blood-drenched Khadi he wore when assassinated. Outside that one elegant building, India's peasant pour mourn him every day. They arrive by bus, on bike, and on bare feet, praying us they move through the rear porch of the great house to circle the specially covered spot in the garden where a

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.p.215-216.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.p.216.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.p.215.



Mahatma was murdered. These most illiterate peasants seems to understand, as many better educated wealthier, so-called “intellectuals” may never well to, how great and wise a man their Bapu was. Some gather each dawn to chant ancient *Brhadaranyaka Upanishadic* prayers he loved best, once my grandfather also taught me:

*“Lead me from untruth to truth,  
From the darkness to the light  
From death to immortality”.*

As people around the world throughout their life waiting for reincarnation of Gandhi, daily cry, but not trying to apply those basic values which made him from Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to “Mahatma”:

*“Mahatma Gandhi amar rahe!”*

*“Mahatma Gandhi is immortal!”*

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