

CHAPTER 4
GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF
CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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In India Mahatma Gandhi is called the Father of Nation. He made history as he secured India's freedom from British imperialism. He got it by his unique weapon of nonviolent satyagraha. Gandhi has been called the prophet of the twenty first century. Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is more relevant than any other approach in peace research area. Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is based on nonviolent Satyagraha. First he evolved and practiced in South Africa, and later extensively applied it in India.

4.1 Sources of influence

Mahatma Gandhi was a genius morally and spiritually. Truth and nonviolence are the basic facts of his ideology. Gandhi evolved all his personality in the basis of his experiences.

4.1.1 Early life influence

The development of Gandhi's thought has to be moulded first in India. The family in which he was born, the society he confronted, the culture, values and traditional norms he inherited, all these factors left

an impression on his mind. The honesty and integrity of his father, Karam Chand Gandhi left a deep mark on young Mohandas. His mother Putalibhai was a pious and deeply religious lady who regularly read her prayers, visited temples, and fasted on the innumerable Hindu fast days. Gandhi says “the outstanding impression my mother has left on my memory is that of saintliness. She was deeply religious. She would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers. Going to Haveli the Vaishanava temple was one of her daily duties. She would take the hardest vows and keep them without flinching”¹.

Lot of other remarkable experiences happened in Gandhi’s childhood. As a child, Gandhi read the book of ‘Shravana Pitribhakti Nataka’ and he watched drama “Satyavadi Harishchandra’. This book and drama very much influenced Mohandas². These are fostered in Gandhi’s truthful behaviour in his childhood days. Gandhi’s religious life was indebted to his nurse Rambha. Rambha taught Gandhi to repeatedly use the name of ‘Rama’ which cured his fear. Gandhi narrates ‘I think it is due to the seeds sown by the good woman Rambha that today Ramanama is an infallible remedy for me’³.

When Gandhi was seven years old, his father left from Porbandar to Rajkot, he joins his new assignment as a member of Rajasthanik

Court. Rajkot's locality had members of other faiths as well, such as the Jains, Muslims and Zoroastrians. Gandhi's father had friends among them and when they visited and had friendly discussions about other faiths, Gandhi listened to them. His father's respect for all religions inculcated in Gandhi a toleration of all faiths⁴.

Gandhi's father had a library; many religious books were found in this library. Gandhi read some books in this library, especially the Gujarati version of Ramayana, the Bhagavad-Gita and the Manusmriti. After reading these books Gandhi understood that morality is the basis of those religious texts and truth is the substance of all morality.

4.1.2 Western Influence

Gandhi was very much influenced by many western thinkers and their ideas. Gandhi himself acknowledged his indebtedness to the west. Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau are some foreigners who impressed on Gandhi's philosophical and practical life.

a Ruskin

Ruskin was born in London. In the year 1903 when Gandhi was travelling from Johannesburg to Durban, his colleague Henry S.L. Polak accompanied him to the station and gave him the book "Unto

This Last” by John Ruskin, to read on the journey⁵. Ruskin’s “Unto this last” was one of the transforming influence that shaped Gandhi’s views. This was the first book of Ruskin, Gandhi had ever read. Later Gandhi translated it into Gujarati and gave the name “sarvodaya” The word Sarvodaya means welfare of all. Finally Gandhi drew three important ideas from this book.

- i. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
- ii. The lawyer’s work has he same value as the barber’s, in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.
- iii. That a life of labour ie. The life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

According to Gandhi ‘The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. “Unto this Last” made it as clear as daylight, for me, that second and the third were contained in the first, I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice’⁶. Also from this book Gandhiji learned the dignity of manual labour. Ruskin slammed the modern luxury. Violent inequality and unbrotherliness lead to pain and misery among the human beings. Gandhi and Ruskin preached the supremacy of the

spirit and trust in the nobleness of human nature. They moralized politics and economics.

b Tolstoy

Gandhi was imprisoned in the year 1908. During that period he found time to make a study of the teaching of Tolstoy. Tolstoy was one of the thinkers in the western world. Gandhi also read the book of Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God Within You'; the book very much impressed Gandhi⁷. Already at the age of 24, Gandhi knew the writings of Tolstoy and his books 'Hind Swaraj' recommends some ideas of Tolstoy. He was the most eminent and faithful follower of Tolstoy, because it was he put into practice the master's idea of nonviolence and universal love.

Love is the basis of Tolstoy's principle of nonresistance. That love is the supreme and unique law of human life, which everyone feels in the depth of one's soul⁸. Gandhi recorded his opinion as follows "it was forty years back when I was passing through a severe crisis of skepticism and doubt that I came across his book. The Kingdom of God within you, and was very deeply impressed by it. I was at that time a believer of violence. Its reading cured me of my skepticism and made me a firm believer in ahimsa. What has appealed

to me most in Tolstoy's life is that he practiced what he preached and reckoned no cost too great in his pursuit of truth"⁹. Gandhi's nonviolence was evolved from many of the ideas of Tolstoy's teaching. There is a fact that Mahavira, Buddha and Jesus Christ taught the eternal message of nonviolence in ancient times, but Tolstoy may be credited as its best advocate of modern times.

c Thoreau

Gandhi was greatly influenced by the worlds and actions of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau was a well known American anarchist. He was born in 1817. Thoreau refused to pay his taxes as a protest against slavery in America. He was first to use the term 'Civil Disobedience' in one of his speeches in 1849. He himself refused to pay taxes for six years and faced imprisonment¹⁰. As Gandhi said "Thoreau invented and practiced the idea of civil disobedience in Concord, Massachusetts, by refusing to pay his poll tax as a protest against the United States government. He went to jail too. There is no doubt that Thoreau's idea greatly influenced my movement in India"¹¹ Thoreau's idea of 'Civil Disobedience' revealed to Gandhi the possibility of using nonviolence as a technique for solving even the major problems of social and political life.

4.1.3 Religious Influence

Religions like Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam very much influenced Gandhi's life and his philosophy. Gandhi's concept of religions is oneness of human beings.

a Hinduism

During his career in England Gandhi got to know two theosophists. They introduced to him the Bhagavatgita. The reading 'The Song Celestial' Sir Edwin Arnold's translation. Sir Edwin Arnold had translated the Gita from Sanskrit into English and published it under title of 'The song Celestial' in 1885. Gandhi read this book Gita, made a deep impression on Gandhi's mind¹². So the Gita became Gandhi's spiritual reference book and his daily guide. Gandhi believed the central teaching of Gita to be selflessness and detachment. Love and sacrifice should be offered unconditionally without thought of reward¹³.

Gandhi's gospel of truth and nonviolence was based on his faith that God is love as well as truth. It was from his comprehensive conception of nonviolence that Gandhi derived all the characteristic teachings with which he enriched and straightened Hinduism. Hinduism provided maximum spiritual satisfaction in Gandhi's mind.

Gandhi himself admitted that he had not formulated any new principle or value but he had only reinterpreted the old principles. Gandhi presents a continuation of the ancient Indian tradition of renunciation and asceticism. His satyagraha stands on the foundation of the five principles of Hinduism, such as ahimsa, truth, non possession, non stealing, and Brahmacharya¹⁴. Hinduism is the relentless pursuit of nonviolence. Nonviolence is the highest religion. It is the highest penance. It is also the highest truth from which all duty proceeds.

b Christianity

During schooling, Gandhi read the Holy Bible. The Old Testament had little impression on him but the New Testament especially the Sermon on the Mount impressed him. The Sermon on the Mount which went straight to his heart which is considered of sublime duty and importance Gandhi himself absorbed the New Testament's teaching¹⁵. He was impressed by Christ's example as a way of life. In Gandhi's interpretation of the Gospels, he had the highest reverence to the qualities of Jesus. He found the symbols and centre of true Christianity on the cross. To him the New Testament was not a text book of theology; it was revelation of the meaning of eternity and of the life of spirit¹⁶. So Jesus and his teachings were source of Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha.

Love and nonviolence are the basic teachings of Christianity. Gandhiji considered Christ the ‘Sower of the seed’ of nonviolent philosophy¹⁷. Jesus consoles the poor and challenges the rich or commands us to love everyone, even our enemies. In Gandhi’s perception, Christianity is a religion, which announces compassion for the common people and insistence on the service of society, as well as preference of the humble and the poor attain had a strong appeal on him.

From Christianity, Gandhi learnt the lesson of satyagraha, ahimsa, renunciation and universal brotherhood for the entire mankind irrespective of caste, creed and race.

c Buddhism

While in England, he read the ‘Light of Asia’ by Sir Edwin Arnold. Edwin Arnold’s “The Light of Asia” gave Gandhi a touching impression of the life of Buddha¹⁸. Buddhism had greatly influenced Gandhi’s life and work.

Lord Buddha founded an ethical religion and Mahatma Gandhi adopted a similar approach. Ahimsa is the most important concept of Buddhism. Buddhist concept of Ahimsa had great role moulding Gandhi’s perception of Ahimsa. Peace and non-violence are cardinal

virtues of Buddhist religion. The teaching of love and practice of violence did not fit with each other. Buddha wanted men to purify their hearts and give-up violence; also he promoted compassion with love. The original concept of Buddhist religion is eliminating the sufferings of all living beings. Buddha had plenty of well wishers. Therefore, the very idea of wellbeing of all gives rise to Ahimsa. Thus the concept of Ahimsa can be defined as the sublime mental state of wellbeing of all, irrespective of any consideration.

Buddha enriched and elevated the concept of Ahimsa by making it, the outcome of love and compassion. The compassion is antidote of himsa. Nonviolence assimilates and submerges into the notion of compassion. Buddhist and Gandhian concept of Ahimsa are related to each other. The concept of Ahimsa has also its positive counterpart. It demands not only abstention from injury but also the practice of love and kindness to all.

Gandhi's concept of Ahimsa is based on the concept of the unity of existence. For Gandhi, Ahimsa becomes the cardinal ethical principle. Thus his insistence on ahimsa can be traced in Buddhism. Gandhi's mission in life was also a series of protest against wrong.

d Jainism

Raychandbhai was one of the family friends of Mahatma Gandhi. He was Jainist philosopher. He gave Gandhi the idea of Jainism. He had a large role in shaping Gandhi's life and thought. Nonviolence, truth, non-stealing, non-possession and celibacy are the great vows of Jaina philosophy. Of the five vows Ahimsa or nonviolence is the most important, it greatly influenced Mahatma Gandhi¹⁹.

The Jaina philosophy accepts and advocates Ahimsa as the highest ideal life, and as the means of attaining moksha, or liberation. Jainism may be regarded as the oldest philosophy based on Ahimsa. Ahimsa has both negative and positive aspects, non-killing is the negative aspect of ahimsa. The positive aspect of ahimsa is kindness to all creation.

Violence not only means causing physical injury, but it also includes mental and verbal injury. Jainist concept of nonviolence is not to harm or injure any living being, physically, mentally or verbally. Jainism is the chief source of Gandhi's concept of Ahimsa. Gandhi like Jains, conceives Ahimsa not only in action but in thought. Ahimsa thus must be practiced in thought, word and deed.

e Islam

Religion of Islam greatly influenced Mahatma Gandhi and it had a considerable role in the formation of a complete satyagraha. During his period in South Africa, he came with close contact with some Muslim friends. One of his Muslim friends advised Gandhi to read the book 'Heros and Hero-worship', Gandhi carefully read the book Carlyt's 'Hero and Hero worship.'²⁰ the word 'Islam' is the very negation of the concept of violence. It means surrender to the will of God. Gandhi understood that Islam promotes peace, peace with God by recognizing and praying homage to his oneness and peace on earth with neighbours. Gandhi considered the chief contribution to Islam has been brotherhood of man.

4.2 Basic factors of Satyagraha

There are some basic factors of satyagraha like Truth, nonviolence, ends and means, faith in God, ethics or moral force, brotherhood of man

a Truth

Truth is the basic factor of Gandhian concept of satyagraha. Truth is derived from Sanskrit word 'Sat', which means 'being'. Truth is

thus derived from being. Truth is beingness. It is the realization of being, the foundation and purpose of existence. If we define God as absolute being, then God is also Absolute truth. God is truth, goes the familiar saying, but Gandhi gave the statement an unusual twist. He argues that it is more correct to say 'Truth is God' than the traditional 'God is truth'²¹.

Gandhi admitted that God and truth are convertible terms. This inversion of the proposition does not change its basic meaning²².

Satyagraha is based on truth or soul force. Inner voice is the voice of truth and justice.

Gandhi insisted not only infinite truth but also insisted on infinite love. He believed that commitment to service and compassion for others is the path to divine truth and is the real method to a satyagrahi²³.

Truth is the substance of morality, man is a moral agent only to the extent that he embodies and seeks truth. Truth not only merely means the abstention from lies. Gandhi says "Devotion to this truth is the sole justification for existence. All our activities should be entered in truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life"²⁴. Without truth

it is impossible to observe any principle or rules in life. Untruth and dishonesty often seem to win, but in reality truth wins in the end.

b Nonviolence

Nonviolence means Ahimsa. Gandhi widely used the word Ahimsa. Ahimsa is a Sanskrit word. Ahimsa means non injury or non-killing²⁵. Gandhi always voiced oneness of human beings. In Gandhi's perception of Ahimsa is a positive term meaning not merely non-injury but positive will to action for the well being of the others even at the sacrifice of oneness. Gandhiji's active nonviolence emerged as a result of his experience in South Africa especially his painful experience at Maritz burg. Gandhi said "without nonviolence it is not possible to seek and find truth, they are like the two sides of the same coin"²⁶

c End and Means

Gandhian concept 'Ends' and 'Means' is equally important. Some philosophers said the ends justify the means. He never agreed this philosophy. The compatibility of ends and means is an essential principle of Gandhian philosophy. Ends and means are not to separate each other, both of them are complimentary component of each other.

Gandhi expressed that truth is the end and nonviolence is the means. In Gandhi's satyagraha, he focused more on means rather than ends²⁷.

The end is the goal and means is the 'way' of realization of the goal. Means cannot be separated from the end. So Gandhi believed that "if one takes care of means, the end will take care of itself". Gandhi is convinced that purity of means is an essential condition of satyagraha. Means may have more importance on the future ends. The end of human action may be unpredictable but the means employed are concrete and certain.

d Faith in God

Gandhi insisted that a true satyagrahi is a believer in God. Once Gandhi said "I may live without air and water but not without God"²⁸. According to Gandhi there are many religions in the world but there is only one God. They are called by different names by different religions. But essentially he is one and the same²⁹. In Gandhi's concept God is a force, also he is eternal. God is the essence of life.

e Ethics or Moral Force

Satyagraha is generally based on ethics or moral force. It does not inflict suffering on others. It does not inflict pain and does not act

through fear. It appeals through self-suffering to heart and to the sense of fairness and justice. It calls for the highest virtues of sacrifice and love³⁰. Any person practicing satyagraha is to keep morality and ethics in his life.

Ethics is science concerned with moral behaviour, ethics regards the highest moral life as the only way to attain spiritual perfection. Ethics can be conveniently defined as the study of the ultimate end. From this point of view it can be said that ethics is the philosophy of life. The objective of ethics is the ultimate end or the supreme good of human life. Almost all system of Indian philosophy agrees with regard to the nature of the supreme good, because they all consider moksa or liberation³¹. Gandhi's ethics is based on his religious life. To Gandhi truth is the highest law, but Ahimsa is the highest duty³². Gandhi's aim of life was religious; his religion is based on humanity, love, devotion, social service and self devotion. Self purification is the essential characteristic of Gandhi's nonviolent conduct³³.

f. Brotherhood of man

To Gandhi brotherhood of man means "that we are one of another"³⁴. It means that a person should not injure or harass his neighbour in words or deed. Gandhi insisted a satyagrahi must honour

honesty in his life. Satyagrahi must be prepared to lose his personal and family wealth or possession.

4.3 Satyagraha

In 1906, South Africa, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, conducted a massive struggle against racial discrimination. Indians in South Africa suffered racial discrimination due to many unjust laws. Gandhi's movement is a new kind of nonviolent resistance. In the beginning, Gandhi used the term "passive resistance", this phrase gave rise to confusion and was considered as the weapon of the weak. Gandhi, thus felt a need for an appropriate word for the new kind of resistance and announced a small prize in his weekly. Shri Magnalal Gandhi suggested the word "Sadagraha" meaning firmness in a good cause. Gandhi felt that it does not represent full meaning. Gandhi corrected it to 'satyagraha' which literally means insistence on truth or the pursuit of the truth³⁵.

The word satyagraha is of Sanskrit origin. It is a compound word formed of 'satya and 'Agraha', satya means truth and agraha means holding fast, adherence, insistence. Thus the compound word

satyagraha means clinging to truth, holding fast to truth, insistence on truth or firm adherence to truth³⁶.

Satyagraha is the law of love. It is not to destroy or harass the opponent, but also convert or win him over by sympathy, patience and self suffering. Satyagrahi hates all evils and will never compromise with it; he approaches the evil-doer through love and realization. Gandhi evolved satyagraha in South Africa and later developed and widely used in India³⁷.

4.4 Different Forms of Satyagraha

Gandhian Satyagraha is used to resolve the conflict without violence. Non-cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Fasting are the some important forms of Satyagraha.

a. Non-cooperation

Non cooperation is the one of the important methods in Satyagraha. Gandhi called it as nonviolent noncooperation. The main fact behind the non-cooperation, the satyagrahi will be ready to accept the consequences of fight against injustice³⁸. Gandhi started his non-cooperation movement in India in 1920.

Non violent noncooperation is a process in which satyagrahi refuses to take part in the activities of his opponent's. This involves boycotting the opponent's economic, political, social and educational institutions³⁹. Noncooperation is distinguished into two types. In the first case, opponent can achieve his objective without the satyagrahi's cooperation. The main intention of this movement is the self purification of the satyagrahi. In the second case the opponent cannot obtain his objective without the satyagrahi's cooperation. This type of movement in satyagrahi is to prevent the movement of adversaries⁴⁰. The intention of the all these movements to maintain non violence and love. The ultimate aim of all these movements is the conversion of adversaries, not to pain him.

Michael J. Nojeim proposed the following methods used in noncooperation movement⁴¹.

1. Boycotting government functions, surrender of titles and resignation of official nominal government posts.
2. Refusing the government awards
3. Refusing from the government jobs
4. Conducting general strikes

Hartal, boycott, picketing and hijrath are the some important methods of nonviolent non cooperation.

b. Civil Disobedience

The next step of Satyagraha is civil disobedience movement. When the non co-operation movement failed, instead of it, he started civil disobedience movement. It is the violation of government law and non payment of taxes. When a government imposed certain immoral laws against the people, people disobey this law in a nonviolent manner. This type of civil disobediences movement was practiced by Gandhi in Salt Satyagraha in 1930.

John Rawls is a peace researcher, expressed his concern in civil disobedience, “it is a public, non violent, conscious yet political act, contrary to law or policies of the government⁴²”.

c. Fasting

Fasting is the most effective weapon in a satyagrahi used against injustice or evil force. Fasting is the suffering of self. Gandhi insisted that ‘a Satyagrahi should fast only as a last resort when all other ways have been explored and failed’⁴³. Self purification is one of the intentions of fasting. Gandhi conducted seventeen ‘fasts’ on different occasions and privately he conducted several fasts in his Aashram⁴⁴.

Gandhi's first public fast was conducted during a Ahmadabad mill workers strike. He intervened, and he declared that, he would not touch any food unless the strike is settled⁴⁵. Fasting is a very serious and obviously life threatening form of resistance. When a person fasts, he should have some qualities like stamina, discipline, courage and complete fearlessness from death⁴⁶.

4.5 Conflict Resolution

Gandhian Satyagraha may be one of the most viable techniques of conflict resolution. Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is based in nonviolent manner. Gandhi used the method of Satyagraha to resolve all conflicts such as personal as well as international conflict. The main objective of Gandhian Satyagraha is to convert the opponent. He did not consider any one as his enemy. The Satyagrahi's main intention is not to annihilate or humiliate the opponent, but to convert through love. Gandhi's real objective is the disharming the opponent through love.

a. Nonviolence is a force

Traditionally we understand that there are two types of forces, physical and spiritual forces. In general people are familiar with the physical force. Physical force is based on violence. Violence cannot

be solving any issue, it created more violence. Physical force promoted only one side victory and it defeated the other side. The real issue of conflict does not resolve this approach. Gandhi was opposed to this physical force.

Joan V Bondurant, an international peace researcher; said that force can be used in either violent or nonviolent ways. With violence, force is used to intentionally harm the opponent. But with nonviolence, force is used to make changes in the opponent⁴⁷. Michael J. Nojeim has written extensively on the nature of violence and nonviolence. This concept of nonviolence is defined as using force to provoke opponents into changing their actions, without intentionally harming them, but instead by exercising the transforming of power by intentional self-suffering. In turn violence is using force to deliberately harm, if not destroy, an opponent's physical and psychological well-being in order to compel a change in their behaviour⁴⁸. In both cases, intentions are important whether the act is successfully carried or not.

Gandhian perspective of conflict resolution emphasized spiritual force. Spiritual force is invisible also it is a truth force⁴⁹. Gandhian concept of nonviolence is based on soul force. Violence is based on the power of the body⁵⁰. Nonviolence is force of love, when conflictful

situation is adversary used in violence, such a situation nonviolent person should respond with love. Gandhi considered all human beings are good and their nature is also essentially good. His nonviolence is the message of universal love⁵¹.

Nonviolence is force which begins with the mind. It is practiced only by a strong man. Strong means, the power of the mind, not the power of the body. Coward or weak person is not capable to practice nonviolence. Gandhian Satyagraha excludes the use of violence and hatred in any form. Satyagraha is a relentless search for truth and determination to reach truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self⁵².

b. Inner purification

When a person is practiced to nonviolence, his inner purification is necessary. Inner purification means practicing self discipline in right belief, right speech and right conduct. Gandhi deeply expressed his concern that love, friendliness and charity are the necessary components of inner purification of human beings⁵³. Gandhi's nonviolence is established as inner transformation of man's heart through love. The most important aspect of Gandhi's nonviolence is love and inner feeling in the heart. If we do not ignore the inner call of the love, we are obliged to desist from any act of harm being done to

living beings as far as possible. However, perfect nonviolence is impossible so long as we exist physically⁵⁴.

Man is merely made of blood and flesh but there is Atman which has a spark of divinity in himself and therefore God is not eternal to man but he is inside him. When a person practiced nonviolence in a hatred mind, it will destroy him. Nonviolence is protected only by fair minded persons. There should be perfect coordination between the mind and the body for the practice of nonviolence⁵⁵.

c. Negotiation

Negotiation is the primary step in the Gandhian concept of conflict resolution. In the process of negotiation, Gandhi established certain ground rules for managing the conflict. He sought to establish mutual respect with the opponent because he knew this would go a long way towards a mutually satisfactory resolution of the conflict. During this process, face to face meeting is arranged. Gene sharp expressed that negotiation is one channel for maintaining contacts between two groups, helping the opponent understand the grievances⁵⁶.

In this method when a party is trying to convince his opponent to the need of conflict resolution. Communication or dialogue is used in this approach. Bilateral or multilateral dialogue is the main form of

Gandhian Satyagraha⁵⁷. Open communication decreases, negative images of one's opponent build, and the conflict is displaced from the issue on to the opponent's person or group. In many situations conflict emerged in the lack of information in between the parties. The Gandhian approach to conflict resolution is based on creating the conditions for the establishment of a fruitful dialogue between the parties. As it has been argued, the immediate goal of Satyagraha is to reach a synthesis of the opposing claims⁵⁸.

Wrong information in a conflict situation has escalated the mistrust and deepens the sense of threat and insecurity on all sides. Secrecy is the enemy of conflict resolution. Gandhi understood this well and made openness a hallmark of his campaigns. Direct communication with opponents, open discussion and revealing of plans and intentions, liberal use of the mass media to explain goals and all served to minimize misunderstandings and suspicion in Satyagraha campaign⁵⁹.

During this negotiation process third party facilitators played a major role to arrive at a solution. In some cases face to face meeting is very difficult; parties are unwilling to share with each other. This situation a third party intervention is more inevitable. At the same time

each party retain the decision making power⁶⁰. Negotiations help parties to exchange of information and it leads to joint decision making.

d. Persuasion

Even if negotiations fail, the Satyagrahi is always willing to utilize any opening for honourable settlement at every stage of conflict. The error of this opponent is due either to ignorance or selfishness and ill-will. The selfishness and ill-will are ultimately due to ignorance. In this situation Satyagrahi takes a step in a conflict resolution, be it individually or collectively in persuasion

In this process a party considers his opponent as a friend. Persuasion is based in the respect on opponent. It enables an enduring and workable relationship among opponents after the conflict⁶¹. Persuasion is conducted in privately and publically. Initially it happened in privately in between the parties. Privately, Satyagraha is characterized by rational argumentation. In Gandhi's opinion of the greatest qualities of a Satyagraha, is to possess the capacity for independent thinking and convincing others by reason⁶².

Persuasion is drawing on highly credible supports, public communication, Medias, pressure on individuals, symbolic public acts,

public gathering and renunciation so on. It gives rise to public visibility to the conflict and begins to involve others in conflict resolution. It opens the confrontation to other perceptions and other helpful ways of addressing and resolving the issue⁶³. An awakened and intelligent public opinion is the most potent weapon of a Satyagraha.

e. Conversion

Conversion is the most important aspect in the Gandhian concept of conflict resolution. The main intention of Gandhian Satyagraha is to convert both parties so that they both see each other on the same side in a shared attempt to solve the conflict. Gene Sharp has pointed out that conversion means that the opponent, as the result of action of the nonviolent person or group, comes around to a new point of view which embraces the ends of the nonviolent actor⁶⁴. A Satyagrahi never tries to influence the “wrong doer” by inducing fear; instead the appeal must always be ‘to his heart’. The Satyagrahi’s object is to convert, not coerce the wrong doer⁶⁵.

When a conflict resolution is cannot be imposed from the outside but has to come from joint determination of the adversaries. Such a conversion is seen, from a Gandhian perspective, as not only the morally correct way to deal with conflict but also as the most

effective methods of conflict resolution⁶⁶. In nonviolent conversion, the opponent truly changed his behaviour. Satyagrahi's pure objective is not so much at changing the behavior of the opponent as at changing his attitudes. So that he will then change his behaviour⁶⁷. Nonviolent conversion is a term Gandhi considered a philosophical commitment and not just a strategy. Gandhi sought to convert his opponent by being truthful and trustful. He is completely away from violence and hostility⁶⁸. He is not trying humiliating or defeat of his opponent.

When the nonviolent group wants to convert the opponent, it generally emphasizes the importance of abstention from physical violence and also from expressions of hostility and antagonism towards the opponent. Deliberate rejection of violence in favour of nonviolence means is regarded as having an important psychological impact on the opponent which may influence his conversion, removing or reducing his fear of the grievance group, and hence increasing his ability to consider its arguments and to respond sympathetically to its plight⁶⁹.

f. Self suffering

Self suffering is the one of the important method in Gandhian Satyagraha. In a nonviolent resistance, Satyagraha is not a method of punishing or inflicting pain on others, but a method of converting them

by appealing to their better self through a process involving self suffering⁷⁰. When a party is failed to convince the evildoer the reason of the strike or he is unwilling to listen the argument. The Satyagrahi have only a way to resolve conflict through self suffering⁷¹. Suffering is the law of human beings. Voluntary self suffering opens the eyes of the evildoer which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason. Thus a Satyagrahi has to appeal continuously to the evil doer's head and heart combined.

Suffering does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer, but it means pitting of one's whole should against this will of this tyrant. Self suffering is a moral persuasion. The willingness to suffer may also be a spiritual expression of love and selflessness. Gandhi saw suffering as a path to self-realization and spiritual fulfillment⁷². Suffering has created powerful psychic reactions on the adversary as well as on the onlookers. Some times suffering is seen to operate directly on the consciences of members of the opponent group, and at other times the suffering is seen first to influence wider public opinion which then cause members of the opponent group to experience inner emotional conflict and to question their previous opinions and beliefs⁷³.

In the process of self suffering a true Satyagrahi is willing to accept in any adverse effect like poverty, injury, imprisonment and even death. Gandhi had full confidence in this power of voluntary suffering to convert the opponent. “Given a just cause, capacity for endless suffering and avoidance of violence, victory is certain”. Another path was concentration over a long period on the reform of the nonviolent group itself, this would produce various influences and finally result in the opponent being completely transformed⁷⁴.

g. Nonviolent Action

Nonviolent action is the most important method in the process of conflict resolution. It has a long history, it was evolved not by Gandhi but it was widely used by Gandhi in Indian freedom struggle. Gene Sharp pointed out that the technique of nonviolent action conducts protest, resistance and intervention without physical violence by: (a) acts of omission – that is, the participants refuse to perform acts which they usually perform, are expected by customs to perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform: or (b) acts of commission that is, the participants perform acts that they usually do not perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation from performing: or (c) a combination of both⁷⁵.

Nonviolent action is an important technique for conducting social, economic and political conflict without the use of physical violence. It served as a tool of empowering parties in conflicts with oppressive and powerful opponents. Famous Salt Satyagraha is the one of the important example in nonviolent action. This struggle conducted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in 1930⁷⁶.

Gandhian Satyagraha is included in several form of nonviolent actions like non cooperation, boycotts, picketing, leafleting, strikes, civil disobedience, fasting, the nonviolent occupation of various government facilities, vigil and fasts, mass imprisonments, refusal to pay taxes, and a willingness at all times to be abused by the authorities and get to respond non violently, with politeness, courage and determination⁷⁷.

Theodore Herman expressed his concern in nonviolent action is that both an attitude and a course of action that leads both an individual and group of people to resist tyranny and injustice other than by physical force, and to build a community of caring by the reconciliation of adversaries. It also has a positive meaning as people strive to remove causes of violent conflict, both human and environmental⁷⁸.

Nonviolent action is classified in three forms is like nonviolent protest and persuasions, non cooperation, and nonviolent intervention. Nonviolent protest and persuasions are intended to communicate protest against some action, policy or condition. These include such methods as distribution of leaflets, holding vigils, conducting a march and maintaining silence. The second is the noncooperation, is the more powerful method. This method, parties temporally withdrawing cooperation from their opponent that enabled the social, economic or political relationships to function as they did previously. Social non cooperation includes prevention of cooperation on the social level, by applying such forms as social boycotts and boycotts of social occasions and functions. The impact of social boycotts is primarily psychological, especially on those boycotted. The impact may also be symbolic, as in refusing to attend ceremonies and occasions sponsored by opponents in a conflict. The economic non cooperation includes both economic boycotts and labour strike. Political non cooperation includes parties not participating political matters like opponent group or government. It involved in boycott elections, walking out government bodies, civil disobedience and a work stoppage by civil servants⁷⁹. The third is nonviolent intervention; these are the methods that actively disrupt the normal working system. The intervention may

take psychological, physical, social, economic and political forms. The widely diverse types of action include hunger strikes, sit-ins, creating new social, economic or political institutions, establishing new forms of social behaviour and parallel government⁸⁰.

Then the last two centuries, the technique of non violent action was widely used in highly diverse conflicts, such as colonial rebellions, international political and economic conflicts, religious conflicts and antislavery resistance. This type of struggle has been used to gain national independence, to bring about economic gains, to resist genocide, to undermine dictatorships, to gain civil rights, to end segregation and to resist foreign occupations.

4.6 Satyagraha in terms of Conflict Resolution

Gandhian Satyagraha is the effective weapon for prevent violence and tackles the conflict. Satyagraha is Gandhi's technique of nonviolent activism. The term has variously been translated as passive resistance, nonviolent resistance, nonviolent direct action and even militant nonviolence⁸¹. The ultimate aim of Gandhian Satyagraha is the reach the higher level of truth in a nonviolent manner. The essence of nonviolent techniques is that it seeks to liquidate antagonism but not

the antagonists⁸². Satyagraha is not encouraged in any such violence. Violence seeks to destroy the opponent or at least to injure him, and this not the way to convert or reform him.

RR Diwakar pointed out that Gandhi conceived and practiced the Satyagraha as a way of life, and for him, Satyagraha as a weapon for fighting against evil and for bringing about social change was a by-product. Relentless pursuit of truth through love or nonviolence alone would be the normal way of life or a Satyagrahi⁸³. Gandhi called satyagraha is a moral weapon to be used not only by individuals but also by groups and masses to fight against corruption, exploitation, imperialism, social, economic and political injustice. When a Gandhian concept of conflict resolution, Satyagrahi not to attack or humiliate his opponent.

The Satyagrahi should try to avoid all intentional injury to the opponent in thought, word and deed. Thus he should not harbour anger, hatred, ill-will, suspicion, vindictiveness or other similar divisive feelings. As regards speech, he should avoid all abusive, insulting, haughty, or needless offensive language. In his actions he should not rely on brute force, for to do so is to cooperate with the evil doer and lend him support. In spite of all provocation the Satyagrahi

should not vindictive, and should not frighten the opponent. If assaulted, he should not prosecute his assailant, and he should not call in outsiders to assist him, for either course would mean that he is depending on physical force. Joan Bondurant's words Satyagrahi seek to strengthen interpersonal relationships and interpersonal satisfaction through acts of support and, where appropriate, through service to the opponent. This approach goes well beyond the nebulous and often platitudinous insistence that all men are brothers and that love for the opponent dominates the feelings and dictates the action. He is based upon a psychologically found understanding about suffering and the capacity of man to change⁸⁴.

The aim of Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is to convert the opponent, to change his understanding and his sense of values so that he will join whole heartedly with the nonviolent resister in seeking a settlement truly amicable and truly satisfying to both the parties. The nonviolent resister seeks a solution under which both sides can have complete self-respect and mutual respect, a settlement that will implement the new desires and full energies of both parties⁸⁵.

Misunderstandings, coercive tactics, poor communication, suspicion, perception of basic difference in values, increasing the

power differences are the main reasons in behind the conflict. Conflict is resolved in a constructive or destructive way. Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is based in constructive way of problem solving. Gandhian Satyagraha is considered the weapon of the strongest person's and it excludes in every form of violence and hatred behaviour. A Satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha. Gandhi also used it as his last weapon against injustice, after having exhausted all other possibilities of persuasion and conciliation.

The Satyagrahi loves the opponent as a human beings and aims at rousing him to a sense of equity by an appeal to the best him. Satyagraha implies that the opponent realizes his mistakes, repents and there takes place a peaceful adjustment of differences. A Satyagrahi will always try to over come evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, himsa by Ahimsa. Satyagraha stresses four basic ideas (a) it is essentially the use of soul force (b) it excludes the use of physical force (c) through the suffering of the Satyagrahi it appeals to the heart and thus seeks convert the wrong-doer and (d) means and ends are convertible terms "as the means so the end". A good result can be produced only by good means⁸⁶.

Thomas Weber elaborated some conflict resolution norms. First norm is that party identifies real issue of the conflict. Party states his goal and tries to understand opponent's intention and his position⁸⁷. It is the positive approaches of conflict resolution. The next step is party is seek to negotiation and not to be use any type of violence. Opponents should see conflict is positively as an opportunity for personal and social transformation and act in a nonviolent manner, neither humiliating or provoking the other side nor letting them is provoked or humiliated. The purpose is should not be coercion but conversion. In this section party should define their conflict well and not to cooperate evil. Not to polarize the situation and should distinguish between antagonism and antagonists⁸⁸. If the opponent gives any indication of changing his position and altering his behaviour in any direction, this indication must be given full recognition. In this stage party move towards in a position of conflict resolution⁸⁹.

Weber evolved third norm is that the resolution of the conflict⁹⁰. In this stage opponent must be understand his wrong and be open to admit their error. Finally the both parties accepted in conflict resolution.

Conflict is cannot be resolved through mere decision making process and that, being an essential element for bringing out change society; we should not attempt to suppress the conflict. Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is did not seek to end up with conflict, which he valued positively, nor to build conflict free society. He simply claimed that we should target at the roots of conflict and aim at solving its underlying causes⁹¹. Emerged incompatibility in between the parties, is the main issue of the conflict. Tackling the central cause of the conflict is the basic process in the development of future approaches of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution is aims at the elimination of the source of conflict. Temporary arrangement of conflict resolution is not being existed. Settling the immediate disputes with the underlying conflict cannot be viewed. Basic issue or human needs is never be considered in this approach. Fulfillment of human needs will emerge in the form of a mutually satisfied solution⁹².

Gandhian Satyagraha is same as that in win-win approaches of conflict resolution. A win-win approach of conflict resolution is referred in previous chapter. In this approaches neither party in win, nor party is lose. Satyagraha is the zero-sum technique, where one person's victory is another person's defeat. Satyagrahi must conduct themselves on the highest moral plane. They must show more concern

for their adversary than ever for themselves⁹³. Satyagraha is the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self. The ultimate goal of Satyagrahi is not victory over the adversary, but the victory of each side.

4.7 Gandhian Concept of Conflict Transformations

Conflict transformation is the most important and recent forms of problem solving method. It mentioned in the previous chapter. Many of ideas in Gandhian Satyagraha is related to modern conflict transformation. Main focuses of this study is comparison with the modern conflict transformation and Gandhian Satyagraha. Many of transformational contents are included in Gandhian Satyagraha. Gandhi's nonviolence has a positive aspect of love to the opponent. Satyagrahi loves the enemy and tries to win him over to his side by transforming him. Gandhian concept of conflict transformation there is no victory and there is no vanquish.

Many of the internal and external factors can have the cause of the conflict transformations. Gandhi's concept of conflict transformation maintains self-purification and reformation. Self purification could be made internal transformation of the parties.

Gandhi emphasized self purification is training their followers in nonviolence. He stressed personal cleanliness, self-discipline and proper conduct in the face of conflict situation. Gandhi used nonviolent resistance as a great symbolic gesture to help increase Indians self awareness, raise their pride and unity, and give all of them a chance to participants in the national resistance effort⁹⁴.

Gandhi's constructive programme is the best example of external transformation of the parties. Constructive programme was made major change in the parties; it was emphasized in conflict transformation process. Constructive programme is to build a new social and economic order through voluntary constructive work. Gandhi consider it was important than resistance. Gandhi's constructive programme included a variety of specific measures aimed at social improvements, education, decentralized economic production and consumption, and improvement in the lot of the oppressed sections of the population⁹⁵. Self purification and constructive programme can transform the individual and through the society. All these programme is gradually transform violent to new nonviolent society.

Non violent resistance stresses, when the agitation leads to changes that not only resolve the conflict but also transform the

relation between the opponents. Transformation of power is the important aspect in the Gandhi's problem solving method. Transforming power seeks to completely alter the structure of conflictful relationship by winning the hearts and minds of the opponent, not by destroying them. Conflict transformation, Gandhi meant not the elimination of maladjustment. It rather meant for him progress towards more and more meaningful adjustments. This can be achieved only when violent relationships are transformed into nonviolent relationships, where energies of the opponent are utilized in a higher integration⁹⁶. Joan V Bondurant pointed out that the objective of Satyagraha is the constructive transforming of relationships in a manner which not only affects a change policy but also assures the restructuring of the situation which led to conflict. This calls for a modification of attitudes and requires fulfillment of needs is both an objective and a means for effecting fundamental change⁹⁷.

Behaviour of the Satyagrahi is could have made major development in the transformation of the parties. Nonviolent transformation is depends on how its practitioners insist on treating the other. Nonviolence insists on seeing the self in the other on loving, understanding and respecting other. Nonviolent views and treats the

opponent much differently than violence. Since the practitioners of nonviolence acknowledge their own selves in others and seek not to hurt the opponent but to treat them instead with respect. By doing so, they avoid dehumanising the opponent their actions change the structure of the conflict⁹⁸.

Gandhi pointed out the new and dynamic way of nonviolence to end conflicts and to transform our thoughts and actions. He added a new dimension to nonviolence and thus converted a passive principle into a dynamic doctrine of Satyagraha to fight against injustice, exploitation and different other forms of violence. ML Sharma written his articles Gandhian technique of conflict resolution, he written extensively is that, conflict transformation, Satyagrahi uses several stages to resolve the conflict. First stage he uses negotiation and persuasion. Non violent conversion through self suffering is used in the second stage. Lastly Satyagraha may resort to nonviolent coercion such as non cooperation, civil disobedience, fasting etc⁹⁹.

4.8 Third Party Intervention

Gandhian concept of conflict resolution is mainly focused on bilateral negotiation. Some special occasions parties are not able to resolve the issue, at that time Gandhi suggested third party

intervention. Mediation is one of the important forms in third party intervention. Mediation provides a form of third party intervention aimed at facilitating the resolution of the conflict; it is more consistent with the aims and principles of Satyagraha¹⁰⁰. Mediator's job is to assist the parties to come to their own resolution of their dispute. Mediators may take a step with close relationship between the parties.

The Gandhian mediators would act as a Satyagraha catalyser, helping the parties to jointly reach an agreement upon and mutually satisfactory solution, aiming to resolve the underlying conflict, to reach a higher degree of truth, and to achieve transformation in both the opponents and their larger social environment. Gandhian model of mediation would be located to the development of skills and attitudes in the parties that contributes to the building of a nonviolent society¹⁰¹. The Gandhian mediators would aspire at both fostering empowerment of the disputing parties and recognition between opponents.

Gandhi is always supported in modern concept of alternative dispute resolution. It is avoiding legal adjudication or legal establishment. It is the system third party's job to assist the parties to come to their own resolution of their disputes. There is not outside compulsion in alternative dispute resolution, parties in mutually

accommodating each other and finally get into a settlement with the help of third parties. This ADR movement is very close to Gandhian Satyagraha.

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