Chapter - V

GANDHI’S CONTRIBUTION TO HUMANISM
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“Until now, philosophers postulated a world of matter and a world of mind and created a vicious circle of dualism. The Way out of the apparent difficulty is to be found in a combination of conceptual thought and empirical knowledge, of abstract reasoning and statements of facts. Materialist philosophy, restated as Physical Realism, shows the way out.

"Man did not appear on the earth out of nowhere; with his mind, intelligence, will, he is it an integral part of the physical Universe. The letter is a cosmos - a law-governed system. Therefore, man is essentially rational. The reason in man is an echo of the harmony of the universe. Morality must be referred back to man’s innate rationality. Only then can man be moral, spontaneously and voluntarily. Reason is the only sanction of morality, which is an appeal to conscience; and conscience, in the last analysis, is nothing mystic or mysterious. It is a biological function, on the level of consciousness. The innate rationality of man is the only guarantee of a harmonious social order, which will also be a moral order; because morality is a rational function.

"The axiology of New Humanism deduces all values from the supreme value of freedom. Freedom is the supreme value of life, because the urge for freedom is the essence of human existence. Indeed, it can be traced all the way down the entire process of biological evolution. Since all ethical values are derived from the biological heritage of man, they require no sanction which transcends human existence. To be moral, one needs only be human; it is not necessary to go in search of divine or mystic metaphysical sanction. Humanist morality is evolutionary.
“As soon as it appeared on the earth, the human species had to undertake the struggle', with environments for survival. That was the beginning of an endless struggle for freedom. Since then, all human achievements cultural, progress, scientific knowledge, artistic creations have been motivated by the urge for freedom. In the last analysis, the environment of human” existence is the whole Universe. The latter being, unbounded, man's struggle for survival is eternal; he will never conquer the Universe. His urge "for freedom, therefore, is undying, eternal. He may not be always conscious of it; often, he is not. Nevertheless, it is the basic incentive for him to acquire knowledge and conquer environments by knowing them. In course of the struggle for freedom, man discovers truth. It is neither a mystic-metaphysical category nor an abstract value. It is the content of man's knowledge. Therefore, it is a fact, objectively real.

The concept of man and the Human Community:

The Concept at Man in Mahatma Gandhi is ideal, moral and spiritual. It is also realistic, "pragmatic and humanistic, man is the nucleus of society and centre of reference for all. There is a close resemblance between the sophistic philosophy of the early Greek Thought and the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. 'Man is a measure of all' forms the central theme of the sophistic thought whereas man is the primary necessity in Gandhian thought. Man is the main product of nature. Man is governed equally by two factors i.e., heredity and environment. Man is also conditioned more and more by consciousness and reason, will and emotion which are the direct expressions of the spirit in him.
In Gandhiji’s philosophy man is finite because of his ignorance. The relationship that he establishes between himself and God is a typical one. God is ‘prabhu’ i.e., master and man is His servant i.e., 'dasa’. The relationship between man and God is one of obedience and subordination. Here we can bring in the concept of this relationship with reference to medieval thinkers like St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine and St. Anselm Gandhi sometimes subscribes.

Sankara and his followers do not believe in the ultimate reality of separate human souls, affirm as strongly that as we now are, steeped in ignorance and deep rooted faiths resulting from it. We cannot say again our individualities which do exist for all practical purposes. The redemption of individuals from ignorance and realization of perfect unity with Brahman is considered as the most important dharma of an individual according to Sankara. The life of Sankara, spent in active social organization, illustrates his teaching.

In modern times Swami Vivekananda proclaimed “All this is nothing but Brahman”, and with judicious blending of ideas with the Christianity he included the idea 'Man-God' (nara-narayana) in the sense of suffering humanity as the best form of worship of God and as the path to salvation. Vivekananda kindled the life of individuals by reviving a modern thinking in the light of western thought. By infusing into the mind of men, by the positive aspect of advaita Vedanta, that the man is nothing but Brahman, Vivekananda inspired courage and confidence into the drooping spirit of the country which lost all self confidence. “Vivekananda combined passion of Buddha, with the
Advaita idea that there is but one Brahman in all, and final salvation cannot be attained until all are saved"². These results can be well revealed through his speeches. "A religion which will give us faith in ourselves national self respect and the power to feed and educate the poor and relieve the misery around us. If you want to find God, serve man"³ Vivekananda's firm conviction that man is the central theme and service to suffering humanity leads one to the attainment of ‘moksha' resumed wide, publicity. A renaissance and an awakening was the result. Roman Rolland puts it. “And with this as his foundation stone, pride, ambition, love, faith, science and action, all his powers and all his desires were thrown into the mission of human service and united into one single flame”.⁴ “May I be born and reborn again and suffer a thousand miseries if I am able to worship and above all my God the wicked, my God the afflicted, my God the poor of all races”⁵, “Religion is not for empty bellies”.⁶

Rabindranath Tagore taught the same ideal of constructive: social effort rather than a world denying cult of defeatism; and he has also expressed almost in the same way that God.

“To Tagore, Man’s personality dwells in the centre of his world. From this centre, man has to work and gradually expand it towards infinity through love and service of man, love of nature and cultivation of all the creative arts. Tagore’s mission in life was social service and uplift of humanity.”
Buddha taught has “be a light unto thyself”, “raise yourself by yourself; do not depress yourself. You are your friend, you are your own foe”, proclaims Gita.

Control of the bad impulses makes man a man otherwise he leads a brutish life. "The brute by nature knows no self-restraint", says Gandhi in his Autobiography. Good will and love should triumph over hatred and selfishness.

We have already mentioned that Gandhi sometimes calls himself a follower of Advaita. Sankara's advaita is extreme as; the body and the mind are the finite appearances of the one ultimate Real, Brahman. So the self of man, correctly understood, is nothing but Brahman. The finitude of man is due to his ignorance of his real nature which being known, he realizes his complete identity. The doctrine is known as Advaita, literally meaning dualism. Man and God (Brahman) are not two, but one.

Still there is other type of monism in India which admits the existence of one all pervasive Reality, Brahman, or God. But they do not regard the finite and the multiple as mere appearances; the external objects the bodies and selves are all real through finite.

“Gandhi's conception of the relation of man to God shows his affinity to Vaishnavism.” He never enters into the intricacies of the exact relation between man and God; and it is not, therefore, possible to determine to which of the four leading Vaisnava schools, if any, he would belong”, observes D.M.Datta, commenting on
Gandhi's concept of relation between man and God. In his writings on Gita, Gandhi uses many concepts that characterize the \textit{Vaisnava} attitude. Often Gandhi speaks of God, as master (\textit{prabhu}) and the ideal man as the part (\textit{amsha}) of the Divine power or of God. Sometimes, he looks upon every man as the incarnation of God. "Man is not God, but neither is the different from the light or (spark) of God"\textsuperscript{9}.

Man, the individual is the centre theme of Gandhi’s system of thought. The moral and spiritual development of man is the main objective. His evolution to higher levels of consciousness will be obstructed if he does not use his inner qualities and potentialities in a progressive manner. Love is his main ethics wonder C.E.M.Joad the famous British Philosopher called Gandhi "a moral genius". Gandhi's concept of love is nothing but a feeling of brotherhood, a near-identity of interest with every sentient being, expressed in the for service and-sacrifice. R.R.Diwakar rightly observes: "His ethics in relation to material things and property consisted in his concept of trusteeship. Every human being is a trustee not only of his faculties and attainments but of everything he comes by. And trusteeship consists not only in using his powers and goods properly but in using them selflessly and for the well being of all others."\textsuperscript{10}

"Gandhi finally arrived at a social philosophy which cooled be characterized as a synthesis between the needs, urges and aspirations of the individual and of the society."Gandhi called it \textit{sarvodaya} - the rise and well-being of all. The society plans for the fullest possible development of the best in every individual, the individual renders back unto society what, he, in fact owes to society. It is the individuals who form the
society and hence the mutual obligation. *Sarvodaya* precludes the suppression or elimination of any class in the society. It is only through “*Satyagraha*” way of life, this order of society could be brought about. Insistence on the truth of one’s own experience through non-violence alone, is the royal road to achieve it. The society as a whole is exploited at present. Enough of untruth, evil and injustice are found in the human relationships and public affairs. In order to put an end these evils, Gandhi’s concept of *Satyagraha* is a boon. It can be used even by a single individual who has developed sufficient moral power by his own purity of thought and conduct.

Idealistic in approach, Gandhi was a pragmatist to the core of it. Society and mankind was a field of experiment for him. Having lived a life of purity and righteousness, he became a spiritual leader of the world. Having abundant faith in humanity as such, he sacrificed his life for it. He lived a life midst humanity fully realising his responsibilities to it. With his unshakable belief in ‘*Satya*’ (Truth) and *Ahimsa* (Non-violence), Gandhi showed us a new path to follow. Gandhi was a great internationalist, believing in the essential unity of man and the underlying unity of all nations and religions.

The concept of "*daridranarayana*" is peculiar of Gandhi. *Daridranarayana* is one of the millions of names by which humanity knows God who is unnamable and unfathomable by human understanding, and it means God of the poor, God appearing in the hearts of the poor.\(^1\) Gandhi writes: “I came to know my millions. All the 24 hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last because I recognize no God
except that God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence, I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions".12

Gandhiji realised the dignity of labour. Tolstoy's writings on “Bread Labour” attracted Gandhi. "To live, man must work" is the maxim according to Tolstoy. "God created man to work for his food and said that those who ate without work were thieves".13 Gandhi writes, The Law, that to live man must work first came to me upon reading Tolstoy 's writing on Bread labour. But even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after reading Ruskin's 'Unto the Last. The divine law that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands was first stressed by a Russian writer named T.M. Bondaref. Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity. In my view the same principle has been set forth in the III chapter of the Gita, when we are told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice here can only mean Bread labour".14 The Bible teaches us "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread".

Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher stage after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fours or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood as matter from spirit".15

The concept of man in Gandhi has risen to a high realm, unique in itself. "In the mighty world", said Gandhi, “Man, considered as an animal, occupies but an insignificant place. Physically, he is a contemptible worm. But God has endowed him
with intellect and the faculty of discrimination between good and evil. If we use the faculty to know God, we become a power for good. Abuse of that talent converts us into an instrument of evil so that we become like scourge and a plague and fill this earth with strife and bloodshed, and unhappiness and misery. In a prayer speech, Gandhi said, “He who loses himself finds God”. The understanding of this maxim leads one to a perfect knowledge. “All work will, then, be undertaken not for oneself, but for all”.

Gandhi’s concept of man is also spiritual. To be really spiritual one has to be courageous. "Fearlessness", says Gandhi is the first requisite for spirituality. "Cowards can never be moral". According to Gandhi, fearlessness is the indispensable quality required for of the opinion that this quality cannot be achieved without 'religious consciousness'. “Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man”.

“The truth of everything is beautiful “All truths, not merely true ideals, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs are highly beautiful”. But generally people fail to see the beauty in truth. “The ordinary man runs away from it and becomes blind to the beauty in it”. True art will arise only when men begin to see beautiful in truth. When right perception is at work the truly beautiful creations will come. “If these moments are rare in life they are also rare in art”.

All the other scenes will automatically come under control when the palate has been brought under control. And he who has conquered the senses has really conquered the whole world and he becomes a part of God.
Gandhi feels confident that humanity on the whole is progressing. Therefore, he says "I believe that the sum total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite. If unconscious, working of the law of love".  

Dr. Radhakrishnan writes, “The greatest fact in the history of man on earth is not his material achievements, the empires he has built and broken but the growth of his soul from age to age in its search for truth and goodness. Those who take part this adventure of the soul secure an enduring place in the history of human culture. Time has discredited heroes as early as it has forgotten anyone else, but the saints remain. The greatness of Gandhi is more in his holy living than in his heroic struggles, in his insistence on the creative power of the soul and its live giving quality at a time when the destructive forces seen to be in the ascendant".  

The brief account of Mahatma Gandhi’s life and philosophy would show that his long life of seventy-nine years was a series of experiments in the spiritual domain. “The consensus of contemporary thought has placed Gandhi among the greatest men of all times, not because he was the originator of any new principle, but because he demonstrated in practical politics the applicability of the moral ideas of the great world teachers of the past”. The experiments of Gandhi were conducted with nearly four hundred million people in South Africa and India for about half a century. Throughout his life Gandhiji remained a humble seeker of the truth. He acknowledges that his achievements feel far short of his deals. But he had a series of successes in many fields in his non-violent struggles against personal, social and political evils. These successes
gave him hope in himself and other thoughtful person in all parts of the world, among whom are to be found even some great British statesmen who were once the opponents of Gandhi’s movements.”

The Human Family and Gandhi

My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large. Not only that, but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion, embrace all life.

We are all tarred with the same bush; we are all members of the vast human family. I decline to draw any distinctions. I cannot claim any superiority for the Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. Humanity is not divided into water-tight compartments, so that we cannot go from one to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms, but they are all related to one another. I would not say “India should be all in all, consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep India intact and its freedom also intact only if I have the good-will towards the whole of the human family and not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the
earth called India. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is India in the wide world or in the universe?

I venture to suggest in all humility that if India reaches her destiny through: Truth and Non-violence, she will have made no small contribution to the world peace for which all the nations of the earth are thirsting, and she would also have, in that case, made some slight return for the help that those nations have been freely giving to her.¹⁰

If I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order that I, belonging to a nation which counts' one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race' upon earth, or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom”

Relevance of the Gandhian Philosophy of Sarvodaya

The 21st century man is passing through a critical phase. He is confronted with a crisis of culture and civilization. With the so-called progress of technology, the greatest danger is the virtual extinction of the finer sensibilities of man.²⁹

An incomparable humanist who was far ahead of his time, Mahatma Gandhi had devoted himself to the cause of advancement and excellence of man. His primary concern was never to look at one's own self but always strive for the welfare of others. This would lead to a complete personality. It calls for a sympathetic and dynamic vision
of life. I quote the Mahatma: "We are living in times when values are undergoing quick changes. We are not satisfied with slow results. We are not satisfied with the welfare merely of our caste-fellows, not even of our own country. We feel or want to feel for the whole of humanity. All this is a tremendous gain in humanity's search towards the goal."
(Harijan, 30 May 1936)

Gandhi's philosophy of Sarvodaya calls for a coordinated effort on the part of every human being. It envisages a relentless effort to be justified to others in order to be justified to one's inner self, the self that glorifies humanity. To become a real partner in national and trans-national progress, the primary lesson to be learnt and practiced is "to reduce oneself to a cipher". Gandhi advocated that every moment of one's life should be devoted to make others happy and worthy of humanity. In one of his memorable statements on Sarvadharma-samabhavana, Gandhi observed: "After long study and experience, I have come to the conclusion that (i) all religions are true; (ii) all religions have some error in them; (iii) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism, in as much as all human beings should be as dear to one another as one's own close relatives. My own veneration for other faiths is the same as that for my own faith; therefore, no thought of conversion is possible. The aim of the fellowship should be to help a Hindu become a better Hindu, a Mussalman to be a better Mussalman, and a Christian a better Christian. The attitude of patronizing toleration is false to the spirit of international fellowship. If I have a suspicion in my mind that my religion is more or less true, and that others' are more or less false, instead of being more or less true, though I may have some sort of fellowship with them, it is of an entirely different kind from the
one we need in the international fellowship. Our prayer for others must be not 'God, give him the light that Thou hast given me', but 'Give him all the light and truth he needs for the highest development'. Pray merely that your friends may become better men, whatever their form of religion." (Report of the First Annual Meeting of the Federation of International Fellowships, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, 1; 1-15 January, 1928)

Gandhi advocated Brahmacharya as one of the important components of Sarvodaya. It is primarily intended to guard oneself against harboring base thoughts and actions and be prepared for any kind of sacrifice for the well-being of mankind. The first decade of the 21st century bears witness to utter indiscipline and the absence of values. We marvel at science and technology, but there is scant regard for transnational sensibilities and the broader vision of the unity of man in the spirit of excellence. The net result may be the disaster of humanism. Brahmacharya, in Gandhi's reckoning, could lead to behavioural change. "Brahmacharya must be observed in thought, word and deed. It may be harmful to suppress the body, if the mind is at the same time allowed to go astray. Where the mind wanders, the body must follow sooner or later. It is necessary here to appreciate a distinction. It is one thing to allow the mind to harbour impure thoughts; it is a different thing altogether if it strays among them in spite of us. Victory will be ours in the end, if we non-cooperate with the mind in its evil wanderings. We experience every moment of our lives, that often while the body is subject to our control, the mind is not. This physical control should never be relaxed, and, in addition, we must put forth a constant endeavour to bring the mind under control." (From Yeravda Mandir, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1935, p 18)
Contemporary society is plagued by character assassination, corruption, orthodoxy, hatred and violence in virtually every sphere of life. There is an appalling absence of self-control and purification through self-analysis and self-advancement, the invaluable tenets of the Gandhian philosophy of Sarvodaya.

That philosophy is a perfect blend of religion and morality. His path towards mankind’s Universal Dawn encompasses Ahimsa (non-violence), Satya (truth), Asteya (non-stealing), Brahmacharya (chastity), Asangraha (non-possession), Sharirashrama (physical labour), Aswada (control of the palate), Sarvatra-bhaya-varjana (fearlessness), sarvadharma-samabhava (equality of all religions), Swadeshi (Indigenousness), and Sparswabhavana (discarding of untouchability).

These tenets are crucial if man has to countenance the challenges of the 21st century. The philosophy of the greatest good of all is profoundly relevant at this point in time. A votary of non-violence responds to the concept of Universal Dawn not out of personal interest, but to strengthen the inter-personal bond of love. In the words of Gandhi, "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 realise the ideal. He will, therefore, be willing to die so that others may live. He will serve himself with the rest, by himself dying. The greatest good of all inevitably includes the good of the greatest number, and, therefore, he and the utilitarian will converge in many points in their career, but there does not come a time when they must part company, and even work in opposite directions." (Young India, 9 December 1926)
Gandhi defined the greatest value of love for mankind in terms of absence of hatred. The advancement of humanism is inseparably linked to how one judiciously does away with hatred and invites love even at the cost of life. "I hold myself to be incapable of hating any being on health. By a long course of prayerful discipline, I have ceased for over 40 years to hate anybody. I know this is a big claim. Nevertheless, I make it in all humility. But I can and do hate evil wherever it exists." (Young India, 6 August, 1925)

This is the vision of Sarvodaya which ought to be the philosophy of humanism.' Gandhi upholds Sarvodaya as the touchstone of Truth. "Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills". (Harijan, 28 March 1936) At the same time, he highlights the close inter-relationship between the two and considers them to be the most essential facets of mankind. "Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say which is the obverse, and which the reverse? Nevertheless, ahimsa is the means; truth is the end. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later. When once we have grasped the point, final victory is beyond question. Whatever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent reverses we sustain, we may not give up the quest for truth, which alone is being God Himself." (From Yeravda Mandir, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1935, p 13)
With Truth and non-violence as the guiding spirit of Sarvodaya, the inner spirit of man is the most invaluable asset for ascent and excellence of humanity. The spirit of tolerance is the primary pre-requisite.

When will we wholeheartedly respond to the clarion call of the Mahatma?

**Gandhi’s Impact on American Civil Rights Movement**

As the "Father of the Nation" and the leader of the Indian Independence Movement seeking to end the British Raj, Gandhi employed a revolutionary form" of nonviolent resistance he called Satyagraha, which he said meant "the strength that comes from adhering to the truth." Gandhi’s technique involved the Three R's, the Three S's and the Three T's. The Three R's stand for nonviolent Resistance, Reform and Redemption; the Three S's stand for Simplicity, Self-suffering and Service and the Three T's are for Truth, Tolerance and Trusteeship. This nonviolent blueprint for peace and change advocates tireless adhering to the truth. While incurring suffering on the self, all in an attempt to lovingly and nonviolently convert, and not coerce or conquer the opponent.

Gandhi, who identified closely with the plight of the Africa, had sent a message to W.E.B. Du Bois, the great American scholar, editor and cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois had written a letter to Gandhi in February 1929 seeking his assistance in the United States: “The race and color problems are world-wide, and we need your help here”. When Gandhi wrote in May of that year, Du Bois published Gandhi's reply in the NAACP's journal:
Let not the 12 million African American be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonor in being slaves; There is dishonor in being slave owners ... Let us realize that the future is with those who would be truthful, pure and loving .... Love alone binds and truth and love accrue.’ only to the truly humble.”

However a 1924 symposium in the Crisis had explored, and then largely rejected, the idea or Gandhian - style resistance by American African. But as Du Bois's 1929 letter attests, the idea did not die and by the 1930s, as Gandhi was making his mark as a Mahatma. African American’s flocked to India to learn firsthand about Gandhi's techniques and investigate whether they could be applied to the struggle for racial equality in the United States. At one such gathering in 1935, Gandhi surprised his guests by asking them to sing one or his favorite songs, “Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?” (Interestingly, when King wrote of his own pilgrimage to India in 1959, he remarked that Indians loved to hear African American spiritual songs), after they finished the song, Gandhi made a prediction: “Perhaps it will be through the African that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world”. King was only six at the time and oblivious of the fact that he would help make Gandhi’s prediction a historical fact more than two decades later.

In the early 1940s, when King, was still in his teens, Asa Philip Randolph used the threat of a mass nonviolent march on Washington to pressure President Franklin D. Roosevelt into integrating the country’s war industries. Randolph, who was President of
the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a well known labor organizer, was convinced that Gandhian resistance would work in the United States. In 1947, his threat to launch another movement designed to integrate the US Army "stirred not only King but thousands of young African American college students", Randolph was nicknamed the “American Gandhi” years before King earned that same moniker. He gave speeches citing Gandhi’s work in India and urged African American to emulate Gandhi’s tactics of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. Randloph’s desire to organize a mass protest march eventually cultivated in the 1963 March on Washington where king gave his famous “I have a dream speech. The March brought together more than a quarter million people one third of whom where whites, to peacefully demonstrate for racial justice. It remains one of the largest, if not the largest, nonviolent protest gatherings in American history. No wonder that King referred to Randolph as the Dean of African Americans.

But the March Oil Washington would not have occurred without in the considerable organizational skills of Bayard Rustin, yet another African American pilgrim to limit and a passionate disciple of Gandhi, Rustin was a veteran civil’ rights organizer and a member of the Society of Friends· who spent time in jail for refusing to serve in the military during World war II, During the Montgomery Bus Boycott Ruskin had a profound influence’ on King's turn to nonviolence as a way of life. For instance, then Ruskin learned that King kept a gun under his pillow, they stayed up all night discussion and arguing what it really meant to be a nonviolent resister; In the end, King discarded the weapon (as well as his bodyguards) as Ruskin and his friend and colleague Glenn
Smiley convinced King. Of the merits of Gandhian nonviolence, which King, ultimately adopted as a philosophy of life.

Ruskin was a brilliant peace activist: with ties to progressive religious and civil rights organizations, most notably the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The FOR is a liberal Christian based group founded in England 1914, which advocates nonviolent social change in the CORE was founded in the United States in 1942 in part by James Fanner, one of the FOR African American members. Farmer was dedicated to applying Gandhian methods to racial matters in the American South. He and the other founding members of the CORE were heavily influenced by a Gandhi.

A.J. Muste, a well known American pacifist, sited India and even met the Mahatma in 1931. Muste, who was a founding member of the FOR, returned to the United States a speaking tour that included stops at colleges and universities. In 1947, James Lawson, a young African American anxious to find a way to combine his deeply held Christian beliefs with social action, met Muste although one of Muste's campus lecturers, Lawson, who became a passionate advocate of Gandhi's methods, joined the FOR and then served time in jail in the early 1950s as a consciousness objector refusing to be drafted into the military for the Korean War. Lawson became a Methodist minister and traveled to India as a missionary as well as a student of Gandhian Satyagraha. It was in India that Lawson learned about Martin Luther King, whose nonviolent resistance had made him famous. Lawson was overjoyed and buoyed by
King's emergence. Upon his return to the United States in 1955, Lawson joined forces with King who urged him to come to the South 'to help promote nonviolent resistance since few were as qualified and experienced as Lawson. Consequently, Lawson helped organize crucial nonviolent movements throughout the South, especially in the State of Tennessee.

**Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Mahatma**

Galvanized by Johnson's speech about Gandhian nonviolence and energized King immediately went out and obtained as many books on Gandhi as he could find. He borrowed one such book from George Davis, perhaps his closest professor at Crozer. Davis was the only strict pacifist, as well as the strongest admirer of Gandhi, on the Crozer faculty. Based on King's reading of Davis' and other books on Gandhi, King ultimately became convinced that, 'when love is deployed in conjunction with nonviolent resistance, a powerful and effective transforming technique results. King may also have been attracted to Gandhi because he saw some parallels between Gandhi's life and his own: both were people of color struggling against a racist white power structure, both had experienced humiliating treatment at the hands of whites on public transport,' both were subjected to personal violence (that would eventually claim their lives) and both were committed to practicing their faiths by dediacting their lives to the service of others.

In his first book, Stride toward Freedom, King chronicles his so-called "pilgrimage to nonviolence" and singles out Gandhi for high praise: "Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale".
While Gandhi’s emphasis on loving your enemy fits nicely with King’s Christian beliefs. Gandhi showed King the practical effects of loving the opponent. Invoking St. Augustine’s injunction to hate the sin but love the sinner. King built on Gandhi’s notion of courageous love. He observed that Gandhi’s idea of love did not mean passive non-resistance to evil but rather and active resistance to evil that was nonviolent and infused with the loving notion that suffering would be injured but not inflicted:

King says as I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most protective weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.

1954, as King was finishing his doctorate in Theology, at Boston University, he accepted a job as head pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, which was for a short time the capital of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. It had a large African American community which suffered daily humiliations at the hands of whites. Montgomery’s public bus system is a case in point. African Americans were forced to sit at the back of the bus and then had to give up their seat if a white person wanted to sit down. The bus drivers, who were all whites, required African American rides to pay at the front of the bus and then enter through the rear entrance. Sometimes, the bus drivers would pull away after the rider paid but before he or she had a chance to board in the rear. The daily indignities African American suffered on
Montgomery’s buses were magnified several times over by other humiliations and indignities African American endured at the hands of Montgomery’s racist white power structure.

At first Gandhi’s influence in Montgomery was minor. The Bus Boycott was not overtly organized as a Gandhian nonviolent resistance movement. Although King admired Gandhi, be admitted to a colleague that he did not know how to apply Gandhi’s methods and principles. But after a white librarian wrote a letter to the Montgomery Advertiser comparing the bus boycott with Gandhi’s actions in India. Gandhi’s influence on the movement in Montgomery began to grow. As King said Gandhi’s name and his concept of nonviolent resistance became well known throughout Montgomery where people who had never before heard his name were now discussing the little brown saint of India with a degree of familiarity. Even the media began comparing the protesters in Montgomery to Gandhi and the bankrupt white power structure in Alabama to the moribund British Raj in India.

As the boycott were common King "plunged ever deeper” into Gandhian tactics and principles. Reminiscent of Gandhi King believed that what he was doing in Montgomery represented “a” courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love”. He told the gatherings stories of how Gandhi fashioned peaceful, nonviolent resistance to bring the mighty British Empire to an end in India. He was quick to point out, however, that “I went to Gandhi through Jesus” so as to reinforce the Christian underpinnings of the movement. King said that Montgomery “did more to clarify my thinking on the
question of nonviolence than all the books that I had read”. As such, King was converted to the ideal – he was not born a Gandhian. While Gandhi saw the beauty in Christ’s Sermon on the Mount and adapted it to the Indian context. King saw the beauty in *Satyagraha* and gratified it to his American audience by emphasizing Gandhi’s common parallels to Jesus Christ and Christian doctrine. King even paid homage to Gandhi by naming a new civil rights organization after him. The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was King’s open acknowledgement of Gandhi’s impact on the Civil Rights Movement.

Once King said that, “To other countries I may go as a tourist, but to India I come as a pilgrim”. King’s trip to India was a spiritual retreat designed to further immerse him in Gandhian ideals. He met with Gandhian activists from all over the country. King was singularly impressed by several things that he often spoke about upon his return to the United States. He remarked at how Indians and Britons seemingly treated each other equally and showed no outward sense of hatred towards one another. He attributed that to Gandhi’s emphasis on nonviolence and love towards the opponent. King also admired how India’s leaders "placed their moral power behind their law" in passing legislation on behalf of India’s dispossed. He marveled at how, "From the Prime Minister, down to the village councilman" everyone spoke out against untouchability. He witnessed Nehru repeatedly condemn untouchability while promoting the idea of national atonement. King returned to the United States calling on President Eisenhower, and later President Johnson, to do likewise insofar as America’s depressed classes - its poor, its people of color - were concerned. He saw in the Indian Government’s
behaviour an attitude and model by which the United States Government could help
cure America’s social ills. Indeed, it was India, and not just Mahatma Gandhi, that
served King as an example of how to repair the fabric of a torn society. King’s trip to
India left him more convinced than ever that nonviolent resistance was the most potent
weapon available to oppressed people all over the world.

King earned the nickname the "American Gandhi" and it is interesting that King
himself, one of the greatest leaders in American history, considered Mohandas Gandhi,
"by all standards of measurement ... one of the half dozen greatest men in world
history". To be sure, King’s actions in the Civil Rights Movement are reminiscent of
Gandhian techniques. Boycotts, marches, letter-writing, and even public fasts, are all
evidence of Gandhi’s life and work in the American Civil Right Movement. But King's
courageous decision, which did not come lightly, to court repeated jail sentences, is
perhaps one of his greatest manifestations of Gandhian-style nonviolence. Like Gandhi,
King had no sadistic desire to be jailed. He was well aware of the abuses African
American suffered in southern jail cells. But King told his followers to go to jail much like
Gandhi did with a cheery air. Like Gandhi, he urged them to accept their prison
sentence by transforming the prison "from a dungeon of shame to a haven of freedom
and human dignity".

Also like Gandhi, King came to see jail as a liberating experience. It was in jail
that Gandhi was exposed to Henry David Thoreau’s essay on civil disobedience that so
moved him and confirmed in him his own nonviolent journey: And it was in jail that King
wrote the "Letter I from Birmingham Jail," the most famous treatise of the Civil Rights Movement, which he scratched out on bits and scraps of smuggled paper over several days of solitary confinement. The Letter echoed Gandhian themes of truth, justice, self-sacrifice and nonviolence. For instance, in the Letter, King implicitly acknowledged his debt to Gandhi when he wrote, "I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek."

Observe Gandhi's influence on King's opposition to the Vietnam War, which risked losing President Johnson's and other African American leaders' support. They urged him to avoid discussing the war but King refused to yield. In one of his most famous statements, he argued that "justice is indivisible: injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

King also shared Gandhi's views regarding cowardice and repeated Gandhi's argument that, if given the choice between cowardice and using violence to defend yourself, it is better to choose violence. In a 1965 in an interview, King confirmed his views on this subject when he said, "As much as I deplore violence, there is one evil that is worse than violence and that is cowardice". For both King and Gandhi, showing courage was more important than the rejecting violence.

King also differed from Gandhi insofar as the ends to which he employed Gandhian techniques. Gandhi used non cooperation and civil disobedience to bring an end to British rule in India. He urged his followers not to cooperate with British
authorities in any way since he considered the British Raj evil. In contrast King used to
the same techniques not to bring an end to a governing system, but to reform it and
make it live up to its own democratic promises and ideals. King was the quintessential
American patriot who believed in American exceptionalism and who saw the United
States as a guiding light for other countries. As such, he was highly invested in
American constitutional government. His nonviolence, therefore, sought the inclusion of
African American citizens into the full promise and dream of American democracy and
society.

Finally, King differed from Gandhi regarding the role of the government in
uplifting the people. While Gandhi was adamant about teaching was adamant about
teaching villagers to be self-sufficient, King insisted that the Federal Government play a
central role in helping provide housing, education and employment to America’s
oppressed African American population.

**Global Peace and Gandhi**

**Crisis of Knowledge and Loss of Creativity**

One of the important causes of crisis in Western Civilization is the loss of
creativity. Nobody can deny that the West has achieved a high water-mark in the
development of scientific knowledge and material advancement but in spite of all these
achievements, the decline of the West has deeply shaken its innate sense of superiority
as the natural leader of the world and the source of all intellect and progress. In
Spengler's characteristics of the last phase of "civilization," disappearance of
creativeness forms an important feature.
No new great creations appear, either in art or in religion, or in politics. Life becomes intellectualized and commercialized, “though many changes, variations and mixtures of forms may still appear anymore.” All that remains is the struggle for mere power, for animal advantage.

This lack of creativeness is the characteristic of our time. “What is practiced as art today is impotence and falsehood ... We go through all the exhibitions, the concerts, the theatres and find only industrious cobblers and noisy fools, who delight to produce something for the market.” According to Toynbee, the core of the breakdown of civilizations is that the creative minority can no longer bring up sufficient creative force to meet the challenge of the moment.

The source of action in each society rests with the creative minority since the mass is incapable of mentally and spiritually living through the same creative experience, hence there is general acceptance or imitation of as Toynbee calls nemesis.

We can trace creative forces in European politics in the idea of some form of unification Benelux Economic Union, Western Union, concluded between France, Great Britain and the Benelux countries in 1948, creation of the Council of Europe, the plan for a European Defense Community (NATO) but the idea of a united Europe would be of little value if it were brought about merely by pressure from the U.S.A. However, the constant activity toward unification is the clear proof of the urge of Europe for greater
unity. In the field of Economy, we find creative forces in European Economy with formation of a Common European Market, European Recovery Plan, European Payment Union, E.U. and the Schuman Plan. All these have achieved integration and the mass production needed. In the field of architecture, an entirely new style has sprung up from a maze of hitherto uncoordinated lines and imitative themes, the straight line and the principle of functionalism emerged as the representative style of our time. In the film and Cinematography and music they have achieved great success inspite of obvious difficulties.

Similarly, we can find some creative force in American technology. A nation with hardly 7% of the world's population produces about one third of all goods and services is an achievement of human creative power. In politics, both domestic (federal system and switch from bourgeois to mass democracy) and foreign (resisting aggression in Korea, Vietnam, Kuwait, etc.); America has given ample proof of that capacity to discern great issues and audacity to deal with them which have always characterized great nations and great civilizations at the peak of their vitality. Except in the fields of film and architecture, America has not made significant contribution in the field of music, drama or literature. Of course, it has shown startling progress in the field of science and medicine in chemical science, in biology, psychology and in social sciences.

Both Europe and America have no doubt ample proven our century to be one of the most prolific in scientific achievements but since they are rooted in materialistic value of life, there is growing morosely, cynicism and the lack of faith. The West has
shown a creative genius but having no direction, it has resulted in exploitation of the worst kind, political and cultural imperialism and arrogance and the perfection in the business of arms and ammunitions including clandestine sale of dangerous components of making nuclear bombs. They have no doubt shown a great concern for federation, democracy and human rights but again, it has resulted in perpetuating their hegemony and exploitation. This is because; democracy and the problem of human rights are instruments to consolidate their roots and browbeat the third world countries. The USA has assumed the role of self-appointed policeman of the world and also the custodian of economic empire through the outfits of I.M.F. World Bank, and W.T.O. The U.S.A. had stolen the sign-board of U.N. and it has made the world body unrepresentative by permanency of five seats. It is rank hypocrisy to keep the treasure of atomic stockpile and ask the atomic have-nots to observe atomic fasts. Hence, the West is incapable of seizing up the moral and spiritual leadership either for World Peace or for a United World. The world has too strongly the impression that the Western leadership limits itself to grants of material aid and that too for improving their own economy. It is neither charity nor assistance but pure business if not sophisticated exploitation.

Nothing is as killing to initiative as the habit of reverting to others for economic or financial assistance. It was the political genius or Alexander the great to establish his imperial super-system and the autonomy of the Greek polis. Hence it will be the almost super-human task and test of Western statesmanship in a modern world to strike the right balance between world-guidance and the respect of others with the respect of their independence. If the West reinvigorates their fundamental moral and spiritual values
embedded in the Greek and Judo-Christian Culture, they can meet the challenges of the present crisis. We need a civilization-wide-peace and a civilization-wide world. If the West has to survive as the leader of the World, instead of raising the military might and its economic imperialism, it has to raise the standards of the millions who still exist in the basest poverty and squalor by practicing maximum austerity and self-control. This will enkindle the creative spirit of the West which had earlier been found in Beethoven's symphonies, motivated Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln to create respect for the individual freedom, erected Notre Dame, Rock Feller Centre for philanthropy etc.

The West, in its glamour of achievements forgot to explore the secrets of the inner world as the contemporary western civilization is still rooted in Cartesian dualistic metaphysics of subject-object dualism. In its pride of science, they have come to despise and reject intuitive and instinctual perceptions that have come here to fore animated and given perspective and hope and meaning to human existence. For creativity, we need a new instrument of thought and a perception of the "unbroken wholeness" in a non-dual frame which can understand life directly and in a concrete manner rather than in the abstract, linear terms. The subject-object dualistic mode of intellectual knowledge has its own limitations. It cannot understand the deeper level of mind-brain interaction. Max Born also thinks that "clever, rational ways of thinking are not enough.\textsuperscript{31} It has no cure for psychological imbalances and loss of creativity." The world-view implied by modern physicist," as Fritzaof Capra says" is inconsistent with our society, which does not reflect the harmonious interrelatedness we observe in nature.\textsuperscript{32} The present dualistic knowledge mechanism to bifurcate the "seer" and the "seen" is
mutilation of knowledge.\textsuperscript{33} This is only one-sided and partial knowledge and which leads to an argument between nature and man.\textsuperscript{34} Dualistic epistemology provides a divided world of subject and object. But as Schrodinger says "Subject and object are only one. The barrier between them cannot be said to have broken down as a result of recent experience in physical sciences, for this barrier does not exist." \textsuperscript{35} We need an understanding which is the immediate; non-dual, and holistic. This is intuition, which is not against reason but beyond reason and is the fulfillment of all scientific and intellectual knowledge or the logic of creativity.

Aristotelian logic is formal, dualistic and absolutistic; hence it is most inadequate to grasp the true nature of reality. Since, it is based on the principle of Identify and Non-contradiction; it is either true or false. According to this logic, "there are no two ways about it," "you must be either one thing or the other." This leads to the typical disjunctive attitude. Disjunction must disjoin completely because alternatives are alternatives only with reference to one subject and hence both the alternatives can be accepted as the same time. Bradley says that the fallacy of false alternative is due to our "slovenly habit's.\textsuperscript{36} The Pragmatist complains that 'any purely formalistic 'either...or' formulation of contrast eliminates reference to any universe of discourse. The form either-one-or the other-but-not both based on the principle of Excluded Middle is meaningless in view of its incompatibility to existence in transition. So the Mathematical logicians think that it is a "mistake to interpret the “either, or” as exclusive. In other words or “does not exclude both."\textsuperscript{37}
The World is sharply divided in multiple opposite camps. There is an "either...or "in world politics." -If a person does not agree with you, it is wicked; if a country does not agree with your country, it is wicked; there is no half-way."38 Thus, neutrality has become a crime and tolerance a vice. Today one man or one group or one country fights with other, because their views differ. But views are bound to differ, because we are guided by different conditions. Hence, it is wrong to think oneself absolutely right and rest others absolutely wrong. Such attitude or outlook is imperialism in thought. Peace, therefore, demands a new logic, a new outlook, a new asceticism and a new civilisation. This is the Philosophy of "neither ... nor" which is simply an extension of the Gandhian principle of non-violence into the intellectual field. This non-absolutistic approach is "an endevour to frame a coherent, logical, necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element of our experience can be interpreted."39 Even C.E.M. Joad opines that we must never a synoptic view of the universe.40 In absolute sense, a thing is neither real nor unreal, neither permanent nor evanescent but both. Hence formal two valued logic is inadequate. On the other hand, non-absolutistic epistemology avoids vicious intellectualism and the fallacy of exclusive particularity. Such a dynamics of thinking is based on Catholicism and regard for truth seen from different angles. Intellectualistic abstractionism has to be given up and we should try to de-humanize the ideal and realise the real. The reality is not a rounded readymade whole or an abstract unity of many definite or determinate aspects. The multi-valued logic shows all possible rides of a thing and thus does not postulate about a thing in any fixed way. A thing is neither real nor unreal, neither eternal nor non-eternal, neither
static nor mobile, neither small nor big in the absolute sense but has dual nature. Two valued logic seems to be unreal if there is loyalty to experience.

Non-absolutism is the ideology of a new civilisation of peace and non-violence. It is not only an intellectual utopia but a concrete moral guide and a social stabilizer.

The all or non-approach has brought us on the brink of total annihilation, hence, the non-absolutistic approach in thought, word and deed is the only way before us.

The Gandhian approach to World Peace: Peace, as Gandhi envisaged it, is far more than an absence of war and violence. It is a state of positive and constructive worldview and world-order, where individuals, groups and nations eschew to dominate or exploit each other and live in cooperation and mutual aid. This means that peace needs a new life-style and a new culture. However, such a philosophy of civilization of peace does not work in a vacuum. Therefore, Gandhi enunciates both an epistemology of peace and non-violence as well as formulates a Sociology of Peace. Unlike "others, he starts with technology because technology and ideology largely go together. The mode of technology determines development, defense and democracy, in short, our whole theory of life. E.F. Schumacher’s Small is Beautiful is already a protest against the present development model and blind worship of bigness. The Club of Rome thesis-The Limits of Growth is a warning against depletion of nonrenewable resources, so is danger signal given by the Blueprint for Survival. Frit of Capra warns us of dangers of "environmental pollution, continuing proliferation, and the likelihood of global extinction. But the root problem lies in our infinite greed and consumerism.
growing material standard of life can only be achieved through multiplication of machinery and cruel exploitation of natural resources. Besides, concentrations of production in a few hands create pockets of prosperity leading to hierarchical mode of social organisation and alienation of the population from its own labour. Community life breaks down and quality of life deteriorates. For example, Inequality grows so much that U.S.A. with a population of 6% of world population consumes of world's resources. Technological civilisation creates confrontation, not between the employers and employees but also between capitalist countries for market. Socialisation of industries is no cure for industrialization, as exploitation was rooted in machine technology itself. Then, technology determines the model of development as well as the paradigm of defence. Thanks to the development technology we have perfected the weapons of man-annihilation. If malignant hands manipulate the gifts of Science, the Frankteen's monster of super technology will swallow up Homo sapiens and burn up? Civilization. Hence, technology has "become a value-choice between Dawn and Doom, when nuclear power is in issue." The world spends 600 billion dollars every year on military budget while millions of humanity continues to starve and suffer. The world military machinery usurps research and development money (about 135 billion dollars) and engage 50 million people in military support and production. More than 60,000 atomic missiles and bombs have by now been piled up in the bunkers of the industrialized societies amounting to an average of three tons of conventional explosives per world citizen. Even if nuclear war does not take place, the stock-pile will cause havocs: "By the time 2050 A.D., there will be less water available, less fertile land, less clean air, less wilderness. One fifth of the Homo sapiens will probably be extinct...the gap
between the affluent and the hungry is expected to widen."\(^{47}\) Hence, Professor Toynbee rightly said: "If we do not abolish war, war is going to abolish us." Einstein’s warning is dreadfully suggestive." I do not know about the Third World War but in the Fourth World War they will fight with sticks and stones." In fact, war has lost its dynamics. Today, there is the only alternative to atom, and that is Ahimsa (Non-violence). Former USSR president Gorbachev had made declaration of unilateral measures to prevent militarization of space. Only unilateralism can remove the obstacles in the path of disarmament. The concept of national security is outdated. It is now related to the global context. Gandhi had declared about unilateralism with the greatest emphasis at his command:"

Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether, even for defending her borders. For India to enter into the race of armaments is to court suicide. With the loss of India to non-violence, the last hope of the world will be gone."

Economically, armament race is disastrous, strategically it is futile, politically it is like a blind alley of a very narrow and chauvinistic view-point. Legally or morally, it is a crime against humanity. Unilateralism, if it fails, might risk the lives of an entire nation, but the present policy of nuclear weapons risks the lives of all humanity and dooms future generations. If unilateral steps are taken, moral, social and economic strength of a nation”, Till protect it from its adversaries more than nuclear weapons or nuclear alliances.

Gandhi had made plenty of indications towards unilateral non-violent national defense in his writings.” If I were a Czech?” How to combat Hitlerism? \(^{50}\) “Appeal to Every Japanese,”\(^{51}\) and so on.
Like the structure of defense, technology has also affected our politics and its democratic fabric. Political leaders "recognize violence as the foundation of realistic politics." Modern technology necessarily brings in centralization which implies concentration of power. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Centralization adds to the complexity of life which is destruction in all creative moral endeavour. It damages initiative, resourcefulness courage and creativeness and diminishes opportunities of self-government. So the more of centralization, the less of democracy. Centralization cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. So to root out violence in the structure of politics, Gandhi had a vision of self-sufficient and self-managed village republics serving as the grass root democracy as an alternative to Centralized Party system and Parliamentary democracy. Even in his Last Testament, he had given a clear hint about the ascendancy of the civil power over the military power.

Gandhian concept of Pax Mundi is neither Utopian nor simply ethical-spiritual but also structural and holistic. UNESCO's declaration of peace-making that "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defense of peace must be constructed" is significant and fundamental but structural aspects need to be highlighted. Minds of men do not work in a vacuum. They are conditioned by structure of society. Unless our socio-economic and political system is re-oriented towards peace, our mind cannot grasp it properly. Even our societal framework is determined by our technological model. These days we talk about dependence-theory without realising that Gandhi had described the international dialectics of industrial development long
before the model of centre versus periphery was introduced. The foresight of Gandhi can be assessed in his warning against mad rush for industrialism: "God forbid that India should ever take industrialism after the manner of the West. The economic imperialism of a single island (U.K.) is today keeping the world in chains. If the entire nation of 300 (now 900) millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts." Max Weber reminds us that we must develop a universal development concept. He says: "Good fortune thus wants to be legitimate fortune." Gandhi therefore, said: "You cannot build non-violence on factory civilisation." Rural economy eschews exploitation. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society. Gandhi was convinced that the "mania for mass production is responsible for the world crisis." No scheme of global peace can prove lasting unless it is linked to the creating of the equitable world economic order. Similarly, one of the great impediments in the creation of international understanding and peace is our sacrosanct faith in the doctrine of "national sovereignty." Gandhi's dialectical approach to sovereignty is useful by which the role of sovereignty can be reduced but which does not violate principles of equality and justice. In fact, the ideal of "one world" or "World Govt." is the natural Gandhian ideal but so far it is not achieved, Gandhi advocated "to think globally and act locally." The ideal of global village is a legitimate step towards overcoming aggressive nationalism. We have also to develop education for peace. In the total crisis of the world, education has its full share. Unfortunately, we have inherited a philosophy of struggle for existence, which is often portrayed as a battle between the Creature and the Nature neglecting man and his tendency to learn

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the laws of harmony of himself with the universe. Because of increasing world-tensions threatening the very survival of man itself, peace-education has become important.

True, Violence has lost its dynamics in this thermo-nuclear age but "the hold of violence is as great that even though violence has failed a thousand times, we still put faith in its capacity to succeed." Perhaps, it is rooted in our mental dispositions. It might be that man has inherited from the animals the instincts of aggression hate and jealousy. He still retains many things that he possessed before man became man. We need a mind which is free from its own conditioning. Hence, during the very ancient time, there had been provision for the study of military science but so far the science of peace is concerned, it was left only to the religious saints and seers. Today, we badly need a science of peace and non-violence in all our educational curriculum and research. We have spent tremendous amount of time and resources to explore the "science of violence," now it is high time to turn our attention towards the "power of non-violence." The only alternative to non-violence is non-existence. Hence, what is needed is an intellectual revolution. If we can discard absolutistic style of our thinking, there is hardly any scope for religious fundamentalism, national chauvinism, or even ideological fanaticism. But ideology of Pax Mundi presupposes a Pax Mundi in the field of our society structure also. If bloodshed and murder is violence, exploitation is also violence. A society free from inequality and exploitation can pave the way for Pax Mundi.
Notes

2. Ibid. p.65
4. Ibid. p. 71
5. Ibid. p. 71.
9. Ibid. (p.g.6).
11. M.K. Gandhi (Ed.): Young India” — English weekly journal, April 4, 1929. (pg 9)
12. Ibid. p. 9
13. M.K. Gandhi: “Young India”, August 20, 1925 (pg.10)
14. Ibid. p.10
16. “Prayer Speech”, October 1, 1946. (pg. 10)
17. Ibid. p. 10
18. M.K. Gandhi: “Young India”, October 1, 1921 (pg.10).
20. Ibid. P. 11
22. Ibid p.11
23. Ibid. p11
38. Seminar Oil the Contributions of till: Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the Solution of Tensions between and within Nations.” (Inaugural Address by Jawaharlal Nehru).
47. Thapar, Romesh, “Unilateral Disarmament,” Gandhi Marg, June 1903, p. 134./
50. Harijan, 22-06- 1940
51. Harijan, 26-7-1942
54. Harijan, 13-1-1942.
57. Harijan, 18-1-1942.

58. Harijan, 2-1 1-1 934.
