

Contribution

Non-violent Alternatives and Sustainable Peace: Lessons from Gandhi

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ROMAIN Rolland wrote in his book *Mahatma Gandhi*: “One thing is certain: either Gandhi’s spirit will triumph, or it will manifest itself again, as were manifested, centuries before, the Messiah and Buddha.”¹ The subtitle of the book was: ‘The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being’. Two decades later, Albert Einstein wrote of Gandhi echoing these views: “Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth.”²

Gandhi continues to evoke in good measure both reverence and criticism as the global community observes his 150th birth anniversary with considerable application and enthusiasm. Almost a decade ago, the United Nations resolved to observe his birthday (October 2) every year as the International Day of Non-violence in recognition of his contribution to global non-violent awakening and sustainable peace. As Prof. Johan Galtung points out in *Choose Peace*, his dialogue with Dr Ikeda, Gandhi has become a part of the world political culture and Gandhian thought and strivings are bound to influence the progress of the 21st century.³

Though Gandhi is universally respected and admired as “The Mahatma” (great soul), “Father of the Indian Nation” and “Bapu” (father), it is naïve to believe that Gandhi did not have his detractors and tormentors both in his home country and abroad. He invited very strong admiration, dislike and criticism from day one of his public campaigns and work in South Africa. A large segment of princes and orthodox Hindus in India was virulently opposed to him. The Indian communists never appreciated his efforts and considered him a friend of the capitalists. He was the *bete noire* of a section of orthodox Hindus that was infuriated by his denunciation of caste exclusiveness and untouchability and his advocacy of secular politics. This hate-Gandhi mindset was a significant strain of Indian politics and resulted in his being gunned down by a religious fanatic in 1948. He was also described as a nationalist and denied the Nobel Prize on this count.

Let us also not forget the contemptuous description of Gandhi as “the half-naked fakir” by Winston Churchill when he was Prime Minister of Great Britain.⁴ Many in the British Raj also saw in Gandhi a wily and double-tongued politician who was out to destroy Her Majesty’s Empire. Colonialists in several other parts of the world also found in him an implacable enemy who led the collapse of both imperialism and colonial hegemony. Many of them never forgave Gandhi for initiating the global campaigns which forced colonial masters, one after another, to surrender their colonies under the non-violent onslaught led by him. In their disgust they dubbed Gandhi a politician in the garb of a saint.

It is over seven decades since Gandhi was assassinated and there are animated discussions and assessments on Gandhi’s legacy for humanity and whether his teachings would survive the test of time. What even a passionate critic of Gandhi cannot miss is the string of activities along Gandhian lines one can see in almost all countries of the world now. There are very few countries in the world where something or other is not being organized in Gandhi’s name. In short, there is a global non-violent awakening after Gandhi. Political analyst John Gunther’s analysis of Gandhi’s contribution is worth repeating: “This man who is at once a saint and a politician, a prophet and a superb opportunist, defies ordinary categories.... The concept of non-violence is a perfect example of Gandhi’s familiar usage of moral weapons to achieve practical results, of his combination of spiritual and temporal powers.”⁵

Gandhi Begins His Experiments with Truth

Born in 1869 in colonial India, Gandhi surprisingly began his life as a human rights activist and lawyer not in his home-country, India, but in South Africa in 1893, though he reached there as a plain lawyer. There was a freshness in his beginning. Describing his initiatives as “Experiments with Truth”,⁶ at no stage in his 53 years of activism (21 years in South Africa and 32 years in India) did he recognize a rival or an enemy. Holding on to the Biblical teaching “resist the sin, not the sinner”,⁷ Gandhi brought in new humanistic insights and moral considerations into all his campaigns and in his life.

The core of his strivings right from an early stage was his insistence on the primacy of eternal principle. He demonstrated that truth is greater than all worldly possessions and that slavery, violence, injustice and disparity are inconsistent with truth. What Gandhi was seeking to develop was not a set of theoretical formulations, but on the contrary

a carefully evolved vision of an organically sound and mutually supportive and accommodating independent world order.

The six decades of Gandhi's public life in three continents, spearheading various movements for a new social and political milieu where all men and women would be respected as equals and demonstrating with sincerity a revolutionary zeal for change — change with consent — was something that caught the imagination of social and human rights activists in several parts of the world. Consent, reconciliation and a profound faith in the unity of all sentient and non-sentient beings were at the core of Gandhi's vision. He was confident that harmony among the various segments of God's creation would nurture the essential goodness in each one, uniting all living beings into a single entity.

Does this sound utopian? Yes, quite a large number of people still believe that the new social order Gandhi envisioned is too idealistic and that an unattainable utopia fit only for academic and intellectual interpretations. However, Gandhian non-violence and dialogue continues to be a vibrant strand of political and social activism all over the world and it is also argued passionately that it is perilous to ignore Gandhi in the current deteriorating international security environment. Even academically, Gandhi invites massive critical appraisal and he continues to be one of the most written about leaders of the 20th century, with many centres of learning and research offering Gandhian Studies programmes and holding regular discussions on his legacy.

Gandhi's Critique of the Emerging Scenario of Untrammelled Human Greed

Gandhi warned as early as 1909, in his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*, that unprincipled growth will land humanity on the brink of disaster, causing even his own close disciples to raise murmurs of dissent.

Gandhi warned that humanity would face social and political turmoil, ecological devastation and other human misery, unless modern civilization realized the value of taking care of nature and man tried to live in harmony with nature and strove to reduce his wants. Unlimited consumerism and callous indifference to ecological devastation would not help humanity progress towards peace, he warned. The Gandhian credo of simple living in conformity with the basic rhythms of nature typifies the age-old wisdom of humanity.

Gandhi cannot be described to be a philosopher in the conventional sense of the term. His views, mostly based on his profound understanding of human nature and the insights he developed from his

numerous experiments with scientific precision, have been found to be not a philosopher's articulations but the records of the experience of a visionary thinker and activist who was searching for ways and means to lessen tension and promote harmony in the various spheres of human endeavour.

Pursuit of Truth and Expression against Injustice

What is the relevance of Gandhi in the current all pervading materialist, agnostic and consumerist culture? It is precisely these tendencies Gandhi fought against all his life. It is a fact of history that repudiation of one philosophy at a given time does not mean its death or irrelevance. The men and women who took the world forward were mostly either crucified, burnt alive, branded heretics or excommunicated. Still, independent inquiry and pursuit of truth continued in every age, and those who were pursuing it continued to express themselves against injustice, probably with added vigour in the face of repression. The indisputable fact of history, again, is that such "rebels" grow steadily in numbers despite all forms of threat and oppression.

Development without Justice and Compassion?

An examination of the views and practices of Gandhi and J.C. Kumarappa and the theories of Schumacher, Henderson and Capra, in the light of what is described today as Sustainable Development, a term so fashionable and common amongst all those who have anything to do with preservation of life on earth, would reveal the amazing fact that in Gandhian thought and action, humanity has all the tools it needs for sustainable development.

As early as 1909, through his little book *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi drew humanity's attention to what might happen to the globe if a proper check was not imposed on the strategies being pursued by humanity for development. Gandhi said, "I must confess that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and therefore sinful."⁸ This indicates as a key of sustainable development that economics should require ethics for an individual and a nation. The idea in turn is inescapably linked to justice and compassion, towards each other and towards nature.⁹ Gandhi's little classic *Hind Swaraj* that was published when the 20th century was just being ushered in, was a dire warning to the proponents of unlimited growth. Surprisingly, the British masters banned this book because they found Gandhi's arguments seditious. Gandhi exhorted that human beings were fostering a system

which had inbuilt iniquities of power, wealth and knowledge and that human civilization was bereft of any trace of compassion. It had all the trappings of casino capitalism with infinite power to entice humanity through its charm.

Economic well-being appears to be the sole purpose of life and the manner in which value systems are being trampled upon raises the big question: what are we heading towards?

Today, “growth” simply means economic growth and man has all of a sudden been reduced to the level of a commodity whose worth is determined by how much he consumes. We tend to put the blame on science and technology but how many of us realize that technology by itself is value neutral? It is social will which determines how and to what purpose technology is used. The aeroplane which carries passengers can carry bombs as well.

Gandhi’s Challenge to the Notion of Science Being Anti-spirituality

Gandhi continues to challenge many postulations and keeps on reminding humanity that there is a “truth” beyond what we perceive and hold to be true. By making truth the axis of all his endeavours, Gandhi was seeking the spirituality of truth itself which is the very basis of science. He thereby convincingly challenges those who espouse the notion that spirituality and science need to be at war with each other.

Here, Gandhi transcends the condescending position of a social scientist, revolutionary thinker and social activist assigned to him by commentators and historians. If science is “truth-seeking”, by making his life “Experiments with Truth”, Gandhi went far beyond the traditional parameters of classifications. Gandhi, who asserted the supremacy of truth over everything we know as facts, reminds us here of Einstein’s statement that imagination is more important than knowledge. Science should be based not just on knowledge which is limited to all we now know, but imagination which embraces the world and we have for the truth.

Science vs Moral Fibre of the Individual

In this sense, Gandhi did not live against science or scientists. Just like science and scientists, who believe that nothing is impossible in life, Gandhi also held on to truth as a possibility like a baby clings to its mother. When he emphasized the power of love, compassion, truth, non-violence against the mightiest Empire of the day, many doubted his wisdom. His claim that India could win freedom from the British without resorting to violence seemed laughable. His ideas were described as impractical and naïve, or even dubbed ‘A Mid-summer Nights Dream’.

Undisturbed by these barbs, Gandhi pursued his “Experiments with Truth” with the precision and devotion of a scientist. He was guided by the teachings of Gita and the assertion of Thoreau who wrote: “I know of no more encouraging fact than the unquestionable ability of man to elevate his life by a conscious endeavor.”¹⁰ What is important is the ability of every human being to nurture their spirit and inner resources and transcend all walls and fences, and they will eventually emerge as liberated souls.

Gandhi Combines Spiritual Insights with Scientific Truth

Gandhi can be credited with evolving a philosophy and life style which were permeated with spiritual insights and scientific truth. He did not see any opposition between them and when he asserted in his autobiography: “What I want to achieve - what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years - is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain *Moksha*,”¹¹ he was restating the profound relationship between the spiritual and the material.

Gandhi was not interested in the argument regarding the greater antiquity of religion or science — which preceded and fostered the other. He could see how scientific progress and truth had undermined the importance of religion in human life. The champions and custodians of the spiritual domain lapsed into meditative and contemplative lifestyles, thereby becoming status quoits. Science and technology with its manifold focus and application had surprising and hitherto unbelievable results in the lives of people. The primacy of religion steadily eroded while science forged ahead with unstoppable speed and energy.

Gandhi’s seminal contribution lies in blending science and spirituality as revealed in the philosophy and practice of Satyagraha. Satyagraha, as enunciated by Gandhi, seeks to integrate spiritual values, community organization and self-reliance with a view to empowering individuals, families group, villages, town and cities.

Morality and the Challenge of Civilization

Gandhi, as is known fairly widely now, tried to infuse a fresh breeze of spiritualism in every domain of human endeavour, including politics. He earned the name of a saint trying to spiritualize politics. His credo was to wipe the tears from every eye.

Religion is meant to advocate of peace. But we know that the biggest wars in history have been fought in the name of religion. There are many of us who would like a world that is not riven by conflict based on religion, creed, caste and money. Peace demands an attitudinal change.

In such a world the strong will not exploit the weak, the rich will not harm the poor, and the privileged will not ignore the underprivileged.

Science gradually helped herald the Age of Renaissance and has been also hailed as a major phase in human history. On the other hand, it has been said that science emerged as a revolt against the Age of Faith. It has been also argued in many quarters that science posed a major threat to the very existence of human kind.

The World of Tomorrow and Challenges Facing Humanity

The relevance of Gandhi or for that matter anybody else has to be examined against these emerging trends. The galloping horses of humankind, which are at the moment being goaded and whipped to run as fast as they can in order to win the coveted race of material achievements have to be reined in by the collective assertion of an awakened people who have a right to exist. But this will be possible only if we are prepared to ponder over the immense damage being caused to the future of this planet and human beings themselves by consumerism. It is not even slow poisoning. It is almost like “sudden death” to borrow an expression from football.

The phenomenal success Gandhi registered in the faraway South Africa fighting for human rights and civil liberties in the first two decades of the previous century and later the adoption of Gandhian techniques by the South African leaders attracted considerable critical attention all over the world. Nelson Mandela’s statement and the subsequent revelations made by the former South African President Mr De Klerk that they were influenced by Gandhi in adopting the path of reconciliation and forgiveness certainly show that Gandhi had not spent 21 years in South Africa in vain.

Dr Martin Luther King Jr’s heroic fight for civil liberties in the United States (US) on Gandhian lines and his own admission that it was from Gandhi that he learnt his operational tactics is not an isolated instance of the relevance of Gandhian tactics. The manner in which the Greens, particularly in Germany, adopted Gandhian techniques to arouse human consciousness and how they operationalized their strategy and the public assertions made by Petra Kelly about the way they were influenced by Gandhi also indicate that it is not the cultural traditions of a country or continent alone that determine the efficacy of a philosophy or attitude.

Gandhi’s Influence on South Africa’s Fight against Apartheid

South Africa was Mahatma Gandhi’s laboratory. The 21 years that Gandhi spent in South Africa witnessed great changes both in his private

life and public life. Much of what Gandhi did later in India had been tempered by the South African experiments.

Gandhi's ascetic ashram life with its emphasis on non-violent resistance, simple living, *charkha* spinning and moderation had its beginnings in Phoenix Ashram in South Africa. In fact Gandhi was a Mahatma in the making by the time he left South Africa for India. His was a heroic struggle involving several million people over a long span of time.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who landed in South Africa as a lawyer to fight a court case, found on his arrival, conditions highly mortifying and humiliating for non-white people. He was already aware of the inhuman segregation known as untouchability which a section of Indians were enduring back home in his own country. But what Gandhi had to face in South Africa was beyond his understanding. The strange experience of a man being segregated in the name of the colour of his skin and having his basic rights denied came to him as a rude shock. In South Africa the local black population and Indian settlers (most of them indentured labourers) were languishing in inhuman conditions because of this practice. Gandhi himself became a victim of this dehumanizing practice not once or twice but several times. On June 7, 1893, a few months after his arrival in South Africa, while travelling by train in a first class compartment Gandhi was thrown out of the train at the Pietermaritzburg Station. The charge against Gandhi was only that he was not white. The black and Asian people of South Africa were not permitted to travel first class. On another occasion Gandhi was denied travel in a coach with white passengers. Once he was denied hotel accommodation because of his colour. Taking pity on him, a kind individual then offered him accommodation in the hotel on the specific condition that he would not come down to the dining hall, but remain closeted in his own room throughout his stay. On another occasion, he was pushed down by guards for having walked along a road in the vicinity of the residence of a highly-placed white official. Later Gandhi came to know that the blacks and the coolies were not allowed to walk along that road. Gandhi also found that the children of the blacks and Asians were not allowed to study in schools along with white children. These were only some of the visible symptoms of the dreaded practice of Apartheid which had many more humiliating aspects, the foundations of which were too strongly entrenched and defied all attempts at uprooting. The fact that a satisfactory solution to this vexed issue was finally found in the year 1993, which marked the

centenary of the beginning of Gandhi's struggle in South Africa, is a matter of rejoicing for Gandhian peace activists all over the world.

It is interesting to note how the local blacks responded to Gandhi. By and large, Gandhi was fighting against the inhuman and discriminatory laws enacted by the Pretoria regime. But he was equally opposing a system that was perpetuating racial discrimination in the name of colour and nationality. The general conditions of the blacks in South Africa were not much different from what the Indian settlers were confronting. It is not possible that the black population was indifferent to what was happening in South Africa under the leadership of Gandhi.

Though he was concentrating on the Indian settlers there, the principle he was fighting for had significance far beyond what the Indians in South Africa were endeavouring to secure. But it cannot be claimed that Gandhi had great influence on the black population when the Gandhian struggle was actually taking place in Natal, Pretoria and other places.

Nature teaches us that seeds always take time to sprout. In South Africa, the Gandhian variety of non-violent struggle had to wait until Mr Mandela appeared on the scene. No one can deny that the African National Congress (ANC) was considerably influenced by Gandhi. The ANC movement got strength and vigour largely from the inspiration of Gandhi. The basic question that arises is whether it was the brute force of the white minority which kept the blacks subjugated or whether the blacks themselves by their own quiet surrender were responsible for their plight. The fact remains that from their own experiences, they have developed a different notion of non-violence as a creed and a strategy. It was conceived as creative and positive and in their own way the black majority tried to give it a fair trial.

The ANC leadership in general and Mr Mandela in particular seemed to be familiar with and appreciative of Gandhi's work and the success of his campaign. Mr Mandela's speech two days after his release from jail on February 11, 1990 is telling in this regard, since apart from referring to his indebtedness to Gandhi, he said:

Another strand in the struggle against oppression began with the formation, right here in Natal, of the first black political organization in Africa. The Natal Indian Congress, founded in 1884, began a tradition of extra-parliamentary protest that continues into the present. The next decade saw the increasing radicalisation of Indian politics under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

In 1906, at the time when Bambatha led sections of Africans in a war to destroy the Poll Tax, our brothers who originated from

India, led by Mahatma Gandhi, fought against the oppression of the British Government.¹²

But the final victory as reflected in the triumphal emergence of South Africa as a free democratic nation under Mr Mandela reinforced the matchless power of non-violence. As the dismantling of apartheid proclaimed the humanistic side of non-violence in the political arena, the wisdom shown by Mr Mandela in the setting up of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission under the leadership of Bishop Desmond Tutu showed unparalleled creative non-violent leadership. Their adherence to non-violence enabled the new leaders to proclaim firmly: “There is no future without forgiveness.”¹³

Gandhi’s contribution to political awakening and freedom movements in different parts of the world and adoption of non-violent strategies which help both the opposing groups respect each other’s sentiments and accommodate the views of others has much in common with decision of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to propagate the message of tolerance for human survival.

Asia and the African continent particularly have seen peaceful transitions of power and social change thanks to the models of resistance Gandhi developed.

However, by equating Gandhi with a saint or philosopher we would be missing the essential Gandhi, whose spirituality and moral force were expressed through his everyday life and not through esoteric sermons and aphorisms. He was a revolutionary in the sense that he aimed at changing certain social and political structures but the means he adopted were not the usual violent methods associated with revolutions.

The Package of Non-violent Alternatives Gandhi Offered to Humanity
Gandhi offered humanity a package of non-violent alternatives which need to be examined carefully. He insisted on persuasion and reconciliation to end hostilities, trusteeship to end economic injustice, and improvement of the lot of the depressed sections. He believed that these goals could be achieved by abolishing factors that perpetrate social iniquities, ending man’s exploitation of nature by respecting nature as the protector of the human race, limiting one’s wants, developing equal respect for all religions, which offered humanity a blueprint for sustainable development and peace.

Gandhi convincingly demonstrated through his ashram experiments the alternative sources of energy, nature-friendly technology, etc. In

short, Gandhi, an ardent practitioner of the truth, showed humanity that there are workable alternatives to fulfilling human consumption needs that would be creative and sustainable. The only requirement is that we have to muster courage to adopt them for it demands self and collective discipline of various kinds.

Gandhian humanism was not restrictive in nature but transcendental. To describe it as revivalist is a comment on the closed minds of those who try to place all creative and revolutionary ideas and efforts in straightjackets.

Reasons for the Success of Gandhian Strategy

An important reason for the genuine inspiration that Gandhi offered people was his spirit of service that was untainted by any ulterior motives. His South African experiments won him respect even from those who opposed him and those who had never met or known him.

Tolstoy commented that what Gandhi was doing in South Africa was the most important thing in the world at that time.¹⁴ Gandhi demonstrated that the life of a leader should be an open book, with every aspect capable of withstanding public scrutiny and influence the masses to emulate the leader unreservedly. The two settlements that Gandhi started in South Africa, Phoenix Ashram and Tolstoy Farm, bear eloquent testimony to the leadership qualities and the visionary nature of Gandhi which generated great enthusiasm and solidarity among almost all Indians and others in South Africa at the beginning of the 20th century. His life, both as an initiator of new experiments and as a private individual and lawyer of great promise, was lived with absolute transparency. He debarred personal possessions. The members of the settlement ate in a common kitchen and worked in the farm together. Their children attended the community school and nobody entertained or desired to accumulate or acquire anything of his own. The transition to such community living was not smooth and Gandhi had to strictly enforce the rules. It was difficult for him to convince even his own wife and he was harsh when he discovered that she had not surrendered all her personal possessions. Gandhi's children felt deprived and nourished the ambition of attending better schools and pursuing their higher education outside South Africa. Gandhi resisted all these attempts and insisted on his children attending the same school that children of other members of the settlement were attending. He kept account of every pie that was spent. He even stopped charging for his own services as a lawyer. All this, not only endeared him to his followers but inspired them also to follow his lead. This naturally resulted in willing participation in furthering the cause he was espousing.

It is said in certain quarters that Gandhi was successful only to a limited extent within his own cultural context. There is no denying the fact that Gandhi was deep-rooted in his cultural and religious traditions. However, Gandhi's own success in South Africa and the influence he had on both parties in the anti-apartheid movement and the dismantling of apartheid, his influence on the civil liberties movement in the US, as well as his influence on the Green movement in Europe, particularly Germany — as we have already discussed — are testimony to the fact that Gandhi's influence was not limited to a particular cultural context. It is, in fact, the willingness and readiness of people to adopt it that determines the success of a strategy, not its cultural context.

“I have nothing to teach...”

One can give quite a few instances from almost all parts of the world to show how in different measures the Gandhian vision and approach have been found to be effective weapons in the hands of freedom fighters and social reformers, environmentalists, women activists and others in large numbers, though never did he claim that he was trying to teach anything new. In fact he said more than once that he was not involved in any such mission. Truth and non-violence, he said, are traditional values and he was only trying to appreciate and understand the marvel and majesty of both. He said in this connection:

We have to make truth and non-violence, not matters for mere individual practice but for practice by groups and communities and nations. That, at any rate, is my dream. I shall live and die in trying to realize it. My faith helps me to discover new truths every day. Ahimsa is the attribute of the soul, and therefore, to be practiced everybody in all affairs of life.¹⁵

There is a surprising similarity between above Gandhi's words and the statement in the UNESCO preamble. The preamble says that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. Gandhi also asserted from the inner perspective that the world either progresses with non-violence or perishes with violence.

Religion and Politics: The Gandhian Perspectives

One important thing that sets Gandhi's teachings and strategies apart is the utmost importance Gandhi attached to pure means to attain lasting ends. Gandhi's attempts to make politics value-based were part of a new

world vision. He emphasized that politics bereft of spiritual and ethical considerations would not sustain humanity.

The question of the relationship between the state and the church in a democratic nation is as old as the notion of democracy itself. However, in today's world, it no longer remains an academic exercise for the political scientist or political ideologue or politicians and men in charge of religious institutions. A subtle difference is to be made in understanding what exactly one means by terms such as "men of religion", "heads of religious bodies" or "heads of traditionally evolved religious set-ups" for at present most of these terms are used to mean sometimes the same thing.

Mahatma Gandhi advocated a third position vis-a-vis the state and the religion. Making his position on the issue of a secular state very clear as early as 1931 in his personal diary, Gandhi said: "Freedom without equality for all, irrespective of race or religion, is not worth having for the Congress."¹⁶

Again in an article of his journal, *Harijan*, he stated clearly:

I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The State has nothing to do with it. The State would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern!¹⁷

In other words, the Gandhian concept of a secular state was clearly based on the doctrine of separation of spheres of responsibility and complete non-interference as far as the religious affairs of citizens were concerned.

Gandhi stands out in modern history as one who offered a new approach to the vexed question of the role of religion in politics. "Politics bereft of religion is dirt," Gandhi averred.¹⁸ His 21 years of work in South Africa and 33 in India, and the over three years he spent in England demonstrate convincingly that he was seeking a politics based on spirituality, which in no way means interference of religious forces in politics. If politics has become an integral part of everybody's life today, an all-out effort need to be made to shape it and retain it as the collective expression of the will of the people and in this context religion cannot be kept away from politics under the argument that it is a separate domain which has a distinct role.

Gandhi's primary concern is man. And things which does not ensure the happiness and well-being of man had no place in Gandhi's scheme. To him, religion is a positive force of inner awakening and his position

is close to that of Tolstoy whose concept of religion reflects the relation of man to infinity. Gandhi said: "I could not live for a single second without religion....My politics and all other activities of mine are derived my religion"¹⁹

Gandhi's endeavour was to make religion living and practical and visualized it in order to react to voice of people in a society. He converted it into an honest endeavour and pursuit for the welfare of everyone around him. He said:

I do not believe that religion has nothing to do with politics. The latter divorced from religion is like a corpse only fit to be buried....And I feel if the attempt to separate politics from religion had not been made, as it is even now made, they would have degenerated as they often appear to do. No one considers that the political life of the country is in a happy state. Following out the swadeshi spirit, I observe the indigenous institutions and the village panchayats hold me.²⁰

Gandhi's moral and political thought is closely linked to his religious and ethical beliefs. Many people in the US and elsewhere drew the attention of humanity to the originality of the Gandhian technique of social and political action. He declared more than once that his aim was to spiritualize political life and political institutions. Politics, Gandhi considered, is an essential part of our being and not separable from the rest of life. And where else does one get the spiritual guidance which alone would make political life richer and nobler except from religion? Gandhi's approach to politics was in a religious spirit. He said in 1938:

I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole....I do not know any religion apart from activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing!²¹

Gandhi thus strongly advocated a political system where there would not be any interference from or undue influence of organized religion in the running of the state. He argued convincingly that religion cannot be kept away from politics. If politics and the political system of the country have to reflect the aspirations of the people, it has to demonstrate a vitality which is central to human existence. Religion and politics are both two ennobling aspects of modern man's search for identity. They

are analogous to the clay in the hands of the potter. The shape and the size of the earthen vessel that comes out of the potter's wheel are directly related to the dexterity and perseverance of the potter. Abuse of religion or abuse of political power is not intrinsic to the system but is in the hands of those who shape it.

Non-violence as a Moral Weapon

The power of non-violence as a moral and political weapon and an instrument of liberation was emphasized and successfully demonstrated by Mahatma Gandhi in his various campaigns both in South Africa and later in India. Since then, it has made its mark on the world and has come to stay as an effective weapon and strategy in the hands of those who believe in the supremacy of soul force and moral law. It may be noted that contemporary interest in non-violence is largely due to Gandhi's relentless fight for the adoption of non-violent methods as a workable alternative of protest.

Gandhi never claimed that he was the progenitor of all that goes along with the concept and practice of non-violence. On the contrary, the history of the idea of non-violence as a religious or philosophical doctrine can be traced to the ancient Hindu philosophical texts, the Upanishads. The *Chandogya Upanishad* as well as the *Tao Teh Ching*, the sixth century BCE Chinese text, glorified non-violence both as personal virtue and a desirable societal goal. The New Testament of the Bible also upholds the virtue of non-violence. Gautama Buddha, who was a rebel against the ritualistic aspects of religion, was an apostle of gentleness, non-violence and compassion, and he laid the foundation for a modern outlook by emphasizing the need for developing an awareness based on respect for all living beings.

Gandhi as a Trend-setter

Plato advocated truth and goodness but did not give directions on how to live a life of righteousness, apart from some general advice about overcoming evil through good deeds. With Gandhi (and later Dr King) non-violence became a creative, challenging and eloquent force symbolizing man's inalienable right to live in peace and harmony and to help himself and his fellow beings to reach out towards their maker.

The Gandhian perspective of non-violent human transformation is slowly but steadily gaining ground in varying degree in almost all parts of the world. A considerable number of social activists, freedom fighters, human rights activists, thinkers, political leaders and even to some extent those whose national interests, based on military hardware

and armament sales would be hurt by widespread acceptance of non-violence, have demonstrated their conviction that the non-violent option as advocated by Gandhi needs serious attention. Thanks to this positive development, humanity is assured of a re-examination of the Bismarckian approach of treating war as a wholesome therapy that toughens human nature when civilization becomes too soft and frail.

Protagonists of the Bismarckian notion had propagated the obnoxious theory that aggression is healthier than gentleness, waging war invigorates mankind, and it is genuinely positive to be vigorous and offensive.

At one stroke, Gandhi demolished this myth, though the significance of the Gandhian initiative was not immediately understood by everybody. Let it be remembered that at first the industrialized West as well as the developing world did not take Gandhi seriously, though they were aware of what he was advocating. At that time, the difference in cultural context and the inability of many leaders to see beyond their noses were important factors that prevented the international community from realizing the supreme importance of the Gandhian strategy. But gradually the situation changed.

Humanity learnt a few lessons from the experience of the World Wars. Thereafter Dr King proclaimed the efficacy of the Gandhian strategy of non-violent resistance in these words: “[T]he Christian doctrine of Love, operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.”²²

But still, the international community continued to treat the Gandhian alternative as expounded by Dr King as aberrant for some more time. It was still not considered a serious option to how a nation’s polity, society and economy could be ordered.

Efficacy of Non-violence as a Strategy

A few major developments stand out as one thinks of non-violence as an effective strategy not only to counter violence but to bring about peace in human lives as we grapple with the complex problems of the 21st century. A notable development is that in all continents and almost all the countries, several motivated groups of individuals who firmly believe non-violence offers a healthy vision of life have sprung up. However, it has not yet become mainstream.

The approach of non-violent collective action along Gandhian lines initiated by Dr King was continued with conviction and courage by various activists of civil liberty movements all over the world. Kenneth

Kaunda, Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu, Julius Nyerere, Mr Mandela, Ho Chi Minh, Aung San Suu Kyi and Mairead Maguire are only a few of the illustrious names that come to mind in this context.

The acceptance of Gandhian tactics for non-violent transformation by the Greens, notably by Petra Kelly in Germany, has led to the propagation of a new ecological and sustainable developmental model as envisioned by Gandhi in various countries of Eastern Europe. The Quakers too adopted Gandhian non-violence as their ideology in the face of abuse and violence in their history. This was another hopeful sign and it led to a resurgence of collective action for justice and freedom in many western nations. The impact of their initiatives, notably in the Latin American nations, is quite substantial and extensive.

Several motivated individuals, such as Prof. Glenn D. Paige, Dr Gene Sharp and Prof. Galtung, who developed strong faith in the efficacy of non-violence in the service of mankind, through their dedicated efforts and sustained critical interest added new valuable inputs to the concept and practice of non-violence as a strategy for human survival.

Prof. Paige is one of those scholars who have been instrumental in drawing in a whole generation of young researchers and peace activists by offering them an appropriate framework to understand, scrutinize and analyse the various aspects of non-violence. The Herculean efforts of Prof. Paige to develop a comprehensive theory of Non-violent Political Science are an important phase of modern history. Prof. Paige has made a significant contribution in enthusing several young scholars of international repute to adopt “non-violent political action” as their area of specialization.

Ahimsa as a Moral Counter to War

Can ahimsa and satyagraha be moral counters to war and other violent conflicts that corrode human character and jeopardize human survival? It is claimed by both Western and Indian scholars that ahimsa and satyagraha can be resorted to in any given situation involving injustice. In their view, even in those situations where armed resistance is impossible, ahimsa and satyagraha can be embraced as ultimate instruments of justice. This assertion happens to be somewhat ambiguous.

Horsburgh has stated that the prospects of non-violence in the sphere of international conflict are brighter than what is commonly supposed even though people still believe in the efficacy of armed force.²³ As Gandhi had advocated and demonstrated, a conscientious effort to make ahimsa a way of life, and not an eccentric creed, is the need of the hour.

Gandhi says: “[E]ither he (man) progresses towards ahimsa or rushes to his doom.”²⁴ Analysed against the backdrop of all that the great preachers and prophets of humanity, ahimsa has been a common thread in their teachings through the centuries.

As in Gandhi’s own time, his concept of non-violence continues to be diversely understood, interpreted and discussed in different parts of the world today. While to some it is an ideal that all men should cherish, to an overwhelming number of others it is a moral principle which can guide thought and action. Many people consider it to be effective only in certain given circumstances. Others believe its efficacy to be dependent on the capability of the user. Some others view it as a technique suggesting one range of actions which can at times be supplemented or even substituted by other techniques as and when the situation demands. Each one of these different interpretations is usually supported by quotes from Gandhi’s own words and by citing Gandhi’s own actions.

Hubert Humphrey, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Senator Chel Diokno, Prof. Galtung, Dr Sharp and Erik Erikson have found in Gandhi’s concept of non-violence a great opportunity for humanity which enables mankind to take a fresh look at the various problems man has created for man, disregarding the Laws of Nature. France Huthchins and several others find Gandhi’s approach towards non-violence as absolute.²⁵ To them Gandhi’s view of non-violence explicitly or implicitly includes motive as well as action, so that ahimsa or non-violence is both thought and action.

Thomas Merton and several others find great scope for the practical application of the principle of non-violence. William R. Miller, James E. Bristol, William S. Nelson, A.J. Muste, Ronald Duncan, Michael W. Sonnleitner, Dr Paige and many other scholars and pacifists find in Gandhian non-violence a force and a method of action that 21st-century man can well adopt and practice. Dr Daisaku Ikeda, Soka Gakkai International President, and one of the most profound thinkers of our time, regards Gandhian non-violence as a potent force and an effective instrument for securing justice and peace.

Non-violent Struggles after Gandhi

In the seven decades since the assassination of Gandhi, a considerable degree of intellectual effort has gone into the appreciation and understanding of the concept of non-violence in different parts of the world. This ranges from deep sociological analysis of the dimension of conflict to policy implications of Gandhian methods. Many see

in Gandhian non-violence clues to ways of dealing with national problems of strife, conflict, arms race and war. What most analysts, critics, followers and admirers have seen in Gandhi is a “challenge rather than a stereotype”.

It is natural that different perceptions of the Gandhian approach developed as it expanded globally. Since Gandhi represented a model value system, it is quite natural that people viewed the Mahatma from different social, political and territorial perspectives. One mayor of Germany asserted emphatically that non-violence does not mean passivity or political vegetarianism. It is an active fight for justice, challenging the opponent to declare himself.

The Gandhian concept of non-violence never visualized surrender to evil or injustice but pitting of one’s soul against the will of the tyrant. The philosophy of soul force visualizes three kinds of persons. The first category is that of the coward who supinely submits to injustice in order to save his skin; while the second category is that of the brave man who is eager to secure justice by brute force and is ready to kill and get killed. The third is the superior person, the Satyagrahi or the believer in and practitioner of non-violence, who in the fullness of his strength forgives the evil doer and attempts to persuade them to adopt righteous action through non-violence and love.

Dr King of the US added his own new dimensions to Gandhian non-violence in the 1960s in order to make it an effective instrument of his fight against evil. When the fight derives its strength from the moral and spiritual calibre of the oppressed and depends on the quality of their suffering, it may take a long time to effect a “change of heart” in the oppressor, which is the goal of a non-violent struggle as opposed to victory. In an armed conflict, on the other hand, victory is not assured to either of the parties involved.

Dr King was greatly influenced by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi right from his schooldays. Therefore, it was only natural that he adopted the Gandhian doctrine of non-violence as the most effective weapon at his command to fight racial segregation in the US. Explaining his philosophy, he once said: “I believe in a militant, nonviolent approach in which the individual stands up against an unjust system, using sit-ins, legal actions, boycotts, votes and everything else — except violence or hate.”²⁶ Acknowledging his indebtedness to Gandhi, Dr King said: “From my background I gained Christian ideals. From Gandhi I learned my operational technique.”²⁷

In another context Dr King acknowledged his debt to Mahatma Gandhi, while explaining the Montgomery bus boycott programme as

follows: “This is a protest of passive resistance depending upon moral and spiritual forces. We will return good for evil. Christ showed us the way and Mahatma Gandhi showed us it could work.”²⁸ He declared that the American black would not resort to more radical ways to gain civil rights, because he has full faith that he can get justice within the framework of the democratic set-up.

It is a fact that Gandhi continues to inspire a considerable section of American opinion even today. E. Stanley Jones, himself a renowned pacifist, had this to say about Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi: “I bow to Mahatma Gandhi, but I kneel at the feet of Christ and give him my full and final allegiance.”²⁹ Referring to Mahatma Gandhi, Stanley Jones stated that Gandhi “has taught me more of the spirit of Christ than perhaps any other man in East or West”.³⁰

Global Influence of Gandhi

There are quite a few liberal pacifists in the West who found in Gandhi the argument against the inevitability of the deterministic social order propagated by Darwin and Marx. Albert Einstein, Aldous L. Huxley, Oswald G. Villard, Roger N. Baldwin and many others were able to see in Gandhi a reinstatement of the Renaissance idea of the perfectibility of man. In contrast to this school, religious pacifists such as A.J. Muste, John N. Sayre, Robert H. Holmens and Norman Thomas found in Gandhi “a moral equivalent of war”.

There may not be a Dr King in the US now but the true votaries of non-violence both as a political strategy and as a creed have substantially increased in number. Many internationally renowned pacifists such as Prof. Galtung, Homer A. Jack, Dr Paige, Dr Sharp, Dr Lou A. Guanson, Dr Bernard Lafayette, Vance Engleman, Dr Richard Deats, Captain Charles Alphin and Prof. Michael N. Nagler have been ardent practitioners, exponents and champions of non-violence over the years.

The spilling of blood in both the erstwhile Yugoslavia and former Czechoslovakia and the uncertainties created by the events following the dismemberment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) should be viewed as the inescapable consequence of incongruities engendered by the rigid communist philosophy which by and large did not care about purity of means in achieving laudable ends. The validity and relevance of the Gandhian insistence on purity of means—something which the communist blocs had always scoffed at—now became obvious. The Gandhian concept of non-violence thereafter began to attract the attention of the youth of Czechoslovakia. There arose a general belief that non-violence, which is an ancient belief

system and is based on the primordial instinct of man to live happily and to let others live comfortably, would be an answer to the seething problems of the nation.

Two decades earlier, at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Czech youth organized a large-scale Gandhian protest. From the youth the message gradually spread to older people. The Czech people also organized extremely meaningful programmes during the Gandhi centenary. The Speaker of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia specifically stated in a message that “Gandhi’s thought is of special relevance.”³¹ Caught in the throes of the dismemberment of the USSR and the vaulting ambition of the selfish political leaders of Czechoslovakia, the helpless people looked to the Gandhian concept of non-violent social transformation more than ever before. In Yugoslavia also, the total collapse of the monolithic communist structure encouraged the people to think of a Gandhian alternative. The USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia — the three main pillars of communism in Europe — faced a very serious existential crisis, a crisis that called for a gentle humanitarian touch for its “defusal”. Reports indicate that profound political thinkers and leaders effectively employed the Gandhian alternatives in these countries as means to prevent political pogroms and internecine killings.

The Relevance of Dr Ikeda’s Gandhi Memorial Lecture

Any analysis of Gandhi and his relevance in contemporary times would be incomplete without examining the profound significance of the Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Daisaku Ikeda in Delhi in 1992. I would, therefore, conclude my arguments here by referring to Dr Ikeda’s insightful analysis of Gandhi’s contribution to humanity.

Few historical personalities have attracted so much attention in human history as has Gandhi. His message of peace and non-violence has reached almost all parts of the world as has awareness of his work in South Africa and India. Since his assassination seven decades ago by a religious fanatic, his life and thought has generated an unbelievably huge mass of literature. The several anthologies, biographical studies, critical assessments and the 100-volume project of the Government of India, the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, have created an aura of divinity around Gandhi which he definitely disliked. Even when Poet Tagore addressed him “Mahatma”, Gandhi’s response was predictable. The simple man that he was, he wanted to remain one with the teeming millions — the less privileged whom he called the *Daridranarayana* (poorest of the poor).

Dr Ikeda's Gandhi Memorial Lecture has earned worldwide appreciation as one of the most outstanding commentaries by any interpreters of Gandhi in recent times. There are three factors that make it so.

First, it is a scholarly besides being a forthright analysis of the essence of Gandhi's teachings from the viewpoint of optimism. Very few have tried to look at Gandhi from this angle.

Second, the lecture analyses Gandhi's relevance in the fast-changing world scenario against the backdrop of the amazing technological and scientific progress of the present century, in the light of Gandhi's known stand on science and technology.

Third, he examines the relevance of Gandhi's views vis-à-vis the eternal aspects of human life. Drawing parallels between the lives of his mentor Mr Josei Toda and Mahatma Gandhi, Dr Ikeda says:

During World War II, when Gandhi was engaged in his final struggles in prison, Toda was also imprisoned for his opposition to the Japanese military authorities. Like Gandhi, Toda was a pacifist of profound conviction....President Toda was also a leader of the people, inspired by a deep sense of compassion. Finally, like Gandhi, he was a creative social reformer. All of the Soka Gakkai International's activities for peace, culture and education stem from Toda's efforts and from the spirit he bequeathed us.³²

Referring to the epoch-making changes at the global level, Dr Ikeda points out:

No one will deny that our world needs the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. We are in a period of momentous change, a major transition on a scale that occurs perhaps once in a century. In the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev unleashed historical forces in the process of implementing perestroika, and, like waters bursting a dike, those forces inundated the system that had set them in motion. While upheaval has characterised the final years of other centuries, the changes we have witnessed these past few years from the collapse of the Berlin Wall to the dissolution of the Soviet Union have far outstripped the expectations of any historian.

On the one hand, these events have given power to the idea that no form of authority is capable of smothering indefinitely the voices of ordinary people who are struggling to attain freedom. On the other, so many transactions at once threaten to set us adrift in new

and uncharted currents of history, bereft of any guiding ideology or principle. Without guidance, chaos looms, making it all the more urgent that we listen to the voice of Mahatma Gandhi quietly addressing us, as if from the still depths that lie beneath churning, turbulent surface of history-in-the-making.³³

Dr Ikeda was at his critical best when he analysed the activism of Gandhi. He points out:

Throughout his life, Gandhi was a man of unusual action. The range and scope of his efforts were incomparably wider than those of other advocates of nonviolence, such as Tolstoy. Once, when a Brahman suggested that he enter a life of meditation, Gandhi is said to have replied that while his days were devoted to efforts to attain the spiritual liberation of enlightenment, he felt no need to withdraw to a cave for that purpose. The cave, he said, was something which he carried about with him. The quintessential Gandhian humour of this response provides a wonderful glimpse into the character of the barefoot saint.³⁴

A common shortcoming of the various biographies and critiques of Gandhi is that they have not fully explored Gandhi the revolutionary. Dr Ikeda has done great service to the understanding of Gandhi by touching on this aspect. He says:

Our image of Gandhi the activist stands in stark contrast with our impression of the social and political revolutionaries who followed twentieth-century radical ideologies. Bolshevism, for example, has nurtured many intense revolutionaries who, while dedicated and idealistic, too often have been limited by a narrow-minded dogmatism. All too frequently, such people have not hesitated to resort to violence when they felt it was necessary to accomplish their goals. In his most famous work, *Doctor Zhivago* (1956), Boris Pasternak denounces the apostles of radical ideology, saying that they ‘have never understood a thing about life ... have never felt its breath, its heartbeat’.³⁵

Another dimension Dr Ikeda discusses is Gandhi’s extraordinary communion with the masses of “ordinary people”. He points out that in our increasingly democratic world, there are a great number of leaders who invoke “the people”. However, how many of them could be truly

said to be a working on the side of the people and for their benefit? It is not going too far, I think, to say that the greater part of these leaders are in fact merely “playing the crowd”, whom they secretly despise and whom they seek to use for their own purposes.

Gandhi, in contrast, was a genuine friend and father to the common people. He selflessly devoted life lived in the very midst of the Indian people whose joys and sorrows he made his own, his perfect and natural grasp of the popular mind — all these earn him the title of Mahatma. Dr Ikeda quotes Gandhi on this:

Why should he [God] have chosen me, an imperfect instrument, for such a mighty experiment? I think he deliberately did so. He had to serve the poor dumb, ignorant millions. A perfect man might have been their despair. When they found that one with their failings was marching on towards *ahimsa* (nonviolence), they too had confidence in their own capacity.³⁶

Drawing parallels between Gandhi and Nichiren Daishonin, Dr Ikeda continues:

Nichiren, founder of the Buddhist faith that inspires Soka Gakkai International, was born the son of a poor fisherman. But he took pride in his origins when he raised the banner of a Buddhist teaching dedicated to the masses. Gandhi’s attitude toward his fellow human beings strikes me as being profoundly similar to the Bodhisattva Way revealed in Mahayana Buddhism.³⁷

Gandhi’s uncompromising fight against the forces that corrupt human civilization was evident in his holistic approach which Dr Ikeda analyses at length:

If we were to pinpoint the central flaw of modern Western civilisation, it would probably have to be the sense of isolation and fragmentation that pervades all areas of life and society. The Western worldview draws lines of distinction between human beings and the universe, between humankind and nature, between the individual and society, between different peoples, good and evil, means and end, sacred and secular, and so forth. As a result of this ever greater fragmentation, the individual human being has been pushed into a state of isolation. Modern history has witnessed the acceleration of the pursuit of equality, freedom, and dignity, and at the same time, increasing personal alienation.

The ideas that Gandhi advocated with his whole being and throughout his life are the antithesis to our modern isolation. Although his critique of civilisation (symbolised by his famous *charka*, or spinning wheel) may seem extreme, the global even cosmic sensibility suffusing his every word and action is an invaluable legacy. His was a holistic approach to life that, turning away from fragmentation and isolation, aspired to integration and harmony.³⁸

The lecture in all its entirety has been found to be of great relevance to all humanity because of the issues Dr Ikeda raised.

The lecture invited massive public attention as was evident from the comments and editorials that appeared in the major Indian newspapers. One editorial commented that the moral perfection Dr Ikeda seeks or Gandhi believed in would work irrespective of context and contingencies. The Gandhi Memorial Lecture by Dr Ikeda now appears to be yet another masterstroke which will enhance the study and assessment of Gandhi.

The SGI leadership under Dr Ikeda has shown remarkable awareness of the value of Gandhian non-violence as is evident from the thrust Dr Ikeda gives to the propagation of ahimsa as enunciated by Gautama Buddha.

A world without war which has become one of the cherished goals of humanity can no longer be treated as a distant dream. A spiritual awakening supported by strong cultural, educational and social movements is the need of the hour. Gandhi ignited this inalienable right of humanity through his numerous campaigns and scores of committed promoters of the idea like Dr King, Mr Mandela, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Archbishop Tutu, Nobel Laureate Mairead C. Maguire and many others who appreciate the lead of Dr Ikeda are committed champions of the idea of ‘One World, One Earth and One Humanity’— a goal Dr Ikeda cherishes to carry forward in his mission of Human Revolution for a warless and peaceful world in the tradition of the Buddha and Gandhi. ‘The Power of One’ is very central to this transformation as in Gandhi’s exhortation: “Be the change you want to see in the world”.³⁹

Notes

¹ Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., 1924), 165.

² B.R. Nanda, *In Search of Gandhi, Essays and Reflection* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26.

³ Johan Galtung and Daisaku Ikeda, *Choose Peace: A Dialogue between Johan*

- Galtung and Daisaku Ikeda* (London: Pluto Press, 1995).
- ⁴ Cf. R.R. James ed., *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, vol. 5 (New York: Chelsea House, 1974), 4985.
 - ⁵ John Gunther, 'Mr. Gandhi', in *Inside Asia* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1938), 364.
 - ⁶ Cf. M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1927 [2005]). (Henceforth *Autobiography*)
 - ⁷ Although such phrase is explicitly not found in the Bible, the Romans 5:8 states that God still loved us while we were still sinners and Christ died for us.
 - ⁸ M.K. Gandhi, *The Complete Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CWMG)* vol. 24 (New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India), 415 (*Young India* [October 13, 1921]), accessed July 31, 2019, <https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-literature/mahatma-gandhi-collected-works-volume-24.pdf> (Henceforth *CWMG* URL omitted).
 - ⁹ N. Radhakrishnan, 'Forward', in A.R. Reddy, *Gandhi and Globalisation* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2009), viii.
 - ¹⁰ Henry David Thoreau, *The Writings of Henry D. Thoreau*, edited by Walden, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1906), 100.
 - ¹¹ M.K. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, x.
 - ¹² Nelson Mandela, *The Struggle Is My Life: His Speeches and Writings Brought Together with Historical Documents and Accounts of Mandela in Prison by Fellow-Prisoners* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1990), 222-23.
 - ¹³ Cf. Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (New York: Image, Doubleday, 2000).
 - ¹⁴ Leo Tolstoy wrote to Gandhi, "Consequently, your work in Transvaal, which seems to be far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which must participate not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world." M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 11, 474 (September 7, 1910).
 - ¹⁵ R.K. Prabhu and U.R. Rao, ed., *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: Encyclopedia of Gandhi's Thoughts* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Mdranalaya), 35 (*Harijan* [March 2, 1940, p. 23]), accessed July 31, 2019, <https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/pdf-books/mind-of-mahatma-gandhi.pdf>.
 - ¹⁶ Mohandas Gandhi, *Gandhi: Selected Writings* (New York: Dover Publications, 2005), 190 (Diary [November 13, 1940]).
 - ¹⁷ M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 92, 190 (*Harijan* [September 22, 1946]).
 - ¹⁸ Mahatma Gandhi, *All Men Are Brothers: Autobiographical Reflections* (London: Continuum, 2011), 65 (*Young India* [June 18, 1925]).
 - ¹⁹ *Ibid.* (*Harijan* [March 21, 1934]).
 - ²⁰ M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 15, 160 (*Hindu* [February 28, 1916]).
 - ²¹ M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 74, 307 (*Harijan* [December 24, 1938]).
 - ²² Martin Luther King, Jr, *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 155.
 - ²³ H.J.N. Horsburgh, *Non-Violence and Aggression: a Study of Gandhi's Moral Equivalent of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
 - ²⁴ M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 79, 82 (*Harijan* [August 11, 1940]).
 - ²⁵ Cf. F.G. Hutchins, *India's Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

- ²⁶ Dr. Mervyn A. Warren, *King Came Preaching: The Pulpit Power of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 83.
- ²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 118 (*Time* [January 3, 1963, p. 14])
- ²⁸ John J. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1982), 3.
- ²⁹ E.S. Jones, *Gandhi: Portrayal of a Friend* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1948), 8.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ Pran Chopra, *The Sage In Revolt: A Remembrance* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1972), 129.
- ³² Daisaku Ikeda, *A New Humanism: The University Addresses of Daisaku Ikeda* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 153.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 144-45.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 147-48.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 148.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 149-50
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 151-52
- ³⁹ Gandhi mentioned, “We but mirror the world. All the tendencies present in the outer world are to be found in the world of our body. If we could change ourselves, the tendencies in the world would also change. As a man changes his own nature, so does the attitude of the world change towards him. This is the divine mystery supreme. A wonderful thing it is and the source of our happiness. We need not wait to see what others do.” M.K. Gandhi, *CWMG* vol. 13, 241 (*Indian Opinion* [August 9, 1913]).

About the Author

Neelakanta Radhakrishnan is chairman of the Indian Council of Gandhian Studies, founder of the Gandhi Media Foundation and general convener of the Gandhi Peace Mission. He has held many youth training programmes on non-violence and has delivered lectures on the culture of peace at universities around the world. His dialogue with President Daisaku Ikeda, founder of the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, *Walking with the Mahatma: Gandhi for Modern Times*, received great response.