# UNIT 7 GANDHIAN APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Conflict is a norm in human life; however, man has attempted conflict resolution since time immemorial as well. There are two ways of resolving conflict – through violence or through nonviolent means. As human beings, we constantly make the *choice* of resolving conflict either through violence or nonviolent means. Gandhi is eulogised for making a *choice* of resolving conflicts in nonviolent ways, which he termed as Satyagraha. Pre and post-Gandhi, several scholars and individuals have outlined the nonviolent way of resolving conflicts but Gandhi was one person who not only spoke and wrote a lot about it but also demonstrated it in his thought, words and deeds.

**Aims and Objectives**

After going through this unit you will understand

- The fundamental concepts in Gandhian thought and practice;
- The Gandhian conception of the individual, conflict and violence;
- The ingredients and theoretical inputs of Gandhian approach to conflict resolution;
- The application of the Gandhian approach to conflict resolution to various levels of conflict.

## 7.2 FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS IN GANDHIAN THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

Before we outline the Gandhian approach to conflict and conflict resolution, it is mandatory to understand the elements or concepts fundamental to the understanding of the Gandhian approach. These elements acquire a particular meaning or worldview in the Gandhian perspective.

### 7.2.1 Faith in Human Goodness

Gandhi believed that "Every one of us is a mixture of good and evil…The difference that there is between human beings is a difference of degree." Gandhi considers it violent to classify human beings as inferior or dehumanise them. He wrote in *Harijan* in May 1936:

"Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature. Methods hitherto have failed because rock-bottom sincerity on the part of those who have striven has been lacking."

Gandhi also believed in human rationality and considered it important to Satyagraha. Thus the twin beliefs in human goodness and human rationality or reason lead to a belief in the possibility of conversion. Opponents can therefore be influenced to change their nature and their worldviews as well.

### 7.2.2 Truth

Truth or *Satya* "is that which you believe to be true at this moment. And that is your God." *Ahimsa* or non-violence is the only means of realising the truth. Gandhi classified truth into Absolute Truth and relative truth. He believed that "God was an impersonal, all pervading reality" – this is Absolute Truth; "discoveries on the way to the realization of Truth" is referred to as relative truth. A satyagrahi who lives a life of truth will be harmonious in his thoughts, words and actions.

### 7.2.3 Non-violence

For Gandhi, the word A*himsa* or non-violence has a wide meaning. It is a positive concept that requires doing, not just refraining from injury. Gandhi had a strong belief in the unity of all life and thus non-injury to all living things. However, when one eats, some injury does take place, but that is a necessary evil. Nonetheless, non-violence had to become a creed to be lived day-by-day and not just a policy "…like a garment to be put on and off at will."

### 7.2.4 Creative Self-suffering

Self-suffering is a necessary part of Satyagraha. It has several benefits. First of all, it appeals to the reason of an opponent. Secondly, it transforms both the sufferer and the opponent – the sufferer is morally enriched as s/he is not compromising fundamental principles and the opponent is forced to confront his/her views on the nature of the truth of the given situation, which may possibly end in converting him/her. Besides, even if self-suffering does not touch the conscience of the opponent, it may still have objective benefits in conflict situations – self-suffering may move public opinion to the side of the satyagrahi, which may indirectly force the opponent to convert. Gandhi mentioned both practical and existential benefits of self-suffering. He said:

"Suffering injury in one's own person is ……of the essence of nonviolence and it is the chosen substitute of violence to others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for satyagraha, but because I know that it results in the long run in the least loss of life, and what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice."

Besides, there are other benefits. In the words of Robert J Burrowes, "The willingness to suffer for the sake of others is also the ultimate test of love in action, as well as a method of dramatizing the injustice to be remedied. It is demonstration, too, of sincerity and of the commitment to satisfying the needs of the opponent……And, finally, it is the means for ensuring that others do not suffer because of the satyagrahi's mistakes."

### 7.2.5 Means and Ends

The relationship of means to ends is an essential principle of Gandhi's thought. It was a reflection of the Hindu belief in *karma*. However, for Gandhi the *law of karma* not only applied to future lives but to the present life as well. He explained the means and ends relationship in *Hind Swaraj*:

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

He further elaborated upon it in July 1924 in *Young India*:

"They say 'Means are after all means.' I would say, 'means are after all everything.' As the means, so the end. There is no wall of separation between means and ends."

Gandhi therefore always devoted his energies to looking after the purity of the means. For him, truth is the end and non-violence is the means to that end.

### 7.2.6 Rejection of Coercion

Thomas Weber defines coercion "as the use of force, including moral force, to compel an opponent to act in a way that is contrary to either their will or judgement." Gandhi insisted on a principle of non-coercion and cautioned against the use of coercion because perceptions vary from person to person and one can never be certain that their perception is correct. However, Gandhi has been criticised for not sticking to this principle as some scholars claim that his method of Satyagraha contains an element of coercion. His supporters though contend that Satyagraha does involve elements of compulsion but it is a positive element of coercion.

Gandhi's usage of fast has been seen by some as a method of coercion. Thomas Weber, however, clarifies:

"A fast amounts to coercion or undue influence if an opponent in a conflict gives in because they did not want the person fasting to die rather than because they had been converted. Gandhi unhesitatingly advocates resistance to such undue influence."

Gandhi opined that the chance of coercion leading to conversion was very rare. He "observed that things done under the pressure of a fast have been undone after the fast is over. If such a thing happens it would be a tragedy of the highest degree."

Gandhi thus believed that coercion was against the spirit of Satyagraha but if it had to be used, then moral coercion was preferable to physical coercion because it would have the support of the general public, which could eventually lead to conversion of the opponent.

### 7.2.7 Fearlessness

Satyagraha entails self-suffering, which in turn requires some courage on the part of the satyagrahi as it is not easy to endure self-suffering. Fearlessness is a great quality for it leads to the growth of other noble qualities—"how can one seek Truth or cherish love, without fearlessness", Gandhi questioned. Satyagraha however, does not require courage that is based on physical strength; it requires courage that comes from "determined and constant endeavor, ..by cultivating self-confidence" and "from an indomitable will".

## 7.3 GANDHIAN CONCEPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL, CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Gandhi gives prime importance to the individual because according to him the individual has a soul while society does not. He had a very positive view of human nature as it has the ability to rise above selfishness and violence. The individual was central and thus a nonviolent society had to be created that could satisfy human needs. Self-realisation is the "highest" need but that depends on the satisfaction of other needs. Only a nonviolent individual could be the foundation of a nonviolent society and the creation of a nonviolent society required nonviolent transformation of the individual.

Gandhi rejected the conception of conflict in terms of class war as elucidated by socialism. He viewed conflict as a positive and desirable thing. It is in fact an opportunity to transform the self and the society. Moreover, conflict "is an important means to greater human unity", for it reminds human beings of the bonds that relate them to each other.

Conflict, according to Gandhi, was built into social structures and not into people. Therefore his approach to conflict resolution aimed to preserve the individual while systematically targeting the structure. Gandhi "saw conflict as a perennial condition" and was thus more concerned about managing conflict and creating new social arrangements free of structural violence. Robert J Burrowes says, "In Gandhi's view, conflict is the result of the structural denial of human needs. If these needs are to be satisfied, new structures are necessary. This requires a method of struggle that satisfies three conditions: It must destroy need-denying structures, create need-satisfying structures, and respect the needs of the conflicting parties during the struggle itself."

In 1992, Johan Galtung, agreeing with Arne Naess (1974), summarised Gandhi's conflict norms. Firstly, one should act in conflicts, not out of necessity but out of conviction;

define the conflict well, which would include stating one's goals clearly and trying to understand the opponent's goals; and have a positive approach to conflict, seeing it as an opportunity to meet the opponent, as an opportunity to transform the society and the self. Secondly, one should act nonviolently in conflicts, not harming or hurting with either words, thoughts or deeds and act in a goal-consistent manner by including constructive elements and acting openly, not secretly. Further one should not cooperate with evil or with those who cooperate with evil; be ever ready to sacrifice; neither polarise the situation nor escalate the conflict. Lastly, conflicts should be solved by insisting on essentials and willing to sacrifice on non-essentials; seeing oneself as fallible and admitting mistakes; being generous with opponents by not judging them harder than oneself and not exploiting their weaknesses; and most of all, aim for conversion rather than coercion, not only of the opponent but conversion of the self as well, by seeking solutions that can be acceptable to both the parties.

Concentrating on the Gandhian conception of conflict, Robert J Burrowes said, "Three principles underpin the Gandhian approach to conflict: the unity of means and end, recognition of the unity of all life, and a willingness on the part of the satyagrahi to undergo suffering." The first and the last one have already been discussed in the earlier section, so here we will touch upon only the second principle.

"The Gandhian approach to conflict presupposes the unity of all life." The idea of unity of all life runs through Indian thought, Hinduism and Jainism, all of which were a major influence on Gandhi. According to Hajime Nakamura, the core of Indian thought, "is the idea of the unity of all things." He elaborates further that this idea is also characteristic of Hinduism, which emphasises "Universal Being, to which all individuals and particulars are subordinated." Besides, this notion is a central tenet in Jainism as well. Gandhi said in December 1924 in *Young India*: "I believe in the essential unity of [humanity] and for that matter of all that lives."

Gandhi believed that conflict is a part of human nature but violence is not. He therefore looked for human ways to settle disputes rather than "return to our animal past and use brute force." He evolved the method of Satyagraha, which aims at the resolution of conflicts without resorting to violence. Gandhi excluded violence "because man is not capable of knowing absolute truth and, therefore, is not competent to punish." He defined violence as "anything that impedes individual self-realization." This violence could be of two kinds- direct or structural. Gandhi held that "exploitation is the essence of violence."

On the question of whether aggression is a basic human instinct or an innate quality, Gandhi had observed, "Fortunately for humanity, nonviolence pervades human life and is observed by men without special effort." In fact he believed that if human beings were not essentially nonviolent in nature, it "would have been self-destroyed ages ago." To quote Gandhi: "Man's nature is not essentially evil; brute nature has been known to yield to the influence of love. You must never despair of human nature." The cases and issues of conflict and violence that have been recorded by history are in essence recordings of happenings outside of the ordinary. Non-violence is the norm and widely prevalent in day to day interactions and therefore, "History does not and cannot take note of this fact."

Thus it can be concluded in the words of Thomas Weber, "In the Gandhian model the individual comes to a conflict situation as one who is not innately aggressive and has the freedom of will to resolve conflicts in a nonviolent way freely chosen."

## 7.4 GANDHIAN APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The Gandhian approach to conflict resolution is popularly known as Satyagraha, which is essentially a nonviolent method. It is based on the premise that a committed individual is capable of resolving conflicts in a creative and fruitful way but for this to happen s/he needs to put maximum effort into it. It further assumes that on a continuum conflicts can move from the competitive to the cooperative. This happens not just between partners in close relationships but is a possibility in distant relationships as well. The Gandhian approach further emphasises on arriving at the truth – victory or winning is not important here; satisfaction of all the parties to the conflict with the outcome is much more important. This can only happen when something mutual is worked out between the parties. When all the parties are satisfied with the outcome, the resolution is sturdy and not fragile.

### 7.4.1 Types of Nonviolent Action

Gene Sharp categorises nonviolent action into three types:

1) "accommodation, where the opponent does not believe in the changes made but nevertheless believes that it is best to give in on some or all points to gain peace or to cut losses;

2) nonviolent coercion, where the opponent wants to continue the struggle but cannot because they have lost the sources of power and means of control; and

3) conversion, where the opponent has changed inwardly to the degree that they want to make the changes desired by the nonviolent activist (or indeed, the nonviolent activist themself has so changed)."

Accommodation and nonviolent coercion have their basis in power; these methods depend on power that the parties involved in the conflict can exert on each other. Conversion, however, has nothing to do with power; "the touching of the conscience" is the focus here. For Gandhi, conversion is not only the most effective method of conducting a struggle but it is also "the morally correct way to conduct conflict because only through a dialectical process can truth be arrived at, or at least approached, and such quest for truth is, according to him, the aim of life."

### 7.4.2 The Dialectics of Satyagraha

Violence to human beings and property clouds the real issues of the conflict while non-violence results in a dialogue between the stakeholders on the real issues of the conflict. Therefore, Gandhi warns us to "Hate the sin and not the sinner." The satyagrahi undergoes self-suffering in the belief that the opponent can be converted to see the truth by touching his/her conscience or that a clearer vision of the truth will emerge out of the dialectical process for both the parties. However, the satyagrahi should not only try to convert the opponent but should also be open to persuasion. The main aim of Satyagraha thus is to change the attitude of the opponent, which will result in a change of behaviour.

### 7.4.3 Principles of Satyagraha

For Gandhi, Satyagraha is not just a set of actions; it is also an attitude, a way of life.

It entails ten principles:

1) Opponents should not be humiliated or provoked; otherwise it invites violence.

2) The satyagrahi should be clear about the essential elements of his case and the purpose of the struggle. This is less likely to invite a violent attitude.

3) Honest dissemination of information is essential – opponents are less likely to use violence if they are provided with a full understanding of one's case and conduct.

4) Essential interests, which opponents have in common, should be clearly formulated and cooperation established on these lines.

5) A satyagrahi should not judge opponents harder than the self.

6) A satyagrahi should trust his/her opponents.

7) A satyagrahi should always be willing to compromise on non-essentials. In fact, Satyagraha requires willingness on the part of the opponents to "make large concessions on all points except where a principle is involved."

8) Satyagraha requires a just cause; it cannot be used for an unjust cause. Personal sincerity on the part of the satyagrahi is thus the key.

9) If a satyagrahi wants to convince his/her opponent of his/her sincerity, s/he will have to make sacrifices for the given cause.

10) A satyagrahi should never exploit a position of weakness in an opponent.

### 7.4.4 Process of Satyagraha

Thomas Weber opines that there are three prerequisites of a successful Satyagraha campaign. "They are:

1) that there can always be found some elements of common interest to all the contending parties;

2) that the parties are, or at least might be, amenable to an 'appeal to the heart and mind'; and

3) that those in a position to commence Satyagraha are also in a position to carry it through to the end."

Once these prerequisites are fulfilled the process of conversion can be initiated, which involves several steps: first of all reasoning with the opponent, secondly persuasion or moral appeal through self-suffering, which has been termed as "moral jiu-jitsu" by Richard Gregg. In case none of these attempts are successful, then the tools of non-cooperation or civil disobedience can be used.

### 7.4.5 Application of Satyagraha to Various Kinds of Conflicts

Gandhi was of the opinion that Satyagraha could be used in domestic situations as well as in broader fields, but "he who fails in the domestic sphere and seeks to apply it only in the political and social sphere will not succeed." Thus, a satyagrahi had to start by solving small conflicts at the home front before going out to resolve the larger issues, "For it will be by those small things that you shall be judged."

#### 7.4.5.1 Inter-personal Conflicts

In conflicts such as domestic quarrels, "non-cooperation, civil disobedience of the orders of the offender if he happens to be in exercise of authority, suffering of hardships that came as a result of this resistance, fasting etc." can be used. However, the main methods that should be employed in such cases "will be persuasion and discussion." In the Gandhian approach, the resolution of inter-personal conflicts would depend largely on the internalisation of the principles of satyagraha. Besides these, Thomas Weber has pointed out some other techniques as well (not prescribed by Gandhi *per se* but on Gandhian lines) that can be used for the resolution of such conflicts.

The first of these techniques is known as "I-Message". It is appropriate for conflicts where the focus is on personal needs rather than values or beliefs. The initial response in inter-personal conflicts is to blame the other for unacceptable behaviour and its consequences by sending "You-Message", which masks the real issues of the conflict and provokes resistance. When blame statements are reformulated into "I-Messages", it helps in clarifying issues by explaining the feelings of the speaker as a result of the unacceptable behaviour by the other and giving the speaker's perception of the consequences of behaviour on them. The second technique is "the role-reversal technique of switching viewpoints, where each party honestly tries to argue for the other's viewpoint, while the other listens." It works in domestic situations or in situations where there is enough rapport viz. between friends, between neighbours etc. The last technique is a combination of "active-listening" and "mirroring". It "could be used until hearing *what* the opponent in a conflict is saying becomes second nature." Active listening involves "mirroring back what has been said." This not only assures accuracy of listening but also "assures the sender that he has been understood when he hears his own message fed back to him accurately." This technique can be used to solve immediate inter-personal conflicts. It can also be used by a third party to help one of the parties in a conflict situation clarify his/her own feelings and think creatively about solutions.

#### 7.4.5.2 Legal Conflicts

Gandhi, being a lawyer by profession, has expressed his views on the resolution of legal (cases that go via the legal court system) conflicts. Legal dispute settlement is seen as a major method of nonviolent settlement of disputes in modern times. Gandhi, however, views the appearance of a civil case in a court as failure on the part of the parties to settle the dispute on their own. Once the case goes to the court, there is the risk of loss for one party and victory for the other; moreover, both the parties will have to pay costs as well.

Other kinds of cases that come before the courts are conflicts between individuals and the state. These may arise out of disputes between friends, neighbours and relatives or individuals unilaterally perpetrating a breach of the criminal code and getting detected for doing the same. In such cases the parties to the conflict do not confront each other in the court; the case is dealt by the lawyers that they hire to represent them. Here, as per the Gandhian approach, the lawyer can play the role of a catalyst – a mediator – rather than just indulging in legal negotiations in the court and bringing out points of law in favour of their clients. Gandhi himself did that a number of times and thus claimed:

"I realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during the twenty years of

my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby—not even money, certainly not my soul."

Pointing out the negatives of the legal method of conflict resolution, Thomas Weber said, "When disputes enter the legal process the disputants lose control not only of the outcome of the process but also their own ability to handle the situation—they become less than self-sufficient, more reliant on experts."

#### 7.4.5.3 Industrial Conflicts

Gandhi's approach to industrial conflict is not zero-sum or compromise; he instead advocates mutual problem-solving, which will lead to the truth. Conflicts within the industry are a result of economic and/or social causes such as "changes in the social structure of the plant or changes in management policies, frustrations that result from a lack of communication with the management, a feeling of powerlessness resulting from the lack of opportunity in having an effective voice in the running of the industry, and basic conflicts of interests between workers and management." If workers have greater involvement in the affairs of the workplace, it is likely to lessen the occurrence of industrial disputes. In order to avoid conflict between labour and conflict, Gandhi suggested that "labour should have the same status and dignity as capital." However, once an industrial conflict breaks out, Gandhi leaves out the option of negotiations between the management and the labour because in Satyagraha one can never ask for more than is felt warranted. This would mean that one cannot bargain here.

Thomas Weber mentions two nonviolent measures of settling industrial disputes as per the Gandhian approach: "(a) moral appeals to the conscience of the employers to concede just demands, and (b) if these fail, a resort to voluntary arbitration, where the decision of the umpire would bind the parties." In case these two measures fail, Gandhi recognised that workers have the option of resorting to strikes; in fact it is an "inherent right of the working men but must be considered a crime immediately the capitalists accept the principle of arbitration." However, in situations where there are surplus labourers to replace the strikers, strike as a measure will not work. Then the last remedy is resignation, which may result in starvation but will at least ensure dignity of the worker.

#### 7.4.5.4 Social Conflicts

Employing the principles of Satyagraha to group social conflicts are a difficult proposition because it is easier to appeal to the conscience of an individual and make them see reason in comparison to a group. Besides, it is also easy for individuals to remain truthful and nonviolent in contrast to a group. However, Gandhi recommends 'Mass Satyagraha' as a method of resolving social conflicts. The general rules of Satyagraha such as truth, non-violence, self-suffering, coercion and means and ends will also be applicable in 'Mass Satyagraha'. Before undertaking a 'Mass Satyagraha' all other means of resolving the conflict must have been exhausted.

Bondurant has listed the following steps of a 'Mass Satyagraha' (especially in the context of satyagraha against a repressive government):

(1) "Negotiation and arbitration. All established channels to be exhausted before undertaking further steps.

(2) Preparation for group action. Discussion, examination of motives and self-discipline

exercises started. Issues at stake, appropriate action, circumstances of opponents and public opinion examined.

(3) Agitation including the distribution of propaganda, marches, etc. commenced.

(4) Issuing of ultimatum. Future steps to be taken are brought to the notice of the opponent if no agreement is reached.

(5) Economic boycott and strikes, including picketing and general strike, commenced.

(6) Non-cooperation. Non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions undertaken.

(7) Civil Disobedience. Breaking of selected laws because they are central to the grievance or are symbolic.

(8) Usurping the functions of government.

(9) Parallel government.

Large nonviolent campaigns such as civil disobedience should be coupled with constructive work. Constructive work not only helps in influencing public opinion but it also equips people with the discipline for non-violence. Moreover, "it aids morale by giving the satyagrahi something positive to do rather than merely having him or her to suffer the negative aspects of frustration while waiting for something to happen."

Another Gandhian measure for resolving social conflicts is Trusteeship, wherein owners of wealth are supposed to voluntarily convert themselves into trustees of their wealth for the poor. Redistribution of wealth however, should not involve any coercion because the foundation of a nonviolent state cannot be based on violence. Making trusteeship a social reality may seem a difficult proposition in a modern consumerist society and Gandhi was aware of that difficulty as well; however, he had faith in it, stating: "I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship in spite of the ridicule that has been poured upon it. It is true that it is difficult to reach. So is nonviolence."

In conclusion, Thomas Weber says, "This whole area of social conflict places a great emphasis on the individual, first of all to refuse to be ruled or exploited any longer, and secondly, as with the case of the rich, to examine one's own life-style to determine the degree to which he or she is also responsible for the oppression or exploitation of others. This introspection is particularly important to ensure that the chain is broken….."

### 7.4.5.5 International Conflicts

Principles like truth, non-violence and means and ends are also applicable to the international arena. These principles should guide interactions between nations as well. Gandhi expounded the concept of civilian defence to solve international conflicts instead of doing so through the means of war. Civilian defence aims to defend the whole society, not just borders or some crucial buildings. When a nation is attacked by another nation, the aggrieved citizens should adopt the method of civilian defence instead of military defence and start a political struggle employing the tactics of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. A country that adopts civilian defence is less likely to be invaded by another country because it is no longer seen as a threat. However, this can only happen when unilateral disarmament is first undertaken. Such unilateral actions will reduce international tensions. However, armaments are controlled by economic factors and therefore disarmament cannot be a reality unless nations stop exploiting other nations.

If a nonviolent society is attacked, Gandhi suggests two ways of coping with the aggressor, which he laid out in *Harijan* in 1940:

"to yield possession but not cooperate with the aggressor….the second way would be nonviolent resistance by the people who have been trained in the nonviolent way. They would offer themselves as fodder for the aggressor's canon….the unexpected spectacle of endless rows upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of an aggressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery."

Several scholars had subjected Gandhi's method of civilian defence to severe criticism and termed it as impractical. However, one thing is certain that Gandhi's "nonviolent equivalent to war suffer fewer of the moral deficiencies that war suffers from."

## 7.5 SUMMARY

Gandhi had the firm belief that human beings were basically good and humanity essentially had a nonviolent nature. The underlying sources of conflict are distrust and friction and therefore the Gandhian method of conflict resolution does not focus on the immediate grievances of the conflict; it goes beyond that to look at the underlying sources of the conflict as well. Satyagraha essentially is a nonviolent method that touches all three aspects: the attitude, the behaviour and the goal incompatibility and can be applied to smaller as well as larger disputes occurring in different areas of human life.

To conclude in the words of Thomas Weber: "Satyagraha, then, from the Gandhian perspective, is a viable, autonomy-producing method of conflict resolution. Its stress on the shared humanity of all, including opponents, also makes it ethically superior to other methods of conflict resolution." Not only that, even when Satyagraha fails to resolve conflicts, "the subjective benefits of dignity that comes from leading a moral life, is *always* present and this is missing with other methods."

## 7.6 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Enumerate the fundamental concepts in Gandhian thought and practice.
2. How does Gandhi conceptualise conflict and violence?
3. Discuss and describe the various kinds of nonviolent action.
4. How does Gandhi propose to resolve inter-personal conflicts?
5. What are Gandhi's views on legal conflicts?
6. Write a note on the concept of civilian defence as enumerated by Gandhi.

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