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Peace
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Editorial

At the beginning of a new century people wonder what this century has in store for them? Will it be a time of peace? The question is quite legitimate, since the last century was probably the most violent century in human history.

It is undeniable that we humans have a deep yearning for peace. And yet, we live in a world which is marked by discord, dissension, hatred, violence and war. Faced with this painful situation, can we really hope for peace? Is humanity capable of ushering in an era of peace on earth? And even if it is capable of doing so what resources are available to it for establishing peace? What contribution can different traditions and different disciplines make towards peace in the world? These are some of the questions which this issue of *Jnanadeepa* seeks to answer.

There are four articles dealing with the understanding of peace in the major religions of India – Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. They also inquire into the contributions these religious traditions can make towards peace in India/the world. There is no doubt that they have rich resources to aid individuals, groups and nations in their efforts to establish peace on earth.

There are three articles which examine the issue of peace from the point of view of the social sciences. The first one deals with peace from the perspective of psychology. It contends that peace is a life-long process that one is engaged in. The second one is by a political scientist. He studies the contribution the UNO has made towards the maintenance of peace in the world and suggests ways in which it can more effectively serve the cause of peace in the world. The third is something of a case-study of the Northeast. From a sociological point of view it examines the causes of the conflictual situation that exists in the Northeast and spells out some concrete steps that need to be taken in order to usher in an era of peace and prosperity in this trouble region of our country.

There are two articles which discuss the question of violence and non-violence. The first one deals with Mahatma Gandhi's understanding of non-violence, its theoretical foundations as well as its practical implications for us today. The other one examines the nature and forms of violence and comes to the conclusion that violence is ambivalent. One cannot absolutise all violence as bad or all non-violence as good.

There is another article on peace which is more practical. It explains the way the Dharma Bharati National Institute of Peace and Value Education spreads a culture of peace in India and abroad. It also clarifies the vision

behind Dharma Bharathi. Those who are looking for a concrete plan of action foster peace in our land will find this article useful.

As usual, there are two special features in this issue. One deals with science and priestly formation. Its contention is that familiarity with and genuine appreciation of the developments in science and technology are necessary for priests and religious destined to be leaders of their communities. The other is a report of an empirical study of rural poverty in India. It also describes how the poor people look at their sad plight.

It is our fond hope that the discussion of peace in this issue will stimulate further discussion among our leaders and lead to some concrete action.

Kurien Kunnumpuram SJ
Editor

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Peace in the Vedantic Age of Hinduism

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Peace is harmony, harmony within oneself, with the world and with the Divine. This holistic harmony is achieved through the integration of oneself with the totality of reality. Integration is possible only through self-restraint. The Sanskrit word for peace, *santi*, comes from the root *sam*, which means to restrain oneself, to pacify, to renounce. Through self-restraint one attunes oneself to the broader horizons and deeper dimensions of reality. One renounces the ego-centred attitudes of life (*ahamkara*) and wakes up to deeper Self-awareness (*atmabodha*). The consciousness sinks to the perception of the Ground of being in which all things are interrelated. Peace comes from this waking of oneself to the truth of the inter-relatedness of everything. Peace is the awareness of the web of reality.

The *Santimantra*

The expansion and deepening of consciousness has a three-fold dimension: one is at peace within oneself, with everything else and with the Divine. This is expressed in the Invocation of Peace, *Santimantra: Om, santi, santi, santi!* The invocation is an essential utterance at the beginning, and especially at the end of any sacred action or the recitation of a sacred text. Before anything is undertaken, one tunes oneself to the totality of reality: hence, the word *santi* is repeated thrice referring to the spiritual (*adhyatmika*), the cosmic (adhibhautika) and the divine (*adhidaivika*) aspects (Sankara, on the *Santimantra*, Taitiriya Upanishad 1.1.1). These three are the essential constituents of an integral process of peace. With the *santimantra* one prays for the blessings *of* all the three realms, invokes blessings *on* the three realms and asks for the removal of all obstacles coming *from* these three realms. The opening verse of Iswara Krishna's *Samkhyakarika* speaks of the 'triad of suffering' (*dukhatraya*) caused by the mental, the physical and the metacosmic elements. Peace means the overcomning of these threefold obstacles. Through a life of discipline (*sraddha*) and renunciation (*tyaga*) one experiences peace within the inner spiritual realms of one's being. Further, through compassion (*karuna*) and service (*yajna*) one feels oneself at peace with human persons, other living beings and with the things of nature around oneself. And finally, through worship (*puja*) and meditation

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(*dhyana*) one enjoys peace with the divine powers embedded in the universe. Rabindranath Tagore describes the process of peace as follows: "From universe to Infinity – this is the soul's normal progress" (1958: 199).

We shall examine some texts of the classical Scriptures to explore the meaning of these aspects of peace.

Peace within Oneself

The term *adhyatmika* refers not only to the spiritual dimension of human life, but to the diverse aspects of the life of the individuated self. In the inner process of the realisation of the true self there are three levels of consciousness: the mental, the psychic and the intuitive. At the mental level the mind (*manah*) objectifies everything and reaches out to reality through the senses. In the psyche (*chittah*) the memories of the past are strored. Deeper than these two spheres the intuitive faculty of perception (*buddhi*) dives into a unity in the transcendental consciousness. Mind pursues the logic of things; buddhi enters into the mystique of reality. Mind speculates on the horizontal level; buddhi intuits vertically into reality.

In the mystical consciousness that emerges at the buddhi level one perceives the *Self in the self through the Self (atmani atmanam atmana pasyati)* – this is the all-pervading intuition of the Upanishads. When one thus touches the Ground of reality in oneself, all the faculties of perception are brought into an inner harmony. The human individual experiences an inner grounding and this is the peace within oneself. The activities of the senses are controlled (*viniyamya*) by the mind; the mind is focussed (*samyamya*) on the inner Self; thereby the movements of the *chittah* are streamlined (*uparamate*); the *buddhi* is brought to steadiness (*dhruti gruheeta*); and thus the entire inner realm is attuned to the inner Self (Gita 6:14, 20, 24, 25).

> When the movements of the *chittah* are brought to rest
> Through the practice of meditation, then one perceives
> The Self in the self through the Self, and rejoices in the Self;
> This the supreme delight in which one trancends all suffering (Gita 6:20-23).

This is how the deepest spiritual experience is described in terms of the experience of genuine inner peace and harmony. According to the Gita this inner peace is ultimately a gift of the grace of the personal divine Lord (*Bhagavan*):

> By my grace you will overcome all obstacles ... and attain the ultimate abode of supreme peace (Gita, 18:58,62).

The way to peace is to transfer the centre of one's being from egoism (*ahamkara*) to Self-awareness (*atmabodha*) (2:71) through total personal surrender to the divine Lord (18:56, 62, 66, 5:12). It is a movement from the possessive attitudes of the mind (*kama*) to a total anchoring of the buddhi in the Lord (12:2,7,8,14). The fruit of this is 'peace, the ultimate state of being in the Lord' (6:15; 12:12; 9:31). This is not something that one experiences only after this life, but is an abiding consciousness right in this life, an experience of inner harmony in a busy life in the world.

The Upanishads too describe this basic process towards inner peace and harmony. The quest there is not so much for an objectified knowledge of things, but for an inner awakening to the depth of reality. "Through the knowing of what shall all this become known?" – this is the fundamental question (Mundaka Up. 1.1.3). "Knowing what shall I know the knower of all?" (Brihad. Up. 4.5.15). There is a constant invitation for a meditative entry into the consciousness of the ultimate subject of all the objects of the mind. And finally, the sage makes a breakthrough into that transcendental consciousness in which he exclaims: I am Brahman!, That thou art! (*Aham brahma asmi, tat tvam asi*) (Brih. Up. 1.4.10; Chand Up. 6.8.7). This is the deepest experience and this is the ultimate abode of peace.

> The one Eternal amid the transient,
> The Conscious amid the conscious,
> The One amid the many,
> who grants their desires,
> to the wise, who perceive It as abiding in the Self,
> to them is eternal peace and to no others (Kath Up. 5.13).

One who is thus 'grounded in the Brahman has overcome all fears' (Tait.Up. 2:7, Chand. 1.3.1). There is no space for disharmony and grief.

> When one understands that in oneself
> the Self has become all beings,
> when one has attained this unity,
> what room is there for sorrow;
> what room for perplexity? (Isa Up. 7).
>
> The life that evolves out of this experience is oriented to truthfulness
> (Mundaka Up. 3.1.6;
> Tait Up. 2.1.11).

Hence the *santimantra*:

> May my speech be firmly established in my mind.
> May my mind be firmly established in my speech.
> O self-manifested One, be manifest to me.
> Be for me the cornerstone of the Veda.
> May what I have heard not depart from me.
> By that learning I maintain days and nights.
> I will speak the right. I will speak the truth.
> May that protect me.
> May that protect my teacher. .
> *Om santi santi santi!*
> (Aitarya Up. 1.1.).

Peace with the World

The Supreme Self that one experiences as the depth of one's being is the Ground of the being of all. In as much as one wakes up to the consciousness of oneness with the Self one grows into the awareness of unity with all beings. The consciousness gets a cosmic expansion and consequently a compassionate attitude transforms one's life. Thus, one grows in peace with all beings, human individuals, living organisms as well as with the things of nature. *Sarvabhutatma bhutatma* – one's Self has become the Self of all beings. Then one sees the 'reflections of one's self in all beings' (Gita 6:32).

> The well-integrated one perceives the Self in all beings,
> and all beings in the Self.
> One and the same is seen everywhere.
> One then perceives the divine Lord in all things and
> all things in the Lord.

With such a person the Lord is ever united.
In deep love and unity one worships the Lord
present in all beings.
Such a person lives and moves ever in the divine Lord,
whatever be one's mode of life.
In all things one then sees only reflections of one's self.
Thus one overcomes the duality of pleasure and pain (Gita 6:29-32).

The inner freedom and equanimity that evolve out of this integral cosmic vision make one's life at peace with all beings in nature. One is then 'passionately concerned about the well-being of all things' (*sarvabhutahiteratah*, Gita 12:4). One commits oneself to the 'integral welfare of the entire world' (*lokasamgraha*, Gita, 3:25). In this world-view one realizes the mutual dependence of human endeavour and the well-being of nature. Concern for the protection of the environment is a consequence of a spiritual vision of the cosmos.

Only by nourishing the powers of nature (*deva*) can humans attain prosperity.

In as much as humans nourish the powers of nature through their service (*yajna*), nature blesses them with the gifts of life.
If on the other hand one exploits nature without maintaining it, one is a thief.
Those who cook food only for themselves are eating sin! (Gita 3:10-13).

Having attained inner peace one enters the world with the attitudes of 'compassion and friendliness, non-violence and non-possessiveness, equanimity and even-mindedness' (Gita 12;13-19). Peace within oneself creates peace with all beings outside, for the entire world is experienced as the 'body and abode' of the divine Lord (9:4; 18:61; 11:9).

In the Upanishadic vision too the inner experience of the Self blossoms forth into an integral world-view that renders peace with all beings. The *Atman* that one intuits within oneself is the *Atman* that pervades all beings.

Verily this whole world is Brahman.
This Atman within the cave of the heart is
greater than the earth
greater than the atmosphere, greater than the sky,
greater than these worlds.
It encompasses this whole world (Chand. Up. 3.14).

Hence, the *enlightened* person sees 'the Self in all and all in the Self'; the entire world is seen as 'permeated by the divine Lord' (Isa Up. 1.1,6). The effect of such a universal theophany on the life of the humans is harmony and peace with all beings. Already in the Vedic times this cosmic dimension of peace was upheld in the spiritual evolution of humans:

Peaceful be earth, peaceful ether, peaceful heaven,
peaceful waters, peaceful herbs, peaceful trees.
May all gods bring me peace.
May there be peace through these invocations of peace.
With these invocations of peace which appease everything
I render peaceful whatever here is terrible,
whatever here is cruel,

whatever here is sinful.
Let it become auspicious,
Let everything be beneficial to us
(Atharva Veda, 19.9).

With this spiritual vision people live with the abiding awareness of living in a sacred sphere. Hence, one cannot covet anything or possess with greed. It has been an ancient insight of the sages that greed (*kama*) is the root-cause of all conflicts and sufferings in the world. What makes life joyful is the inner freedom that comes from renunciation, *tyaga* (Isa Up. 1.1). What makes life peaceful is the compassion that comes from equal-mindedness (*samadarsana*). Mahatma Gandhi was fully convinced of the basic value of peace: "My service to my people is part of the discipline to which I subject myself in order to free my soul from the bonds of flesh. For me the road to salvation lies through love of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives" (Young India, April 4, 1920). When the Creator Lord was asked: what is it that makes life worth living, the answer was: *damyata, datta, daya*, self-restraint, generosity and compassion (Brihad. Up. 5.2.1-3). The final instruction given by the master to the disciple at the end of long years of *gurukulavasa* is:

Speak the Truth, Pursue the Dharma
Continue self-study
Do not desist from your duties to bring welfare to beings
Give your mother and father, teacher and guest the respect due to gods
(Tait. Up. 1.11.1-2).

A peaceful social order can result only where individual citizens are respected and the civil duties are performed. Aswapti, a king of the Upanishadic period, was proud of the peaceful situation in his kingdom. "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without a sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress" (Chand. Up. 5.11.7).

In the Mahabharatha peace is understood as the social outcome of dharma. The basis of dharma is this principle: "Endued with self-restraint, and possessed of righteous behaviour one should look upon all creatures as one's own self" (Mbh. 12.292). From this spiritual outlook comes the golden rule of a peaceful coexistence:

Brihaspathi tells Yudhistira:

I shall tell you what constitutes the highest good of a human being. He who practises the religion of universal compassion achieves his highest good. He who, from motives of his own happiness, slays other harmless creatures with the rod of chastisement, never attains to happiness in the next world. He who regards all creatures as his own self, laying aside the rod of chastisement and completely subjugating his wrath, succeeds in attaining to happiness. One should never do to another what one regards as injurious to one's own self. This in brief is the rule of *dharma*. One by acting in a different way, by yielding to desire, becomes guilty of *adharma*. In refusals and gifts, in happiness and misery, in the agreeable and the disagreeable, one should judge their effects by a reference to one's own self (Mbh. 13.113.6-9).

There are three cardinal values which are essential for a culture of

peace: non-violence (*ahimsa*), forgiveness (*kshama*) and truthfulness (*satyam*).

Non-violence (*ahimsa*) is the 'supreme virtue' (*ahimsa paramo dharma*, Mbh. 12.257.6). It evolves out of a spiritual vision that all beings are ultimately my own self: the one Self enlivens all beings. Hence, any harm done to a sentient being is sin, because it violates its fabric of life. Non-violence is to be practised in thought and word too.

> He is said to know what *dharma* is, who is always a friend of all creatures and who is always engaged in the good of all creatures, in thought, word and deed. He casts equal eyes upon all things and all creatures (Mbh. 12.262.10).

Forgiveness (*kshama*) is the attitude of a non-violent mind. When the other is looked upon as the same as one's own self in the divine Self, one becomes compassionate towards the other, especially when the other is in difficulty. Hence, forgiveness is extolled as a divine virtue (Mbh. 3.29). True peace can be realised only through a culture of forgiveness.

> A wise man should ever forgive his persecutor even when the latter is in difficulties. The honest and forgiving man is ever victorious. Gentleness conquers cruel behaviour... If among you there are no persons equal unto the earth in forgiveness, there would be no peace among you, but constant strife caused by anger... Only through forgiveness can mankind survive (Mbh. 3.29)

Truthfulness (*satyam*) is ardent loyalty to what is true. Truth is the constituent element of being (*sat*). Truth is Brahman, it is the universal Law (Mbh. 3.43.49). "There is nothing higher than truth; truth is everything; in truth lies immortality; so follow the path of truth" (Mbh. 12.251.10). Truthfulness is the integral pursuit of being true to reality, genuine openness to the Divine. Truth is 'eternal duty, the highest refuge in life'. Mahabharata mentions thirteen elements of truth:

> Truthfulness, impartiality, self-control, lack of envy, forgiveness, modesty, endurance, absence of jealousy, renunciation, nobility, patience, mercy and absence from injury (Mbh. 12.162).

These moral virtues contribute to a culture of peace in the life of the individual and of the community. Dharma is life in honest pursuit of Truth (Mbh. 12.190.1).

Peace with the Divine

The Divine reality is not primarily conceived as a personal God, who is the Creator and Lord of the universe; rather the Divine is the ultimate spiritual Power (*Atman*) that permeates the entire realm of reality. It is the 'origin, the life and the goal of everything' (Bhag. Gita, 10:20). All realities have their origin *in* the Divine, subsistence *through* the Divine and they finally merge *into* the Divine; the Divine *Atman* is the 'undying seed of the universe', 'the power of life' and 'the ultimate abode' (Bhag. Gita, 10:8, 9:4, 7:6-10, 8:20). In the Upanishads too Brahman is experienced as the life-energy of the universe:

> That from which truly all beings are born,
> by which, when born, they live,

and into which finally they all return
that is Brahman (Tait. Up. 3.1.1).

'Brahman is the *Atman* in all things' (Brihad. Up. 3.5.1). The divine *Atman* pervades the entire universe like 'oil in sesame seeds, butter in cream, water in riverbeds, fire in friction sticks', like 'the sap in the tree' (Swet. Up. 1.15, Chand. Up. 6.11.1). Through the awareness of this universal divine presence human persons attune themselves to the divine Spirit. With this awareness one perceives the Divine in everything: as light in the sun and moon, as radiance in fire, as the pure taste in water, as the fertilising odour in the earth, as the life-giving *prana* in the air, as the vibrant *OM* in all beings' (Gita, 7:8-9, 15:12-13, 9:17, Swet. Up. 2:17). The entire universe is perceived as the *temple* of the divine Lord, as the *body* of the divine Spirit. One is then at home wherever one lives and works. It is this harmony with the divine presence that engenders peace in human life.

In order to experience this peace and transmit it to others one enters into a personal relation with the divine Lord present in the universe:

Having experienced me as the source
of all beings,
the wise worship me with devout attentiveness.
They worship me present in all beings
(Bhag. Gita, 10:8, 6:31).
The One who rules all sources of life,
in whom all this dissolves,
the ruler of all, the maker of the manifold forms,
the One who pervades all the worlds,
to Him alone be homage and worship;
in Him alone we take refuge
(Swet. Up. 4.11-14).

The life-giving power and presence of the divine Atman shines through all the primodial cosmic powers. Hence, they have been called the translucent media of the divine presence (*deva*). It is in this mystical sense that hymns were addressed to the sun and the sky, the earth and the ocean, the fire and the wind. Beautiful hymns addressed to the cosmic *devas* are found in the Vedic Scriptures. Through the chanting of these hymns and invocation of mantras one sought the blessings of the Divine that shines through these powers of nature. In the course of time these cosmic powers have been given the names of gods and goddesses. Hence, one addresses these powers in the classical invocations of peace (santimantra):

At sunrise one invokes the blessings of the divine Sun:

I meditate upon the splendour of the
divine Vivifier-Sun,
May He illumine my intuitive understanding (Gayatri Mantra, Rig Veda,
3.62.10).
The face of Truth is covered with a
golden disc.
Unveil it, O Sun, the sole Seer, so that
I who love the Truth may see it.
(Isa Up. 15)

Further, one invokes the blessings of the cosmic powers:

OM, may Mitra, the sun, be propitious
to us,
may Varuna be propitious to us,
may Aryaman, Indra and Brihaspati
be propitious to us,
may Vishnu of Wide strides be propitious to us.
Saluations to Brahman.
Saluations to Yayu,
Thou indeed are the visible Brahman

Thee alone I will proclaim.
I will speak the Truth,
I will speak of the right.
May that protect me (Tait. Up. 1.1.1).

The sages of India believed that invoking the Divine through the cosmic powers – *deva* – brings blessings and peace. Such invocations show the firm conviction that true peace is ultimately a gift of the Divine. Only through a righteous and truthful life as well as through rituals and meditation can humans make themselves sensitive to the inflow of this cosmic power of peace. To bring about peace within and around oneself is not an aggressive work, nor a passive role, but a receptive process. Through our creativity, we humans usher in an atmosphere in which the divine *Atman* articulates itself. Peace then flows like a divine stream into the world.

> Our union with a Being whose activity is world-wide and who dwells in the heart of humanity cannot be a passive one. In order to be united with Him we have to divest our work of selfishness and become *Viswakarma*, the world-worker: we must work for all. We must cultivate the greatness of the soul which identifies itself with the soul of all (Tagore 1958: 9-10).

The overall effect of this divine-human activity in the world is a culture of harmony. The Vedic hymns constantly uphold this. Peace is a matter of divine grace and of human responsibility. Peace emerges when humans perceive the vibrant power of harmony (*Rik*) in the universe and attune themselves to it through ethical life (*dharma*). When humans beings live in harmony with one another and with the powers of nature the blessings of divine peace abound in the world. In fact all are called to live in peace and harmony:

Of one heart and one mind I make you devoid of hate.
Love one another, as a cow loves the calf she has borne.
Let the son be courteous to his father,
of one mind with his mother.
Let the wife speak words that are gentle
and sweet to her husband.
Never may brother hate brother, or sister hurt sister,
United in heart and in purpose commune sweetly together.
I will utter a prayer for such concord
among family members
as binds together the gods among whom is no hatred.
Be courteous, planning and working in harness together.
Approach, conversingly pleasantly, like-minded, united.
Have your eating and drinking in common.
I bind you together.
Assemble for worship of the Lord like spokes around a hub.
Of one mind and one purpose I make you following one leader.
Be like the gods, ever deathless.
Never stop loving (Atharva Veda, 3:30).

The Rig-Veda ends with this exhortation for a life of peace and harmony:

Gather together, converse together!
Your minds be of one accord,
just as in harmony the gods of old
took their ritual shares of oblation.
United be your counsel, united your assembly,
united your spirit and thoughts.
A single plan do I lay before you;
a single oblation do I offer.

United your resolve, united your hearts,
may your spirits be at one,
that you may long together dwell
in unity and concord
(Rig Veda, 10.191.4).

When we thus go to the sources of the Hindu spiritual heritage we discover an integral world-view that promotes a culture of peace. There is no peace within oneself without peace with the world. There is no peace in social life without peace in individuals and harmony with nature. And both the personal and social dimensions of peace are enlivened by the immanent powers of the divine Spirit, the universal *Atman*. Hence, the ultimate source of peace is an ethical life (*dharma*) that evolves from within a deep spiritual experience. "Ethical imperative comes not from around, but from within" (Aurobindo, 1970; 141).

This is the challenge that India is facing today in the promotion of peace. There is a wide-spread crisis in the pursuit of ethical values. Religions which are intended to keep alive the ethical consciousness tend to become fundamentalist, thus oppressing the searching mind rather than liberating it. On the other hand, people are yearning for a liberative spirituality and they look for it within and beyond the traditional religions. It is the quest for an integrated vision-and-way of life that engenders peace in all realms of life. On the path of this global quest people of different religions and cultures meet as co-pilgrims. In their common pilgrimage towards peace and harmony the great Scriptures of *all* religions and cultures can be sources of light and inspiration to *all* seekers. What is needed is an interreligous hermeneutics of the Scriptures, a cross-cultural re-reading of the Scriptures. It is here that we find the significance of the texts which we have seen above in brining about a culture of peace. Across the boundaries of religions we Indians pray everyday:

Sarvesham swastirbhavatu. . .
May there be well-being for all
May there be peace on all,
May all attain the Fullness,
May all enjoy prosperity
May all be happy
May all be free from illness
May all see what is auspicious,
May there never be a portion of suffering.
Om, santi, santi, santih!

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Peace: A Buddhist Metanarrative

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Introduction

Buddhism is properly regarded as a religion of peace. Peace is a supreme value in the teaching of Siddhartha Gautama. Siddhartha Gautama, revered by the people of his time as the Buddha, namely, the Awakened One, spoke of peace to his followers. His words have been compiled into various works, the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma Pitaka, that make up the Pali Canon. The contents of the Sutta Pitaka are discourses or sermons of the Buddha. In order to render the discourses intelligible for those far removed in time and to prevent misunderstanding of the message on account of unorthodox exegesis, orthodox explications and glosses were written. They were mostly exegetical commentaries. The commentaries on the Abhidhamma Pitaka in particular highlight the universal nature (*paramatthadesana*) of the Master's teaching. In this essay we seek to explore the nature of the Buddhist discourse on peace. It is our presupposition that it is a metadiscourse or metanarrative. Its insight is that a human person is peace by his/her very nature. The Buddha came to this insight by his relentless search for the cause of suffering and violence in the world.

Nature of the Buddha's Discourse

The method of enquiry in the dispensation of the King of Dhamma (*Dhammarajassa sasane*) is characterized by *Pariyayabhasitam, Sandhayabhasitam and Sabhavabhasitam* in the introductory verses to the *Mendakapanna* in the *Milindapanna.* In his pedagogy his teachings were contextualized. *Pariyayabhasitam* are understood to be those expositions by the Master for the benefit of the one who has directly approached him. The *Sutta* literature is generally assigned to this group. *Sandhayabhasitam* are explanations enjoined on all. It refers to the common regulations in the *Vinaya* literature. Whenever an opportunity (*sandhi*) offered itself, the Teacher spoke what was appropriate for the occasion and enjoined it on all. *Sabhavabhasitam* means teachings that pertain to the nature of all. These teachings are compiled in the Abhidhamma literature. They seem more abstract in their bid to interpret the teaching with a more universal outlook.

The universalist dimension of Buddhist ethics in its psycho-noetical foundation is ascertained to be non-sectarian. Its starting point is in the experi-

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ence of human beings. All experience is understood to be rooted in the very nature (*sabhava*) of being (Durant, 1927: 80-90). In the history of ethical philosophy, this is an entelecheic perspective in the Orient different from the teleological standpoint. The Abhidhamma philosophy, thus, distinguishes itself as the *Paramatthadesana*, teaching on the ultimate meaning of life and reality. *Paramatthadesana* is generally rendered as 'the instruction in the ultimate nature of things'. *Parama* is the superlative form of *para*, meaning beyond, highest, excellent. It points to the universal principle to analyse human reality. *Attha* conveys the sense, meaning, denotation and significance of Dhamma. The Buddha's role is referred to as *atthassa ninnetar* (M.1.111), bringer of the good; bearer of meaning or value. Literally, it should mean one who leads to meaning, to the ultimate truth. The Buddha then is one who leads to the highest good, to the ultimate realities. He does so through his teaching, *desana*, which is *Dhammadesana*. Thus the discourse of the Buddha can be a metadiscourse, a metanarrative. One of the post-modern thinkers, Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984, xxiii-xxiv) explains post-modern and metadiscourse as:

> I will use the term *modern* to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse . . . making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth. Simplifying to the extreme, I define *postmodern* as incredulity towards metanarratives.

The Buddha's discourse on peace, the concern of the essay, could be considered a grand narrative. As seen in the preceding discussion the discourse of the Buddha was to bring into focus meaning, value in reference to the human context. It was to suggest the way the Buddha led others to peace and even indicated how all human beings could attain to the ultimate peace (*nibbana*). There seems to be an appeal for peace as a value in a world at war with its understanding of the other and its relationship with the other than oneself. It may be gainsaid that the Buddha was inclined to the kind of incredulity referred to by Jean-Francois Lyotard (MacQueen: 1995) about metanarrative, particularly peace.

The Buddha's language of peace

From India, the land of its origin, the message of the Buddha spread to different parts of the Eastern hemisphere and continues to do so in the West in our own days. It is, without doubt, a peaceful entry into different cultures. J.B.Pratt studied the peaceful spread of Buddhism and suggested insightfully that Buddhism is remarkable for its elasticity and adaptability:

> Buddhism has been emphatically a missionary religion. Its transplanting to new lands has been accomplished never through conquest or through migration but solely by the spread of ideas. Yet almost everywhere it has gone it has so completely adapted itself to the new people and the new land as to become practically a national religion (1928: 719).

Religions of Indian origin manifest similar dispositions of peace and non-violence. With David J. Kalupahana (1993: 115) it is rightly

helpful "... to examine the theoretical underpinnings or this enormously significant practical achievement" of Buddhism in its missionary pilgrimage to other parts of the world. Our author seeks the theoretical underpinnings of "the philosophical foundation of peaceful coexistence and critical tolerance".

At times the language of the Buddhist discourse on peaceful coexistence and critical tolerance may have a ring of negativity to it. The term for peace is *arana*. It is to be found in the *Aranavibhanga Sutta*, the "Discourse on the analysis of peace" (M.3.235). The term seems to suggest a negative nuance, namely, *arana* as non-conflict. Similarly, the attainment of complete liberation is known as *nibbana*, the cooling of desire, passion. The sense of conflict embodies a struggle within oneself as well as with others. One's views of reality, whether it is permanent or impermanent; whether eternalist or annihilationist, should they be absolutized may lead to conflict and cause disruption. The idea of non-violence is central to Buddhism. It is more a deep sense of respect for life. Should there be non-compliance with these principles, though expressed in some negative tone or nuance, by individuals or communities, the result may turn out to be an obstacle to people living in peace together, peaceful coexistence or critical tolerance.

In a more positive expression, Jayatillake has rightly pointed out that "[p]eace constitutes a central concept in Buddhism" (Dissanayake 1983: 8). So much so that the Buddha was regarded as the King of Peace (*santi-raya*). After his Awakening he began communicating his peace. His was a purposeful communication to initiate others in the way of peace and liberation that would lead to peaceful coexistence. The Buddha was concerned about communicating the ultimate meaning of reality. In the *Dhammapada* (Radhakrishnan 1984: 93) we have two valuable verses to highlight the communication of meaning to bring peace to the hearer:

> Better than a thousand utterances composed of meaningless words is one sensible word on hearing which one becomes peaceful (8:100).
> Better than a thousand verses composed of meaningless words is one word of a verse on hearing which one becomes peaceful (8:101).

Evidently the goal of one's communication is to bring peace to the other, the hearer. Then peaceful coexistence and harmony are distinct possibilities. This was the goal of the Buddha's discourse. It manifests the metanarrative character of the Buddha's teaching.

The initial reluctance of the Buddha to undertake a metadiscourse after his Awakening is quickly overcome by his decision to share his *dhamma* with the five ascetics. In the "Discourse on the setting in motion the wheel of righteousness" (*Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* - S.5) he advocated the Middle Path to attain the ultimate peace, liberation. The Middle Path is an explicit appeal to a grand narrative concerning the human quest. It is set in the context of the two extreme forms of individualistic behaviour of the self-indulgent materialist on the one hand and of the self-mortified, life-negating, ascetic on the other. The Buddha opines that the nature of their discourse is painful, not worthy of human beings and incapable

of achieving the ultimate liberating peace which is the yearning of the human heart. He advised those ascetics to avoid the extremes and follow the Middle Path which brings insight, knowledge, peace and full enlightenment.

The Search of the Buddha

The *dhamma* of the Buddha highlighted the deeper conflict of suffering in the world. His quest was to understand the tendency in humans to disrupt the peace of our nature – the inner harmony. Humans also manifest the inclination to cause disharmony in human relationships. There is a trend in the textbooks on Buddhism to advocate the idea that Siddhartha Gautama's renunciation of the world was because he saw four visions, namely, of a man feeble with old age; of another worn out by illness; of a corpse being carried to the funeral pyre; and a peaceful mendicant. The first three are portrayed as images of suffering and the last as an image of something sublime. However, in the early Pali texts (Hazra 1984: 34; Ambedkar 1974: I,14-16) present Siddhartha Gautama as opposed to war among the Sakyas and Koliyas over irrigation rights. His role as a peacemaker is seen more in averting the conflict. He was opposed to any war for thereby seeds are sown for other wars. The outcome of any war is that 'a slayer gets a slayer in his turn; the conquerer gets one who conquers him; a man who despoils is despoiled in his turn'. Such an opposition of the young Siddhartha was not acceptable to the minister of Siddhartha's father. Since the young Siddhartha would not relent his position, it was suggested that he goes into exile till the issue of irrigation rights is resolved by war to be waged on the Koliyas by the Sakyas.

Mara, the prince of evil, had tried in vain to entice the aspirant Siddhartha from his search for the cause of pain and suffering by tempting him with the offer of a great empire 'without conquering, without causing pain, devoted to justice' (S. 4, 20). The latter resolutely declined the offer in order to avoid causing any inadvertant aggression (Gensichen 1987: 80).

In the final days of the Buddha's life there is another incident which brings us face to face with the Master and his teaching on peace. King Ajatasattu of Magadha plans a military campaign against the neighbouring states of the Vajjians. The latter were a republican confederation. He asks the Buddha to predict the outcome of such a campaign. The Buddha points to the democratic ways among the Vajjians. So long as the Vajjians continue to hold their regular public meetings, take decisions in consensus, and respect their institutitions and traditions, they will not only survive but prosper. Such is the response of the Buddha. He enjoins the Buddhist Sangha to do likewise and prosper (Ling 1981: 144-150). It is incidents of this type that aid our understanding of the Buddha's path. It is the issue of war and peace that led him into exile. The exile became an occasion to search for an understanding of war and peace. It is the story of Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha's search for the metadiscourse on the cause of suffering and what might in fact guarantee peace among humans.

The Middle Path of Peace

In the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* the middle path is recommended to be followed in order to overcome the cause of suffering. The middle path declared by the Buddha in the first discourse is of universal significance. Here he lays bare the compulsions of the human spirit and suggests a way to overcome them. The way is the Middle Path which is eightfold. Often human conflict is due to the lack of knowledge about the true nature of reality. He points to a human tendency to regard things and states of becoming as permanent. They are in fact impermanent, subject to change. Human greed, anger, tension, conflict and violence lead to disharmony in relationships. They disturb peace within the human network of relationships. Such networks could be between nation-states too as he himself had been a witness to. The presence of such vitiated disharmony is the seedbed of wars, then and now. The antidote to such war mongering and harbouring of violence is to know the truth of reality. Right understanding deals with the fact that every state of mind and feeling is subject to change (*anicca*). It does not belong to any permanent self. Neither does the world we live in belong to us nor are we its masters, possessors [*anatta* is rightly understood as *na'ham* (not I); and *na mama* (not my)], however much we may desire it to be so. In short, right understanding awakens in humans an awareness of the nature of their self and the nature of their relationships.

The ethics of the Middle path, central to the Buddhist metadiscourse, prohibits acts of violence and retaliation. After having understood reality for what it truly is, humans are encouraged to entertain the right type of thoughts, namely, thoughts of benevolence and compassion worthy of them. In elucidating on moral action the Buddha laid down five precepts (*sikkapadas*). The first enjoins: "Do not kill a living being, You should not kill or condone killing by others, Having abandoned the use of violence you should not use force against either the strong or the feeble" (Saddhatissa 1970: 88). Even one's livelihood is to be attained only by honest means and never by harming others. An excellent analysis of non-conflict is provided in the *Aranavibhanga-sutta.* Non-conflict is paraphrased rightly as peace by Kalupahana (1993: 118).

Buddhist ethics of peace and non-violence has been brilliantly portrayed by Emperor Ashoka (273-232 BCE) in his rock edicts. Those edicts announced the state policy of Ashoka after he accepted Buddhism. He exhorted the citizens to live together in peace and harmony. A. L Basham (1974: 55) observes accurately that the humanitarian ethics of Buddhism was modified by Emperor Ashoka to 'gain the moral leadership of the whole civilized world'. In the reign of Ashoka was seen a new orientation for people of different religions and creeds to live together in peace. The notion of such an empire was the result of the understanding from the early Buddhist texts wherein the Buddha was regarded as the *Dhamma-raja*, the king of Dhamma; *Chattapatti,* the Emperor; and *Dhammarajassa-sasana,* the reign of the king of Dhamma.

Peaceful coexistence in the domain of the Emperor or elsewhere would be-

come a success story if only the four social emotions, the climax of the Buddha's teaching on harmony in society, were adopted by the citizens. They are *metta* (loving kindness), *karuna* (compassion), *mudita* (sympathetic joy), and *upekkha* (equanimity). The cultivation of these social emotions, known in Buddhism as *Brahmaviharas* (the sublime states of relationship), would enhance harmonious living. *Metta* is the friendly disposition of one's being toward everyone and everything. *Karuna* is the frame of mind that understands the condition in which others are, their suffering, and helps them to overcome suffering. *Mudita* is the participative joy. It is a reciprocal emotion. One shares in the joy of others and brings joy and happiness to others. *Upekkha* is the sense of equanimity. A well-integrated person has the ability to encounter with equipoise joy and sorrow, success and failure, triumph and failure. Thus the *Brahmaviharas* present us a paradigm for social harmony and peaceful living.

Peace, a Metanarrative in Buddhism

Buddhism as it spread through the sub-continent raised the discourse about the nature of humans and human predicaments to a universal level from the earlier ritualistic perspective of birth or caste-based stratification. The Hindu ethos in which Siddhartha Gautama was brought up had its areas of nonintelligibility. The inequality of humans, and the lack of fellowship could not stand the test of rational investigation. The latter was employed by Siddhartha Gautama to understand the social ethos of his day. By employing a criterion of verification about the manner of the birth of children, of the high or of the low, through the birth channel of a mother, the Buddha demythologized the Hindu notion that the Brahmins are born from the mouth of Brahman and so on. All humans are born the same way, with the exception of contemporary caesarian procedure.

The early Buddhists were convinced of the fact that the phenomenal personality was in a constant state of flux, and that there was no eternal soul in the individual. On the other hand the perfected being had reached *nibbana,* and nothing could be meaningfully predicated about him. The clear concept of the constitution of a person among the Buddhists is that he/she is essentially *nibbana*, ultimate peace. Besides early Buddhism understood that a person is also a *pudgala*, a psycho-physical entity (the five *skandhas*). When the psycho-physical personality is analyzed, the original *nibbana* is realized. 'Physical forms are like foam; sensations like bubbles; perceptions like mirage; mental constructs like the flimsy trunk of a banana tree; and consciousness like phantoms'. This view of the Buddha is eminently apophatic. De Smet has insightfully appreciated that "he (the Buddha) stands forever as a warning against any facile solidification of man according to the constructs of his desires and instintual drives. Only the ego belongs to the realm of naming, the true person cannot be reached by the modes of speech" (De Smet 1974: 64). The way to the realization of the ultimate nature of a person, namely, sublime peace, is the eightfold middle path,

particularly the five precepts (*pancasila*). They awaken in a person the meaning of life and instruct one to desist:

- from taking life;
- from speaking contrary to the truth;
- from the abuse of sexual relationship;
- from stealing the goods of others; and
- from using intoxicants.

Inspite of the precepts, humans can follow a path of extremes in the matter of each of them. Such a way of life can lead to disharmony in society and disrupt peaceful living. Life is an inviolable value in the teaching of the Buddha. Violence to life, in any form, human or otherwise, is a violation of peace. So is the violation of the other precepts. On account of the significance for peace of each of the precepts, Buddhism teaches us to uphold non-violence. Buddhism believes that there is a just moral order in the universe. Humans reap the way they sow. If they sow goodness they reap goodness, and if they sow evil they reap evil (S. I, 227). If they sow peace, they would only be true to their ultimate nature. Thus, they would uphold the just moral order in the universe to ensure peace and peaceful living (De Silva 1989: 39-40).

Conclusion

In this essay we explored the nature of the Buddhist discourse on peace. Our presupposition that the nature of the Buddhist discourse on peace is a metadiscourse or metanarrative has been investigated on the basis of the Buddhist canonical texts and the commentaries. Whenever an opportunity offered itself, the Teacher spoke what was appropriate for the occasion. The issue in hand was addressed to the very nature of human beings. The relentless search for the cause of suffering brought him the insight that the nature of human beings is sublime peace but we have lost sight of it in the following of various opinions and lifestyles, often drawn to their extremes. These block our vision of our true nature. We tend to lose sight of what we are and what we ought to be, namely, persons who are peace. The middle path is the way the Buddha taught all those who sought peace in this life.

The universalist dimension of Buddhist ethics in its psycho-noetical foundation is also ascertained to be non-sectarian. Its starting point is in the experience of human beings. All experience is understood to be rooted in the very nature of being. Such is the entelecheic perspective of the oriental ethics. The discourse of the Buddha is, thus, a teaching on the ultimate meaning of life and reality. The true test of the Buddha's teaching on peace was proved to be a fruitful state policy by Emperor Ashoka nearly two centuries after the Master.

We discussed the Buddha's discourse on peace as a grand narrative to bring into focus meaning, value in reference to the human context. In the sharing of his insight he led others to peace and even indicated how all human beings could attain to the ultimate peace (*nibbana*). There is an appeal for peace as a value in a world at war with its understanding of the other and its relationship with others, the entire universe. The Buddha ardently carried on a metadiscourse on peace after his enlightenment. His language of peace was

apophatic at times to bring home to us that we have to be humble before the mystery of the human person as well as his/her ultimate experience of peace.

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Peace: Islamic Perspectives

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Peace stands for a state of mind in tranquillity where one is free from all sorts of worry. We say a man is at peace when a kind of satisfaction exists in his mind, body and soul. An element of joy, happiness and fulfilment thrills his life. Peace is needed for his creative work. Peace is the purpose for which he exists. Peace is the law of nature where everything functions smoothly. Peace is a concept peculiar to man, for it is taken for granted elsewhere in the creation. Man is the only entity that disturbs peace, but man alone is the entity that is conscious of peace. Peace is an abstract subjective experience so far as individuals are concerned. It becomes an objective condition of life when collectively it is applied to society. If family members quarrel, peace is gone, creating a scene. If groups clash, peace is gone, causing social tension. If nations fight, peace is gone, resulting in destruction. Peace is central to all, a condition for any social good, whether it be for individuals, societies, states, nations or the world. When the question of peace is discussed in a Journal of Religious Studies, it is an inquiry into how peace is viewed in different religions; how is it attained; what has been the contribution of each religion to the establishment of peace, either at the individual, social, regional, national or global level; and where does Islam stand in respect of these queries. An answer to these questions would form the substance of this essay.

What is Islam?

It is good to know what Islam is for it may carry answers to most of our questions. Its very meaning is to be at perfect peace, to have done one's duty to the Master, to strive after righteousness, and to gain safety and salvation. The word is derived from the word *aslama* indicating the submission of Abraham and his son Isaac to the supreme test of the sacrifice of the son by his father. A Muslim is one who gives himself up entirely to God and believes that in obedience to God alone lies the way to peace, prosperity, happiness and salvation. Adam disobeyed, lost his peace, reverted to obedience, got peace. Islam is the youngest, simplest and most clear-cut of all great religions of the world. Its two revolutionary principles are the unity of God and the unity of man. Faith in the oneness of God would confer on believers equality, solidarity, brotherhood, freedom and peace. Islam

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says the ONE remains, the many change and pass; so get attached to the eternal. Here in the unity of God there is a change from heterogeneity to homogeneity, from diversity to unity, and from confusion to order. Islam demands loyalty only to God, and not to any intermediary. Since God is the ultimate basis of all spiritual life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. In such a situation one is bound to be at peace with oneself.

Islam says that God dwells in man. It is his conscience. When conscience is kindled with the torch of learning, he realises that he owes something to society. What he owes is indicated in the code of conduct prescribed in Islam. When he discharges this duty well, he is at peace with himself. From unity of God he moves to unity of man. The striking feature of Islam is equality and brotherhood. It attempts to level down the barriers of caste, colour and class, and takes a stand on the bedrock of humanity. This concept of the unity of man is of great social value that helps peace at all levels, from the individual to the global. It removes all distinctions in human society which disturb peace. History shows that humankind has suffered because of social discrimination, racial discrimination, the divine right of kings to do as they pleased, disregard of individual rights, economic exploitation, caste confrontations, wealth disparities and so on. Islam put an end to all such differences. There was to be no aristocracy, no oligarchy, no usury and no priesthood. The humblest of the humble and the lowest of the low could rise to the highest position. In Islamic history even slaves have become kings and queens, as is evident from the slave dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate. Bilal, the Abyssinian black, was the favourite companion of the Prophet. Even an emperor has to stand shoulder to shoulder with the commoner in a mosque. The Islamic concept of equality has surely contributed much to peace.

We are discussing here what every faith or religion possesses as that intrinsic worth which would be helpful to peace, and not whether votaries of that faith actually conform to their teachings or not. Followers of all religions have departed from their principles at some time or other, yet they stand for certain values and ideals. Buddhism stands for patience and righteousness, Jainism for truth and non-violence, Hinduism for humanism and tolerance, Christianity for love and service, and Islam for equality and brotherhood. There are basic, absolute values present in each of them which are more prominent than other moral values. Each religion has something special about it, for which it is well-known, besides a bundle of other values which become its moral code.

Judged from this standpoint, the Islamic creed, rooted in the unity of God and unity of man, sprouted into a robust tree of wide dimensions that was helpful for peace. In its doctrine regarding what should be the attitude of man towards the affairs of this would, it differed a little from other religions. To a Hindu this world is not significant at all, as man is tied up in a chain of births and deaths, and in every birth he has to improve until he attains salvation. To a Christian this world is significant but not

decisive, because his hope is on Jesus Christ to plead for his forgiveness. To a Muslim this world is both significant and decisive, but not final, for he believes in life after death where his salvation would depend entirely on his good deeds done in this life. The mediation between man and God is his righteousness. It is in moral behaviour that the human and the divine meet. If he is a sinner, Prophet Muhammad cannot plead for him. Every iota of good or bad that a man does here would be taken into account. Good deeds alone would help him to gain timeless salvation in the next world. In contrast to religious beliefs, to a Marxist this world is significant, decisive, final and all in all. Thus, to a Hindu this world is Maya, "a veil that religious insight pierces to the motionless truth beyond", but a Muslim is more pragmatic to say that this world is a reality, where what you sow you would reap in the next world. He is unlike a Christian who has implicit faith in Christ for redemption. He is totally against the Marxist who regards this world as the be-all and end-all. This approach of Islam is conducive to peace.

Again, in Christianity man's will is corrupted. Man is born in sin. In Islam intelligence comes before "will", and the will is not corrupted. In Christianity love is taken to the extreme. One has to offer the other cheek, if a blow is given on one cheek. Islam believes in justice and permits retaliation. It is noble to forgive but human to respond. Since justice is an attribute of God who has ordained accountability in the next world, man is permitted to so behave in this world, for without justice it is difficult to establish peace. Justice is to give every one what is due to him. Islam is the religion of the Absolute, as Christianity is the religion of love and miracles. Contemplation is basic to Christianity, whereas guidance of God is basic to Islam. The "will" to do good in Islam would depend on guidance from God. A Muslim surrenders totally to God and seeks equilibrium. In Christianity "will" controls man; a Christian need not wait for guidance from above to do his penance. If he is inclined to do it, he does it. In Islam "will" is subordinate to Supreme Guidance. The intellect in a Muslim is a gift of God. Not only life is a gift of God, wisdom too is a gift of God given to those whomsoever God likes. There is something higher than man's knowledge, skill, wisdom and understanding, and that is God's will. Muslim prayer to God is not to seek what man wants but to say His will may be accomplished in him, and that in His will is his peace.

In Christianity the fall of Adam and the incarnation of Jesus are events, but in Islam the fall of Adam is a necessary manifestation of evil, but evil cannot determine the true nature of man. Islam is not founded on miracles. Prophet Muhammad was just a man, as any one else. He did not bring any dead man to life or cure any leper to health. He had to run away to escape persecution, and had to fight wars when they attacked him even in a distant place. To a Muslim not sacrifices and sufferings and renunciations are helpful for salvation, which is possible only through righteousness. In Islam there are two types of actions; we must do certain things which are ordained by God, and we must not do certain other things

which are prohibited. We must not do wrong, for God never does wrong. We must act like Him, for He always does good, and we too must do good. This is because on the one hand we are like God, for He breathed in our soul and we exist, and on the other, we are very much opposed to or unlike Him, for we are tempted to do wrong. We disturb the peace He created in the universe. Man, therefore, is both Divine and devilish, saint and Satan. If he is good, he is better than an angel; if he is bad, he is worse than a devil.

World Scene To-day

This brings us to the question what is the position of peace to-day at the global level. Thank God the cold war has ended. We just missed the catastrophe of blowing up mother earth by the atom-bomb. Had the cold war gone to its logical limits, we would have witnessed a terrible bonfire. Nations talk of peace but prepare for war. The end of cold war was followed by the bloodbath in several places, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Chechenya and elsewhere. The Super Power which proudly declared its intention to set up a new world order is itself busily engaged in imposing its hegemony over others. The total budget of UNO which stands for world peace is not more than what the world spends in 40 minutes of a day on the production of lethal weapons. While discussing non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, big powers defy international opinion and conduct nuclear tests causing health hazards. On every issue there is a double standard. Nations would not wait for a day if Saddam invades Quwait. They ignore Israel when it refuses to vacate the occupied land for decades. The UNO is merely a debating forum which comes to life only when a Super Power desires to impose its will on others. Cut-throat economic competition, utter poverty in less developed countries, excess of wealth in developed countries, the desire to exploit the weak, population pressure, ignorance, inertia and superstition have caused great concern to world peace. Wherever we look we find that man is money-mad, power-mad, pleasure-mad and status-mad. He is sitting on the tip of a volcano which may burst at any time.

Home Front

If this is the international scenario, so far as peace is concerned, the home front is also not rosy. India, that was known for the gentleness of a mature mind and a unifying and pacifying love towards all to build up a peaceful and prosperous society, is not what it was before. Destructive forces are eating into her vitals, endangering peace. Acquisitiveness, fanaticism, hatred, jealousy, exploitation, corruption and intolerance are causing social tensions, economic imbalances, intellectual disparities and political unrest. Communal frenzy, caste confrontations, linguistic barriers and regional disputes are shattering the national fabric of solidarity making peace a victim. The system of values such as humanism, liberalism, secularism so assiduously built up over the ages are under attack for narrow considerations.

Islamic World

The Islamic world is all torn up into vast areas of confusion. Next only

to Christianity Islam is the largest religion in the world having more than a billion votaries in nearly 55 countries. The situation in most of these is far from peaceful. Daily blood-letting is done in Palestine. Iran and Iraq fought a war for a decade. The woes of Afghanistan are not yet over. The children of Iraq are still suffering owing to sanctions imposed in the wake of Sadam's folly. Democracy is a casualty in Pakistan where corruption, nepotism and inefficiency reached a level for the military to intervene. Bosnia and Chechenya witnessed immense loss of life owing to racial and political prejudices. Political unrest in Indonesia and Malaysia has hampered development activities. Muslims are characterized as terrorists owing to underground activities of a few like Isama Bin Laden. Communal tension and riots and issues like the Babari mosque demolition have made Indian Muslims restless. Their ignorance, inertia, poverty and superstition cause concern in the way of national integration. Muslims all over the world are at the receiving end of destiny's misfortunes, holding out a threat to peace.

Islamic Response

Does Islam has any answer to these challenges? Surely it has. It has faced such situations in the past. It can revive its experiences and offer solutions to the problems, if one is willing to learn what they are, and sincere enough to put them into practice. Islamic philosophy, Islamic mysticism, called Sufism, Islamic ethics, and Islamic political thought do contain remedies to the maladies.

Philosophy

Islamic philosophy recognizes three kinds of attempts to reconcile differences among mankind. One is by the scientist, the second by the humanist and the third by the intuitionist. The scientist helps through his practical experience in observing, experimenting, and generalizing phenomena; the humanist through his reason, logic, hypothesis and intellect advances theories in quest of truth and peace; and the intuitionists, who are sages, savants, saints and prophets, help humanity through their spiritual power. Islam in its heyday benefited mankind by the work of all these three groups. Islam gave first priority to learning. An inscription in Cordova reads, "the world is supported by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayer of the righteous, and the valour of the brave." To the Muslim thinkers, Aristotle was truth, Plato was truth, and the Quran was truth, but the truth must be one. Hence arose the necessity of harmonizing the three. When things are harmonized, friction disappears and peace reigns supreme. When desires, emotions and ideas are harmonised, cosmos results; when they are in disharmony, chaos is the result. Islamic philosophers laid great stress on harmony, which they held to be the key to peace.

Islam believes the first principle of human life is the unity of the person, just as the first principle of knowledge is the unity of truth. In Islam the individual is depersonalised, which operates in two ways. First, it reduces the people to types, to patterns and designs, which blunts interest in individual traits, and excites interest in general pattern. An

ideal Muslim was described as one who was Arab in faith, Iraqi in education, Hebrew in astuteness, Christian in conduct, Syrian in piety, Greek in sciences, Indian in intellect, and a Sufi in spiritual life. To think of an ideal, an individual was not cited, but an entire group of people, indicating the depersonization of an individual as an essential Islamic trait. It may say that individualism might lead to wisdom of the self which like a rat might undermine a house, only to leave before its fall.

The second way depersonalisation operates is in accepting the law of nature where nothing exists for its own sake, and everything is for something else. The mother is for the child, the father for the family, the leader for the nation, the teacher for the students and so on. Even a cow does not drink its own milk, but gives it for others. The candle burns itself but gives light to others. A tree does not deny shade even to a woodcutter. This principle taken to the logical limit would ensure peace in the world. Likewise everything in nature is internally designed to be something specific and not otherwise. From a mango seed, we get only a mango and not margosa; from the egg of a hen, we get only a chick, and not a duck. Man is supposed to be human, and not inhuman. Islam aims at world brotherhood through the collective good of the whole society.

In order to promote social solidarity it advocates congregational prayers, like Friday prayers, Idd prayers, and haj pilgrimage, which is compulsory to the affluent, when Muslims of both sexes from all over the world gather at one place in Mecca. Payment of a tax called *zakat* is an obligatory duty on all people. There is a lot of social good in such rituals that relate to unity of man. Sincere implementation of these principles will help establish peace.

Sufism

The mystical side of Islam is called Sufism which is a liberal trend having universal appeal. It is the purification of heart from baser temptations. Its purpose is to make one adhere to spiritual values and to give wise counsel to people faithfully to follow the truth. Sufism is a highly complex phenomenon which demands passionate love of God. It is a system of intense devotion; love is its passion; poetry, song and dance are its forms of worship; and passing away in God is its ideal. Its original source is the Quran and the life of the Prophet. Christianity and Neo-Platonism have contributed much to it. Hinduism and Buddhism supplied it a number of ideas. Imam Ghagali gave it a peculiar turn, and made it a workable system. It has greatly influenced Islamic literature, philosophy and religion. It has great potential to bring about religious harmony.

Sufis were seekers of piety. They neglected the externals of religion and attached great emphasis to the love of God, and their only concern was to be lost in God. They say that God makes you die to yourself so that you can be alive in God. They hold that if men wish to draw near to God, they must seek Him in the hearts of men. They carried their teachings to the lowest ranks of the

people. They said that if men fly in the air, they are flies; if they walk on water, they are a straw, but if they win the heart of someone, they are something. They rendered valuable service to man when he was crestfallen. Some of the questions that agitated their mind were the nature of the soul, the nature of knowledge, the nature of the universe, and the nature of human relationship. Their reflections on the realities of life help in the establishment of peace.

Islamic Ethics

Mysticism is not an area of the common man, and in Islamic history too it was developed at a later stage. What is primary in Islam is its ethics or the code of conduct which did much to build up a culture of its own. This ethics was based on three elements: certainty, equilibrium and righteousness, which are technically called *Imam*, *Islam* and *Ihsan*. Certainty relates to God, the Absolute Truth, which is *Iman*. The equilibrium relates to law or *shariah*, which is Islam as taught by Prophet Muhammad. *Ihsan* is the code of conduct or righteousness which is the key factor for redemption. A Muslim is expected to perform certain duties to set up a social order of world brotherhood. In other words, Islam offers a creed to believe, a code to follow, and a cause to serve. Righteousness or *Ihsan* is the practised side of religion which brings Islam close to the humanism of other creeds. Three sets of relations are envisaged in Islam, man and God, man and the universe, and man and man. Morality, said Plato, is harmony; morality, said Jesus, is love; morality, said Buddha, is patience; morality, said Muhammad, is the reflection of the Divine. In linking morality with spiritual power Islam has broadened the scope for peace. Islamic ethics fosters certain other virtues. One such is *murrawah* or hospitality, a special feature of the Arab world even prior to the rise of Islam. It became more pronounced after the rise of Islam which gave a high place to generosity and large-heartedness. Generosity was legalised as *zakat*, one of the five basic principles of Islam. Moral courage to do the right without fear or favour was yet another code of conduct. Three things were stressed in the Islamic system of education: honesty, archery and horse-riding.

Role Model

Islam was born in the full blaze of history, and Prophet Muhammad's life has become a role model. He is supposed to be a perfect man who is to be emulated by every Muslim. He presented a religion which had no theological complications, no mystical sacraments, and no hierarchy involving any apostolic succession. His aim was to bring about a world order based on love of God and love of man. He showed to humanity the potential man has to move towards his destiny, the celestial world of peace and joy beyond the flight of time and realm of death. With the aristocracy of intellect and the nobility of soul man can soar to the stage of superman.

In conclusion we may say that Islam has the potential to help establish peace in the world. Its basic principle of the unity of man is intended to create fellowship. Its stress on faith in the love of God could purify the heart of men to

live in peace. Its focus on intellect could help generate creative ideas to evolve a peaceful society. Its emphasis on righteousness and good deeds could bring about the needed ecology for peace. Its advocacy of moderation, balance, harmony and equilibrium could promote the required atmosphere for peace. Its social ethics of equality and brotherhood could remove poverty, hunger and ignorance in society. Its practical code of hospitality, honesty, unity, trust worthiness and solidarity could awaken a new consciousness for peace. The teachings of its Sufis could yet resist the temptation to disturb peace. In short, Islam could still play an important part in the establishment of peace in the world.

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Peace: A Psychological Perspective

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Introduction

In this article I wish to reflect on the concept of peace from the perspectives of a psychotherapist, one of whose main tasks is to help people with their *peace-process*. I use the expression peace-process to underline the point that peace actually is a life-long process one engages in. The central points of my discussion are as follows. Evolution is the master motion of existence in all spheres. Evolution is a holarchical (Koestler 1976) process (tending toward developmentally deeper, wider and more encompassing wholes, with each senior level transcending but including its juniors). The very evolutionary process is sustained, maintained and carried forward through a constructive tension between four basic principles ¾ self-preservation and dying to self, on the one hand, and self-transcendence and self-dissolution, on the other. Evolutionary resolution of these tensions allows holarchically evolving definitions of self, structures and ways of knowing, ways of ethical and moral choosing, and systems of meanings, values and world-views to emerge. In the absence of the summons of larger meanings, wider perspectives, developmentally better ways knowing, developmentally superior moral perspectives, developmentally deeper and more encompassing world-views, the evolutionary tensions can become enduring and destructive conflicts. These conflicts can lead to violence of all kinds, and violence can lead to actual or virtual bloodshed. Peace, in one sense, is the absence of conflicts, violence and bloodshed and *not* the absence of tension, which is the energy of evolution. Peace, in another sense, is the relatively stable state of harmony and well-being resulting from temporary resolutions of the temporary conflicts caused by the perpetual tension of evolution. Peace is described as relatively stable because peace coming from a given developmental resolution is upset soon enough by the next summons of the evolutionary master motion. It is evolution and development that we need to seek, and peace, understood as relative wholeness, harmony and well-being, will follow.

The Peace-process

The infant in the womb, probably, experiences a state of peace resembling what is attributed to paradise. Suspended effortlessly in a completely

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"cabin-controlled" environment practically devoid of conflict and violence, the infant needs, so to say, a convincing larger meaning and a compelling larger perspective to begin "hearing" the summons of the master motion of evolution and venture outside its "culture of embeddedness" (Kegan 1982: 3). After the eternal-seeming but temporary tension and struggle through the birth-canal, the infant eventually resolves the temporary conflict (to hold on or let go) and settles down in the relative peace and well-being of its symbiotic union with the mothering or care-giving culture. The conflict and struggle "look" and "feel" worthwhile from the perspective of the larger meaning of immersion into the outside world and the beginning of a separate existence and self-sense. The symbiotic culture of embeddedness and the relative peace and well-being have soon to be surrendered in favour of the master motion of evolution toward other developmentally higher stages (from body-self through emotional self, mental self, role-rule self, interpersonal self, institutional self, inter-individual self to transpersonal-spiritual self[1]) of unfolding. This seems to be an ongoing process, which may well continue beyond the ultimate tension and struggle, at the time of death, to release one's embeddedness in the current existence itself in response to a summons one does not really understand. The following seems to be the peace-process. One experiences relative peace being embedded in a current state of being. That relative peace and well-being is upset by the summons to go beyond. There then, begins a new tension and a fresh struggle between the *wanting* (experienced desire) to hold on and the *needing* (intuited necessity) to let go. A temporary resolution of the tension and struggle is achieved in the emergence of a deeper, wider and more encompassing new state of being bringing with it a sense of harmony, well-being and peace. That is followed by a new summons, a new tension, a new struggle, and a new conflict as to whether to hold on to the given or to let go of it in favour of something deeper, wider and more encompassing. And the process goes on and on.

The Master Motion of Existence

Everything in the universe, everything from the simplest known particle of matter to the most complex of conceivable life forms, is simultaneously a *whole* in its own right and a mere *part* of something larger, wider, more encompassing and more whole. To understand the whole we need to understand the parts, and to understand the parts we need to understand the whole. That is the hermeneutic circle of understanding (Wilber 1997: 1). It is within this hermeneutic circle that the master motion of existence can be better understood. The relative wholeness and the simultaneous partness of everything that exists, we could say, is held together by the dialectical tension between four basic principles (1995): *agency, communion, transcendence and dissolution.*

Agency refers to the relative autonomy of a unit of existence, its tendency towards and ability for self-definition, self-preservation, self-assertion, and self-enhancement. Communion refers to the partness aspect of a unit of

existence, which makes it disposed to and capable of responding to the well-being of the larger whole of which it is a mere part. Communion also refers to the ability to accommodate, adjust, surrender, and even die to itself in favour of the larger whole. Existence is made possible and health (and relative peace) is maintained through a constructive tension between these principles of agency and communion. Even as I am writing these lines, the old cells in my body are dying so that new ones can be formed, subatomic particles forming atoms which in turn form molecules to constitute cells too undergo similar tension between agency and communion, self-preservation and dying to self, and relative wholeness and partness.

If this constructive balance is tripped, I can have an unproductive conflict resulting in either pseudo-self-sufficiency and morbid self-preservation ("cancer" for short), or pseudo-communion and purposeless self-annihilation ("suicide", in other words).

Another pair of principles in tension, which is responsible for maintaining and sustaining units of existence, is transcendence and dissolution. Transcendence is that propensity observed in all open systems, animate or inanimate, to let emerge developmentally superior, more complex and more encompassing structures and forms. Atoms let emerge molecules, molecules let emerge cells, cells let emerge organelles, organelles let emerge organs, organs let emerge organisms, and so on. Or, as in the case of human structures of cognition, sensations let emerge perceptions, perceptions let emerge images, images let emerge symbols, symbols let emerge concepts, concepts let emerge abstractions and networks of concepts, and so on until structures of consciousness capable of direct un-mediated apprehension emerge. Dissolution refers to the propensity for vertical breakdown along essentially the same path through which transcendence travels. For instance, when a human being dies, the animate body becomes inanimate and breaks down to molecules and atoms.

Agency and communion, on the one hand, and transcendence and dissolution, on the other, operating in dialectical tension, maintain both the wholeness-partness balance of units of existence and the master motion of evolution. Existence is possible because of this tension. Evolution is possible because of this tension. Tension is an essential aspect of existence. When tension goes out of balance, conflict, violence and destruction follow. This can happen either through *over-agency* (cancerous self-preservation and self-assertion) or through *over-communion* (mindless and purposeless submissiveness and accommodation), or through *over-transcendence* (repressive transcendence without taking along what is transcended) or *over-dissolution* (killing oneself instead of dying to oneself)

Integral theorists like Wilber point out that this master motion and the underlying dialectical tension are operative in all spheres of existence: the physical world, the psychic (or mental) world, the cultural sphere and the social sphere. In the physical sphere we can trace evolution from atom through molecule, organelle, and neural chord

to neo-cortex in the humans. In the psychic world, we can trace, for example, the evolution of cognitive structures from sensations and perceptions through images, symbols, concepts and networked perceptions to direct and unmediated apprehension of reality reportedly accessible to mystics and sages. In the cultural sphere, for instance, we can trace evolution from archaic-instinctual, through magical, mythical and rational to transrational world-views (Gebser 1985). In the social sphere, in similar ways, we can trace evolution from hunting and foraging, through horticultural, agrarian and industrial to informational eras (Lenski, Nolan and Lenski 1995).

The Master Dynamics of Evolution

Developmentally superior units of existence with their relative wholeness and simultaneous partness aspects emerge and emerge holarchically. The holarchical emergence results in increasing complexity, structural richness and depth. The increasing complexity and depth seem to constitute the directionality or teleology of the evolutionary movement. The emergence of the developmentally superior units from their prior units appears to be through a three-fold process: *identification, differentiation and integration* (Wilber 1995).

Let us try to understand in some depth and detail this three-fold process since it has implication for our discussion of peace. We begin with the human infant we talked about a while ago. The intrauterine paradise in which the infant finds herself is her primary culture or context or school. Kegan (1982) calls this culture the "culture of embeddedness". It is absolutely essential that the infant be firmly, securely and comfortably identified with her culture of embeddedness. A failure in that embeddedness will make it difficult for the child to respond to the summons of the evolutionary momentum to let go of and die to the given developmental space in favour of the necessary emergence to more complex, wider and deeper forms of existence outside the womb. On the other hand, the infant has to *heed to* the evolutionary summons and begin the troublesome, burdensome, and painful process of differentiating itself from the secure and firm immersion in its current culture of embeddedness.

The relative wholeness of the infant bathing itself in the comfort and security of the intrauterine paradise has to, now, "encounter" its essential partness. It cannot keep indefinitely "*translating*" (Wilber 1985) (self-preservation and self-enhancement of a given developmental gain without self-transformation) itself in its current state of evolution using all its agentic powers of self-definition, self-assertion and self-enhancement. It has to heed to the call of transcendence and transformation. It has to start its journey outside the intrauterine comfort and security. It has to undertake that hazardous journey toward the outside world, toward another form of existence. The world-renowned psychologist, Grof (1985, 1988) has accumulated an enormous quantity of immensely suggestive evidence to show how this primary journey through the birth-canal is full of promises and perils and capable of leaving permanent *psychophysical grooves*

¾ basic perinatal matrices ¾ using which the individuals tend to navigate through other existential crises of the future.)

While identification or wholesome embeddedness is a "must" and differentiating in favour of the larger motion of evolution is a necessity, transcending without denying or repressing what is transcended is equally vital. When the infant moves farther along the evolutionary path, it can dissociate itself from and leave behind (through repression) what is transcended. The initially achieved separate "body-self" can repress its cosmic rootedness. The mental self can repress the body along with the sexual-aggressive emotional realm. The "rule-role" or "membership self" can repress its own needs and interests in favour of conformity and approval. The autonomous self can repress its interpersonal realm, and the transpersonal "spiritual" self can repress its individuality and personhood in favour of a "pseudo-self realisation".

Over-embeddedness, *over-differentiation* (which is dissociation), and *over-transcendence* that fail to take along and include what is transcended, can all sow the seeds of conflict, violence and psychopathology. Meaningless *translation* without qualitative transformation in any given state of unfolding, physical, psychic, cultural or social, will eventually break down under its own weight. Mindless repression, in a similar way, cannot be maintained indefinitely. The alienated and repressed aspects or units (body, emotions) and sections (culture, society) that are denied their legitimate existence and rights (to identify with and be embedded in their relative wholeness and well-being) are bound to engage in their own overt or covert "civil wars" disrupting and even sabotaging the hard-won developmental gains. Repressed body, repressed sexual-aggressive energies, repressed ecology, repressed sections of society, repressed aspirations and longing of people are bound to hit back with a vengeance even under the threat of total destruction of both the parts and even the whole. Peace being an ongoing process is dynamically linked with the master motion of evolution. Peace is dynamically linked with healthy identification, timely differentiation and wholesome transformation (transcending and including).

The Paradoxes of Evolution

Paradoxically the forward movement of evolution contains within it the propensity for dissolution and vertical breakdown. Every evolutionary achievement brings with it new and more complex problems and perils demanding more complex and diligent solutions. For instance, mental self brought with it the capacity for self-reflection, self-discipline, abstract thinking and, above all, the region of infinite possibilities. Along with these came also the possibility of denial, repression, and falsehood. Industrial revolution ushered in wealth, comfort and productivity and also alienation of labourer from his labour and more effective means of repression. The gift of modernity (enlightenment) (Wilber 1997: 58-67) was that it helped to differentiate the realms of art, science and morals from the tyrannies of each other. Unfortunately, the

differentiation turned out to be downright dissociation paving the way for repressive scientism (denying validity and legitimacy to modes of being and knowing that do not conform to the methods of physical sciences). Revolution in information and communication technology has ushered in hitherto unimaginable possibilities of communication, networking, planning and management along with the pernicious implications of globalisation, economic cannibalism, and neo-colonialism. Yet evolution is the master motion of existence. Existential dialectical tension, temporary conflict and temporary violence are the price we have to pay for being on the right side of this master motion of existence. When we opt for deeper and more encompassing forms of existence, we are accepting more complex and more difficult challenges and a more demanding peace making (not mere peace loving) process.

Reality and Ways of Knowing

Personal meanings of events, situations, persons and "reality" are, to an extent, personal constructions – an insight substantiated through empirical studies by Object Relations psychologists M. Mahler, F. Pine, and A. Bergman, 1975. These personal constructions are very much shaped by ways of being, knowing and meaning making. Developmental psychology has amply demonstrated how cognitive structures (J. Piaget 1977) or "*ways of knowing*" (Kegan 1999) evolve like every other aspect of consciousness and how constructions of reality differ, depending on the mode of being and knowing or the "order of consciousness". Our instinctual and intuitive knowledge that the constructed sense of self, the other and the world differ not only from person to person but also, within the same person, from one developmental stage to another has been empirically demonstrated by Piaget and elaborated upon by other researchers (Kegan 1982). This evolution can be described, in non-technical terms, as follows.

Initially reality is fused with me. I don't, or I am not able to, distinguish the inside-of-me from the outside-of-me. I can only have fleeting images of objects and events outside and sensations inside. I don't yet *know* me as separate from the world and the world of others. I am embedded in or identified with movements and sensations.

The next mode of knowing is characterised by my ability for *single point, immediate, atomistic perceptions* (Kegan 1999: 30-31). I am able to know that objects exist independent of my sensing them, though I am not yet able to distinguish my own perception of an object from the properties of an object (the volume of water actually *does* increase or decrease according to the shape of the container). I can distinguish that persons exist separate from me though I cannot yet recognize that other persons have meanings and purposes independent of me. Neither am I capable of taking their point of view as distinct from my own (and I fly into a rage when my needs are not met how I want, when I want and where I want). I can distinguish my inner sensations from stimulations from outside but I am not yet able to distinguish myself from my own im-

pulses. I am my impulses. I am embedded in them.

Later, I acquire the ability, as my mental self and language develop, to know that I am different from the world around me. I recognize that my perceptions and images of reality are not quite the same as the reality outside, and that objects have properties irrespective of my perceptions of them (the volume of water *does not* actually increase or decrease according to the shape of the container). With this ability I am able to construct durable categories or classes into which I can place concrete objects (my Fido is a dog like my neighbour's Castro), though I do not yet have the ability to reason abstractly, think in "as if" and "what if" modes, and discern overall patterns and construct ideals. I am able to construct my own point of view and grant to others their own point of view, take the role of another person, manipulate others to meet my goals, and make deals, plans and strategies. But, I am not yet able to take my own point of view and another's simultaneously and construct obligations and expectations to meaningfully maintain mutual interpersonal relationships. From this mode of knowing, I am able to construct enduring dispositions, needs and goals, delay immediate gratification, and identify enduring qualities of self, according to social or behavioural manifestations (" fast runner", "dislike cabbage", "late riser"), but not according to inner psychological manifestations (" I feel conflicted", "I have low self-esteem"). Neither do I have the ability yet to internally coordinate more than one perspective or need system (I want a new bicycle and my parents are struggling to make both ends meet). This is *categorical* (Kegan 1999: 30-31) mode of knowing.

The next major step in my evolution is the *cross-categorical* (Kegan 1999: 30-31) mode of knowing. The developmental feat here is that I can not only recognize durable categories and classes but also hold categories and classes together and abstract cross-categorical and trans-categorical perspectives, considerations, values and principles. From this mode of knowing, I not only recognize that there are roles and rules to heed to but also become conscious of my relationship with them. I become conscious of the fact that I am a durable self with my own needs, interests and preferences, others are durable selves with their own needs, interests and preferences and that the two are related in terms of reciprocity, mutuality, relationship, trust, fidelity and accountability. I am also able to think, from this mode of knowing, in "what if" modes and construct what might happen if trust is betrayed, reciprocity negated, relationship strained and accountability destroyed. I am also able to think in "as if" categories and construct possibilities, ideals and values.

The *system/complex* (Kegan 1999: 30-31) mode of knowing, which is capable not only of cross-categorical perspectives and considerations but also of constructing abstract systems, is the next mode to emerge. I am capable of networking several cross-categorical perspectives (going beyond mere reciprocity, exchange, and deal) and considerations (Being an Indian *taking along*

being a Christian by faith, Hindu by culture, Tamilian by language, secular by conviction, and so on). Only from such a mode of knowing or "order of consciousness", can I recognize, relate to and become conscious of abstractions like ideology, social order, civic responsibility, social justice, gender equality, accountability to posterity, ecological sensitivity, secularism, pluralism, and the like.

An even more evolved, a more developmentally refined, a wider and deeper mode of knowing or order of consciousness is *trans-system* or *trans-complex* (Kegan 1999: 30-31) order of knowing. Only from this mode of knowing can I extend cross-categorical perspectives and considerations of trust, fidelity, sensitivity, respect, mutuality, justice, fairness and similar considerations to include myself and the other, my group and the other groups, my nationality and the other nationalities, my species and the other species of life, life forms and material forms, the earth and the cosmos. From this mode of knowing, contradictions may become paradoxes, opposites may become polarities, and conflicts may become dialectic tensions. Individuals may become inter-individuals and systems may become an interpenetrating System. The subject-object differentiation, and time and space may once again become (qualitatively different from the pre-differentiated original state) more of modes of knowing rather than statements of truth. Matter and spirit may become more of differences in shades of manifestation and "probabilities of occurrence" than fixed objects of categorical knowing. Love and compassion may become more of states of being rather than acts of virtue.

The neatness of the stages, the cross-cultural generalisability of the specifics of the stages, and the necessity of the sequences proposed by these evolutionary studies may be contested. What is important for our discussion is that the mode of knowing or the order of consciousness is found (by both the investigations of developmental psychology and the intuitive-empirical findings of perennial philosophy through communal verification and consensual validation) to undergo holarchic stage-like unfolding from simplicity of fusion through increasing complexity and depth toward differentiated and transcended simplicity of integration.

The human evolution and unfolding is a complex process. As the self navigates through the successive phases of unfolding, the sense of self (Loevinger 1976), the view of reality (Gebser 1985), modes of knowing and meaning-making, self-needs (Maslow 1971) and moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1981), to mention a few of the dominant streams, unfold holarchically. The "identification-differentiation-transcendence" master dynamic of this unfolding draws its primary energy from the inherent dialectical tension between the wholeness and partness aspects of each successive stage of unfolding. Each emerging stage or state brings with it not only greater depth and wider embrace but also newer tensions and deeper conflicts. They may be successfully resolved toward transcendence or unsuccessfully handled resulting in stagnation, developmental arrest, or even ver-

tical breakdown. A common theme that underlies the unfolding in the diverse streams is that of the self or self-system (individually and collectively) moving from self-centredness to group centredness to world-centredness and beyond to a larger centredness which may be described as "Spirit-centredness". This holarchic unfolding of the order of consciousness in the individual psyche might very well be reflected in the collective unfolding of human consciousness from the dawn of humanity to our post modern times.

Intra-individual Peace Process

It is within the constructive developmental framework I have briefly discussed above that I wish to examine some of the major challenges to our peace or peace-process. Events, situations, persons and things in our world find access to our consciousness through our perceptual channels both intuitive and sense-based. This perceptual data is processed within our consciousness through a highly personal, complex meaning-making or meaning-constructing process. The complexity of this process can be imagined if we keep in mind that our meaning construction takes place in that inner space influenced and often determined by our self-sense, our cognitive mould, our mode of knowing, our moral reasoning, our world-view and our self-needs, in addition to numerous other streams in our self-system at their own specific stage of unfolding. On the basis of the meanings that we keep constructing, we form beliefs and opinions about ourselves, others and the reality around us. Some of these beliefs are prized above the others and they become values, directing our further perceptions, meaning making, choices, attitudes and behaviours. From some of these prized beliefs we call values, come our culture.

One major source of conflict is the discrepancy between these prized values with their concomitant injunctions and prohibitions, on the one hand, and the developmental adequacy of our self-sense, our mode of knowing, our self-need, our world-view, and our moral reasoning ability. When the demands are "in over our heads"(Kegan 1999), we become conflicted and stressed. This is where Freud was partially right when he maintained that human existence is conflictual and that the healthiest mode of functioning can only reduce the paralysing effect (anxiety) of this conflictual state. Jung emphasized the need for the persona (constructed largely in response to the culture's demands) and the shadow (un-examined and un-illumined truths about oneself including truths about where one is in the evolutionary journey with regard to the different streams of unfolding) to openly confront and honestly collaborate so that the individual moves in the direction of inner peace and harmony. Erikson (1950, 1959) identified some major psychosocial conflicts between developmental demands coupled with culture's expectations on the one hand and the developmental reality of the evolving self-sense, world-view, modes of knowing, self-needs and moral reasoning) individual, on the other.

The culture's demands (through expectations, values, superego, psychosocial tasks, ideals) are the summons of

the master motion of evolution and transcendence only if they can be received and responded to within the given evolutionary level of the individuals with regards to the different developmental streams of the self-system. But if the culture and the superego fail to affirm the given developmental balance and only engage in developmental challenges beyond the capacity of the individual's self-sense, mode of knowing, world-view, moral reasoning and self-sense, several things can go wrong. The healthy tension between the wholeness and partness aspects of the self-system becomes unproductively conflictual and the individual may resort to defensive ceasefires, tactical retreats or even blatant breakdown. When a challenge becomes a threat, when a stimulant becomes an irritant, when a summons becomes an ultimatum, the existential dialectical tension between agency and communion, and between transcendence and dissolution become an unproductive conflict. We can, then, only expect defiant resistance (over-agency), inconsequential ceasefire (over-translation), and shameful surrender (over-communion) or, in some cases, suicidal encounters leading to self-destruction (vertical breakdown). Neither over-agency, nor over-translation, nor over-communion, nor vertical breakdown is at the service of the master motion of evolution. The apparent peace and well-being brought about through these is pseudo-peace and contain within them the seeds of eventual conflict and violence.

What makes things even more difficult for the self-system navigating through the rough waters of the evolutionary unfolding is the fact that the multiple streams (self-sense, emotions, cognitive structures and modes of knowing, world-views, moral reasoning, self-needs, and so on) of consciousness may each follow their own developmental schedule and these may not keep pace with one another. Cognitive development may leap ahead while emotional development may lag behind with disastrous interpersonal implications. Moral reasoning may lag behind cognitive development resulting in masterly tailored self-seeking and narcissistic grandiosity ("what feels right, good and convenient for me is the right thing"). The world-view may lag horribly behind my cognitive development resulting in an inability to relate to perspectives, interests, ideals and values beyond that of my group (ethnic, religious or racial). My conformist self-sense may sabotage my intellectual pursuits resulting in intellectual dishonesty and blind loyalties. My inadequately addressed self-needs might interfere with the evolution of my moral reasoning compelling me to operate within preconventional moral stance, which can justify dishonesty and corruption.

Inter-individual Peace Process

I come to the group with my developmental history of achievements, failures, accidents and lesions. I interact with the others in the group from my self-sense, my self-needs, my world-view, my moral reasoning, my cognitive structures and mode of knowing. Others do so from theirs. These can cause both constructive tensions as well as disruptive conflicts. Scott Peck (1987: 86-106) identified the following

as stages through which a group goes in its becoming a true community. Initially the group is likely to embrace what he calls the stances of a pseudo-community which engages in inane generalities, clichés and platitudes to make itself, on the one hand, believe that it is a community of people and, on the other, to deny the differences and their potential for both constructive tensions and destructive conflicts. From a Jungian perspective, the members will be busy building, polishing and displaying their personae and hiding their shadows.

The second stage, according to Scott Peck, which the group enters into, is one of chaos characterised by pain, guilt and anger as differences, tensions and conflicts come right out into the open. When self-sense, modes of knowing, world-views, moral stances and self-needs come face to face with each other, either constructive tension facilitating transformation and transcendence or destructive conflicts and breakdown can occur. Often the temptation of the group is to enter into ceasefires and creep back to pseudo-community. On the other hand, if the group is willing to ride out the confusion, chaos, pain and anger it is likely to enter into the next phase of community making, namely emptiness.

Emptiness is characterized by the recognition by the members of their partness and communion aspect and their propensity to let go of and die to self in favour of the whole, i.e., the community. When members are willing to empty themselves of their over-agentic need to convert and fix one another, and their over-communion needs to accommodate and acquiesce, they enter into open confrontation and honest collaboration with the differences and tensions of growing up, evolving, transforming, and transcending.

After having gone through the phase of emptiness, the group begins to function more as a group where differences are respected, where disagreement and tensions are seen as growth promoting, where each person's developmental phase is both affirmed in its integrity and challenged in terms of developmental validity. Then, translation gives way to transformation. In a genuine community, peace is achieved not through ceasefire and accommodation but through constructive tensions and temporary conflicts (of differentiation) challenging the superficial translation of the pseudo-community. In a true community, there is willingness to endure the pain of chaos as differences are recognized and allowed to surface, and genuine strength of character and depth necessary for self-awareness and for emptiness.

A group, which has reached a certain level of community living and peace making, is in danger of slipping into pseudo-community if it does not guard itself against stagnation and translation. Evolution is holarchical, teleological and transformative but the seeds of dissolution are always there lying dormant.

Inter-group Peace-proeess

The stages and processes discussed above can be observed even in larger groups. Let us for instance look at our nation. When it emerged from the clutches of the British colonial power,

it emerged as a nation of little "nations". Under the influence of the then charismatic leaders we became a democratic republic and a nation with its own Constitution, government and a post-independence euphoria. Many differences, many identities, many loyalties, many ethnic affiliations, and caste boundaries were submerged or even suppressed with good intention in order to form a nation. We became a "*pseudo*-nation", in some sense, and began feeding ourselves with clichés, platitudes and generalities like "*Bharat Mata*" and "*Vande Mataram*", and "the largest democracy in the world".

It did not take us very long to begin experiencing the pain of *chaos*. We began with it right at the moment of the partition. Today, more than ever, we experience the emergence of submerged, benignly "suppressed" and inadvertently "repressed" differences of caste, creed, language, and culture. Old clichés, platitudes and generalities are not able to sustain the translation of this "pseudo"-unity. Even new ones like "*Hindutva*" and "*Ramarajya*" do not seem to do the job. Differences, tensions, conflicts and a certain degree of violence are coming right out into the open. Even coalition politics affirming regional and linguistic identities and aspirations seems to have come to the national scene to stay. Conflicts between our proclaimed ideals of "equality, fraternity and liberty" and the lived reality of blatant inequalities, abject poverty, caste violence, cruelty toward women and minority groups are clearly manifest. Conflicts between our lofty cultural and spiritual heritage and the newly emerging religious fundamentalism, intolerance and magical-mythical rituals and practices are becoming embarrassingly pronounced.

These conflicts and strife bring with them pain, guilt and anger. There seems to be a dual[2] longing in all of us. On the one hand, we would like a strong party, a strong government, or a strong force of some kind to emerge on the scene and ensure peace, harmony and unity. We wish to get back to a *pseudo-community* by ignoring, suppressing and repressing the differences and contradictions. On the other hand, we recognize that the pseudo-unity and the bathing in the glory of the past have to go, and we need to squarely face the truth of our differences, inequalities, and contradictions. We intuitively perceive the need to go to the phase of *emptiness* and face the differences, confront the conflicts, and encounter the truth. We realize that it is a difficult, complex and precarious process for more reasons than one.

Just as individuals have their gravitational centre of developmental unfolding (the overall evolutionary balance), a group has its own centre of gravity. The gravitational centre of the group is made up of the shared gravitational centres of the individuality and interiority of its members and expresses itself in its world-view (the shared view of the reality) consisting of perceptual moulds and meaning making patterns, systems of images and symbols, cognitive sets and conceptual categories, and myths and rituals. Like the various streams of individual consciousness, the world-view of the group too unfolds, responding to the master motion of evolution,

following the master dynamics of identification, differentiation and transcendence, experiencing the dialectical tension between agency and communion, translation and transformation, and transcendence and dissolution.

Different scholars have given different names to earmark these eras in the evolutionary journey of the group. What is common in their delineations is the observation that the world-view seems to evolve roughly along the following lines. It begins with an undifferentiated or predifferentiated subject-object and inside-outside fusion ("being-in-the-world" of the early human experience). Then there is the stage of narcissistic self-definition, ego-centric and inadequately differentiated interpretation of the world, single-point and categorical mode of knowing, and hedonistic preconventional moral reasoning (with strong elements of animism and magic). That is followed by a stage of group-based self-definition, ethnocentric relationship with the world, cross categorical mode of knowing, and conventional or conformity based moral reasoning (with strong flavours of left-over magic and the mythic). It may, then, be followed by a phase of rational-individual self-definition, objective-scientific interpretation of the world, cross-categorical and system mode of knowing, and post conventional universal ethical moral reasoning (autonomous self-contained ego and personhood, society and human rights). A stage of body-mind unified inter-individual self-identify, networked systemic understanding of reality, inter-system mode of knowing, and ethical-spiritual moral reasoning (hope of post-modern philosophy, science and spirituality) may be the next to emerge. A transpersonal self-definition, trans-rational view of reality, trans-system mode of knowing and universal spiritual moral reasoning (the world of mystics and sages of all times) would mark the farthest ends of cultural evolution.

Differentiation (self-definition, self-preservation and self-assertion), is a messy, painful, and to some extent violent business. (The country's process of differentiation from the slumber of colonialism is a good example of the complexity of differentiation in the life of a larger group). Differentiation is messy, painful and violent for a variety of reasons:

- The average consciousness or the centre of gravity of consciousness of a given culture or subculture is reflected in its meaning system, value systems, symbols, rituals and myths. The unfolding of individual consciousness takes place within the context of one's culture and language which in turn is determined to a large extent by the social structures supporting and maintaining the culture, educational system, world-views, meaning and value systems, rituals and myths.
- The differentiating groups have to, first of all, free themselves from the weight of their own fruitless translation institutionalised by their culture and world-view and, very often, imprisoned by the larger socio-economic and political structures.
- The group has to deal with the mindless repression of the "more devel-

oped" (but who may not have gone beyond the ethnocentric, conformist, socio-centric self-definition and moral reasoning) units of the society who have at their disposal modernized means of repression and destruction.

- The differentiation can become over-agentic and mindless of the larger whole and commit temporary or "permanent" blunders resulting in cancerous over-agency perpetrating violence and hatred and set the stage for possible vertical breakdown and dissolution of both the parts and the whole.
- The process of the essential differentiation project can fall into the hands of a leadership that can hijack the process for downright narcissistic purposes or pathological hidden agendas. Then, the mode of knowing, the view of reality and moral reasoning may all operate from the lower ends of the spectrum of development.
- When differentiation and integration in one line of development is not accompanied by proportionate differentiation and integration in other lines, the overall evolutionary balance can be lost.
- Differentiation and transcendence, if not done in a "transcending and including" manner and in favour of the master motion of ongoing evolutions, may result in a scenario that is far from enviable. A differentiating and transcending minority group has to deal with the resulting further tension as to which is the larger relative whole in favour of which its new-found relative wholeness should eventually be released.
- Before the newfound relative wholeness can be surrendered and released in favour of the larger relative whole, it should have the opportunity for robust embedding and identification and adequate time for healthy translation.

Conclusion

If evolution is the master motion of existence, if identification, differentiation and transcendence (and integration) is the master dynamic, and if the dialectical tension between the relative wholeness aspect and the essential partness aspect of units of existence is the master fuel of evolution, tension is an essential aspect of life. Temporary conflicts and even occasional violence is bound to happen. The peace we seek should be a peace at the service of evolutionary transformation and not counter-evolutionary *translation*. The peace we seek should be a peace not at the service of pathological hierarchy indulging in mindless repression coercing accommodation and acquiescence from those repressed and oppressed. The peace we seek should be a peace capable of affirming the integrity and relative wholeness of temporary identification, embeddedness and translation of a given evolutionary balance, on the one hand, and challenging the developmental validity of this balance toward the recognition of its essential partness in relation to the larger whole on the other.

Despite the complexity involved and the hazards referred to above, evolution must continue, differentiation must take place. Tensions will continuously arise and conflicts and even violence are bound to be there. The difficult but important question is how the catalysts as well as the participants of this evolutionary motion can ensure that the differentiation is toward transcendence. How can we ensure that it is as integral (transformation of consciousness and its various streams, transformation of culture and its world-view, and the transformation of social structures) as possible, and that the relative wholeness of the desired phase is understood along with its partness in view of the larger wholes ahead?

With or without our cooperation the master motion of evolution will continue with its concomitant potential for regression and breakdown. It is up to us to participate in it with both *wilful* (agentic aspect) efforts to go beyond and *willingness* (communion aspect) to surrender (May 1982: 5-6). It is human to seek what is pleasurable and avoid what is painful. It is human to stay embedded as long as possible and keep translating the given mode of existence, the given mode of knowing, the given mode of moral reasoning, the given mode of need-fulfilment, and so on. But we cannot go on translating in the same mode of being for very long without either moving up or moving down the path of evolution. We need charismatic catalysts to initiate the tension of evolution. We need catalysts of integrity, authenticity, moral character, and developed mode of knowing.

Crisis, according to Erickson, provides us with moments of increased vulnerability and heightened potential (for mere translation or transformation). The crises our country, and the world at large, are facing are not only moments of increased vulnerability but also moments of heightened potential. Notwithstanding the fact that the developmental potential of these crises can be (and, in fact, appear to be in some cases) highjacked by narcissistic elements and ethnocentric forces, I would like to see them as manifestations of the evolutionary tension. Like tight-rope walking, this evolutionary thrust keeps *finding and losing and finding* its balance moving toward higher modes of existence, more developed modes of knowing, more evolved moral consciousness, and more realistic and truthful justice and peace. Dalits, women, tribals and other minorities are risking tensions, conflicts and violence in defining themselves, asserting themselves, differentiating from their embeddedness in a culture of helplessness and hopelessness. Will their larger cultures of embeddedness comprising the national polity, its Constitution, its executives and judiciary affirm and validate the integrity of their efforts? Will they be given the political, economic and cultural space required for healthy *translation* and eventual transcendence?

For these to happen, we need the centre of gravity both personal and collective to shift from ego-centrism and ethnocentrism to genuine global perspectives, from mere categorical and cross-categorical knowing to system and trans-system perspectives, from

largely preconventional and conventional morality to universal ethical and universal spiritual morality. Only then can we hope to have democracy with accountability, religious revival without fundamentalism, pluralism with affirmed diversity, secularism with genuine respect for all that is sacred, peace with justice, and economic development with a soul. "Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country (*nay, the human race*) awake"(Tagore 1913: No, 35).[3]

Endnotes

1. A non-technical description of these stages of unfolding is given in "Quest for Freedom and Psychotherapy" in *Jnanadeepa: Pune Journal of Religious Studies* II/2 (July 1999) pp. 9ff.
2. Community in chaos, according to Scott Peck, has two options. One is to get the group out of the chaos by taking it back to pseudo-community with the help of some strong leadership. The other is to allow the community to experience the chaos and associated pain and stress, and move into the stage of emptiness under facilitative leadership.
3. The parenthesis is mine.

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The United Nations and a New World Order

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The United Nations was set up at the close of World War II in order to rid the earth of the scourge of war and to lay the foundations of international peace. After the abortive experiment with the League of Nations which was set up after World War I with a similar objective, the U.N. has been the most ambitious project involving the entire international community. It has survived for fifty-five years through many a crisis, and this is a record of sorts.

Given that peace is much more than the absence of war, it is in the fitness of things to reflect on the contemporary role of the U.N. in promoting a new global order. For peace to endure it needs a sure foundation which cannot be a mere balance of power, or worse, of terror such as prevailed for many years of the Cold War. It can be argued that the Cold War, for all the criticism that may be levelled at it, served the vital purpose of keeping a cold peace instead of a hot war with all its disastrous consequences. But in the long term it is always preferable to establish a global order that renders war useless as an instrument of policy both nationally and internationally.

According to St. Augustine, peace is the tranquillity of order. But there are various kinds of order. And there are various kinds of tranquillity. Order can be a dictatorial order or a democratic one, a secular order or a theocratic one, an egalitarian order or a skewed one. Similarly, tranquillity can be something equivalent to the peace of the graveyard or, on the other hand, the expression of a state of harmonious relations in a given social set-up. Augustine had the model of the *Imperium Romanum* before him when he spoke of order. In his City of Man he recognized the limitations of any human set-up. He aspired to an ideal set-up in his version of the City of God. Surely an order based on plunder or on the oppression of one set of people by another cannot be a prescription for a lasting peace. Augustine saw the *Imperium* disintegrating before his very eyes. The surface tranquillity of the empire could not disguise the underlying tensions and contradictions that proved its nemesis.

This brings us to the basic question as to what constitutes an order of a substantive and durable peace. This is of vital importance in our world where

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the speed and scope of interstate transactions are of a magnitude undreamed of in earlier times. The Roman Empire did presage in a preliminary way the internationalization of human communities. Its attempt at synthesizing the customs and laws of its subjects foreshadowed the later shaping up of international law and international organization. No doubt conquest and subjugation played its role in the spread of the Roman Empire. But it must not be forgotten that treaties and pacts also had a role to play in its consolidation. The extension of citizenship rights to people of the most varied ethnic origins and the concept of the rule of law both bear testimony to the Roman contribution to the development of jurisprudence. It is not that other early empires had nothing to contribute in this regard, but that the peculiar historical circumstances in which Rome spread its influence over all of Europe, and the latter in turn took it to the farthest corners of the globe in the colonial era, assured the internationalization of a system of laws that had a Roman ancestry after a manner of speaking.

"*Pacta sunt servanda*" or the dictum that agreements are to be respected is the accepted norm of international relations. The principle of consensus underlying inter-state dealings reduces the scope for pressure tactics and hegemonic ambitions on the part of the more powerful states vis-à-vis the weaker ones, though instances of the violation of this principle abound despite the best of intentions and safeguards. A treaty that is unequal in the sense that it puts one party to a distinct disadvantage is an intrinsically unstable one. Given that there is bound to be give and take among nations, only an equitable mix of benefits and burdens will prove to be a viable formula for states to deal with one another peaceably and profitably. This means that there can be no international peace without international justice. Thus in today's increasingly interdependent world, the U.N. is called upon to oversee a global order that is based on equity as the only guarantor of world peace. The greater the number of points of interaction among a set of international 'actors' (meaning nation-states in the present context) the greater the number of potential crisis spots or flashpoints on the planet. The flip side is that the extensive transnational crisscrossing and networking of relationships, characteristic of the present time, offers the best incentive to states to refrain from courses of action that may put their profitable mutual dealings in jeopardy. The closer the socio-cultural, economic and political ties that bind nations together, the less are the chances that they will resort to policies that endanger world peace as they have the most to lose in the bargain.

Thus it is not only the fear of military retaliation that motivates states to 'behave' but the considerable benefits they can derive from peaceful dealings with the other members of the world community. The role of the U.N. is to be viewed against this background. As with every government, local or national, so with a world government, however rudimentary it might still be as of now, it will enjoy only such power and status as the comity of nations is willing to entrust to it. Very often all sorts of demands are made on govern-

ments as though they were some supernatural agencies with miraculous powers to deliver the goods against all odds. The Aristotelian dictum that the people get the government they deserve is often forgotten. If an objective analysis is made of each national government in existence today, it will most probably be found that, with one or other exception, each of them is a product of its own peculiar social milieu and therefore reflects the state of its own society. If the society concerned is an egalitarian one, the government will be constrained to follow egalitarian policies as well. If there prevails a generally secular attitude of mind among the people, then the government will find it very difficult to function in theocratic fashion. Similarly, if the society is characterized by a strong republican ethos, it will be next to impossible for any kind of dictatorship to be set up within it. Likewise if a strong ethical and civic sense pervades a given society, its government will be under constant pressure to abjure any kind of venality in its functioning.

When a national government is asked to deliver, it is assumed that sufficient powers and functions are entrusted to it and that adequate resources are placed at its disposal for use within the mandate given to it by the people. If there is any deficiency in either the powers or the functions or the resources or the mandate, the government in question cannot be faulted for failing to deliver. This principle holds good of a world government no less. In fact it holds good a fortiori in the latter case as a world government does not as yet exist in the fullest sense. By fullest sense we mean an entity whose legislative, executive and judicial writ runs uniformly and consistently throughout the international community. We do not see this happening as yet with the U.N. Though it has many of the trappings of government, such as a quasi-legislative body in the shape of the General Assembly, a kind of international civil service in the form of the Secretariat headed by the Secretary-General, a sort of crisis cabinet or executive in the form of the Security Council, and a judicial organ in the form of the International Court of Justice, these organs do not operate quite in the manner that their equivalents do at national level. At national level, a full-fledged legislature not only deliberates but enacts legislation that is binding on the citizens. This is not the case with the General Assembly which is not competent to legislate internationally. Again at national level, an executive is able to enforce its writ in a more uniform and consistent manner than the Security Council is able to do vis-à-vis the global community. The International Court of Justice or World Court hands down verdicts which are non-binding unlike those of national tribunals. And the international civil service headed by the Secretary-General is nowhere comparable to what a national civil service can achieve by way of policy inputs and policy implementation. Further, the police powers of the U.N., though not inconsequential, are to a large extent dependent on the concurrence of the so-called P-5, or the five permanent members of the Security Council with veto power, viz The United States, the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation, France and China. A veto cast by any of these can kill a Reso-

lution that is acceptable to the rest of the international community.

The U.N. is up against the long held doctrine of national sovereignty whereby each member state is held to be on par with every other member state and exercises sole and unquestioned jurisdiction in its domestic affairs and in all matters touching its national interest. No doubt sovereignty today is not what it used to be and has undergone quite a metamorphosis due to a variety of factors. But it is as yet not quite a spent force and at times comes in the way of a more fruitful interaction among the nations of the world. The rationale for upholding the principle of sovereignty is that every politically organized community should have its own place in the sun and should be allowed to develop its collective life according to its own genius and requirements without outside interference and pressures. This means that an apex principle of organization is required in each such community so that the aspirations of the people can be better mobilized and focused. The national government thus comes to embody that apex principle and by the same token equips itself with the wherewithal to promote the security, dignity and livelihood of its people. Thus far there can be no quarrel with sovereignty. The problem arises when a national government fails to deliver on its obligations and becomes an oppressor to its own people. Even in this eventuality the best thing would be for the national community in question to evolve its own mechanism for dealing with its problems before outsiders are tempted to fish in troubled waters. But this is often not the case and grave abuses of human rights take place, drawing the attention of the international community and possible intervention. Sovereignty can be invoked only for legitimate purposes and within the overarching framework of human dignity and human rights. It cannot be considered an end in itself with no limits and no accountability. Unfortunately, many governments behave as though the latter were the case. Another limiting factor of sovereignty is the inability of national governments to deal with certain contingencies all by themselves without outside help. Examples are natural disasters, cross-border smuggling, drug-trafficking , gun-running, displacement of peoples, terrorism and the like. Many of these problems require the cooperation of other governments as well as of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), domestic and foreign. The limitations of sovereignty are only too obvious in the instances cited above. Besides, in today's globalized scenario, with the incessant movement of ideas, fashions, information, technology, investments, skills and labour across national borders, sovereignty is being progressively pooled together at regional and global levels. The ongoing integration of the world economy is also leading to the dilution of the theory and practice of classical sovereignty.

Notwithstanding the above considerations, there are certain areas in which governments tend to dig in their heels when they feel that vital national interest or prestige is at stake. It is not only the major world powers that do so but lesser powers as well though the latter are much more susceptible to arm-twisting than the former. It is here that the

U.N. finds itself at a disadvantage as it is reluctant to invade the domestic sphere in which national governments are usually better equipped to function. The principle of subsidiarity whereby what can be achieved at a lower level should be left to that level as far as possible and should be supplemented by recourse to a higher level only when absolutely necessary is a basically sound one. It allows base-level initiatives to flourish and so strengthens grassroots vibrancy which is so vital to democracy. When, however, an authority at a lower level fails in its responsibilities, there is no option other than that of a higher authority stepping in to redress the situation. Applying this to the international level, the U.N. would be required to intervene in a national situation only when the concerned national government fails in a major way to do its duty by its people or violates the U.N. Charter, to which it is a signatory, in its dealings with other members of the international community, thereby putting international peace and security in jeopardy. Moreover, this intervention would be called for only in the event that there is no mechanism in place at local or regional level. Thus even when one speaks of a world government, it does not mean that such a government pre-empts the prerogatives, powers and functions of the existing national governments but supplements them as and when required for the sake of global peace, security and development.

Just as the role of national governments has expanded far beyond the narrow objectives of maintaining law and order and defending the national territory from external attack, to embrace the wider goals of an overall socio-economic development linked with social justice and ecological harmony, so the concept of the U.N. has evolved much beyond that of an organization devoted to preventing war to that of an institution dedicated to promoting fruitful relationships among the nations of the world in ever widening areas of interaction. Thus the specialized agencies of the U.N. look after different aspects of international life. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) deals with social and economic problems affecting various countries and regions and evolves programmes suited to each particular situation. The ECOSOC has a number of region-specific branches functioning under its aegis such as the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) deals with all aspects of workers' rights and duties as well as of employer-employee relationships. It evolves model labour laws and protocols that could be adapted to various national contexts and so could help create a suitable industrial climate that would minimize social strife and boost productivity. It may be borne in mind that many a civil disturbance arises from inequitable industrial relations and that in an age of multinational corporations this could have international repercussions. The underlying causes of civil wars and conflicts among nations have often been economic and this fact makes

the ILO particularly relevant to our times.

Other specialized agencies also help to strengthen the sinews of peace in various ways. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has played a vital role in promoting educational, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation and exchanges among the countries of the world. This is perhaps the best way to keep the nation-states of the world engaged to mutual advantage. The less the communication gaps kept between them the more remote the possibility of war breaking out among them. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) helps countries to improve their agricultural practices and augment their food supply which is the very basis of their economic viability. What sovereignty can a nation claim if it is unable to feed its own people? Similarly the World Health Organization (WHO) offers its services and expertise to countries in need of assistance in the domain of public health. War is not the only killer of people but also disease, malnutrition and environmental blight. Since the future of the global community lies in its children, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) pays special attention to the plight of disadvantaged children the world over so that they grow into adulthood as empowered citizens of Planet Earth.

The above brief survey of the multifarious activities being undertaken by the U.N. and its specialized agencies is by way of illustration of how the world body applies itself to improving the quality of life of its member states and not merely to preventing the outbreak of war among them. Mention may also be made here of the United Nations Environmental Facility, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, all of which bring out the many dimensions of peace-building in today's world. Besides, the U.N. has sponsored a series of conferences and summits on themes and issues of vital interest to the international community such as de-colonization, the dismantling of apartheid, disarmament, the environment, population, the status of women, migrants, indigenous peoples, social development, North-South issues and so on. It has evolved a system of protocols and regimes to deal with specific areas of concern such as the sea-bed and the high seas generally, outer space, Antarctica and the like. The U.N. Treaty Series testifies to the wide range of agreements either sponsored directly by the U.N. or lodged with it. From time to time the U.N. has taken the initiative to highlight certain problem areas needing action on the part of the world community by dedicating a full calendar year to a particular theme as, for example, the Girl Child, Indigenous Peoples or whatever. Peace is indeed a multi-faceted and many-splendoured thing.

Former U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali had referred to the triple role required to be played by today's U.N. in terms of peace-making, peace-keeping and preventive diplomacy. By peace-making is meant the positive action of restoring peace be-

tween warring factions or states. While this is a necessary function, it comes into play only in a situation in which peace is already a casualty, though hopefully not a permanent one. Given our imperfect world, it is not surprising that this situation should arise from time to time, though it is the least desirable of the three options Ghali refers to. Peace-making may often require measures of a more drastic kind to be taken, particularly in the case of recalcitrant states. These measures may range from economic sanctions to military action in extreme cases. And these measures are not resorted to lightly as they entail much disruption, tension and suffering, not only to those directly involved but also to parties further afield. These measures are therefore calibrated, beginning with the least offensive and gradually escalating so as to allow the recalcitrant state time to pull back from a course of action that is repugnant to its own commitment to the U.N. Charter.

Peace-keeping is a function that is less intrusive than peace-making in the sense that it comes into operation only at the request of disputant states and does not involve offensive or coercive actions on the part of the U.N. peace-keeping forces unless the latter come under attack, in which case they may act in self-defence. Peace-keeping forces are more in the nature of police forces made available to conflicting states as a buffer between their front lines. They are therefore lightly armed as a rule. They are usually drawn from neutral or non-aligned states as these would be more acceptable to the disputants, though there can be no hard and fast rule in the matter. There have been times when U.N. peace-keepers have been fired upon or taken hostage; and this raises the question of how to re-conceptualize and re-organize the peace-keeping function. Here the U.N. faces various constraints. One is the reluctance of member-states to make available funds and forces expeditiously and consistently. While lip-service is paid routinely to the U.N. and its crucial role in keeping the peace, there is much foot-dragging when it comes to ear-marking contingents for peace-keeping operations and footing the bill for the same. It is not that unreasonable demands are being made on the members. Their contributions are assessed on their capacity both to pay and to second forces for U.N. operations. But domestic pressures often delay or prevent meaningful supportive action on their part thus hampering effective and timely peace-keeping operations. This is the dilemma faced by the U.N. inasmuch as it is called upon to play a pro-active role in keeping the peace while being often denied the wherewithal to fulfil that role.

Preventive diplomacy is a non-combative and non-coercive function that is the preferred modus operandi of the United Nations. It is obviously better to stave off a crisis through timely intervention than to apply military measures at a later stage when things tend to spin out of control. Preventive diplomacy can use one or more of the time-tested methods of conflict-resolution. These are mediation, arbitration and adjudication. Bilateral, multilateral and proxy talks are often resorted to for the same purpose. Diplomatic initiatives can also be taken by one or more powers or by a grouping of states to break

deadlocks that might arise in international affairs.

An overview of the track record of the U.N. in promoting a peaceful new world order will reveal a not too dismal picture, though there have been glaring failures on many counts. Even these failures, if examined carefully, will be seen to be failures not necessarily of the world body as such but of those members of the world community who have not thrown their full weight behind the U.N. at critical times and in crucial matters. There is the tendency to prescribe U.N. intervention in events and situations far from home and to proscribe it on one's own turf, unless one is at the receiving end so to speak. In recent times the United States, which had played a key role in the founding of the U.N. in the first place, gave the latter a difficult time by running up substantial arrears in payments of its dues to the world body, particularly on peace-keeping account. It also insisted that the U.N. downsize its establishment and give more value for money as a pre-condition for paying up its dues. The irony of the situation is that while on the one hand the U.N. is called upon to shoulder increased responsibilities in a rapidly shrinking world, it is often denied the personnel and the resources needed to do so. The Secretary- General is often left wringing his hands helplessly while the major powers take their own sweet time to agree on a course of action.

In the ongoing debate on the restructuring and reform of the U.N., certain areas stand out as requiring serious attention. In the most general sense, given the vastly expanded membership of the world body, there is need to enlarge the Security Council to make it a more balanced and representative body than it is at present. Of the P-5, Fully 4 are Euro-Atlantic powers, with only China hailing from outside that geographical area. The whole of Latin America, Africa and much of Asia remain un-represented in the Security Council unless states from these areas are lucky enough to be voted to a non-permanent seat on the Council on a rotational basis for a two-year term. A new and more equitable formula for giving representation to more populous areas of the globe needs to be worked out. The question of the veto power also needs a second look, though the P-5 powers will understandably be reluctant to have their prerogative whittled down in any way. The veto was conceived as a safeguard against any of the P-5 being drawn into a conflict that would endanger their national interests, especially as they had assumed the prime responsibility for maintaining world peace. While this consideration did have its validity at the time of the founding of the U.N., and to some extent does so today, the present scenario is a vastly different one, with several new powers on the international scene and a changed structure of the global political economy. The veto came to be used in a restrictive way during the Cold War years to check-mate rival P-5 powers, thereby paralyzing the Security Council on several occasions when it perhaps should have acted expeditiously. With the end of the Cold War, veto rivalry and one-upmanship have abated for the time being, but this cannot be any guarantee for the future

as long as the provision remains on the statute book. It has been suggested that the veto power should be a qualified one requiring endorsement by a special majority of the Security Council or at least by one or other of the P-5. But this question is not likely to be resolved very easily or any time soon.

Other questions concern the recruitment, training, equipment and deployment of a U.N. Army or Rapid Action Force at short notice in different trouble spots of the world. While this is a desirable and long overdue objective, the modalities of its implementation will have to be worked out. It must be remembered that the Military Staff Committee envisaged by the U.N. Charter has to date not been set up. It was to comprise the Chiefs of Staff of the P-5 and was to take charge of all military operations directed by the Security Council. The possibility of establishing U.N. Cantonments spread out evenly and strategically all over the globe needs to be explored. The allied question of Command and Control of U.N. forces needs to be sorted out. All U.N. members may not be too enthusiastic about placing contingents of their armed forces under U.N. control. The United States, for instance, steadfastly refuses to entrust its forces to the command of any other than an American i.e. U.S. commander. Then there is the question of the appropriate mix of local, regional and extra-regional forces that would be both optimal and acceptable to the regimes of areas where deployment is called for. It is perhaps too utopian at the present juncture to visualize the pooling together, in specially designated 'safe pits' under U.N. control, of the nuclear weapons of the nuclear powers, pending their elimination. Apart from military considerations, the U.N. should be empowered to appoint its own peace and human rights observers with ambassadorial rank to the capitals of all member states. These U.N. envoys would be mandated to report to the Security Council all violations of the Charter on the part of the signatory states to which they are accredited, whether in the matter of human rights or any other. Similarly, the International Court of Justice needs to be given more teeth so that its judgments are honoured by all its members without exception. In fine, it is evident that the U.N. system has stood the test of time in many vital respects but is in need of overhauling in order to fulfil its noble mission of promoting world peace, human solidarity and development even more effectively in the next millennium.

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The Non-Violence of Mahatma Gandhi

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Although Mahatma Gandhi is known as the apostle of non-violence (*ahiṁsā*), he never wrote a treatise on non-violence. By nature he was a practitioner rather than a theoretician (Gandhi 1958-1988: *Collected Works*: 62: 224-225; henceforth as CW). He humbly admitted that he did not have a final word on it (CW 64: 225). In fact, he claimed that non-violence was indefinable, that it was impossible to have a complete theoretical knowledge of non-violence. It can only be understood through experience: we can merely catch glimpses of it as it unfolds in our life and actions (CW 71: 294). He was constantly experimenting, and his thought was continually evolving (CW 56: 128). Hence we have to sift through both his life and writings to get some idea of his understanding of non-violence.

This article has three major divisions. The first part is expository, presenting Gandhiji's concept of non-violence in its varied hues and colours. In the second part, I give a critical appreciation of his understanding of non-violence. The final part includes reflections on non-violence and its contemporary relevance.

I. Gandhiji's Understanding of Non-Violence

1. *The Nature and Characteristics of Non-violence*

The Sanskrit word *ahiṁsā*, which is normally translated as 'non-violence', literally means 'non-injury', 'non-killing'. It is made up of the negative prefix *a* and the noun *hiṁsā* (injury, harm, killing, destruction), derived from the verb *hiṁs* (to strike, hurt, injure, kill, destroy), which, in turn, is probably an abbreviated desiderative of the verb *han* (to kill, destroy, injure, strike down, conquer) (Whitney 1885: 205). In Indian tradition, although *ahiṁsā* is a negative term, indicating what one should not do (not injuring), it has a positive meaning too because it also involves positive acts of kindness, compassion, affection and love towards others. Moreover, it includes not only physical or bodily non-violence, but also vocal and mental non-violence (Tähtinen 1976: 56-59, 65-69).

For Gandhiji too, non-violence is not merely abstaining from physical injury or killing. "Non-violence means not harming anyone in thought, word or action out of ill will or selfishness"

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(CW 34: 437). For him, non-violence was not merely negative; it was eminently positive. "It is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer" (Chander 1945: 412). "We should learn to condemn evil but, at the same time, love the evil-doer" (CW 20: 381). "Ahimsa means 'love' in the Pauline sense, and yet something more....Ahimsa includes the whole creation, and not only human. Besides, love in the English language has other connotations too, and so I was compelled to use the negative word. But it does not, as I have told you, express a negative force, but a force superior to all the forces put together" (CW 62: 200). He also refers to this 'love-force' as 'truth-force' (CW15: 249) and 'soul-force', as opposed to 'brute-force' (CW 14: 379). On one occasion he proclaimed, "No other English term can express all the meanings of *ahimsa* which the word *innocence* expresses" (CW 18: 265). Backianadan conjectures that Gandhiji chose this word 'innocence' "since, positively it seems to connote pure love, simplicity, purity of intention, trust in others' good will; negatively an absence of hatred, duplicity and intent to hurt and destroy others" (1991: 79).

Thus, Gandhiji's non-violence went beyond Tolstoy's passive resistance. It is an active force of love (CW 48: 407). In fact, it is all-comprehensive:

> *Ahimsa* is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *ahimsa*. But it is its least expression. The principle of *Ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by one's holding on to what the world needs" (Chander 1945: 404).

> *Ahimsa* really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy....For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa* there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy (Chander 1945: 405).

In dealing with one's opponent great care has to be taken to avoid violence of any sort. The antagonist is to be won over through gentle persuasion, not violence, and one's own non-violence also prompts one to constantly re-examine one's position and, if necessary, revise one's opinion, for it is possible that it may be false (Bondurant 1959: 33). While minimizing the disputant's error, one should magnify one's own error (CW 47: 244). One ought to refrain from giving unfavourable or unwarranted interpretations even to the motives of the opponent (CW 35: 104). One should seek an honourable solution, without harbouring anger against the adversary; in fact, one should be ready to suffer the anger of the opponent, not returning tit for tat. One must even go to the extent of protecting the antagonist from insult and injury, even at the risk of one's life (Bondurant 1959: 39). Bondurant reports that some Indians refrained from taking action in the hot midday sun in order to spare the Europeans the torture of the scorching heat. And again some others put off their agitation in order to give the Christian opponent time for the celebration of Easter (1959: 120, n). The whole point of the exercise is not to

humiliate the opponents, rubbing their noses into the ground, but to raise them up and give them face-saving opportunities.

Non-violence can take on various forms. The subtle violence involved in hurting the feelings of others is, in Gandhiji's view, far worse than gross murders: the latter are not so numerous compared to the incalculable instances of the daily loss of temper (CW 50: 205-206). Even laying down one's life for a cause, but out of anger, is useless; love should be the only motive (CW 66: 434). Rash judgements and generalizations about a person's character from a single instance and without conclusive evidence are also examples of violence (CW 72: 209). If one does not keep one's tools and implements in good condition, one goes against non-violence. If, for instance, one meets with an accident due to keeping one's bicycle in ill repair, it is a sort of violence (CW 71: 153). Gandhiji pointed out that even bad handwriting is an instance of violence, since it causes pain to others and betrays insufficient concern and love for others. He therefore laid down rules for good handwriting (CW 44: 374).

According to Gandhiji, one should not be a vegetarian merely for health reasons, but for moral reasons. We must rise above our animal nature and live in accordance with our spiritual nature, abstaining from meat. He said that if he were told that he would die if he did not have beef-tea or mutton, he would rather prefer death, for eating meat involved the killing of animals. He thought it was difficult to control one's passions, if one was a non-vegetarian: one becomes what one eats; the coarser the food, the grosser one becomes. On the other hand, he conceded that one might be very careful about one's diet and yet be passionate and violent, while a person who is broad-minded with regard to diet might well be non-violent (Gandhi 1959: 4, 18, 2-21, 24-26).

Theoretically, Gandhiji was against the consumption of even animal products. While he asserted that the milk of animals was not necessary for human life and that we had a right only to our mother's milk, yet he himself did take (goat's) milk because he needed it for his health and strength. He did not give it up, he said, because he could not afford to do so. He felt that from the cruel way in which honey was collected in India, one should avoid it on humanitarian grounds. But he himself did not abstain from honey. He admitted that he did not follow strict logic in this, but also rationalized that life was not governed merely by logic; it was an organic growth that had to pay attention to other considerations too. He realized that, in the strict sense of the word, even the eating of vegetables involved violence; but as long as he continued his physical existence, he could not do without them (Gandhi 1959: 4, 14, 22, 30).

We may mention here a special form of non-violence, according to Gandhiji, viz., the practice of *svadeśī*. It means 'that which belongs or pertains to one's own region or country'. For Gandhiji it meant concentrating on one's immediate 'neighbourhood', i.e., one's religion, one's institutions, one's local produce and industries, one's nation. He

did not want to serve his distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest. He purchased foreign goods, but only those that did not hurt the Indian economy or the local artisans or industries. He considered it part of non-violence to give preference to one's country's products for the sake of the progress of its inhabitants (Chander 1945: 537-539).

Non-violence must flow into service of others. Gandhiji gave shelter to a leper and attended on him personally, even dressing his wounds and massaging his body (Backianadan 1991: 155). For Gandhiji, service took different forms. It included the promotion of nature cures, reduction of communal tensions, village upliftment, providing basic education, eradicating social problems like caste and untouchability, etc. (Backianadan 1991: 221). We should not imagine that we are doing a great favour to the poor and the helpless by serving them. We are just paying back what we owe them. We must serve them with courtesy, respect and sincerity (CW 42: 43-44). Gandhiji felt that it was the duty of everyone to render service. Even sick people do service by thinking pure thoughts, expecting only a minimum of service from others, being cheerful and showing their love to those who serve them. Even devout meditation on God is a service (CW 52: 75).

Non-violence does not consist merely in controlling one's own violent thoughts, words and deeds, but also in checking the violence perpetrated by other individuals and by society (Iyer 1973: 205). In this context, maintaining silence, without speaking out the whole truth, is cowardice (CW 83: 242). Similarly, one should not remain a silent spectator, even when one's enemy is being done to death. On the contrary, one ought to protect the enemy even at the cost of one's life (CW 83: 259).

Non-violence or love is not merely on the horizontal level, towards human beings. It involves also the love of God as well as sub-human beings. For Gandhiji the love of God and the love of fellow human beings were two sides of the same coin. The latter was impossible without the former (CW 48: 411-412). Non-violence also includes good will towards animals, birds and insects (CW 23: 24). Gandhiji himself narrates a touching incident. He found a worm and a weevil in dates that he was eating. He gave them to his secretary, who absentmindedly put them in a washbasin. Later, when Gandhiji got ready to wash his hands, he noticed that the worm and weevil had moved away and he breathed a sigh of relief. He saw God in that worm and weevil, he said. (CW 45: 20) Gandhiji was truly sensitive to all life.

For Gandhiji, non-violence is to be exercised not only on the individual level, but also on the institutional or societal plane. While one must willingly obey the laws of the State, even when they are inconvenient, one must respectfully disobey unjust laws that go against one's conscience. In so doing, one must be ready to suffer the punishments imposed by the State (Chander 1945: 396-397). The motivating force behind non-cooperation is love. Non-cooperation

without love is not only empty; it is satanic (CW 21: 519). Non-cooperation is not a form of violence, even if it results in a certain amount of suffering to the wrongdoer, for one has recourse to it exclusively for the good of the evildoer (CW 23: 407).

In the Gandhian perspective, the ideal State has no political power, because there is no 'State'. In such a State everyone is one's own ruler, without being a thorn in the side of one's neighbour. It is a society based on non-violent cooperation and peaceful co-existence (Dhawan 1946: 266-267). This is an ideal that all should strive for, even if we are unable to achieve it. Gandhiji realized that it would be impossible for a Government to be totally non-violent; but he believed in the possibility of a State that was non-violent to a large extent (Dhawan 1946: 274). He gave special consideration to minority views. According to him, total disregard of the minority by the majority smacks of violence (CW 33: 457-458).

The *Gītā* advocated violence, but Gandhiji believed that non-violence was also the religion of the warrior class (*kṣatriya*) (Chander 1945: 415). Those who are truly non-violent do not need an army for their self-defence. A non-violent army would fight against all injustice, but with 'clean' weapons (CW 90: 503). Yet Gandhiji declared that he would be ready to vote for those who wanted military training, since one could not force people to be non-violent (CW 37: 271). Even though he tried to justify his earlier participation in the wars of Britain (Gandhi: 1944-1949: 1: 84-86, 99-102), he categorically asserted that war was "an un-mixed evil" and that he was "uncompromisingly against all war" (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 93, 100).

While not rejecting punitive measures all together, he wanted punishment to be as non-violent as possible. Thus, for instance, while he accepted the need for police to carry arms or use tear gas, he was totally against capital punishment. The purpose is to reform the criminal, not to eliminate him. Given the existential situation, a police force is necessary, but it should be wholly non-violent: the police should be servants, not masters, of the people. Ideally, they will use arms only rarely, and their police work will be primarily with dacoits and robbers. Actually they are reformers, not punishers. With the cooperation of the people, the police will be able to easily deal with the ever-decreasing disturbances in the non-violent State (CW 72: 403).

Gandhiji had first hand experience of life in jail. He was very critical of the treatment prisoners received. Prison authorities, he said, should be humane in their administration. The purpose of punishment is to reform the prisoners, but the sad fact is that it only brutalizes them (CW 23: 508-509). Just as hospitals cure physical diseases, jails are meant to treat mental illnesses. But, unlike hospitals, jails are very poorly maintained. If every prisoner were treated with kindness and sympathy, there would be fewer jails (CW 24: 224).

In Gandhiji's view, self-suffering is an essential aspect of non-violence. The self-suffering of Gandhiji should be distinguished from the traditional

practice of asceticism (*tapas*), which is for the good of the person who undertakes it. For Gandhiji the infliction of suffering on oneself is for the moral benefit of the world in general and, in particular, for bringing about a change for the better in the person for whose sake the suffering is undertaken. It consists in overcoming the opponent by suffering in one's own person (Bondurant 1959: 27-28). Suffering goes beyond the rational defences of the opponent and brings about conversion. "It is a divine law that even the most hard-hearted man will melt if he sees his enemy suffering in innocence" (CW 12: 187). "The appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man" (CW 48: 189). It is in this spirit that Gandhiji even undertook fasts unto death (CW 53: 460). Bondurant points out that, self-suffering, although least acceptable to the Western mind, paradoxically helps to achieve the dignity of the individual, which is highly prized in Western society (1959: 29).

Self-suffering, in the Gandhian understanding, is always coupled with courage and will power. Suffering is not the last resort or weapon of the weak or cowardly person (Chander 1945: 417-418). It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evildoer; on the contrary one must resist the wrongdoer (Chander 1945: 412). Forgiveness does not spring from weakness, but from strength (CW 19: 401). Even in the case of violence, there is a brave violence, as when four or five men fight valiantly and die by the sword, and a cowardly violence, as when ten thousand armed men attack a village of unarmed people and decimate them (CW 88: 274). Gandhiji even went to the extent of proclaiming, "I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence" (cited by Nelson 1975: 72).

For Gandhiji non-violence was a creed, not a mere strategy or policy. However, he thought that a whole group of people could adopt non-violence as a policy, without accepting it as a belief (CW 35: 457). Gandhiji's secretary Pyarelal opined that even a non-violent campaign based only on non-violence as a policy could prove effective, provided the rules of non-violent discipline and work were sincerely followed (Bondurant 1959: 103-104). Of course those who merely accept non-violence as a strategy could still use force in self-defence, but then they should honestly admit that they have merely adopted non-violence as a policy and not a creed (cited by Iyer 1973: 196-197). Towards the end of his life, however, Gandhiji realized that non-violence as a policy could easily degenerate into a form of cowardice, into pseudo-non-violence (cited by Iyer 1973: 199).

Non-violence is related to Truth or God as means to the end. "To me Truth is God and there is no way to find Truth except the way of Non-violence" (CW 32: 441). One cannot grasp Truth in all its comprehensiveness, but through non-violence one will eventually reach Truth. This absolute Truth is reached gradually, through the intermediary steps of relative truths. These too are to be tested by non-violence, which is the

only way of discovering both relative as well as absolute truth (Bondurant 1959: 25). When there are divergent views, the truth is discovered through non-violence and self-suffering. It should be noted that it is not necessary that the truth rests only with one of the many who hold different opinions; it may well be that they have all grasped the truth, but each in a limited way. Gandhiji had no difficulty working together with those who disagreed with him. It is only when there is radical disagreement, that there is need to win over the other through non-violent means (Bondurant 1959: 31, 34). For Gandhiji, *Satyāgraha*, i.e., insistence on truth or truth-force, is not a violent, physical force, but the 'force' of *ahiṁsā* or love (CW 42: 491).

2. *Non-violence includes other virtues and qualities*

In the Gandhian interpretation, the practice of non-violence involves a number of virtues, qualities and attitudes or disciplines. Following are the main ones:

(1) Detachment: Taking his cue from the doctrine of selfless action propagated by the *Bhagavad-gītā* (e.g., 2.47), Gandhiji linked detachment with non-violence: "When there is no desire for fruit, there is no temptation for untruth or *himsa*. Take any instance of untruth or violence, and it will be found that at its back was the desire to attain the cherished end" (Desai 1948: 132). While granting that the *Gītā* could be interpreted to advocate war, he declared that years of experience had taught him that perfect renunciation of the fruits of one's actions was impossible without perfect non-violence (Desai 1948: 133-134). It is well known that Gandhiji himself lived a simple, frugal, self-sacrificing life.

(2) Compassion: According to Gandhiji non-violence is impossible without compassion, and the extent of non-violence is in direct proportion to the amount of compassion (CW 40: 192). Gandhiji's heart went out to the poor, the downtrodden and those in shackles. Identifying himself with the poor, he wore only a loincloth and built his house in a slum. Referring to the oppressed untouchables as Harijans or people of Viṣṇu (Gandhiji was born in a Vaiṣṇavite family), he gave shelter to one of them in his own home. He urged his followers not only to physically touch the untouchables, but also to serve them with love (CW 22: 117-118). It should be noted, on the other hand, that he did not want to merely dole out food to the poor; he wanted to help them to stand on their own feet: "I do not wish to open free kitchens in India; on the contrary, I want to close them....I wish to make everyone self-reliant" (CW 25: 61). He urged his disciples to be strict with themselves, but liberal with others (CW 27: 235-236). On the other hand, he also held that one must sometimes be hard in order to the truly kind (CW31: 446).

(3) Humility: Gandhiji taught that non-violence was humbler than even the mango tree, which bends low as it grows up. Instead of proving its own point, non-violence, he said, lets all others prove their point of view (CW 34: 357).

(4) Acceptance of, and openness to, all religions and cultures: Gandhiji's

prayer for adherents of another religion was, "O God! give all Thy creation wisdom, so that each may worship and follow Thee according to his light and grow in his own faith"; and not "O God! give Thy creation wisdom, so that each may worship and follow Thee even as I try to do" (CW 57: 353-354). He believed in the equality of all religions (CW 51: 316-317). He declared, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible" (cited by Nelson 1975: 60).

(5) Celibacy: Gandhiji believed that perfect non-violence necessarily implied celibacy. Married people have to be more concerned about the welfare of their spouses and their families; they cannot practise universal love. If those who are already married live as if they were not married, i.e., as brother and sister, they will become free for universal service (CW 44: 68-69). Although married himself, he decided at the age of 37 to abstain from sex and kept this resolution until his death. In order to test the power of his non-violence, he experimented with sharing his bed with naked women to check whether he could remain chaste even in thought. He made this experiment publicly known and had to justify himself in the face of a lot of criticism (CW 87: 13-14, 89-92).

Gandhiji's non-violence, therefore, included all moral virtues. In this he followed the Jain view, which makes violence the root sin: all sins are in some way forms of violence, which is the basic sin.

3. *Unavoidable Violence*

Gandhiji realized that perfect non-violence was impossible as long as people had bodies. In such a state, perfect non-violence was only a theory like Euclid's point or straight line (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 332). There is violence even in eating fruits. At this rate one would have to abstain from almost all kinds of foods, he said (CW 28: 240). He held that, if insects, like ants, or animals, like monkeys, dogs or leopards, harmed or adversely affected human beings, they could be driven away or even be killed (CW 84: 230-231). He approved the killing of rabid dogs as the lesser of two evils. Things are not always what they seem, he explained: sometimes one has to resort to violence as the truest form of non-violence (CW 31: 486-489). He put a calf to sleep when it was in pain and there was no chance of recovery. He considered this an entirely unselfish act (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 151). He was painfully aware that he killed many organisms by the mere fact of his breathing. Similarly the use of antiseptics and disinfectants involved violence. He permitted snakes to be killed and bullocks to be driven away with a stick. A certain amount of violence just cannot be avoided as long as we are in the physical body, he said with regret (Gandhi 1959: 22). Although at one time he thought that a non-violent woman did not need to defend her honour, since the power of her non-violence and purity were enough to prevent the assailant from violating her (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 48), yet he later encouraged women to bravely defend themselves (Gandhi 1944-49: 2: 142).

A woman is free to use every means that she can think of in order to defend her honour. Similarly a man who is witness to the assault should not be a passive spectator but, in the spirit of non-violence, protect the woman even at the risk of his life (Gandhi 1957: 167-168). He also thought it was proper to dispatch a lunatic who went berserk, killing people with a sword, and no one dared to capture him alive (Gandhi 1957: 156). If his child were to get rabies, he would consider it his duty to take the life of the child in order to bring relief from the terrible agony (Gandhi 1957: 156). While Gandhiji was not out and out for euthanasia for human beings, he did approve of it under certain conditions (Backianadan 1991: 93 and n. 347).

4. *The Superiority of Non-violence over Violence*

According to Gandhiji, violence is incapable of radically destroying evil. It only changes the form of evil (Gandhi 1944-1949: 2: 230). History teaches us, he said, that those who resort to violence even for a just cause ultimately fall prey to the very same disease of violence (cited by Iyer 1973: 198). Revolutions bring violence in their wake (Gandhi 1957: 164-165). Violence is very visible and palpable, while non-violence is three-fourths invisible. It has a hidden and unconscious effect, which is far more potent, and it travels at great speed (CW 64: 222-223). Once non-violence is established in one place, its influence spreads everywhere (CW 68: 29). Even when many lives are lost by resorting to non-violence, in the long run this will result in less loss of life than if one had recourse to violence. Besides such suffering is both ennobling and beneficial (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 49). Gandhiji perceptively pointed out that violence did not change the adversaries and their perception of the truth, even if it subdued them (Parekh 1997: 52-53).

5. *The Basis for Non-violence*

Gandhiji was no systematic philosopher or theologian, and did not follow any one particular philosophical or theological system (CW 34: 91, 93). Yet, from his writings, we can cull out the following basic or foundational principles, on which he may be said to have built the edifice of non-violence:

(1) He believed in the oneness of all reality: God and other beings in the universe are all one (CW 32: 218). All our souls are one; they differ only accidentally. Hence we cannot have any enemy and should be non-violent towards all (CW 32: 189).

(2) He believed that as social beings we are interconnected and interdependent. Those who consider themselves independent cease to be non-violent (CW 41: 345). Thus we are not only responsible for one another, but whatever we do also affects one another.

(3) He believed that all human beings are brothers and sisters (CW 58: 50).

(4) For him non-violence is essential to human nature. "Non-violence is the law of the human race" (Gandhi 1957: 154). "If mankind was not habitually non-violent, it would have been self-destroyed ages ago" (CW 42: 363). As animals we are violent, but as spirit we are non-violent. When we awaken to the spirit within, we cannot but be non-violent (cited by Iyer 1973: 211).

(5) Gandhiji believed in the innate goodness of human nature, which non-violence, coupled with suffering, can evoke (CW 69: 70). A wicked person is temporarily debased, but deep down every human being is good (CW 45: 222).

(6) Non-violence is based on belief in God: faith in God is itself the power behind non-violence (CW 69: 226). Without trusting in God, that mysterious, supreme power or force, non-violence is impossible (CW 76: 232).

These, then, appear to me to be the basic underlying principles of Gandhiji's doctrine of non-violence.

II. Critical Appreciation

The unique contribution of Gandhiji was to extend the concept of non-violence from the individual and personal sphere to the social and political domain. He gave the traditional non-violence of India a new orientation: he adopted it as a principle and technique for social and political change as well as religious reform (Bondurant 1959: 112). It is because of him that the word 'non-violence' has entered into the vocabulary of politics. Furthermore, he freed non-violence from its cloistered confines and transformed it into a mass movement. For him non-violence was the principle that governed his life in every sphere, domestic or institutional, economic, social and political (Bondurant 1959: 113). Although his non-violence encompassed the social and political dimensions too, it remained eminently personal: it was aimed against evil, not against the evildoer. In fact, he went out of his way to ensure the well-being of the opponent.

Similarly asceticism, sacrifice and suffering which, in the Indian tradition, were confined to the private life of an individual, were now brought into the public sphere of politics and society. It became a means not only for personal salvation, but also for social and political welfare. Suffering became a means of bringing about a change of heart in the opponent (Bondurant 1959: 113-115). He also departed from tradition, by positively seeking to protect the opponent from harm even at the risk of one's life (Bondurant 1959: 119). Gandhiji was also unique in distinguishing between non-violence as a creed and as a policy, as well as between non-violence of the strong and the weak (Iyer 1973: 192).

Gandhiji's non-violence strove to keep a healthy balance between self-identity, self-respect, self-worth and honour on the one hand, and openness, inclusiveness and dialogue on the other hand. He was able to stay clear of self-righteousness, fanaticism and bigotry (Parekh 1997: 94-95). Non-violence was not to be limited to action alone; it also extended to words and thoughts. Although he was not totally free from utopianism and romanticism, he succeeded to a large extent in keeping his feet firmly rooted in reality. "Unlike sentimental humanists Gandhi identified enemies and showed who to fight against, but unlike conventional revolutionary theorists he also saw them as potential partners in a common struggle" (Parekh 1997: 96).

For Gandhiji, non-violence is not just for an elite coterie, but it can be practised by all, even the masses. "If

truth be not a monopoly of the few why should non-violence, its counterpart, be otherwise?" (CW 43: 309). However, with a sense of realism, he felt he could not expect the masses to practise non-violence even in thought; he would be satisfied, if they practised it in word and deed (CW 76: 333). Nevertheless, the fact remains that thousands of people voluntarily entered prisons; they were beaten and killed, without their raising even a finger in self-defence. Thousands of women collected contraband salt without harbouring any hatred. Thousands of farmers revolted against agrarian evils without bearing any ill-will (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 279). Gandhiji's secretary Pyarelal asserted that it was possible to run a non-violent movement among the masses merely by their accepting it as a policy, not a creed, provided they followed the leaders who practised pure non-violence (Bondurant 1959: 103-104). In this context, it is interesting to report that, in sociological studies of three Gandhian movements (Bardoli, Rajkot and Pardi), it was found that it was the masses, and not so much the leaders, who practised non-violence as a creed (Nakhre 1982: 72-73, 96-102).

For non-violence to be successful in the political and social sphere, it is not necessary to accept the Hindu world-view. It has proved successful in other religious traditions and social milieus. E.g., although Islam and Hinduism differ in many important points and although there was a world of difference between the relatively mild-mannered Indian and the hot-blooded Pathans (Bondurant 1959:132, 141-142), yet a Pathan named Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, more fondly known as the Frontier Gandhi, organized a very effective non-violent movement called the Khudai Khidmatgar or the 'Servants of God' (Bondurant 1959: 131-144). Martin Luther King, who was a Christian, adopted and adapted Gandhiji's method of non-violence in his Civil Rights Movement in the United States of America. Non-violent approaches are being tried out in several other parts of the world. Calling the Chinese his brothers and sisters, the Dalai Lama wants a non-violent solution to the autonomy of his homeland Tibet and, in agreement with history, assures the Chinese that Tibet will continue to remain linked with China. In South Africa, Nelson Mandela did not hold any grudge against the Whites even after being incarcerated for 27 years. When he became President, Mandela invited his white jailor to the inauguration (Gandhi 1999: 400-401). In 1995 South Africa's new democratically elected Parliament set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Nobel Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It's purpose was to bring about peace and reconciliation. The Commission gave ample opportunity for both White and Black perpetrators of political crimes to confess to the truth of their atrocities and receive amnesty and reconciliation, and for the victims to experience healing through forgiveness. In an Interview with Frank Ferrari, the Archbishop reveals the benefits that accrued from this venture to both victim and perpetrator (Ferrari 1997: 13-18). Striking a note of hope for the future, Archbishop Tutu declares

in his book, *No Future without Forgiveness*, "No problem anywhere can ever again be considered to be intractable.... Our experiment is going to succeed because God wants us to succeed.... God wants to show that there is life after conflict and repression – that because of forgiveness there is a future" (1999: 282). It is important to remark that the Archbishop replaces 'retributive justice' with 'restorative justice'. In retributive justice criminals are punished for the sake of vengeance rather than to prevent crime or reform them. Restorative justice, on the other hand, promotes reconciliation between the victim and the perpetrator. While it seeks to do justice to the victim, it also restores harmony.

On the one hand, Gandhiji exclaimed that he would lose all interest in life, if he thought he could not attain perfect love on earth (CW 14:146). He valued it so much that he asserted that it couldn't be bartered away even for independence (CW 75: 220-221). On the other hand, in a more realistic mood, he realized that perfect non-violence is not attainable like Euclid's point or straight line (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 332). "Although Gandhiji was an absolutist in regard to his faith in *ahimsa* as a creed, he was clearly willing to make qualifications....He valued *satya* [truth] even more than *ahimsa*, justice even more than abstention from violence, courage more than mere non-participation in war" (Iyer 1973: 202). What was important for him was the spirit of non-violence, and not blindly following the letter of the law.

Even though Gandhiji did make exceptions, for him the principle of non-violence was never wrong. He said, for instance, that if violence did break out after his death, people should conclude that it was because his violence was imperfect or even non-existent (CW 59: 420). Gandhiji did allow exceptions, but these were due to unavoidable circumstances, human weakness and lack of courage. Although these anomalies were part and parcel of reality, he did not nuance his theory accordingly and integrate them into his doctrine. "Rather than insist on a pure theory and permit impure practices, the more sensible thing would have been to legitimise and regulate the latter by making space for them within the theory itself" (Parekh 1997:101).

In some respects Gandhiji tended to be utopian. His critique of the State, his advocacy of a politically mature citizenry, his insistence on humane ways of treating criminals, etc. all have inspired people in different countries. Yet, his dream for a totally non-violent State, a non-violent army and police force appear to be too idealistic. A certain amount of coercion from the State is both necessary and wholesome.

As a matter of fact, one may say that, in a certain sense, Gandhiji's non-violence does contain an element of force or coercion, or at least influence or moral pressure or persuasion. It does not advocate physical force, but it does have power, even if it is not violent, aggressive power. After all, it is not for nothing that Gandhiji referred to non-violence as 'soul-force'. No doubt there is a world of difference between non-violent coercion and violent coercion. In the former case, there is a willingness

to undergo self-suffering, while in the latter there is a deliberate inflicting of suffering on the adversary. Nevertheless, in the non-violent case, even though no harm is intended and efforts are made to minimize it, still a certain amount of moral pressure is exerted on the mind and will of the antagonist not only through the use of reason but also through self-suffering, and furthermore through non-cooperation or civil disobedience. Withholding of cooperation may cause inconvenience and loss to the opponent. Of course this is nothing compared to the excessive harm caused by violent coercion (Bondurant 1959: 9-11). Linked with this idea of moral coercion or pressure on the adversary, is the possibility of Gandhiji's having imposed non-violence on his followers. Although, theoretically, Gandhiji never wanted to coerce his followers, there may have been occasions when the power of his personality as well as conviction left some of his followers with practically no alternative but to follow suit. As Iyer puts it, "It is, of course, very difficult to draw the line between persuasion and intimidation....between entirely peaceful and forceful conversion when no physical force or material inducement is used" (Iyer 1973: 209). What must be borne in mind, however, is that even this minimum pressure is not directly intended and, most importantly, is motivated by love, not hate. This slight coercion is admitted as a necessary evil in order to obtain a greater good.

Gandhiji's non-violent approach to the resolution of conflict appealed both to the reason as well as the heart. It was concerned not only with eliminating the conflict, but also mending and promoting the relationship between the opponents. However, Gandhiji did not realize sufficiently that there need not be unanimity of views even among honest and sincere persons. E.g., some look on euthanasia and war as morally sinful, while others think they are justified under certain conditions. Now it is true that Gandhiji also appealed to the heart, through self-suffering. Many indeed are moved by suffering, but Gandhiji did not pay attention to the fact that, depending on whether one considered the suffering deserving or not, the reaction could be different. The Jewish holocaust did not prick the consciences of some of the Nazis. Some Americans suffered no twinge of conscience when the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, because they thought the Japanese deserved it. Moreover, while it is true that human nature is basically good, the fact is that some people are so pathologically warped that they are practically impervious to any wholesome influence on the mind or the heart (Parekh 1997: 59-60).

Gandhiji felt that, after his conquests, Hitler would go empty-handed as Alexander did. Europe should have dealt with him in a non-violent manner. In this case, even if Hitler might (but only might) have taken possession of the European countries, he would have done so without blood shed and the loss of lives (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 310-312). As for the Jews, he thought they too should have offered only non-violent resistance, and he compared their plight to that of the Indians in

South Africa, saying that the Jews were in a better position to offer non-violent resistance than the Indians in South Africa (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 184-187). In response, the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber penned a letter to Gandhiji, pointing out that there was a world of difference between the Jews in the concentration camps and the Indians who were restricted to certain areas in S. Africa, and that the non-violence of the Jews was to no avail: "a diabolic universal steam-roller cannot thus be withstood" (1963: 139-141). The Managing Editor of *The Jewish Frontier* wrote, "A Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one arise, could 'function' for about five minutes – until the first Gestapo agent would lead him, not to a concentration camp, but directly to the guillotine" (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 499). Gandhiji, on the other hand, believed that even Hitler could be influenced by non-violent action (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 364), that non-violence would certainly bear fruit, even if it be after the life-time of the sufferers (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 235). However, it is doubtful whether non-violence can always be effective in a brutal, totalitarian regime, against "a diabolic universal steam-roller", as Buber put it (Parekh 1997: 60).

On one occasion, when asked whether it was possible to administer violence in a spirit of love, Gandhiji denied it point blank. But he proceeded to mention the incident where he put a calf to death because it was lame, full of sores, unable to eat and breathed with difficulty. This action, he said, was non-violent because it was a totally unselfish act since it had no other purpose than to relieve the poor calf from its excruciating pain (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1: 151). Gandhiji rules out the possibility of unselfish violence. In this context, it is appropriate to quote the words of Buber, in the above-mentioned letter to Gandhiji: "I do not want force. But if there is no other way of preventing the evil destroying the good, I trust I shall use force....We should be able even to fight for justice – but to fight lovingly" (Buber 1963:146). If non-violence can be rooted in love as well as in hate (as in the non-violence of the weak, as Gandhiji himself emphasized), there can be a violence fuelled by hatred and a violence springing from love as, for example, when parents scold their children out of love. We have seen that Gandhiji accepted the possibility of eliminating a lunatic who had run amuck and could not be captured. Now Gandhiji referred to Hitler as "an obviously mad but intrepid youth" (Gandhi 1944-1949: 1:184). But, unlike in the case of the insane person, he did not want violence to be used against Hitler. It is true that, in the example of the single lunatic, the matter would have ended with dispatching that person; whereas in Hitler's case, violence would have generated counter violence. Nevertheless, one may say that Gandhiji need not have insisted only on one method to the exclusion of others. "Different circumstances require different responses, and violence might sometimes achieve results that non-violence is either incapable of or can achieve only at an unacceptably high price in human suffering" (Parekh 1997: 61).

III. Reflections on Non-Violence and Its Contemporary Relevance

Gandhiji had asserted that non-violence is not a meek submission to the will of the evildoer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. He rightly held that true non-violence comes from strength, not weakness. Although on rare occasions violence too can spring from courage, yet often enough we observe in our daily life that it is frequently the weak, e.g., those who experience a sense of inferiority complex, who try to dominate others. It is the truly great who are truly humble. In his Sermon on the Mount, which was a favourite passage for Gandhiji, Christ teaches, "If anyone hits you on the right cheek, offer him the other as well" (Mt 5.39). This is no meek submission. There is tremendous strength and power in such an action. There are very few people who will dare to strike back at a person who offers the other cheek. In fact, such opponents are generally so taken by surprise that they lose their balance and poise as it were. The lack of physical resistance from the non-violent person is so unexpected, that the adversaries become confused and helpless and don't know how to deal with this new situation. A secretary of General Smuts, who had imprisoned Gandhiji in South Africa, confessed his helplessness to Gandhiji, "I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure your enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness" (cited by Nelson 1975: 69). Moreover, when, contrary to their expectations, the antagonists experience kindness and compassion instead, it may move them to reflect on their actions and open their hearts to conversion.

On the other hand, if, instead of offering the other cheek, the person strikes back, we can be sure the fight will not stop there. Even if opponents are not physically strong enough to retaliate, they will strike back in other ways, like getting other people to do the dirty job, scheming against those persons, or speaking ill of them, etc. Violence breeds violence.

Many a non-vegetarian does not feel anything when eating chicken, or mutton or beef or pork because it is placed before us all dressed-up and camouflaged with sauce and curry. However, I am told that many who work in the slaughter houses just cannot bring themselves to eat meat because they see before their very eyes the severed heads and rivers of gushing blood and hear the blood-curdling screams of pain. But then, when you come to think of it, from the Hindu point of view, even the consumption of vegetarian food is equally violent. Gandhiji's non-violence towards animals and even plants was based on the Hindu belief in rebirth. An ignorant human soul can be reborn, for instance, in an animal body or a plant body. Essentially speaking, there is no difference between a plant, an animal, a human being or a minor deity; the difference is only in degree. No wonder that Gandhiji had qualms in eating even fruits and vegetables. He did not,

however, go as far as the Jain religion, which believes that there are living, ignorant souls not only in plants, but also in so-called material things. The Christian tradition does not have to face this problem because of it making an essential distinction between humans, animals, plants, and so forth. Sub-human beings, according to Christian tradition, are to be used as means by human beings, who are ends in themselves. (This of course has landed Christianity into other problems, such as the conquest and exploitation of nature, etc.) In any case, many a Christian – and also many a Hindu, Buddhist or whoever – is unnecessarily violent towards insects and animals. I have seen people conversing with one another and, at the same time, even without being sufficiently aware of it, crushing underfoot some harmless ants (the ones that do not bite) moving about on the floor. Those ants are not going to bring the building down, and yet we go merrily ahead, blissfully oblivious of the sacredness of life. In Christian Spain and countries that were colonized by Spain, we have the cruel sport of bullfighting. Briefly, this is how it came across to an amateur like myself when I watched it once on TV in Spain: the bull is systematically weakened by being pierced by lances and by three pairs of sticks with sharp barbed points that are hooked on to its neck and left hanging there, as the blood trickles down its neck. The matador strides into the arena several times to tease the bull and make him see red. If the skilful matador succeeds, as he often does, in tiring out the bull and making it give up the fight, he slays it with a special sword, deeply piercing it between the bull's shoulder blades. And the crowd of spectators in the arena as well as those glued to the TV sets take sadistic delight in all this, loudly cheering *ole*! Maneka Gandhi, India's best known animal rights activist has chronicled atrocities by Hindus on animals like foxes, who are hunted during the festival of Makara Saṅkrānti, or on snakes, who are captured during the feast of Nagapañcamī (Gandhi 1994: 73-78). One has only to browse through her books entitled, *Heads and Tails* and *The Second Heads and Tails*, to be stunned into disbelief at the senseless cruelty that is daily meted out to countless animals of various kinds, to fish, coral, birds and butterflies. Recently, an international organization called the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) shot incriminating footage in the Deonar abattoir, revealing the barbarous and inhuman treatment of animals before they are slaughtered (*The Indian Express* 2000: 2). More recently, the Indian Government's Committee for the Purpose of Control and Supervision of Experiments on Animals (CPCSEA) reported the miserable conditions under which horses are kept by the King Institute in Chennai, which manufactures anti-snake venom serum (*The Times of India* 2001: 6).

Many vegetarians do not realize that curds (yoghurt) are non-vegetarian because of the live lactic bacteria in them. There are some who are stricter than most vegetarians in that they avoid even animal products like milk. Nowadays they are called Vegans. In any case, modern life makes it very

difficult for a strict vegetarian to avoid all contact with animal flesh and animal products. Many soaps are made from tallow, which is animal fat (Gandhi 1996: 70-71). Numerous brands of ice cream contain animal fat and a sort of glue produced by boiling down certain parts of animals (Gandhi 1994: 61). Why, even sweets that have silver or gold foil on them are not pure vegetarian fare: the thin sheets of silver or gold are placed between fresh bullock or buffalo intestines and repeatedly beaten to form the fine foil. In this process of course tiny bits of the animal gut mesh with the foil, and such sweets are even served in temples. Often enough the '*choona*' or 'lime', with which the betel leaf or *paan* is spiked, is made from seashells (Gandhi 1996: 68-70). Most of the booming business of cosmetics thrives on animal cruelty. All of us are aware of the sources of fur coats and bags made from live crocodiles, lizards and snakes. We all know from where silk comes, even if we do not realize that some 20,000 silk moths are boiled alive to make just one kilo of silk. But perhaps few of us are aware that several types of talcum powder, lipstick and hair dye are made safe for human use by testing them on squirrel monkeys, to find out at which dosage these monkeys die. A number of aftershave lotions are made burn proof by testing them on the bare skin of guinea pigs after their hair is pulled off. Many a perfume is made from civet musk. The civet is whipped, so that when it is in pain it secretes its musk into its pouch. The latter is then forced open and scraped with a spatula. Musk is also obtained from musk deer, which are caught in spiked traps. And the litany continues with pearls from tortured oysters, fur from strangled rabbits, and so on and so forth (Gandhi 1994: 52-54).

The Newspapers regularly report murders, rapes and other violent crimes. But some of us can be blissfully unaware of others forms of violence in our society; in fact, we may not even see them as examples of violence. We may pride ourselves as being more civilized than people in ancient times. We think we are not as barbarous as the gladiators and duellists of old. But this is far from the truth. Take boxing, for instance. Here is a sport in which one human being physically hurts a fellow human being. They are 'punished' and 'knocked out', to use just a couple of the expressions so common in describing boxing. Not only are the boxers badly bruised and severely injured; some have even died in the ring. One has only to glance at the bloodthirsty spectators, the way they gesticulate, shout and cheer, and even go at each other: it just shows the extent of violence in our society. And this 'civilized' sport is a multi-million dollar business! The same can be said of similar sports like wrestling, especially free-style wrestling. And it is all in the name of entertainment! Similarly, whether it is pigeon shoots in the U.S.A, where up to 25000 pigeons are released and shotgunned by shooters (*Times of India*, 1998: 11) or cock fights in our villages, we keep on brazenly amusing ourselves at the expense of animals too.

Apparently even plants have (rudimentary) feelings. Experiments have found that when we 'talk to plants'

and show them attention, they grow and flourish much more than plants that are ignored, even if these latter are given the same water, manure, etc. as the former. If in the hot summer we walk past a withering tree or a parched plant, do we pause for even a moment in sympathy, thinking of the poor plant thirsting for water? Some may think that these are ridiculous examples, but it is in such ways that we can develop sensitivity towards all life.

It is worth pointing out that non-violence also benefits the agent of non-violence. The Templeton Foundation has recently funded an on-going "Forgiveness Research" Programme. This research, led by the Director of the Programme, Everett L. Worthington, Jr., is making it amply clear that forgiveness and reconciliation are good for the well-being not only of the soul, but also of the psyche and the body. In a programme entitled, "Eye for an Eye", and telecast on 16th-17th May 1999, CNN showed how rage and the thirst for revenge not only consume the soul and rob it of its inner peace, but also tear apart the body. Instead of hurting the hated person, it hurts oneself. Laboratory experiments proved that in unforgiving conditions one's blood pressure, heart rate and sweat rate shot up. The conclusion is clear: revenge is not sweet, but bitter; while forgiveness and reconciliation take the hurt away. Moreover, experiments with chimpanzees indicate that there seems to be even an evolutionary basis for forgiveness: it is vital for the survival of the species. There is now a scientific confirmation of what we have observed in daily life: have we not noticed an infuriated person becoming flushed? Have we not observed such a person's stammering speech and quivering lips?

Non-violence in its complete and perfect form is surely utopian, but one cannot deny its importance and significance for the world of today, and if we choose to ignore it, our very survival is at stake. A nuclear war, for instance, will bring total destruction. In this nuclear age, the only way open to us is peaceful dialogue. Gandhiji asked rhetorically, "Has not the atom bomb proved the futility of all violence?" (Gandhi 1994-1949: 2: 55).

What does the future hold for us? Our future lies in our children. Are we preparing them for peace or for annihilation? Some of the signs are definitely disturbing. Violence is on the increase in movies, T.V. programmes and even cartoon books. One has only to enter a toyshop to see the great variety of toys related to war: toy guns, tanks, battle ships, bomber aircraft, and so on. So many of the computer or video games too are full of violence. We seem to be telling our children that war is fun, an enjoyable game.

While many children are being initiated into a culture of violence, some adults, on their part, decided to attack the apostle of non-violence himself. In 1998 a Marathi Play, entitled *Mī Nāthurām Goḍse boltoy* ("I am Nathuram Godse Speaking"), which glorified Gandhiji's assassin, was playing to packed houses. It was reported that the audience cheered and applauded with gusto (*The Indian Express*, 1998: 3). It should be noted that, yielding to the cries of protest

from several quarters, the Government finally banned the controversial play. Nathuram Godse's bullet silenced the Mahatma, but his voice still speaks to us, challenging us to strive after non-violence, especially during this International Year and International Decade of Peace.

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The Ambivalence of Violence

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"Nature, red in tooth and claw. . ." Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, lvi

The second millennium in general, and its last century in particular, can claim the doubtful honour of being the bloodiest and cruelest in human history. Man (the masculine form is intentional) invented and developed refinements of cruelty and mass destruction (culminating in the "clean bomb" of the last decade, so-called because it would "merely" destroy troublesome humans, leaving the rich heritage of lands, buildings and-especially! – plant and industry intact). Few, if any, would dispute that assertion.

Small wonder, then, that some of our contemporaries were quite convinced that, tucked away in the depths of each of us, there lurked a latent "criminal chromosome" or "aggressivity gene", just waiting to be roused from its fitful slumber by some quirk of history or psychology so that it could go on a rampage. The fact that the German nation, which many had good reason to assume represented the zenith of European and Christian civilisation, could produce monsters like Hitler and Mengele with all their attendant Gestapos and Buchenwalds seemed to be a proof of this and also a terrible cautionary tale: what guarantee have I that something mysterious would not trigger off some frightful chemical reaction within me and unleash the Frankenstein hidden behind my polite façade? And suddenly Stalins and Pol Pots were mushrooming about us. Gulags, brain-washing and ethnic cleansing became part and parcel of the common man's vocabulary.

Konrad Lorenz and his research come spontaneously to mind at this juncture. His theory of human biological aggressivity appears to be borne out by the prolonged and well-documented experiments on rats conducted by Dan Olweus in Norway and Sweden (Karli 1982: 419). Nearer to home, Mahatma Gandhi was apparently quite convinced that some kind of inbuilt violence was constitutive of the carnal nature of the human person. "Destruction does not need to be taught," he averred. "Man, as animal, is violent, but, as spirit, is non-violent" (Gandhi 1958: 87). He was equally certain, however, that "Man has been steadily progressing towards *ahimsa* (non-violence)." He elaborates,

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> Our remote ancestors were cannibals. Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase. Next, came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He, therefore, took to agriculture and depended principally on mother earth for food. Thus, from being a nomad, he settled down to civilised, stable life, founded villages and towns and, from member of a family became member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progressive *ahimsa* and diminishing *himsa*. Had it been otherwise, the human species would have been extinct by now, even as many of the lower species have disappeared (Gandhi 1961: 27).

Gandhiji offers us an extremely selective and reductionist summary of evolutionary history. Changes in human lifestyle were motivated by more complex causes than being "fed up" or becoming "ashamed" not to mention a plethora of intricacies that we need not go into here. One thing is certain, *homo necans* (man, the killer) was an important stage in the evolutionary ladder, as crucial as his becoming *homo faber* – or, more accurately, the latter learnt to make tools so that he could do his role of killing and eating his bigger, stronger and swifter animal contemporaries more efficiently. When our puny ancestors learnt to stand up on two legs and make weapons they were able to swing the grim laws of evolution – "Might is Right" and "Survival of the Fittest" – in their favour. Humans learnt to think and plan strategies together and, as non-vegetarians, were able to gain the upper hand. Little of this points towards a "growth in *ahimsa*" in the sense that Gandhiji had in mind.

At any rate, as the Mahatma was himself constrained to admit, *ahimsa* is actually an unrealisable ideal.

> Perfect non-violence is impossible so long as we exist physically, for we would want some space to occupy. Perfect non-violence, while you are inhabiting the body, is only a theory like Euclid's point or straight line, but we have to endeavour to attain it every moment of our lives (1961: 28).

The fact that some kind of violence appears inevitable in human embodied existence might also cause us to wonder whether we should go ahead with the tendency to absolutise the evil of violence and the good of non-violence. To live we must eat and to eat we must take life, be it the life of animals or plants. The jury is out as to whether biologically and psychologically it can be proved that humans were meant to be vegetarians or not. Whether it is possible to obtain enough proteins and other vitamins for healthy all-round growth from a pure vegetarian diet is still being fiercely debated back and forth. Cover their mouths with cloths and sweep the floor before them as Jain monks and nuns might, they have to admit that at every step, nay, at every moment, we are slaughtering millions of microscopic life forms. Birth emerges out of violence: the foetus is forced to change its fishlike existence in the womb and learn to breathe amid the blood and pain of its mother, as it takes shuddering wails. No real human growth occurs without suffering, tears and agonising self-doubt. All this indicates that it would probably be much more realistic to admit that violence – like most things that humans do or un-

dergo in life - is neither good nor bad in itself, but must be judged against its context and the motives that inspire it.

Dom Helder Camara, the late saintly and courageous prelate of Recife, in Brazil, one of the world's poorest dioceses, has some very pertinent remarks on violence, in this regard, in his insightful and provocative little monograph, *Spiral of Violence*.

He distinguishes between three types of violence that have been current in human history since time began. There is, first of all, **structural violence**, the violence of unjust social structures that have legal backing and prevent large groups of people from developing and living in authentic freedom. Examples of these would be the institution of slavery (officially outlawed only within the last two centuries of the last millenium), *apartheid* in South Africa (put an end to barely a decade ago), racism in the US and the pernicious caste system in India (both banned by their national Constitutions but still prevalent in outlying areas in both countries). Gender discrimination and other forms of ethnic discrimination may also be mentioned. Eventually the oppressed masses can "take it no more". The amount of insults and beatings they have borne meekly and quietly reaches boiling point and explodes into moments of sporadic and unplanned **insurrectional violence**: they begin to riot and attack representatives of the oppressive régime – the police and the upper class. Vehicles are stoned and overturned, public transport is set afire, shop-windows are smashed and an orgy of terror and mayhem breaks loose. Mobs charge through the town looting and destroying, mixing a goodly bit of vengeance with their justifiable cry for a bigger share of the cake. Finally, this provokes **repressive violence**: the State unleashes the full might of its paramilitary and other forces to put down speedily and ruthlesly all unrest. The people are cowed down with a new system of even harsher and more cruel laws – Prevention of Terrorism Acts and Emergency Measures – and the last situation becomes a good deal worse than the first. The spiral of violence once more reaches a climax and the people, in desperation, take to the streets with their puny weapons once again. The army is called back and the whole cycle is repeated. It keeps on getting worse and worse.

The significant thing, Dom Helder reminds us, is that the Establishment reserves the name of "violence" only for the second type, the form of hopeless and hapless protest initiated by the people in the face of the crippling injustices meted out to them. Structural violence, which set the whole ball rolling, is dubbed "the established order". Its violent nature is disguised by the legitimisation of its injustices and the fact that traffic is seen moving in an orderly manner on the streets while shops and offices and factories are offering "business as usual". As for repressive violence, that was mere "restoring the established order". If ever the State was forced to admit that excesses were committed by the enforcers of "law and order", these were covered over with rueful comments that these were the price that had to be paid to make the intractable and ungrateful masses behave.

To return to Gandhiji. He reserved words of strong condemnation for all kinds of violence. "Every murder or other injury, *no matter for what cause*, committed on another, is a crime against humanity," he equivocally asserted (1958a; emphasis mine). And, though he would also clarify his position to the effect that, "Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice," he went on to add, "As a coward, which I was for many years, I harboured violence. I began to prize non-violence only when I began to shed violence" (1958: 102). In other words, he tended to identity all violence with cowardice, whether it be the violence of five men who beat up a Dalit and then proceed to gang-rape his wife or the efforts of her valiant husband who endeavours to fight them off and falls, battered and bleeding, after having incapacitated a would-be molester or two in the process.

Paolo Freire would not agree. As he tellingly remarks,

> Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who fail to recoginse others as people – not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognised. It is not the unloved who cause disaffection, but those who cannot love because they love only themselves. It is not the helpless, subject to terror, who initiate terror, but the violent who, with their power, create the situation which begets 'rejects of life'. It is not the people who are the sources of despotism, but the tyrants: not the despised who initiate hatred, but those who despise them. It is not those whose humanity is denied who negate man, but those who denied that humanity (thus negating their own as well). Force is not used by those who have become weak under the preponderance of the strong, but by the strong who have emasculated them (1972: 32).

Freire, thus, is totally at variance with the Mahatma when the latter puts all violence on an equal footing. The Brazlian activist sees the cruel acts of the oppressor and the revolutionary action for justice of the oppressed as two **qualitatively** different acts! Paradoxically, the violence of the oppressed who resists the injustice perpetrated by the oppressor, violent though it may be, is "a gesture of love"! Even though it be "as violent as the initial violence of the oppressors" it can "initiate love". This is because the oppressors' violence "prevents the oppressed from being fully human" and, thereby, as we have said, dehumanises also himself. On the contrary, the response of the oppressed, violent though it may be in itself, is "grounded in the desire to pursue the right to be human" whereas the violence of the oppressor denies one the same right. The oppressed, on the other hand, "fighting to be human, take away the oppressors' power to dominate". In doing so, they restore, not only their own humanity, but also rehumanise their oppressors. That is why Freire likes to say that "only the oppressed . . . by freeing themselves can free their oppressors" (1972: 31-32).

Nor can we simplistically label as "oppression" the restrictions that the formerly oppressed impose on their ex-oppressors so as to prevent them from regaining their old oppressive positions and powers. For, as Freire so rightly comments, "an act is oppressive only

when it prevents men from being more fully human"; these "necessary restraints do not **in themselves** signify that yesterday's oppressed have become today's oppressors (1972: 33).

But that always remains a real and dangerous possibility. It is all to easy for the formerly oppressed people, on seizing the reins of power, to degenerate into a new oppressor class, to wreak fearful and terrible vengeance on the old oppressors and introduce cruel and unjust laws to ensure their remaining in a position of incontestable authority. Again, in the course of the revolutionary struggle, it is not easy to moderate and control violence so that it remains but a means to usher in a just society and doesn't become a cover up for all manner of paying off personal grudges, seizing long coveted wealth (or women!). . . Gandhiji held that non-violence had to be taught: people must learn how to control their spontaneous urge to hit back, to seek revenge, to exact three teeth for one, let alone an eye for any eye. In the same way, would it be unrealistic to call for a training of would-be revolutionaries in moderation and self-control, so that violent action be used solely as a means for establishing the balance of order that had been disturbed and not as an outlet for revenge or pandering to one's concupiscence? Such a call was made, and implemented, by a man who was no idealistic dreamer of "armchair revolutionary" but a person who committed himself to active struggle for justice in many battles for freedom and emerged as the "revolutionaries' revolutionary", none other than Che Guevara, himself. In his *Guerilla Warfare*, written out of the experience of the experience of the Cuban revolution, he envisaged just that. He laid down that the revolutionary be strained above all to be an "agrarian reformer" who should exercise the utmost gentleness and humanness in dealing with wounded and captured enemy soldiers. Civilians and peasants were to be treated with courtesy, even if they had been known to have supplied the National Guards with food and shelter, for often they had no choice. Non-combatants should be respected and there was to be not a breath of rape or looting among his guerillas. The fact that these directives were, for the most part, scrupulously adhered to was one of the reasons why Che's little band soon won the affection of the people as against the brutalities inflicted on all and sundry by the Batista régime. Che had nothing to do with the excesses introduced by Castro and soon left to throw in his lot with revolutionaries elsewhere.

But there is also the distressing phenomenon of how oppressed people often turn on each other in acts of unbridled and horrifying violence, which leads their oppressors to be confirmed in their opinion that "the great unwashed masses", the "niggers" or "wogs" – whatever be the term of opprobrium then in vogue – are incorrigible and uncouth barbarians, totally incapable of looking after themselves and who can only be made to respect order and discipline by means of the gun and the whip. 'After all, if that is the way they treat each other, what can we, their bet-

ters, expect at their hands, if they were given freedom?' Franz Fannon, in his classic, *The Wretched of the Earth*, explains the origin of this awful violence:

> The colonised man will first manifest this aggressiveness, which has been deposited in his bones, against his own people. This is the period when the niggers beat each other up, and the police and the magistrates don't know which way to turn when faced with the astonishing waves of crime in North Africa. . . . While the settler or the policeman has the right the live-long day to strike the native, to insult him and to make him crawl to them, you will see the native reaching for his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive glance cast on him by another native; for the last resort of the native is to defend his personality vis-a-vis his brother (1961: 38).

Freire, who quotes the above passage, then goes on to explain, in effect, why it is that when Dalits and Adivasis are allotted positions of power, say in the Police Force or Customs, as per the "reservation quota", often act so rudely and arrogantly. Indeed, this has become one of the main reasons why many have begun to suggest that it is not good policy to grant "STs and BCs" such posts: 'they just don't know how to treat people!'

Oppressed people, Freire observes, tend to "internalise" the image of their oppressor. Why do they do this? For the simple reason that, after having undergone long periods (centuries?) of oppression, they have come to believe that the oppressor alone is human. They have succumbed to the brain-washing that forced them to see themselves as sub-human and thereby meriting the kind of treatment they were receiving from their "betters". The oppressor, then, emerges as their sole role model for humanisation: the way he acts is the way they must act if, like him, they are to become humanised! For the oppressed, "to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor" (Freire 1972: 25). So, when Dalits and Adivasis find themselves in authority, they "lord it over others", not so much out of revenge (as we tend to think) but because this is the way they have seen their role models behave in such positions. They know of no other way to establish their pre-eminence and, in order to demonstrate that they can do the job efficiently, they follow the lifestyle of their former oppressors. Rather than retaliate by putting a moratorium on such appointments, the better course would be to wait a little patiently. It won't be long before clearer thinking prevails among these formerly oppressed people. At any rate the rest of us won't have to suffer at their hands anything like the atrocities they had to undergo from our predecessors, nor for any comparable length of time.

Thus we come to the conclusion that violence is ambivalent. One cannot absolutise all violence as bad and all non-violence as good. It should be clear enough that one cannot make a commitment to violence as a strategy to be used whenever any injustice confronts us. But neither can one assert that never, under any circumstances, can one use violence to protect the weak or restore the balance of justice from the proud and the arrogant. Martin Buber, I think, gives us a clear and succinct summary of this position in a letter which he wrote

to Gandhiji, for whom he had the utmost respect.

> . . . I cannot help withstanding evil in the world, just as the evil within myself. I can only strive not to have to do so by force. I do not want force. But if there is no other way of preventing the evil destroying the good, I trust I shall use force and give myself up into God's hands. . . . If I am to confess what is truth to me, I must say: There is nothing better for a man than to deal justly – unless it be to love; we should be able even to fight for justice – but to fight lovingly (Buber 1963: 146).

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The Challenge of Peace Amid Social Change in the Northeast

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Most Indians know the Northeast only as a region of conflict. The media speak about the "Seven Sisters" of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura only when there are killings or other conflicts. In reality, the Northeast stands out also for other forms of change, high literacy being one of them. That achievement is the doing mostly of Christians. Seen in the context of this achievement and the economic and cultural marginalisation of the region, the conflicts may be understood as integral to the process of a search for an identity. That turns the situation into a challenge to those who believe in continuing the work of the Prince of Peace. It requires an understanding of the causes of the conflict and a search for solutions that are just to the people of the region and to other marginalised groups. In other words, the Northeast challenges Christians to go beyond appearances and understand the changes and the agony that its people are going through. It also demands courage to adapt one's work to the aspirations expressed through what is termed unrest or militancy or terrorism. As the Vatican II Pastoral Constitution (No. 4) says, their prophetic role demands that Christians read the "signs of the times" and respond to them in a spirit of faith. With that in view we shall attempt in this paper to understand these changes and study possible solutions to the conflict.

Population Growth, Economy and Conflict

The first change is demographic. 8.14 millions out of India's 67.76 million tribals live in the "Seven Sisters". Except for the plains tribes like the Bodos, they inhabit the hills. Non-tribals dominate most plains. Some tribes are numerically small and others strong. The Adis are 26.9% and the Nishi 21.74% of the Arunachal tribals while the Aka are only 0.63%. The Mishing are 11.24% and the Boro-Kachari a third of the Assam tribals. The Garos are 50% and the Kasi 47% of the Meghalaya population. The Mizos are 87.3% of the tribals in their State. In three States tribals are more than 80% of the population and in one, two thirds. But the tribal proportion is low in the populous States of Assam, Manipur and Tripura. The Bodo-Kachari, numerically a third

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of the tribals in the Northeast are only 3.7% of Assam's population. In Tripura the proportion of tribals has changed from more than 56% in 1951 to around 30% today (Sen 1993: 13). Moreover, the more than 40 million *Adivasis* in the estate areas of Assam are probably 20% of the State's population but are the most exploited and powerless in the region. They are not included in the schedule for reservations. Even other tribes of the region resist their inclusion since that would raise the number of tribals in the Northeast by about 50% and result in more competition for a share of the already shrinking job reservations' cake.

Table 1. Area and Population in the Northeast in 1991

Sl No.	State	Area Sq. km	Population 1991	Density Sq. km	Growth Rate 1981-91	Annual	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Sex Ratio
01.	Arunachal	83,743	864,558	10	35.86	3.06	35.2	14.1	861
02.	Assam	78,438	22,414,322	284	23.58	2.12	29.1	10.3	925
03.	Manipur	22,327	1,837,119	82	28.56	2.51	22.4	6.7	961
04.	Meghalaya	22,429	1,774,778	78	31.80	2.76	31.1	11.3	947
05.	Mizoram	21,081	689,756	33	38.98	3.29	NA	NA	924
06.	Nagaland	16,579	1,209,546	73	56.86	4.50	19.8	4.1	890
07.	Tripura	10,456	2,757,205	262	33.69	2.90	25.7	7.7	946
	India	3,287,263	843,930,861	267	23.50	2.11	27.4	10.2	929

Source: D'Souza 1999: 4-5.

Thus there is an unequal power relationship, on one side tribal–non-tribal, and on the other between various tribes. The high population growth during the 1981-1991 decade has to be situated in this context. It was as high as 56.86% in Nagaland, 38.98% in Mizoram, 38.86% in Arunachal Pradesh and 33.69% in Tripura. It has not been substantially different in the earlier decades (Table 1). Some conclude from it that the people of the region are irresponsible on the fertility front and attribute it to the tribal culture or religious attitudes. But a look at the sex ratio in the region shows a different trend. One knows from many studies that the tribal and to some extent, Dalit women's status has traditionally been better than that of their high caste counterparts. But at 927 per thousand, the sex ratio in the Northeast is slightly lower than the national average of 929 which is itself very low. At 861 and 890 respectively it is the lowest in the tribal majority States of Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland (Pandey and Goel 1994: 5).

So, reasons other than fertility behaviour have to be found to explain this change. That gives the first indication of the causes of the conflict. The phenomenal population growth is due mainly to massive immigration from outside the region, some of it from neighbouring countries. A third of the migrants into Tripura are families migrating from Bangladesh. In most other cases only men come in search of jobs (D'Souza 1999: 4). Most immigrants are poor tribals and Dalits from Bihar and UP who have been impoverished by

deforestation, displacement and other forms of alienation of their livelihood. But the people of the region view them as competitors for their jobs, land, forests and other scarce resources. Thus, population growth becomes a question of their very survival. Because the outsiders take up jobs in these highly literate States, compete for the natural resources and control the local economy, the local people, especially the youth, view immigration as an attack on their livelihood.

Their resentment is primarily against outsiders controlling their economy and marginalising them. External control is seen, among others, in urbanisation. It is very low in the Northeast and is lower among the tribals than among the rest. Only in Mizoram tribals, who are 94.75% of the population, are 45.21% of the urban inhabitants. It is mainly because of the regrouping of villages during the insurgency into camps that are today considered towns. In Nagaland and Meghalaya the tribals, who are over 80% of the population, are below 20% in the towns. In other States their proportion is below 10% (Table 2). Outsiders dominate the towns and cities where economic decisions are taken. Four States also have tribals as their political leaders. So the local people tend to believe that they are running the State administration on behalf of the external economic forces.

Table 2: Total & Tribal Population, Urban/Rural in the Northeastern States, 1991

State	Population	% of		Tribals	% of		Tribals as
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	% of Total
Arunachal	864558	12.80	87.50	550351	05.84	94.16	63.66
Assam	22441322	11.09	88.89	2874441	03.38	96.62	12.81
Manipur	1837149	27.52	72.48	632173	08.42	91.58	34.41
Meghalaya	1774778	18.60	81.40	1517927	13.56	86.44	85.53
Mizoram	689756	46.10	53.90	653565	45.21	54.79	94.75
Nagaland	1209546	17.21	82.79	1060822	12.04	87.96	87.70
Tripura	2757205	15.30	84.70	853345	01.65	98.35	30.95

Source: Registrar General and Census Commissioner 1992: 13-17.

Given the domination of a few mostly non-tribal groups, the discontent spills over also into internal conflicts. But the worst consequences of the conflict are felt by the weakest like the *Adivasis* who were brought to Assam by the British in the 19th century as indentured labourers. They are landless, politically powerless, and literacy is low among them. Besides, they keep referring to their ancestry in Jharkhand and are yet to find an *Assam Adivasi* identity. That confers legitimacy on those who perceive them as outsiders even a century after their arrival in the region. Similar is the Naga-Kuki conflict in Manipur, and the tribal-Bangali tension in Tripura, mainly for land and control of trade.

Thus, some conflicts take an anti-Centre form since it is perceived as sup-

porting the external economic forces. Secessionism is its expression. Regional conflicts tend to be expressed in terms of autonomy and ethnicity. Together with this, one also sees expressions of a new identity either in the form of the demand that they be considered indigenous people, or the expansion of identities by many tribes coming together, as the Nagas and the Mizos have done. So the conflict expresses itself in terms of political autonomy, ethnicity and identity. An effort to restore peace requires an understanding of these processes.

Literacy, Economy and Demography

The external control and marginalisation of the local communities have to be seen in the context of the good work done by the Churches in health and education. Literacy is high especially in States with a high Christian proportion. Even the relatively high, internal population growth results from the access the Church-run institutions have provided to the health services. Because of it, mortality has declined without a proportionate lowering of fertility (Goswami 2000: 53). In Mizoram literacy was 82.27% in 1991 and in most other States of the region, above the national average of 52.21% (Biswas 1999: 17). There are indications that in the 1990s Mizoram has overtaken Kerala as the most literate State in India. But in States like Tripura where non-tribals dominate, literacy is a little over 50% of the population as a whole but only around 30% among the tribals. Besides, only in Mizoram at 85.61% and 78.60% respectively and in Nagaland at 66.09% and 55.72% is male and female literacy somewhat close to each other. In all other States, female literacy is about a third less than that of males (Biswas 1999: 144-146).

So the proportion of educated young persons is high, among the tribals in particular. It turns immigration into a major threat to the youth who need jobs. In this perspective, demographic changes give us a view of insurgency that is different from that presented by persons controlling the economy. To hide their own vested interest in keeping the local population out of economic decision-making, they present it as missionary inspired or externally controlled. To the local people, the youth in particular, the main problem is immigration combined with high literacy on the one hand and low investment and employment generation on the other. The outsiders who dominate the economy seem to view the region primarily as an extraction zone for tea, timber, petroleum, coal and some other minerals. The number of industries is one of its indications. In 1994 Assam had only 116, while there were merely 17 in Arunachal Pradesh, 6 in Manipur, 7 in Meghalaya, 1 in Mizoram, 16 in Nagaland and 1 in Tripura (Table 3). The economic performance of the Northeast is calculated by economists as 61% of the nine most advanced States of India (Mazumdar 1998: 58). Even Orissa that is considered industrially backward had 374 industrial units in 1995 (Fernandes and Asif 1997). That creates a contradiction between the investment made in education and the aspirations of the youth who view the school as a step towards a secure economic future and perceive the immigrants as persons who snatch it away from them.

Table 3: Economic Profile of the Northeastern States, 1991

State	Industries	Workforce Participation			% in Each Sector			Per Capita SDP (Rs)		
	1994	Total	Male	Female	Primary	Second	Tertiary	80-81	85-86	90-91
Arunachal	17	45.22	63.66	36.34	67.44	8.66	23.90	1561	3274	5046
Assam	166	31.19	80.64	19.33	73.99	5.56	20.45	1200	2313	4114
Manipur	6	38.55	58.57	41.43	70.00	9.66	20.34	1429	2362	3893
Meghalaya	7	40.32	62.83	37.17	74.81	3.73	21.46	1361	2250	4530
Mizoram	1	42.09	61.32	38.68	65.99	5.07	28.94	1289	2658	NA
Nagaland	16	42.29	58.54	41.46	75.26	3.48	21.26	1448	2591	5006
Tripura	1	29.09	83.07	16.93	64.08	6.41	29.51	1323	2074	3430
All India	NA	37.64	51.52	27.06	67.53	11.97	20.50	1625	2749	5054

Source: D'Souza 1999: NEC 1995: 149; Dubey and Gangopadhyay 1998.

Economy and Cultural Domination

To it should be added the effort of the external economic forces to impose a single culture on them in the name of "one nation, one State". As Datta (1990: 41) says, the tendency of the Indian State is "to take the degree of Aryanisation as the measure of Indianisation." In attempting to turn itself into a nation, the Indian State does not respect the cultural and ethnic identity of different groups or recognise that the tribals have a culture and a religion of their own (Singh 1990: 234). Such imposition is integral to economic domination. The forces controlling their economy tend to devalue the tribal community and present their culture as song and dance, i.e., easy going people who need outsiders to develop them. In its place they impose a single culture as "development" and "civilisation". This approach serves both the purpose of hiding their own vested interest and the upper caste dominated fundamentalist objective of conferring a *Hindutva* identity on them by co-opting them into the dominant religious culture as a low caste (Fernandes and Roy Choudhury 1993: 18-19).

It is thus a direct attack on the communities that have found a new identity. It creates in the youth in particular a sense of ambiguity towards the outsiders as well as their own society. The tribals resent the efforts to homogenise their culture and monopolise their livelihood. They also resent non-tribal domination, especially in Assam, Manipur and Tripura. Their first reaction is sub-nationalism. They begin to perceive the Central Government as promoter of the external economic forces and of a homogenising culture. At times they also view the locally dominant groups as allies of the external forces though the latter are often in conflict with the outsiders, for example in Assam and Manipur.

So most struggles in the Northeast are in reaction to external economic control, their own marginalisation and the homogenising cultural trend. One witnesses a double resentment—against the Central Government as representing the economic forces and against the locally dominant groups. The former may lead to secessionist demands and the latter takes the form of autonomy. Much of

the history of the region is conditioned by this interaction. In reaction to domination, the people demand control over their livelihood: economic and political power, and assert their cultural identity which may take an exclusive form. Their demands take the form of identity, ethnicity and nationalism. Political, economic and cultural autonomy go hand in hand. Though much of the immigration is caused by poverty (Nandi 2000: 104), the local people view it as competition for livelihood. Hence the anti-Bangladeshi, anti-Nepali or anti-*Adivasi* feelings in different States. For example, the tribals who were 70% of the Tripura population in 1901 were reduced to 56% in 1951 and to around 30% in 1991 because of immigration from Bangladesh. People in the rest of India do not consider them foreigners because they are Hindus. Only when Muslims come in are they referred to as Bangladeshis. But the fact remains that whatever their religion, they deprive the tribals of their land and other resources (Sen 1993:13).

Churches and Social Change

An understanding of this ambiguity can help one to identify the areas where the churches can make a contribution to peace. A way of understanding this role is to look at the contribution the churches have made to social change in the past. The missionary was rarely aware of the social processes that his inputs set in motion. But without realising it, he supported tribal empowerment. To begin with, the parish and other Church institutions provided the organisational base the tribals required to come together. As a result, the Naga tribes as early as the 1920s, the Mizos in the 1950s and others at different periods of time, went beyond inter-tribal conflicts. Their coming together itself has to be understood in the context of the cultural attack on them that began in the 16th century and intensified in the 19th. Many social historians attribute the 19th century conversion of the tribals in the Northeast to the possibility it provided to them to protect their identity against this attack. They had seen how the Meiteis and Ahoms were Sanskritised and absorbed into the Gangetic valley culture. The tribals were afraid of being subjected to the same homogenising process. That is when conversions to Christianity increased among them. The missionary probably did not understand this process and did very little to protect their culture. But their coming together using the churches' organisational base has been integral to the process of expanding their identity beyond individual tribes (Fernandes 1999).

Organisational support would have been inadequate without education. It gave them a sense of hope in the future and became a tool of awareness building in their communities. The hope generated by education helped them to strengthen the process of identity expansion that had begun with the support of the organisational structure. In the process of their developing a sense of being one among themselves, education also became a crucial step in the awareness of what they perceived as threats to their identity (Pakem 1990: 110-112). The missionary viewed education as integral to his pastoral efforts. But combined with the organisational structure,

he set in motion processes that made their communities aware of the possibility of making progress by using their rich resource base (Sanyu 1996: 115-126).

However, they were to be disillusioned in this enterprise. The outsiders controlling the economy view the region only as an extraction zone from which raw material and capital can be taken out for investment elsewhere. Table 3 shows that investment in the region is very low. So its highly literate population does not have enough jobs. As the employment figures show, against an All India proportion of 11.97% of the workforce in the secondary (production) sector, it is as low as 3.48% in Nagaland, 3.73% in Meghalaya, 5.07% in Mizoram and 5.56% in Assam. Only Manipur at 9.66% comes close to the national average. So their only recourse is administrative jobs. In most States, more than 25% of the workforce is in the tertiary (services) sector, against 20.50% in India as a whole (D'Souza 1999: 9-10). The nature of the tertiary sector itself is different. In many places it is commerce, tourism, information technology, transport and related fields. In much of the Northeast it is mainly administration.

The other alternative is agriculture. But the outsiders view the forests and other natural resources in which the region abounds only as a raw material to be extracted for use elsewhere. To them, the region is tea, petroleum, minerals and timber. The All India tree cover is 13%. But it is as low as 2% in much of Gujarat (except its tribal regions), Gangetic UP and North Bihar, while above 50% in most Northeastern States and above 70% in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. It has been coming down steadily because of the timber trade (FSI 1997). Besides, the agricultural sector is saturated. More than 5 lakh families (or 3 million of 8.17 million tribals) have shifting cultivation as their main sustenance. They use nearly 4,000 sq. km of land in any year. The tertiary sector cannot produce more jobs. But very few jobs are created in the secondary sector. Hence the spectre of unemployment (D'Souza forthcoming).

Much of what is called insurgency can be attributed to these processes. That is the main reason why the conflict combines nationalism, ethnicity and economic autonomy into one. History shows that one cannot take an exclusive view of the conflict being religious or cultural or economic. External control over the resources is basic to it. The tribals are not able to cope with the depletion of their resources caused by the commercialisation of forests and agricultural produce. They feel the need to come together to safeguard their livelihood or to take advantage of modernisation (Roy Burman 1985: xii-xiii). That brings them into conflict with the forces that want to keep them subjugated in order to exploit their resources. That is what Butola (1997: 73) calls counter-hegemonic insurgency.

But while resentment is against the powerful who control the economy, the people are unable to counter them. So often their resentment gets diverted to soft targets like the *Adivasis* or Bangladeshi and Nepali migrants whom poverty pushes towards India in search

of a livelihood. Those who call themselves indigenous to the region view the late comers both as outsiders and as competitors for the resources that have been made scarce by those who control their economy. The leaders of the conflict concentrate on the educated youth who are hit by unemployment (Hazarika 1994: 237-239). Most social movements that are presented as militancy or terrorism can be viewed in this context.

The Role of the Churches

Those interested in finding a solution to the unrest need to attend among others to these issues. The Church personnel, particularly those in education, can play a role in finding a solution, with the knowledge that they have contributed much to identity formation and awareness of the dignity of self among the tribal communities of the region. Precisely because of this achievement, there is also the possibility of self-complacency. Hence the need to ask whether they are dealing with the situation in the region and building on the good work of the past. They need to ask themselves whether their approach has responded to the challenges the Northeast faces. In other words, has it been able to provide the opportunities to meet the people's aspirations? Some think that,

> The spread of modern education without accompanying compatible changes in the socio-economic bases of people's life in the region has not only created a rupture in the traditional and modern way of life, but it has also inculcated aspirations and ambitions among the people with non-existent opportunities available for their realisation (Butola 1998: 27).

Social analysts speak of education, religion and the family as the three main social reproduction systems. They reproduce the value system of the dominant society, not question it. As a result, they are important tools in reproducing unequal societies. The churches in the region may need to ask themselves whether, in the context of an attack on the economy and identity of the local people, the tribals in particular, their pastoral and religious approach has prepared the people to meet the challenges facing them. It is possible that by looking at conversion only as a religious event, the leaders, most of them coming from relatively old churches of southern and western India, have not understood their culture and aspirations fully. That lacuna can go against the people without the leaders being aware of it. Studies show that Christianity gave the tribals a history and a myth needed for identity formation. Education and medical care were instrumental in raising their consciousness. But the morality and education imparted accentuated individualism, private rights and a sense of being different from the rest (Singh 1985: 197).

The churches may need to ask themselves whether they are continuing to reproduce individualism in a region in which the community has played a crucial role. For example, many persons in education perceive individualism and competition as progress and modernisation, and encourage it in the school. The commercial forces need individualism in their divide and rule policy. The sense of being exclusive can add to the divisive forces at a time when the tribals need to come together. In

other words, some approaches to pastoral and educational work run the risk of instilling these social and cultural stereotypes in the tribals. The value system or culture imparted are not conscious decisions on the part of the churches' policy makers. Their conscious objective is to serve the tribals. But their value system may belong to the so called "mainstream" controlled by the dominant decision-makers.

By not questioning this, persons with the good will of serving the people of the region can attack their identity, contribute to the break-up and marginalisation of their communities and go against them at a time when they need to come together to protect their identity and economy from external commercial and cultural attack. They can thus reinforce the fundamentalist forces that are attempting to impose a single culture on them. Studies show that a purely individual, profit and achievement based modernisation introduces inequalities in an egalitarian society (Butola 1997: 76). Most North-eastern tribes are egalitarian. One can ask whether this approach has been instrumental in introducing such a value system without taking steps required to deal with the changes it introduces. Similarly, patriarchy is basic to the "mainstream" society. One wonders whether that too has been reproduced unconsciously. We have stated above that literacy is much higher in the Northeast than in the rest of India but lower among women than among men. Is it an indication of this value system?

Searching for Alternatives

These issues are a challenge, particularly to persons in education. When the culture, economy and the very identity of the people they serve are under attack, the churches' pastoral, social and educational work has to strengthen their sense of identity. Through education in particular, they should acquire the self-confidence required to take control of their economy and deal as equals with the outsiders who are trying to impose on them a culture that can confirm them in their inferior status. The search for alternatives to these processes is integral to the much misunderstood "evangelisation". Many oppose it, thinking that it involves baptising the biggest possible number. Theology today views it as making the values of Jesus real to His people. And the value required in the region is one of peace based on equality, autonomy and the social liberation that Jesus promised. In other words, one has to understand the causes of the unrest. Though at times expressed through violence, what the people of the Northeast are demanding is their right to a life with dignity. That is integral to evangelisation, i.e., making real in our surroundings the freedom that Jesus lived and died for. He came to make all things new (Gal. 1.8). This newness has to be seen in making the right to a life with dignity real to the people who are deprived of it for the profit of a few. These processes are being further intensified through globalisation. With greater effort to take control of the resources of the North-east, one can expect more resistance from the local people and greater repression in the name of national security.

The pastoral, educational and social work of the churches can play a genuinely evangelical role by helping all the local people (not merely Christians) to acquire self-confidence required to deal with the external forces at work and to grow as communities with dignity. Involvement in this process can help the churches, people in education in particular, to build on their past that has helped the people of the region to grow as communities. For example, the parish has been a meeting point for groups in conflict. Today the pastor often finds himself in a situation of being forced to opt for one or the other group. Taking a look at parish and school work as a mode of bringing groups in conflict together can make a contribution to peace. It may involve developing a new understanding of sharing and co-operation among these communities, at a time when the shortage of resources makes them competitors and even adversaries since one of the groups in conflict feels that it alone has a right over their livelihood and tends to ignore communities that are poorer. They do not respect the spirit of sharing that is fundamental to their traditional culture. That is where a new spirit of sharing and co-operation can be developed in the place of individualism and competition that can destroy many communities.

To this spirit is integral the self-confidence mentioned above. Helping the communities to develop self-confidence requires firstly a profound respect for their culture. Such respect is integral to evangelisation. One does not state that one has to go back to the past and maintain all their beliefs and practices. That approach would be fundamentalist. That tendency does exist among some. Some try to legitimise the values they absorb from the dominant castes by finding a parallel in their traditions. For example, most tribal movements are male-dominated. Some of them justify it by going back to their culture in which the man was the fighter. In reality men have lost their traditional status of fighters, rulers and hunters of the village. Outmigration or insurgency can become modes of regaining this status (Menon 1995). In the process they often ignore the woman's role. So her situation may deteriorate.

This is dangerous because it tries to find answers to today's problems in yesterday's myths, scriptures and customs. Instead, one has to look at the past with the future in view. To achieve it one has to identify the fundamentals of their culture, i.e., their value system, build on it and update it. One can summarise most tribal social systems as based on the triple value of (1) intra-generational equity i.e. ensuring that everyone's needs are met and no one's greed prevails over others: (2) inter-generational equity i.e. resources are treated as renewable, as community sustenance that has come down from the ancestors, and as such should be used according to present needs and preserved for posterity. (3) The role of the woman. She was not considered equal but had a higher status than her sisters had in caste societies.

This value system has to be identified and updated in order to make it possible for their communities to face outsiders and new situations with con-

fidence. In education it has implications for methods of teaching, the language, the atmosphere and culture of the school. For example, many assume that the tribals are unable to learn science and maths. The teaching methods are changed in order to assist them to improve. But their learning systems that may be different from the ones that the decision-makers in the churches in general and education in particular understand, are rarely attended to. Building on the good work of the past involves identifying these systems and adapting school administration and teaching methods accordingly. Technical training is essential if they are to take control of their economy. Understanding their learning systems is also basic to this.

Similarly, often the solution to the low self-image the *Adivasis* have developed is to say that nothing can be done with them. One temptation is to ignore them. Equally dangerous is the effort to keep them as a group apart—one that looks to Jharkhand as its land rather than the one they have inhabited for a century. It confirms the local people in their feeling that they are outsiders encroaching on their livelihood. Pastoral, social and educational work has to help them become *Assam Adivasis* and attain an identity that helps them to view themselves as people who have a right to live in this land rather than be forever considered outsiders. It has implications for their language, culture and value system.

Of equal importance is the role of the community. The powerful forces coming from outside cannot be confronted by individuals. It is important to strengthen their communities including the expanded identity that some have been growing into. Their community itself may have to be modernised, for example into a co-operative that helps them to take control of their local economy. It may also mean supporting social reform efforts that strengthen their community, for example by taking a new look at the woman's role. The tribal woman enjoyed a relatively high status. It is important to go beyond it and instil in them a sense of gender equality particularly when men among them are beginning to internalise patriarchy based values from the dominant castes. If that is not done the churches' work may be instrumental in reproducing them into the values of the dominant society that depends on structural inequality. The atmosphere in the school and parish has to maintain a sense of equality and community.

Such a role involves at times questioning the value system maintained through some of this work. A big section of the personnel have come into the region with a caste mentality of inequality, with a sense of superiority of some cultures and a patriarchal outlook. Clericalism may intensify this value system. Education and religious practices can strengthen it further. So for the churches to become "leaven in the dough" or facilitators of change, their personnel may have to begin by examining their own value system. Otherwise, they may unconsciously play the traditional role of turning education and religion into reproductive tools of an unequal society. In the Northeast it would mean further marginalising the people, the tribals in particular, greater resentment, and more

unrest and repression. A sense of equality, an approach based on their culture and methods that strengthen their identity and self-confidence are basic to a solution to this problem.

Conclusion

We have asked in this paper, questions that do not have easy answers. The questions have been asked in the context of the good work done by the churches through education, health and other fields, on the assumption that they can be more supportive of social change than they have been hitherto. Left to themselves, the family, religion and education are reproductive systems that maintain the status quo. But in the Northeast, the tribals have been able to use them to their own benefit, as tools of building a new community and of expanding their identity. In the 19th century missionaries were not aware of these processes. Today they can become aware of the people's aspirations and consciously support their right to a life with dignity. It involves understanding the situation of the communities one is dealing with and supporting efforts to provide alternatives to the forces that marginalise them or to the violence and drug addiction that are responses of despair.

That is the reason why an answer has been attempted in this paper to questions that do not have easy answers. The basic assumption in these answers is that Christian communities have to be a "leaven in the dough". In other words, the changes in our approach are not meant only for Christians but for the whole community, whatever their religion. The task is to make the hope of freedom real to everyone, knowing fully well that those with a vested interest in their poverty will present it as anti-national.

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An Interreligious Approach to Peace

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"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed " (Constitution of UNESCO, 1945).

Introduction

Peace is something everyone wants to have. It is the common goal of all religions. Without peace there cannot be true happiness. Peace is the basis of creativity and growth. Development and peace are also closely related. They are like two sides of a coin.

In this article, it will be my endeavour to explore various aspects of peace. I have adopted an experiential approach inspired by a pilgrimage of faith that I have been involved in during the last 18 years, ever since an encounter with death in an aircrash in 1982. I was serving as an officer in the Indian Air force at that time. This encounter with death at the least expected moment in my life made me realise that life is a gift and grace given to us with a purpose. It was my quest for the true meaning and purpose of life that brought me into a pilgrimage of faith as a disciple of Sadguru Jesus Christ.

I have gone through experiences that have proved beyond doubt the interdependent and complementary nature of all religions and divine revelations. Hence, I accept, respect and appreciate the truth in all religions and scriptures. But I do not believe that any religion has the whole truth or monopoly of truth. Religions and their scriptures are different limited expressions of the 'one truth' bound up with the cultures, languages, and thoughts, of different societies and their historical contexts. They are all pointers to something beyond. In themselves, they are not the 'goals'.

Religions and their scriptures are very important in our search for truth, happiness and peace. Hence, in this article, just as in my own life and mission, I have stressed the importance of an interreligious approach to peace. Each religion has a positive and unique contribution to make in humanity's quest for lasting peace and happiness in the world. I have briefly touched upon the 'inner' and 'outer' dimensions of peace. The emerging integral vision of reality and its importance in our quest for peace are also very briefly explored.

My most important contributions towards a culture of peace and non-violence, however, are developed through

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my own experiments and experiences. 'Dharma Rajya Vedi', 'Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education' and 'Disciples of Christ for Peace' are bodies that I was inspired to create at different stages in my pilgrimage of faith. In, with and through them I have been pursuing the one and only mission of my 'second life', to be a disciple of Christ and an instrument of God for unity and peace in the world.

The five essential requirements, *Pancha Tatva*, for a culture of peace and non-violence in a multi-religious milieu, the 'Peace culture Paradigm' of 'Dharma Rajya Vedi' and the 'Peace and Value Education module' of Dharma Bharathi National Institute are fruits of my labour of love, a deep love I carry in my heart for my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and for my motherland India. My Christian discipleship and Indian citizenship have been equally important to me. I have given the best years of my life to the nation, serving as an officer in the Indian Air Force. But today I see the whole world as one family. Hence, it is not Mother India, but Mother Earth who is the object of my love.

I believe that India and the Church have very important contributions to make in humanity's quest for truth and peace. In fact 'a marriage of East and West' as prophesied by my revered guruji, Swami Dayananda (Fr. Bede Griffiths, OSB), will have to be concretely expressed in a marriage of Hinduism and Christianity at a deeply spiritual level. From the spiritual communion of these two great religions will spring forth a culture of peace and non-violence on earth.

'Disciples of Christ for Peace', Dharma Bharathi National Institute (Dharma Bharathi Global Open University of the future) and Dharma Rajya Vedi are meant to serve as 'salt of the earth and light of the world' in humanity's quest for a culture of peace and non-violence on earth. They embody in themselves a 'marriage of Hinduism and Christianity' at four levels – the levels of action, vision, philosophy and spirituality as I have been living and experiencing them. Hence, I have also tried to give in this article brief outlines of all these three bodies and their common vision and mission.

A Crisis of Violence and a Culture of Peace

The world at the dawn of the third millennium urgently needs peace. The twentieth century was, by far, the most violent century in human history. Its first half saw two major World Wars and the unimaginable destruction they brought upon the human family. The second half saw the death of more than 30 million people due to wars, small and big. The last decade of the century alone witnessed more than 100 armed conflicts in different parts of the world. Added to these are the innumerable acts of terrorism and violence that go on every day in various countries.

The year 2000 was an important landmark for all humanity, ushering in not only a new century, but also a new millennium. In order to take stock of the achievements and failures of the past and to seize the unique opportunity of-

fered by the year 2000 to give renewed impetus to the work of building a peaceful world, the United Nations declared it as 'International Year for the Culture of Peace.' The U N also organised a 'Millennium World Peace Summit' of the religious and spiritual leaders from 28th to 31st August 2000 in which more than 1000 religious and spiritual leaders from all over the world participated. This was the first time that the United Nations organised such a meeting of religious and spiritual leaders to seek their co-operation and support for building a culture of peace and non-violence in a strife-ridden world.

Peace in the world is impossible without peace among religions in the world. Global Peace will also remain a mirage without the active support and involvement of religions. Moreover, without religious motivation one may not find the courage and the inner strength to sustain one's efforts for peace. These three facts are to be taken seriously by any one who strives for peace in the world. The U N O was acknowledging these facts through the Millennium World Peace Summit.

The political leadership cannot by itself bring about peace in the world because they can only function at the level of 'Law' and 'Justice'. True peace comes from unity and harmony. 'Love' and the ensuing righteousness constitute the basis of lasting unity and harmony and hence of peace. It is here that religion and spirituality have to play an important role. The initiative of the United Nations to involve the religious and spiritual leaders in its quest for world peace is sure to lead humanity into an era of greater unity and harmony.

Inner and Outer Dimensions of Peace

'Peace within the individual' is the basis of peace in the world among individuals, nations and religions. If there is no peace within individuals, there cannot be peace in the world. This truth is dawning upon thinking people in a very profound way all over the world today.

Peace within needs forgiveness and reconciliation. Most of us are 'wounded beings' in need of healing. Without forgiveness and reconciliation, there cannot be inner healing. Forgiveness can be very difficult at times, especially when the 'wounds' are deep. These are the times and occasions when we need the 'grace' of the Divine. Thus 'grace' can be seen as the deepest source and basis of lasting unity and peace in our lives and in the world.

Grace is given to us freely and unconditionally by the Divine, just as the light of the Sun is free and unconditionally available to all. But if our doors and windows are closed, there will not be light within. Similarly, if our hearts and minds are closed, prejudiced or contaminated by anger, hatred, resentment, suspicion etc., grace cannot take root or bear fruit in our lives. Thus grace, though freely given and available, requires a positive endeavour from our side in the form of forgiveness and reconciliation. 'Repentance' is a precondition for forgiveness and reconciliation. It is through repentance that the 'Kingdom of God' dawns upon us and becomes an experienced reality in our lives. This is the inner dimension of peace which is built on the basis of repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation. Religion can play an important role

in helping us to find this inner basis for peace.

Peace in the world, though needing the strong foundation of inner peace, also has to encompass the economic, social, political and ecological aspects of human existence. Governments and political leadership have to play their roles effectively in these areas. Hence, what we need today is an integral approach wherein the religious and political leadership can join hands in humanity's quest for lasting peace in the world, integrating the inner and outer dimensions of peace.

Emerging Integral Vision of Reality

The mystics of world religions share a common vision and understanding of the unity underlying all apparent diversities that form part of the physical world. This unitive vision inspires them to preach and promote the higher and nobler ideals of human solidarity and unity of all life. They understand and experience the all-pervasive nature of the Divine Spirit and the sanctity of all creation. For them every one and everything is 'sacred.' They see the Creator in and through the creation. Creation for them is God's self-expression bound up with space and time.

A correct understanding of creation is essential for a correct understanding of the Creator. We tend to develop the qualities and attributes of the 'God' we worship. Hence, knowing the 'one True God' becomes the first and foremost quest of a seeker of truth and peace. In this process science plays an ever increasing role because it is through science we that can understand the secrets of creation. Thus, science and religion constitute the 'two wings' in humanity's 'flight' to truth and peace.

The discoveries of new science are opening up to us an integral vision of reality. Creation is seen as an 'interdependent organic whole in the form of a network of relationships.' Matter, mind and spirit are found to be interdependent and interrelated. Matter becomes conscious, and spirit reveals the divine potential in human beings who are seen as catalysts and conduits for the spiritualisation of the material world. In, with and through the human person, matter enters into the realm of the spirit. Harmony is achieved when matter and mind are subjected to the all-pervading presence of the Divine Spirit in, with and through the human spirit. This communion of the Divine Spirit and human spirit is the source and basis of lasting harmony and peace in our individual and collective existence. Both science and religion are needed for this 'peace which the world cannot give or take away from us.'

Integral Peace

'Integral peace' implies peace that comes from an integral vision of life. It also means peace that is the fruit of an integration of the human with the divine, of the secular with the sacred, of the masculine with the feminine, of science with religion. It encompasses the personal, societal and ecological dimensions of human life in which the economic and political dimensions are very important.

The economic dimension of integral peace assumes the greatest impor-

tance today in a world suffering from poverty and hunger. 30% of the human population cannot afford to eat one square meal a day, 25% of human beings are illiterate! Poverty, illiteracy and sickness go hand in hand. There cannot be peace in the world unless these basic issues are addressed effectively. Religion and spirituality may mean nothing to those suffering from poverty and hunger.

15% of human beings control and consume 85% of the world's resources. They live a life of affluence and over-indulgence without caring for the vast majority of their brothers and sisters in the human family who live in utter poverty and hunger. The world has enough resources to meet the needs of all but not the greed of a few. Economic justice is basic to world peace.

The exploitation and deprivation of the majority of humankind by the minority of the rich and powerful are facilitated by a political system where power is concentrated in the hands of the rich and influential few. A centralized political system is necessary for the centralizalition of power. Centralization of power leads to deprivation, oppression and violence. Rich nations of the world today spend more than a trillion U.S. dollars a year on weapons. A mere 25% reduction in the annual 'defence' budgets of these nations can eliminate poverty and hunger from the face of the earth.

A centralized political system needs and supports a centralized economic system. Hence, a decentralized political system is necessary for the decentralization of the economic system. Only a decentralized economy can meet the 'needs of all'. Centralized economy meets the greed of a few. Political system and economic system are like two sides of a coin; they are interdependent and interrelated. Transformation of the one without transforming the other will not be possible.

Centralized economy promotes large-scale industries with greater profit motive. Human labour and human beings are often used and disposed of without any thought for their dignity. Nature is exploited, air and water are polluted; mother earth is raped in this mad rush for profit. Violence is inevitable in such a world. Peace will remain an elusive reality in a society with centralized political and economic systems.

World Peace needs environmental health and ecological well-being. Environmental degradation and ecological imbalance are often the fruits of large-scale centralized industries. Hence, environment-friendly technologies and small-scale decentralized industries that respect and uphold the dignity of the human person and human labour are prerequisites for ecological health of mother earth and for peace in the world.

Essential Requirements for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence in a Multi-religious Milieu

85% of the people in the world follow one religious belief system or another. Religion plays an important role in the lives of these people. A religious motivation provides them with the strongest driving force in their life and work. Hostilities and conflicts among religions have also led to great wars and terrible

acts of violence. Peace in the world is impossible without harmony and co-operation among religions in the world.

We are fast discovering the fact that lasting peace and unity on earth needs a religious motivation. Also, peace activists can sustain themselves in their tireless pursuit of world peace only if there is a spiritual dimension to their work. The UN was acknowledging these facts by organizing the Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders. Wars and violence are products of human self-aggrandisement, greed, lust, fear and insecurity. Poverty and hunger are also products of these evils inherent in human nature. These forces of evil can be fought and overcome only with the help of religion and spirituality. Laws and political revolutions cannot liberate humankind from the clutches of these forces of evil. History bears witness to this truth. Hence, religious and spiritual leaders will have to play a very important role in humanity's quest for lasting peace and unity in the world.

My own experience and the experiences of many who are sincerely working for peace based on a religious motivation have shown that in an interreligious milieu an abiding culture of peace and non-violence will need:

1. A foundational spirituality of peace that respects the unique contributions of all religions,
2. A holistic and ecological philosophy,
3. An integral and unitive vision,
4. A comprehensive and constructive action plan
5. And a cadre of committed workers and enlightened leaders.

An Intereligious Approach to Peace Promoted by Dharma Rajya Vedi

Inspired by the insights gained through experiments and experiences we initiated 'Dharma Rajya Vedi' (D R V) on 02 October, 1990, as a socio-spiritual federation for a New Indian Renaissance and Global Peace based on an integral vision of life and reality.

D R V presents and promotes a foundational spirituality of peace termed 'Pratyasa' for a New Indian Renaissance and Global Peace. The holistic ecological philosophy presented and promoted by Dharma Rajya Vedi is termed 'Dharmodaya'. The integral and unitive vision promoted by Dharma Rajya Vedi is that of Dharma Rajya, the kingdom of God built on the Trinitarian foundation of Love-Unity-Peace. In the specific and multireligious milieu of India this vision is contextualised in terms of a 'Bharatiya Dharma Rajya' (Dharma Bharathi in short). The comprehensive and constructive action plan of Dharma Rajya Vedi for a New Indian Renaissance and Global Peace consists of a Spiritual Revitalisation Programme (S R P), a Moral Regeneration Programme (M R P) and a National Reconstruction Programme (N R P).

The spirituality, philosophy, vision and action plan of D R V together constitute a 'Peace Culture Paradigm'. A cadre of committed workers and enlightened leaders for Dharma Rajya Vedi is being prepared in the form of a new type of Consecrated Society termed 'Dis-

ciples of Christ for Peace' (D C P), which was started in 1998.

Dharma Rajya Vedi was invited to the Millennium World Peace Summit held at the United Nations in August 2000 as one of those NGOs involved in promoting a culture of peace and non-violence in the world.

'Dharma Bharathi Module' and Dharma Bharathi National Institute:

The foundational spirituality of peace, the holistic and ecological philosophy, the integral and unitive vision and the comprehensive and constructive action plan of Dharma Rajya Vedi together constitute what is termed a 'Dharma Rajya Paradigm' or 'Peace Culture Paradigm.' This Peace Culture Paradigm is presented and promoted in educational institutions across India since 1991 as 'Dharma Bharathi Module' for Peace and Value Education, wherein 'grace' and 'endeavour' are integrated with 'grace' given the primacy of place.

A Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education was established in 1993 to promote the Dharma Bharathi Module. The Institute functioned from Indore, M.P., from 1993 to 1998. In December, 1998, it was shifted to Hyderabad, A.P., from where it is functioning now.

A Post Graduate Diploma in 'Peace and Value Education' was started under the Deparment of Interreligious Relations, Madurai Kamraj University, Tamil Nadu, since the academic year 1997-98. This is the first course of its type in India in which science and religion are integrated in an academic course to prepare teachers for ' Peace and Value Education'. Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education and its founder played an important role in initiating this P.G. Diploma Course. The Institute provides practical training facilities for the students undergoing this one-year course.

Salient Features of Dharma Bharathi Module

The 'Dharma Bharathi Module' has, as mentioned earlier, four integral components: a foundational spirituality, a holistic philosophy, an integral vision and a comprehensive action plan. The salient features of each of these 4 components are given below:

a) The Foundational Spirituality for Peace (*Pratyasa*)

The foundational spirituality for peace that constitutes the basic component of the Dharma Bharathi Module is termed *'Pratyasa'*.

The word *'Pratyasa'* implies hope which is an attribute of the spirit. Hope for humanity lies in a scientific spirituality that can promote a culture of peace and non-violence on earth, hence the name *'Pratyasa'* for this spirituality of peace. *'Pratyasa'* has as its basis, five principles

1. Rootedness in one's own religious tradition and spiritual experience.
2. Openness to the truth, goodness and beauty present in all religions and cultures.
3. Simplicity of life and minimizing of needs.

4. Prayerfulness and awareness of the all-pervasiveness of the Divine Spirit.
5. Non-violence in thought, word and deed, and strict adherence to vegetarianism.

These five principles of *Pratyasa* are also termed 'Pancha Tatva' of the foundational spirituality.

b) The Holistic Philosophy for peace (*Dharmodaya*)

The holistic and ecological philosophy within the Dharma Bharathi Module is termed *'Dharmodaya'*. The term *'Dharmodaya'* implies awakening of dharma. It is an awakening of the sense of duty and righteousness. This leads to unity and peace in the world based on love.

'Dharmodaya' is built on a set of seven principles, which together are also termed 'Sapta Rishis.' They are:

1. Grace is the basis and source of lasting peace.
2. Repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation are pre-requisites for grace to take root and bear fruits in our lives.
3. All religions, scriptures and saints are recipients of grace. Hence, by following their noble teachings one can come to experience grace.
4. Grace once received, can be nurtured and nourished best by working for unity and peace in the world.
5. The path of forgiving, enduring and self-giving love, Sahana Yoga, is the most effective way to promote unity and peace in the world.
6. Peace in the world begins with peace within individuals and families.
7. Peace in the world is impossible without intra-religious and inter-religious harmony and co-operative action.

c) The Integral Vision for Peace (*Dharma Rajya*)

Interreligious co-operative action needs a shared vision and mission. The vision presented within the Dharma Bharthi Module is termed 'Dharma Rajya' implying a world of love, unity and peace. This is the ' Kingdom of God' preached by world religions.

The vision of 'Dharma Rajya' is contextualised as 'Bharatiya Dharma Rajya' in the multi-religious milieu of India.

'Dharma Bharathi ' vision is presented in the form of 2 models integrating the unique contributions of all 9 religions present in India (Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Bahai). One model is known as ' Whole-person Model' and the other model is known as 'Nava Ratna Model'.

d) The comprehensive action plan for peace (Shanti Yagna, Chatur Guna and Ashtanga Yagna).

The comprehensive and constructive action plan for peace within the Dharma Bharathi Module consists of 3 levels of action – spiritual, moral and social. A peace meditation termed 'Shanti Yagna' constitutes the Spiritual

Revitalization Programme (S R P) within this comprehensive action plan. This is a simple form of meditation leading to healing, reconciliation, wholeness, and communion.

A four-point programme termed 'Chatur Guna' constitutes the Moral Regeneration Programme (M R P) within the Dharma Bharathi Module. These four virtues are to be practised first by individuals who wish to work for unity and peace in the world. After they have themselves experienced the truth of this programme, they can promote it among the others.

An eight-point action programme termed 'Astanga Yagna' constitutes the National Reconstruction Programme (N R P) within the Dharma Bharathi Module. Individuals, institutions and groups can take up one or more of these eight points and be instruments of national reconstruction for unity and peace in the world.

Disciples of Christ for Peace (D C P) and Dharma Bharathi Open University

A new form of 'consecrated life' is being promoted through an interreligious society termed 'Disciples of Christ for Peace' (D C P) founded in 1998. Dharma Bharathi National Institute is training members of D C P in the Dharma Bharathi Module. Trainees are also advised to undergo the 1-year P.G. Diploma in 'Peace and Value Education' conducted by the Department of Interreligious Relations, Madurai Kamaraj University.

After their training with Dharma Bharathi National Institute the members can establish Dharma Bharathi Institutes and Dharma Bharathi Centres in different parts of India and the world in affiliation with the Dharma Bharathi National Institute (Hyderabad). These institutes and Centres together will be linked up to form a 'Dharma Bharathi Global Open University of Peace and Value Education' that will help to usher in a culture of peace and non-violence on earth.

Education is the basis of integral human development and meaningful social transformation. A culture of peace and non-violence needs education systems and institutions that will help promote unity and peace within the individual, within the family, within the nation and within the whole world. We need teachers and leaders with courage, character and commitment to take up this great challenging task of the era. D C P and Dharma Bharathi Open University are prayerful efforts in this direction.

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The Church and Peace

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As a historical reality, the Church has to search for a new identity as it enters a new century, a new millennium. The shape of the Church to come is determined by its mission, and the mission receives its specification from the actual context in which it is exercised. It is my contention here that in the conflictual situation of our country today the Church in India is called to be an agent of peace and reconciliation.

I do not deny that the Church in India may have many other tasks to perform. Nor do I claim the Church is the only agency that has to work for peace, for a large number of people and organisations in India in fact seek to promote peace. But I do maintain that, if she wishes to be relevant to the concrete situation of our country today, the Church has to work for peace and reconciliation. And working for peace and reconciliation is an essential dimension of her God-given mission.

Obviously, peace is not something that we can "make". That is why the Bible looks upon peace as a gift of God and the fruit of Christ's redemptive work (2 Cor 5:18-21; Eph 2:14-16). All that the Church can do is to create conditions in which humans can experience genuine peace. What are the conditions conducive to peace? And how are they to be created? These are some of the questions that I shall deal with in this paper.

I shall begin by a brief description of the conflictual situation of our country today. I shall then go on to develop some theological perspectives on the Church's mission of peace and reconciliation. Finally, I shall point out some concrete steps to foster peace and reconciliation.

1. The Situation

For centuries India had the reputation of being a land of peace and harmony. This is no more true. Today our country is faced with conflicts of various kinds. Let me now highlight some of these conflicts.

1.1. First of all there is a religious conflict. India is the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and many tribal religions. And from ancient times she has welcomed to her shores Judaism, Christianity and Islam. By and large, the followers of these different religions lived together in peace and harmony. But the situation has now radi-

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cally changed. As a Research Seminar held at Ishvani Kendra, Pune, in March, 2000, pointed out:

> Today what we are up against is a situation of 'religions in conflict'. These conflicts are not arising out of merely theological factors but also socio-psychological ones, and have four important roots: (a) religion as a source of identity is closely linked to culture and may be further strengthened by ethnic identity, (b) defensive fundamentalism in every faith tradition that leads to exclusivistic tendencies, (c) communalism that uses religion as a political tool raises its ugly head in most religious groups, which in turn leads to the branding of the other as enemy, and (d) hurting memories of the unsavoury past associated with domination and even persecution, etc., that continue to burn within the hearts of religious groups. The combined might of these factors frequently lead people to set up 'institutionalized riot systems' as evidenced in Gujarat, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and other places (Conclusions 2000: 111).

1.2. Then there is a class conflict – the conflict between the rich and the poor. During the past decade the Indian economy has grown significantly, and yet this has not led to any alleviation of poverty. Nay, there is reason to believe that the process of economic liberalisation and globalization which was initiated in 1991 has actually led to an increase of poverty in our country. As Jayati Ghosh has observed:

> Thus the major conclusion for the past two decades is that the period between 1973-74 and 1989-90 was characterised by a sustained decline in poverty ratios in both rural and urban India (indeed, this trend of declining poverty in India can really be dated from that period) and also that this process is no longer clearly evident for the subsequent period of the 1990s. A recent study using the 'small samples' of the NSS actually indicates an increase in the incidence of poverty in both rural and urban areas over the period of 1993-94 to 1997. The percentage of people living below the poverty line in rural areas is estimated to have increased from 37.3 to 38.5 per cent, while in urban areas the rise has been from 32.4 to 34.0 per cent. This implies that the number of people living in absolute poverty in India went up from 276 million in 1989-90 to 349 million by 1997 (1999:119).

Today the number would be more than 400 million.

The poor are becoming increasingly aware of the injustice of the system that condemns them to a life of indigence and misery. And they are opposing the system couragesly, sometimes even violently. This leads to a situation of conflict.

1.3. Further, there is the upsurge of the subaltern groups which creates a conflictual situation. Movements of the Dalits, the tribal people, women and the other backward castes are meant to liberate them from injustice and oppression, which has robbed them of their human dignity and condemned them to a life of poverty and powerlessness. As has been remarked:

> The specific problem of Indian subaltern groups is that their rank in society is determined by birth which makes any improvement in their social, educational, cultural, religious, psychological, political and economic status well nigh impossible (Conclusions 2000: 110).

1.4. Finally, there is growing violence in the country. The land of the Mahatma is fast becoming a slaughterhouse where innocent people are mercilessly butchered every day. The causes of violence are many and varied. The criminalisation of politics and the political involvement of criminals have led to the growth of violence. Religious fanaticism and ethno-cultural diversity too give rise to violence. Besides, secessionist movements as well as trans-border terrorism are also factors that explain the growth of violence in India today.

It is in such a conflictual situation that the Church is called to be an agent of peace and reconciliation.

2. Theological Perspectives

2.1. In the Old Testament, the Hebrew word *shālôm*, which is usually translated by "peace", is very rich in meaning. It "may be said to signify in general completeness, perfection – perhaps most precisely, a condition in which nothing is lacking" (McKenzie, 1968: 651). According to G. Von Rad:

> Its basic sense is not the narrower one of "peace" but the wider one of "well-being." It may be used for the good fortune of the wicked, for health, and for national prosperity, which implies stability. In many passages it denotes friendly relationships, whether between states (1 Kgs 5:26) or individuals (Zech 6:13). It is thus linked with covenant; a covenant initiates or seals it (Josh 9:15; Ezek 34:25). In Ezekiel it is God who makes the covenant that results in peace, so that the term can finally express the relationship between God and his people (cf. Is 54:10) (1988: 207).

Shālôm is always a religious term since all the elements involved in peace are looked upon as God's gifts (see Judg 6:24; Job 25:2; Pss 35:27; 122:6). There is a pregnant passage that sums up the blessings associated with peace which God bestows on the righteous (see Lev 26:1-13). Roland J. Faley explains the text thus:

> The blessings centre chiefly around fertility of the soil (3-5 and 10), with the abundant yield of the harvest presented in vivid, if exaggerated, imagery (cf. Am 9:13). The people's future is described as a life of peace and accord with the forces of nature and easy victory over their foes (6-8), abundant offspring (9), and crowned with the inestimable blessings of the Lord's presence (12). Such favour is viewed wholly in terms of the Sinai alliance (9b), the outcome of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage (13) (1990: 78).

It is quite significant that *shālôm* is an element in Israel's eschatological expectation (see Is 2:2ff; Zech 9:9-10). In fact, "prince of peace" is one of the messianic titles precisely because the Messiah is the one who grants and guarantees enduring peace (see Is 9:6-7; Mic 5:5).

It is worth noting that the Old Testament does not refer to inner peace. As G. Von Rad has said:

> An interesting point is that for all its wealth of meaning in the OT *shālôm* nowhere denotes specifically an attitude of inward peace. *Shālôm* always finds external manifestation, and in its most common use it is a social rather than an individual term (1988: 208).

2.2. In the New Testament *eirēnē* is the term for peace. It is at first used in greetings (see Mk 5:34; Js 3:16; Jn

"development is the new name for peace". He explains:

> Excessive economic, social and cultural inequalities among peoples arouse tensions and conflicts, and are a danger to peace. As We said to the Fathers of the Council when We returned from Our journey of peace to the United Nations: "The condition of the peoples in process of development ought to be the object of our consideration; or better: our charity for the poor in the world – and there are multitudes of them – must become more considerate, more active, more generous". To wage war on misery and to struggle against injustice is to promote, along with improved conditions, the human and spiritual progress of all men, and therefore the common good of humanity. Peace cannot be limited to a mere absence of war, the result of an ever precarious balance of forces. No, peace is something that is built up day after day, in the pursuit of an order intended by God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among men.

Paul VI has a comprehensive understanding of development. He articulates the Christian vision of development:

> In the design of God, every man is called upon to develop and fulfil himself, for every life is a vocation. At birth, everyone is granted, in germ, a set of aptitudes and qualities for him to bring to fruition. Their coming to maturity, which will be the result of education received from the environment and personal efforts, will allow each man to direct himself toward the destiny intended for him by his Creator. Endowed with intelligence and freedom, he is responsible for his fulfilment as he is for his salvation (*PP* 15).

What the pope advocates is the total development of each person and all persons.

2.5. Pope John Paul II is a tireless champion of peace who has dealt with the theme of peace often and at some length. Like his predecessors, John Paul II sees a close connection between justice and peace. In his Message for the World Day of Peace, issued in December 1997, the Pope states:

> Justice goes hand in hand with peace and is permanently and actively linked to peace. Justice and peace seek the good of one and all, and for this reason they demand order and truth. When one is threatened, both falter; when justice is offended, peace is also placed in jeopardy. . . Justice and peace are not abstract concepts or remote ideals. They are values which dwell, as a common patrimony, in the heart of every individual. Individuals, families, communities and nations all are called to live in justice and to work for peace. No one can claim exemption from this responsibility (1997: 467).

John Paul II believes that justice is rooted in love and "finds its most significant expression in mercy". Hence, justice, "if separated from merciful love, becomes cold and cutting" (1997: 467). On the other hand,

> Justice is an active and life-giving virtue: It defends and promotes the inestimable dignity of every human person and is concerned for the common good insofar as it is the guardian of relations between individuals and peoples. No one, in fact, ever lives in isolation. From the first moment of life, each human being exists in relationship to others in such a way that the good of the individual and the good of society go hand in hand. Between the two there exists a delicate balance (1997: 467).

The pope quotes with approval the following passage from United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (1997: 467).

John Paul II lays stress on the universality and indivisibility of human rights and calls in question the use of the argument of cultural specificity to justify the violations of human rights:

> These distinctive features must be strongly reaffirmed in order to reject the criticisms of those who would use the argument of cultural specificity to mask violations of human rights and the criticisms of those who weaken the concept of human dignity by denying juridical weight to social, economic and cultural rights. Universality and indivisibility are two guiding principles which at the same time demand that human rights be rooted in each culture and that their juridical profile be strengthened so as to ensure that they are fully observed (1997: 468).

The pope pleads for justice in a world on the way to globalization. International efforts are necessary to promote a sense of responsibility for the welfare of all. As he points out:

> The challenge, in short, is to ensure a globalization in solidarity, a globalization without marginalisation. This is a clear duty in justice, with serious moral implications in the organisation of the economic, social, cultural and political life of nations. . . If the aim is globalization without marginalisation, we can no longer tolerate a world in which there live side by side the immensely rich and the miserably poor (1997: 468).

2.6. In his Message for the World Day of Peace, issued in December 1996, John Paul II underlines the importance of forgiveness in our pursuit of peace. He realizes that "there are many factors which can help restore peace while safeguarding the demands of justice and human dignity". But he is convinced that forgiveness is the most basic factor:

> But no process of peace can ever begin unless an attitude of sincere forgiveness takes root in human hearts. When such forgiveness is lacking, wounds continue to fester, fueling in the younger generation endless resentment, producing a desire for revenge and causing fresh destruction. Offering and accepting forgiveness is the essential condition for making the journey towards authentic and lasting peace (1996: 169).

The pope knows that many individuals, groups and nations find it difficult to forgive because of the situation of injustice and oppression in which they are forced to live. Besides, there is the burden of history:

> History carries with it a heavy burden of violence and conflict which cannot easily be shed. Abuses of power, oppression and wars have brought suffering to countless human beings and, even if the causes of these sad events are lost in the distant past, their destructive effects live on, fueling fear, suspicion, hatred and division among families, ethnic groups and whole peoples (1996: 170-171).

That is why individuals and peoples need a "healing of memories".

This does not mean that they have to forget past events. Rather, they have to learn to look at them in a new way. Instead of remaining prisoners of the past, they have to recover their freedom to forgive. As the pope says: "The deadly cycle of revenge must be replaced by the new-found liberty of forgiveness" (1996: 171).

John Paul II believes that truth and justice are prerequisites for forgiveness. As he points out:

> The evil which has been done must be acknowledged and as far as possible corrected. It is precisely this requirement which has led to the establishment in various parts of the world of appropriate procedures for ascertaining the truth regarding crimes between ethnic groups or nations, as a first step towards reconciliation (1996: 173).

And justice is the other essential requisite for forgiveness: "Forgiveness neither eliminates nor lessons the need for the reparation which justice requires, but seeks to reintegrate individuals and groups into society, and states into the community of nations" (1996: 173).

According to John Paul II, it is through their experience of God's forgiveness that humans are enabled to forgive: "God's forgiveness becomes in our hearts an inexhaustible source of forgiveness in our relationships with one another, helping us to live together in true brotherhood" (1996: 170).

In his efforts to promote peace in the world, the pope makes two other significant points. The first one is the need for the preservation ecological balance. He calls attention to the growing awareness among people today "that world peace is threatened not only by the arms race, regional conflicts and continued injustice among peoples and nations, but also by a lack of *due respect for nature*" (1989: 200). Hence, he feels that there is an urgent need for solidarity and cooperation among the nations of the world in order to preserve the integrity of creation (1989: 204).

The second point is the importance of intercultural dialogue as a step towards the establishment of peace and harmony among the peoples of the world. John Paul II is convinced that dialogue between cultures is "an intrinsic demand of human nature itself as well as of culture". Hence, he declares:

> Dialogue leads to a recognition of diversity and opens the mind to the mutual acceptance and genuine collaboration demanded by the human family's basic vocation to unity. As such, dialogue is a privileged means for building the civilisation of love and peace that my revered predecessor Pope Paul VI indicated as the ideal to inspire cultural, social, political and economic life in our time. At the beginning of the Third Millennium, it is urgent that the path of dialogue be proposed once again to a world marked by excessive conflict and violence, a world at times discouraged and incapable of seeing signs of hope and peace (2000).

2.7. From what has been said so far it is clear that to work for peace and reconciliation is central to the mission of the Church. For the Church exists in order to carry on the saving work of Jesus under the guidance of the Spirit. And his saving work is interpreted in

the New Testament as reconciliation and peace-making. According to Paul, God was in Christ Jesus reconciling the world to himself (see 2 Cor 5: 18-21). The Letter to the Ephesians points out that Jesus Christ brought about peace and reconciliation not only between God and humans, but also among humans. For he broke down the wall of hostility between the Jews and the Gentiles (see Eph 2: 13-16). And the letter to the Colossians tells us that the work of reconciliation extends to the whole of creation since "through him God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, by making peace through the blood of his cross" (Col 1:20). Hence, it is an essential part of the Church's mission to work for peace and reconciliation.

There is another way of looking at this. It is generally held today that the Kingdom of God was central to the life and ministry of Jesus (see Soares-Prabhu. 1981: 584). According to Vatican II, the Church has received the mission to proclaim and establish among all peoples the Kingdom of God (LG 5). Peace is one of the parameters of the Kingdom (see Rom 14:17). It is also one of the fruits of the Spirit. When a person is touched and transformed by the saving God, he/she will be at peace. The Church led by the Spirit has to endeavour to establish peace within and among humans. As John Paul II has stated:

> Jesus not only taught his disciples the duty to forgive, but He also intended His Church to be the sign and instrument of His plan of reconciliation, making her the sacrament "of intimate union with God, and of the unity of all humanity." In the light of this responsibility, St. Paul described the apostolic ministry as the "ministry of reconciliation" (cf. 2 Cor 5: 18-20). But in a certain sense every baptized person must consider himself a "minister of reconciliation" since, having been reconciled with God and the brethren, he is called to build peace with the power of truth and justice (1996: 174).

3. Practical Implications

I shall now briefly discuss some of the steps the Church in India should take in order to promote peace and harmony in our country.

3.1. The Church in India needs to take more seriously the option for the poor and take concrete steps to alleviate poverty and misery in India. Sad to say, during the last decade there has been both in the Church and in the country a noticeable slackening of the efforts to remove poverty. This needs to be rectified. As it is quite clear that the process of globalization tends to increase poverty we need to join hands with those who take a stand against its harmful effects. What we should advocate is globalization without exclusion, without injustice. Let us be realistic. As long as more than 400 million of our people are deprived of their basic needs, there will be tensions and conflicts in our country. We shall not experience real peace.

3.2. We need to foster interreligious dialogue and collaboration as a means to promote peace. More than 35 years ago, Vatican II declared:

> Since God the Father is the origin and purpose of all men, we are all called to be brothers. Therefore, if we have

> been summoned to the same destiny, which is both human and divine, we can and we should work together without violence and deceit in order to build up the world in genuine peace (*GS* 92).

This is particularly relevant to us in India today, where vested interests are using religion to foment discord, ill feeling and hatred. Every religious tradition has rich resources to foster peace among people. If the followers of different religions were to pool together these resources, they can become an immense force for peace in our country.

Speaking of the need for a firm determination to remove every obstacle to achieving peace, pope John Paul II says:

> Here, the various religions can make an important contribution, as they have often done in the past, by speaking out against war and bravely facing the consequent risks. But are not all of us called to do still more, by drawing upon the genuine patrimony of our religious traditions? (1996: 171-172).

3.3. The Church in India has to join hands with all subaltern groups – the Dalits, the tribal people and women – in their struggle for liberation and justice. For centuries, the Dalits have been victims of oppression. In recent years violence against them has grown. The tribal people, too, are subjected to various forms of injustice. In his Republic Day eve address on 25 January, 2001, President K R. Narayanan said that 'large river valey projects' and mining projects were causing 'untold misery' to the tribal people. He also suggested that male prejudices were holding the Women's Reservation Bill (2000:1). It is necessary for the Church to collaborate with all movements and associations working for the liberation and empowerment of the subaltern groups if she wishes to make a contribution to peace in our land.

3.4. The Church in India should take up the ministry of reconciliation in a big way. Recently John Paul II asked the bishops and priests of the Church to be instruments of peace and reconciliation "not only in the ecclesial community, but also in civil society where nationalistic and ethnic conflicts are raging" (1996: 175). He also appealed to all "the members of the Church to devote themselves in an active and practical way to the work of reconciliation" (1996: 173). In the conflictual situation of India today, the appeal of the pope has great urgency. It is well known that Christian churches have played a crucial role in the establishment of peace in Mizoram. With our network of parishes and other institutions spread all over the country, the churches can make a significant contribution to peace in the Northeast, in Kashmir and other troubled parts of our country. So, too, we can be agents of reconciliation among the different religious communities in India. Renouncing all suspicion and hatred, the followers of various religious can open a new chapter in their relationship to one another. Will the Church take initiative in fostering this new relationship.

In order to do so credibly the Church needs to adopt a new approach

to its mission. Instead of concentrating on its numerical expansion, the Church should devote all her energies to the establishment of God's Kingdom of love, justice and peace. Only then will it be able to respond to its vocation to be an agent of reconciliation and peace in our country.

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Science and Priestly Formation
Historical Roots and Current Necessity

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It is no exaggeration to say that an institution can be expected to be as good as its leaders are, especially when it comes to a comparatively well-organized one like the Catholic Church. From the same line of logic it follows that the leaders can be only as good as the formation they receive since even a talented person with a low quality formation can turn out to be a poor leader, whereas, given a high quality formation, even a mediocre person can make a competent leader. Hence the paramount importance well-run organizations attach to the formation of their young members. No investment, however high, is ever deemed superfluous when it comes to the formation of the new entrants.

Although the concept 'formation,' being very general and comprehensive, resists any attempt at a precise definition, a basic minimum expectation from a carefully-planned and well-executed formation programme seems to be the moulding of mature and integrated persons capable of responding creatively and responsibly to the legitimate yearnings of the human person, both for oneself and for other fellow humans. Obviously, these yearnings are complex and multi-faceted, comprising the spiritual, physical, psychological, social, etc., dimensions. Any programme should be geared to the development of the talents of the individual persons without compromising the common good of the organization. A good programme should provide the trainees with both formation and information. It should also keep in view the present and future needs, the immediate as well as the remote demands, both at the individual and organizational levels.

Any well-planned programme of formation should remain sensitive to two aspects: continuity and context, continuity with the past history and well-established traditions of the organization and openness to its current needs and aspirations. An organization that remains blind to its past is heading into a blind alley; an organization that remains deaf to the cries of the day is doomed to the death of irrelevance. This paper is a modest attempt to study certain aspects of the formation of the leaders of the Catholic Church, particularly the role of scientific studies in their formation. Are scientific studies important for a leader of the Church today? If so, what place should they be accorded in the formation programme of priests and

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religious? I propose to approach this topic from two perspectives: of continuity and of context, from the perspective of a long-standing tradition of the Church and from that of the current conditions she is in. I will argue that from both these perspectives it follows that familiarity with and genuine appreciation of the developments in science and technology are necessary for priests and religious destined to be leaders of their communities.

I. Science and the Catholic Clergy: A Historical Overview

Historically, the Church's attitude towards science has been a mixture of opposition and support, discouragement and encouragement, isolation and involvement. This section discusses a few episodes of this engagement between the Church and science.

1. Some Discouraging Voices

Although an active interest in the sciences of the day was kept alive at all periods of history, there were leaders and thinkers who underestimated the role of science and scientific inquiry. For instance, the well-celebrated scholar in the early Church Tertullian wrote:

> Now, pray tell me, what wisdom is there in this hankering after conjectural speculations? What proof is afforded to us, notwithstanding the strong confidence of its assertions, by the useless affectation of a scrupulous curiosity, which is tricked out with an artful show of language? It therefore served Thales of Miletus quite right, when, star-gazing as he walked with all the eyes he had, he had the mortification of falling into a well.... His fall, therefore, is a figurative picture of the philosophers; of those, I mean, who persist in applying their studies to a vain purpose, since they indulge a stupid curiosity on natural objects, which they ought rather [to direct intelligently] to their Creator and Governor.[1]

It may be noted that Thales is considered the main founder of Greek (Western) science. The anecdote presented here is indicative of the antipathy Tertullian entertained towards the scientist's work. For him observing the positions and motions of stars was indulging in stupid curiosities!

St. Augustine, the great Father and Doctor of the Church, too, at times displayed a similar attitude, as was evident from his statement:

> When it is asked what we ought to believe in matters of religion, the answer is not to be sought in the exploration of the nature of things, after the manner of those whom the Greeks called 'physicists.' Nor should we be dismayed if Christians are ignorant about the properties and the number of the basic elements of nature, or about the motion, order and deviations of the stars, the map of the heavens, the kinds and nature of animals, plants, stones, springs, rivers, and mountains; about the divisions of space and time, about the signs of impending storms, and the myriad other things which these 'physicists' have come to understand, or think they have.... For the Christian, it is enough to believe that the cause of all created things, whether in heaven or on earth, whether visible or invisible, is nothing other than the goodness of the Creator, who is the one and the true God.[2]

Judging from this passage it is quite clear that St. Augustine was no

patron of the sciences. There were others too with similar negative views.

It is well-documented that many Church leaders opposed Galileo's discoveries and scientific ideas. It is said that some of them refused to look through Galileo's telescope believing that it was a device of the devil. In the nineteenth century, Cardinal Manning of England, reacting against Darwin's theory of evolution, declared it 'a brutal philosophy' since it holds that "there is no God, and the ape is our Adam."[3] The travails and sufferings Teilhard de Chardin had to undergo because of his pioneering efforts to christianize the theory of evolution are all too well known to be discussed here.

This kind of view and attitude seem to have given rise to what is sometimes called the Draper-White thesis, according to which the Church persistently discouraged scientific investigation, and remained a major obstacle to the growth of science.[4] However, recent research is unearthing more and more evidence to show that this was very much a one-sided and exaggerated view. In particular, such a view betrays a naive perception of the complexity involved. Quite often the issues involved were far more than matters of religion and mere religious authorities. In the next section we will see that there is considerable evidence to conclude that in many ways the Church had a positive attitude towards science.

2. *Science and the Church: The Positive Engagement*

All through the centuries many clerics showed a genuine appreciation of science and the scientific attitude. It may be noted that even in the Middle Ages the monasteries in various parts of Europe became custodians of the scientific heritage, including the Greek science, especially of precious ancient manuscripts and related items. During the Middle Ages the works of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and of Roger Bacon, a Franciscan who taught at Paris and Oxford, on optics and experimental science have been well-recognized by scholars. The churchmen also played an important role in translating some of the important manuscripts of ancient science. After all, Copernicus himself was a canon of Frauenburg and very closely associated with the official Church.

Considerable evidence exists to show that the constructive association of the clergymen with science was not just one of passive appreciation but of active participation. True, hardly any one of them ever measured up to the stature of a Descartes, Kepler, or Newton, but they made substantial contribution to the origin and development of science, especially when it was in its infancy. The impressive statistics presented by several recent scholars speak for themselves, both with regard to the sheer number of scientists involved and the diversity of areas covered. Poggendorf in his *Dictionnaire de Sciences Exactes*[5] from antiquity to 1863 lists 8847 scientists. Of these 10% were priests and religious. Among these the Jesuit order occupies a preeminent place. Sommervogel's twelve volume work *Bibliotheque de la Compagnie de Jesus* gives the names and works of 631 Jesuits for the first two centuries of Jesuit history.[6] According to Dhruv Raina,

"Between the years 1600 and 1773, ... Jesuit scientists had authored more than 4,000 published works, about 600 journal articles appeared after 1700, and about 1000 manuscripts were available. The Society's known publications include 6,000 scientific works covering areas such as Aristotelian natural philosophy, medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics."[7] It is well-known that many of Galileo's vocal and loyal supporters like Cardinal Dini were highly-placed ecclesiastics. Some of the scientific activities the churchmen engaged in were highly impressive. The fact that these persons received active support and positive encouragement from the Church was a clear indication that she was no mere distant admirer of the great scientific adventure unfolding before her.

3. *Institutional Involvement: The Jesuits*

The Jesuits participated in the excitement of the scientific revolution in a remarkable way. They rendered all-round service to science, particularly in its infancy. According to Ashworth, the Jesuit order "stands out from all others as the scientific order without rival in seventeenth-century Catholicism."[8] John Heilbron says that the Jesuit order was the "single most important contributor to experimental physics in the seventeenth century."[9] The world-renowned historian of science George Sarton has put it most beautifully: "One cannot talk about mathematics in the 16th and 17th centuries without seeing a Jesuit at every corner."[10] Ashworth points out that they "were interested in every newly discovered phenomenon, from electrostatic attraction to the barometer to the magic lantern, and the Jesuits played a major role in discovering many new effects on their own as diffraction and electrical repulsion."[11] As was mentioned earlier, of the 8847 savants in Poggendorf's list a little more than 10% were Catholic clergymen. Of these about 45% were Jesuits. In other words, of all the noteworthy scientists from antiquity to the year 1863, about 5% were from the ranks of the Jesuit order – an impressive record indeed.

The Jesuits not only participated in the creation and development of scientific ideas but also in their dissemination to other countries and peoples. For instance, they were the first to confirm Galileo's telescopic discoveries. Galileo published them in his *Starry Messenger* in 1610. Within five years the Jesuit missionaries in Peking gave an account of these historic discoveries.

The Jesuit interest in science had its origin in the inspiration of its founder St. Ignatius himself. A positive attitude to the material universe was fundamental to his spirituality and worldview. Watching the stars and contemplating their beauty and majesty was a regular routine for him, as he wrote in his *Autobiography*: "His (St. Ignatius's) greatest consolation was to look at the starry heavens. He contemplated them often and for long periods of time, because from it there was born inside of him an extremely strong impulse to serve Our Lord." Ignatius who pioneered the reorganization of the formation of Catholic clergy was noted for his rare foresight and vision. He always emphasized

the importance of scientific ideas and scientific worldview in the life of the leaders of the Church. Even before he gave the final shape to *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus,* he prepared a set of regulations in 1546 to guide the young Jesuit scholastics studying in Padua, according to which they were to study logic, natural philsophy, metaphysics, mathematics, and moral philosophy before their theological studies. It was even specified in the same document that "during this course of studies the scholastics were to have no book of theology in their rooms, lest they be tempted to distractions and suffer the same fate as Ignatius in Alcala."[12] Serious study of the sciences of the day was prescribed as an integral part of the curriculum of the Jesuit scholastics.

Later on when the *Constitutions* were finalized, study of the natural sciences and mathematics was presented among the items to be taught in the universities of the Jesuits.[13] Furthermore, when the *Ratio Studiorum* was officially promulgated in 1599, science and related topics were prescribed as part of the regular philosophy programme. It is true that the natural philosophy[14] and related topics studied by the Jesuit students in those days were basically Aristotelian, modified by a strong emphasis on mathematics and the mathematically based sciences such as astronomy and optics.[15] Obviously, what they studied was not the latest in science, but the fact remains that what was considered to be science in most academic circles of the day found a place in the formation programme of the Jesuits.

3.1 The Collegio Romano

The *Collegio Romano* which opened its gate in February 23, 1551, was unanimously considered as the flagship not only of Jesuit education but also, in some significant ways, of Catholic education in Europe for many years. It played a major role in the development and dissemination of science and the scientific spirit. It could count among its faculty members several outstanding scientists.

It may be noted that Galileo was closely associated with the *Collegio Romano* and its professors for a long time, particularly in the early years of his career. As William Wallace has pointed out, several of his early scientific ideas he got during his student days at the *Collegio.*[16] The Jesuits had a very warm and cordial relationship with Galileo in the years before his condemnation in 1633.

Not only the Jesuit scientists of the day but even some of the Jesuit theologians also had imbibed the spirit of the scientific revolution, particularly in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Spanish Jesuit theologian Benito Pereyra, who died in 1610, wrote this remarkable passage concerning the attitude one should have towarrds scriptural interpretation: "In dealing with the doctrine of Moses we must be careful to avoid saying confidently and without reservation anything which contradicts manifest experiences and the reasonings of natural philosophy or the other sciences. Since every truth is in harmony with all other truth, the truth of holy writ cannot be opposed to the solid reasons and findings of human knowledge."[17]

Unfortunately, the promising Jesuit participation in the scientific revolution gradually lost its vitality and creativity. As Richard Blackwell remarks, from the time of the decree of 1616 onwards "the character of discourse about astronomy among the Jesuit scientists underwent a gradual but distinctive evolution toward rigidity."[18] "With the notable exception of some isolated scientists of the first rank (e.g., Roger Boscovich and Girolamo Saccheri in the eighteenth century), Jesuit science was never to regain the promise it exhibited in the period from Clavius to Scheiner."[19] The reasons for this regressive trend were many, and have been discussed elsewhere.[20]

This regressive turn did not lead to a cessation of Jesuit science. Many Jesuits continued to do science, but, to a considerable extent, they were isolated from the mainstream science, and most of them failed to be part of the exciting revolution that was sweeping many parts of Europe. Had it not been for this unfortunate turn of events, the history of Jesuit participation in the scientific revolution would have been very different.

3.2 Jesuit Scientists in India

Jesuit science continued to make its mark in various parts of the world. Several Jesuits from Europe who came to India made important contributions to the development of science in India. According to Raymond Mercier, the Jesuit scientists' "geographical observations in particular were fundamental in effecting the revolution in the accuracy of longitudes."[21] They made substantial contributions to Indian geography and astronomy by determining the longitudes and latitudes of many major cities and towns, by constructing reliable maps of the country, by observing accurately many important celestial phenomena, by studying ancient Sanskrit texts on astronomy and science, etc. Some notable names were Anthony Monserrate (1536-1600), Anthony Rubino (1578-1643, J. Richaud (1633-1693), Jean-Venant Bouchet (1655-1732), Claude Stanislaus Boudier (1686-1757), and Joseph Tieffenthaler (1710-1785).

Perhaps the most notable instance of Jesuit contribution to the development of science in India in the eighteenth century was their collaboration with Sawai Jai Singh, the statesman astronomer, who made a valiant and all-out attempt to inject new life into astronomy in India in order to bring it on a par with Western astronomy. He most enthusiastically sought the assistance of Jesuit scientists from Europe, and extended to them the best of Indian hospitality, making sure that they got all the facilities they needed. Several Jesuits like Francois Pons, Claude Boudier, Anthony Gabelsberger, and Andrew Strobl collaborated with Jai Singh.

Despite certain limitations, the collaboration had good results. Jai Singh was so pleased with the Fathers that he chalked out extensive plans for more comprehensive collaboration with the Jesuits. However, it must be admitted that the science they transmitted remained very much amateurish and mediocre, compared to what was available in Europe at that time. Still very much

imprisoned in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic world view, their science failed to participate significantly in the scientific revolution afoot in contemporary Europe.

3.3 Jesuit Science in China

Another country which benefited from the Jesuit expertise and enthusiasm in science was China. Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) occupies a unique place in the history of Jesuit science in China, not only for inaugurating the Jesuit scientific collaboration there, but also for his own outstanding contribution, for his prophetic vision and for his deep sense of mission. Some other outstanding Jesuit contributors to the development of science in China were Wenceslaus Pantaleon Kirwitzer, John Schreck or Terrentius (1576-1630), John Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) and Antoine Gaubil (1689-1759). Thanks to the outstanding efforts of these talented band of Jesuits, in some respects astronomy in China at this time reached a level comparable with the best in the world.

3.4 The Vatican Observatory

The Vatican Observatory (*Specola Vaticana)*, founded[22] in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII, is undoubtedly a living testimony to the high regard and importance the Church attaches to science and scientific research. In his refounding document *Motu Proprio, Ut Mysticam,* the Pontiff clarified the objective of the observatory: "That every one might see clearly that the Church and her Pastors are not opposed to true and solid science, whether human or divine, but that they embrace it, encourage it, and promote it with the fullest possible dedication."[23] The Pontiff makes it very clear that the Church has a tradition of encouraging science: "In the meantime, the Church has not neglected those disciplines which investigate nature and its forces. Schools and museums have been founded so that young scholars might have a better opportunity to deepen those studies. Among the Church's children and ministers there are some illustrious scientists whom the Church has honoured and assisted as much as she could by encouraging them to apply themselves with complete dedication to such studies."[24]

Before Pope Leo XIII many others too took a keen interest in the progress of science.[25] Even religious sisters contributed their share to scientific development, by carrying out the boring, tedious, but vitally important task of making accurate measurements and carefully collecting important data. In the history of the Vatican Observatory, it is recorded that in 1910 the director of the observatory, Fr. Johan Hagen, S.J., sought the help of the Sisters of the Institute of the Child Mary of St. Bartholomew Capitano. Promptly responding to this appeal, three sisters worked from 1910 to 1921 to complete the colossal task of the Astrographic Catalogue. They rendered valuable service in the measurement of the plates of the Astrographic Catalogue with the Repsold micrometer. All these historical data go to show that the interest the Church took in and the encouragement it extended to scientific study and re-

search were confined neither to a particular group nor to a limited time.

II. Some Recent Developments in the Catholic Church

A major characteristic of a good programme of formation is its ability to sensitize the students to the concrete context they are in, and to equip them to respond to the opportunities and challenges offered by the times. With regard to our topic of the role of science in the formation of the leaders of the Church in India, this context involves a number of important factors, mainly the recent developments in the Church, the recent developments in science, and the current conditions in India.

1. Vatican II

The Second Vatican Council was undoubtedly the most important event in the history of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century. It not only opened the windows of the Church so that much-needed fresh air could blow into it, but also made it possible for scholars and non-scholars alike to refresh themselves in an atmosphere of openness to new ideas, of sensitivity to the complex conditions of the contemporary world, of sympathetic understanding towards dissonant views, and of daringness to venture into unexplored areas. Many of its ideas and insights are yet to be fully explored, and, still more, to be effectively implemented. This is particularly true of its statements and pronouncements on science & technology, and the challenges and opportunities offered by these new developments. Some may arguably point out that a comprehensive programme of aggiornamento would have expected a separate document on the importance and impact of science & technology. Although this did not happen, the Council, through its insightful statements and judicious recommendations, scattered in various documents, proclaims eloquently that it is sensitive to the amazing advances in this area and serious about how they impinge on the life and activities of the Church.

1.1 Appreciation of the Achievements of Science

Gone are the alleged stormy days of "Draper-White warfare." Instead the refreshing breeze of dialogue and collaboration is blowing in, thanks to a positive attitude towards science and its achievements. According to Vatican II, far from being the devious devices of the devil, they are a boon to humanity, ordained by divine dispensation. "By divine favour, especially in modern times, human genius has produced from natural material astonishing inventions in the field of technology." "As a Mother," the document continues, "the Church welcomes and watches such inventions with special concern.... Mother Church, to be sure, recognizes that if these instruments are rightly used they bring solid nourishment to the human race."[26] In a way, science is a powerful affirmation of human dignity and greatness, and provides humans with a most effective means to collaborate with the Creator in the ongoing plan of creation.[27]

A prudential, judicious engagement in science can elevate humans to a higher and more sublime level of

moral and intellectual life. "Furthermore, when a man applies himself to the various disciplines of philosophy, of history, and of mathematical and natural science, and when he cultivates the arts, he can do very much to elevate the human family to a more sublime understanding of truth, goodness, and beauty, and to the formation of judgements which embody universal values."[28]

1.2 Science As a Means to Meet the Challenges

Continuing its positive attitude, the Council further says that science and technology provide us with the best means to respond to the challenges and exigencies of our contemporary world. After a penetrating and perceptive analysis of the various ferments in the air today and the accompanying restlessness and aimlessness, it rightly points out that "today's spiritual agitation and the changing conditions of life are part of a broader and deeper revolution." In its attempt to spell out the far reaching consequences of this revolution, it admits that the conditions of the world are changing profoundly. For one thing, the traditional base of intellectual formation is getting changed. Today intellectual formation is "ever increasingly based on the mathematical and natural science and on those dealing with man himself, while in the practical order the technology which stems from these sciences takes on mounting importance."[29] The technological revolution afoot in our world is transforming the face of the earth. The sweeping wave of the new scientific spirit is reshaping both our cultural sphere and mode of thought. Not only the physical sciences, but the social and life sciences also are affecting our world profoundly.[30] Another salutary outcome of this revolution principally triggered by developments in science & technology is the shift from an individual or person-centred worldview to a community-centred one. "The destiny of the human community has become all of a piece, where once the various groups of men had a kind of private history of their own."[31] The overall outcome of these revolutionary changes is that the old static worldview has given way to a dynamic one, with drastic consequences.[32]

In this new world naturally a new series of problems has arisen, "a series as important as can be, calling for new efforts of analysis and synthesis."[33] The Council believes that in tackling these problems a new approach using new techniques is needed, and here the findings of science & technology should play an active role.

1.3 The Pastoral Dimension of Science

The Council readily acknowledges and appreciates the positive values accruing from the scientific spirit. They are:

> Scientific study and strict fidelity toward truth in scientific research, the necessity of working together with others in technical groups, a sense of international solidarity, an ever clearer awareness of the responsibility of experts to aid men and even to protect them, the desire to make the conditions of life more favourable for all, especially for those who are deprived of the opportunity to exercise responsibility or who are culturally poor.[34]

From these considerations flow the apostolic dimension of science & technology because the values mentioned above can prepare the ground for sowing the seeds of the gospel. "All these values can provide some preparation for the acceptance of the message of the gospel – a preparation which can be animated with divine love by Him who came to save the world."[35]

In pastoral care, too, science and its findings can be beneficial. "In pastoral care, appropriate use must be made not only of theological principles, but also of the findings of the secular sciences, especially of psychology and sociology. Thus the faithful can be brought to live the faith in a more thorough and mature way."[36]

1.4 The Autonomy of the Sciences Upheld

The Council takes special pains to acknowledge and uphold the rightful autonomy of the sciences.[37] Nor is it ashamed to admit its past lapses. It accepts that this principle of independence was not always preserved in the past and deplores the mistakes committed.[38] At the same time, the Council is quick to point out that it does not endorse the false sense of independence, which "is taken to mean that created things do not depend on God, and that man can use them without any reference to their Creator...."[39]

Some of the excesses and consequent dangers the scientific spirit can lead to have not escaped the Council.[40] For instance, at times a belittling of religious beliefs, an agnosticism towards matters of religious life, etc. are looked upon as "requirements of scientific progress or of a certain new humanism."[41] But the document goes on to say that "these unfortunate results, however, do not necessarily follow from the culture of today, nor should they lead us into the temptation of not acknowledging its positive values."[42]

1.5 The Impact of Science on Theology

The Council is of the opinion that theology is an important beneficiary from these scientific developments because they can "stimulate the mind to a more accurate and penetrating grasp of the faith. For recent studies and findings of science, history, and philosophy raise new question which influence life and demand new theological investigations."[43] Hence, the Council urges theology to be in constant touch with developments in the sciences.[44]

These developments in science and technology have significant bearings on morality as well since they put us in close association with the contemporary life situation. Hence the Council exhorts all Christians:

> May the faithful, therefore, ... blend modern science and its theories with Christian morality and doctrine. Thus their religious practice and morality can keep pace with their scientific knowledge and with an ever-advancing technology.[45]

Having appreciated the tremendous power science wields in our world by influencing not only how we live, but also how we think, the Council advocates the teaching of scientific ideas and methods in educational institutions.

In its "Declaration on Christian Education" it takes special pains to remind all that although primary education is important and must be continued, "considerable importance is to be attached to those schools which are demanded in a particular way by modern conditions, such as so-called professional and technical schools,...."[46] The Council is even more direct and emphatic when it says: "Since the sciences progress chiefly through special investigations of advanced scientific significance, Catholic colleges and universities and their faculties should give the maximum support to institutes which primarily serve the progress of scientific research."[47]

From what has been said already, the conclusion follows naturally that the Council wants the imparting of the scientific spirit to be made an integral part of priestly formation. This point is made explicit in the "Decree on Priestly Formation," particularly when it talks about the teaching of philosophy. "Philosophy should be taught in such a way that students will be led to acquire a solid and coherent understanding of man, of the world, and of God. Basing themselves on a philosophic heritage which is perennially valid, students should also be conversant with contemporary philosophical investigations, especially those exercising special influence in their own country, and with recent scientific progress."[48]

2. *John Paul II*

In an insightful and timely message Pope John Paul II has expressed his deep appreciation of the power science wields and the need we have for mastering science to derive the maximum benefit for the good of humanity. Written in the form of a letter to Fr. George V. Coyne, S.J., the Director of Vatican Observatory, on June 1, 1988, it not only underscores the positive attitude towards science, but also breaks important new ground for active and productive collaboration between science and theology. It may arguably be considered a foundational document of the Catholic Church for collaboration between science and religion.

2.1 A Call for Constructive Dialogue

This document is a clarion-call to science and religion for uniting their efforts in a dynamic and mutually respectful interchange. "A divided community fosters a fragmented vision of the world," it says, whereas "a community of interchange encourages its members to expand their partial perspectives and form a new unified vision."[49] Indeed, the Pontiff unhesitatingly declares, "We need each other to be what we must be, what we are called to be."[50] This is so because science and religion are the most powerful forces in the world, wielding tremendous influence, having a great tradition, and shouldering heavy responsibilities. "We (the Church and the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, representing science in this context) bear before God enormous responsibilities for the human condition because historically we have had and continue to have a major influence on the development of ideas and values and on the course of human action."[51]

The Pope is highly optimistic that such a constructive dialogue is possible because both science and religion deep down share similar goals and aspirations. Science, for instance, despite the innumerable multiplicity of physical phenomena, reveals a powerful drive towards convergence, a drive most conspicuously expressed in its search for GUTs (Grand Unified Theories) and TOEs (Theory of Everything). In the Christian religion, too, a similar trend towards mutual understanding and greater unity is gathering momentum, particularly in recent times.

The interaction envisaged consists in a "common search based on critical openness and interchange."[52] It is an interaction in which each discipline should continue to enrich, nourish and challenge the other to be more fully what it can be and to continue to contribute to our vision of who we are and who we are becoming."[53] At the same time the Pontiff warns against all excesses and all attempts at compromising the independence and autonomy of each discipline.[54]

The Pope makes a few extremely important concrete suggestions to those engaged in theological study and reflection. Since theology, as understood traditionally, is *fides quaerens intellectum* (faith in its effort to attain understanding), "it must be in vital interchange today with science just as it always has been with philosophy and other forms of learning. Theology will have to call on the findings of science to one degree or another as it pursues its primary concern for the human person, the reaches of freedom, the possibilities of Christian community, the nature of belief and the intelligibility of nature and history."[55] Indeed, this ability to critically and fruitfully dialogue with contemporary science is the touchstone of theology's vitality: "The vitality and significance of theology for humanity will in a profound way be reflected in its ability to incorporate these findings [of contemporary science]."[56] It seems to me that these statements are of paramount importance for us today, since they seem to say that in the past philosophy provided theology with data and methodology for theologizing, but today the sciences should take an active role in supplying theology with both data and methodology. If my interpretation is in the right direction, then the Pope is assigning to science a central role in the process of theologizing. Obviously, here also, as everywhere else, prudence and discretion are necessary. "Theologians must understand them (i.e., scientific findings) and test their value in bringing out from Christian belief some of the possibilities which have not yet been realized."[57]

The suggestion above is well in keeping with the great tradition of the Church, the paradigm case being the great work of St. Thomas in the thirteenth century when he masterfully integrated the Christian faith with Aristotelian natural philosophy. Today the Pontiff places this challenge before the theologians: "Theologians might well ask, with respect to contemporary science, philosophy and the other areas of human knowing, if they have accomplished this extraordinarily difficult process as well as did these medieval masters."[58] He does not hesitate to point out the sad fact that the required sort of intense dialogue with contemporary sci-

ence has, on the whole, been lacking among those engaged in theological research and teaching.[59]

The Pope makes an ardent plea to theologians and those engaged in similar activities to make a serious and sincere effort to keep themselves abreast with the developments in science. According to him:

> some theologians, at least, should be sufficiently well-versed in the sciences to make authentic and creative use of the resources that the best-established theories may offer them. Such an expertise would prevent them from making uncritical and overhasty use for apologetic purposes of such recent theories as that of the "Big Bang" in cosmology. Yet it would equally keep them from discounting altogether the potential relevance of such theories to the deepening of understanding in traditional areas of theological inquiry.[60]

According to the Holy Father, "only a dynamic relationship between theology and science can reveal those limits which support the integrity of either discipline, so that theology does not profess a pseudo-science and science does not become unconscious theology."[61]

What has been said is no mere speculation but is something that calls for urgent action. "The matter is urgent. Contemporary developments in science challenge theology far more deeply than did the introduction of Aristotle into Western Europe in the thirteenth century. Yet these developments also offer to theology a potentially important resource."[62]

It should not be thought that this interaction is just a one way process to help theology only. Science too stands to profit from it, because "science develops best when its concepts and conclusions are integrated into the broader human culture and its concerns for ultimate meaning and value."[63] Indeed this dialogue is a mutually enriching process. "Science can purify religion from error and superstition; religion can purify science from idolatry and false absolutes. Each can draw the other into a wider world, a world in which both can flourish."[64]

2.2 *Challenges from Science*

Fides et Ratio, the most recent encyclical of Pope John Paul II, is an important document on priestly formation because it underscores the prime importance the official Church attaches to the study of philosophy. As the very title of the letter indicates, the whole encyclical attempts to show the close relationship between faith and reason.[65]

Since the main focus of this encyclical is philosophy, it touches on science only occasionally. The encyclical is fully aware of the power and importance of science in our society today. It is aware of the extraordinary advances of the sciences in recent times, stirring the admiration of all.[66] In fact, "so far has science come, especially in this century, that its achievements never cease to amaze us." He calls scientists "the brave pioneers ... to whom humanity owes so much of its current development ... whose research offers an ever greater knowledge of the universe as a whole and of the incredibly rich array of its component parts, animate and inani-

mate, with their complex atomic and molecular structures."[67]

However, in this letter most of his statements on science seem to point out some of the dangers science can lead to. According to him, developments in certain types and aspects of science have led to relativism and agnosticism.[68] A sad consequence of this turn of events is that the importance of reason has been seriously undermined. Reason has "lost its capacity to lift its gaze to the heights, not daring to rise to the truth of being."[69]

Modern science, for the most part, has given up its search for absolute certitude, and settled for statistical or probabilistic knowledge. Many would like to extend this finding to all forms of knowledge, including metaphysical knowledge. The Pope rejects this view as pessimistic and unfounded. In his view, deep down all have a "desire to reach the certitude of truth and the certitude of its absolute values."[70] Hence, provisional knowledge, lacking certainty, leaves them unsatisfied and unhappy. "Hypotheses may fascinate, but they do not satisfy."[71]

Certain developments in science gave rise to a positivistic attitude "which not only abandoned the Christian vision of the world, but more especially rejected every appeal to a metaphysical or moral vision." Consequently, "certain scientists, lacking any ethical point of reference, are in danger of putting at the centre of their concerns something other than the human person and the entirety of the person's life. Further still, some of these, sensing the opportunities of technological progress, seem to succumb not only to a market-based logic, but also to the temptation of a quasi-divine power over nature and even over the human being."[72]

This letter too highlights the importance of science in the modern world. It also subscribes to the view that familiarity with it is necessary for anyone responsible for leading and guiding the society of today.

2.3 Need for Integration: Jesuit General Congregations on Science

The Jesuits have continued both their traditional interest in science and their usual sensitivity to the challenges and opportunities offered by it. This is well borne out in the decrees of the recent General Congregations (GC), especially GC 31, GC 32, and GC 34. It is quite clear that the Jesuit society considers science one of the most potent influences in our world today, and asks its members to respond responsibly to the new vistas opened up by science.

GC 31, which followed the footsteps of Vatican II and drew much inspiration from it, has taken special pains to highlight the importance and relevance of science, as is evident in its statements: "Scientific and technological advancement is a major factor in our times. The positive sciences exert an ever increasing influence on the mentality of men and on the very structure of our daily lives."[73] This would entail special training for those destined to work in this field. The Congregation clearly states: "In fact, the Society should have men with doctoral decrees

who become truly eminent in these fields."[74] It considers the field of science and technology an area "laudably carried on by our Society,"[75] and hence needs immediate attention.

In its Fourth Decree "Our Mission Today," GC 32 presents a brief description of some of the major changes brought about by developments in science and technology. According to it:

> The second decisive factor for our preaching of Jesus Christ and his Gospel is this: the new opportunities – and problems – disclosed in our time by the discoveries of technology and the human sciences. They have introduced a relativism, often of a very radical kind, into the picture of man and the world to which we were accustomed, with the result that the traditional perspectives have altered almost beyond recognition. Changes of this kind in the mind-sets and structures of society inevitably produce strong repercussions in our lives as individuals and as members of society. As a result, there has been a gradual erosion of traditional values, and gradual diminution of reliance on the power of traditional symbols. New aspirations arise which seek to express themselves in the planning and implementation of practical programmes.[76]

Reading the signs of the times would involve recognizing these new aspirations and identifying appropriate responses to them. A good familiarity with the scientific spirit is a prerequisite to do this. Hence GC 32 adds: "A solid education should also be fostered in literature, the arts, sciences, history, and the various aspects of the culture of the region where the apostolate will be carried on."[77]

GC 34 emphasizes the need for relating Catholic theology "to the secular disciplines, especially philosophy and social and natural sciences, in order to discern, illuminate, and interpret the opportunities and problems of contemporary life."[78] Finally, the Congregation makes an earnest plea for respecting intellectual freedom and the legitimate autonomy of various secular disciplines, particularly the sciences. It warns that "for those with faith to deny 'rightful autonomy of science' can lead to tragedies well-known in the history of recent centuries. We who have learned to pray before the 'Eternal Lord of all things,' must, therefore, be especially careful to avoid the same mistakes under new forms."[79] The main thrust of all these official decrees of the recent GCs is self-evident: the Society of Jesus is acutely aware of the extreme importance of science and technology in our day, and exhorts its members to keep themselves abreast with the developments in this field. It extends wholehearted support and encouragement for those engaged in this ministry.

III. Some Key Issues

The twenty-first century is bound to be a scientific century, a century dominated by science and technology. Science will play a crucial role in determining not only how we live, but also how long we will live, not only how we think, but also what we think. In a way science may decide what we live for since it will have a say in determining our value system. Auspicious as well as ominous projections have been made about the future of our world in the face

of the explosive developments in contemporary science. According to Michio Kaku, "the Age of Discovery in Science will give way to the Age of Mastery in the twenty-first century."[80] On the other hand, experts like Bill Joy, chief scientist of Sun Microsystems, point out the formidable dangers that can arise from the possible accidents and misuse of these powerful scientific developments.[81]

According to Kaku, the floods of scientific eruption will hit us through three channels: the quantum revolution, producing new sources of energy, the computer revolution, producing artificial intelligence capable of even outsmarting humans, bio-molecular revolution, allowing the manipulation of life almost at will. It seems to me that this explosive growth of science will place in the hands of humans almost unlimited knowledge, almost unlimited power, almost unlimited control over nature, and almost unlimited scope for expansion.

1. Cosmology

Cosmology, which used to be very much a field of pure speculation, has become an exciting field of research and study, right at the cutting edge of present-day physics. New ideas, new theories, new books, and research papers are flooding the scientific world. Thanks to the detailed information revealed by these studies, we are able to wonder at the vastness, majesty, and grandeur of our universe. The number of stars in our universe is staggering indeed. And when we know that our sun is just one ordinary star among almost innumerable others, we feel being reduced to utter insignificance. Are we alone in this universe? Is there any reason why God should create intelligent humans only on this tiny planet? If there are intelligent beings on other planets, what kind of salvation/redemption history do they have? The religious and theological significance of these and similar questions is self-evident.

Concerning the origin and end of the universe too science has a lot to contribute. The Big Bang theory[82], originally proposed by the Belgian priest-scientist Georges Lemaître, and the heat-death theory[83] have interesting insights and intriguing questions for theology to reflect upon. Many interesting points can be mentioned about the Big Bang. For instance, as I have pointed out elsewhere, this theory at best tells us not about any "creation out of nothing," but of a process of "transformation of the initial stuff."[84] William Stoeger of Vatican Observatory remarks that the Big Bang "could not have been just a single event or geometric point – rather it had to be a whole manifold, or three-dimensional spatial surface, of events or geometric points."[85] Commenting on its claim as a theory of cosmogony, he continues: "The Big Bang, however we describe it within the framework of cosmology, should not be considered as a beginning either of the universe or of time in any specific or definite sense, much less of creation in the theological sense of that word. Rather, it underscores the fact that our universe at one time was very, very different from now – and was once dominated by such extreme conditions that none of the categories we now rely upon

to describe physical reality would have been applicable."[86]

Perhaps the most significant and potentially most powerful challenge to religion from cosmology came from Stephen Hawking's "no-boundary theory," which claims to show that there was no creation, and hence the creator becomes superfluous. This and similar theories should alert the theological world on the need to familiarize themselves with the important breakthroughs in cosmology.

2. *The Theory of Evolution*

The theory of evolution poses a most formidable challenge to traditional theology and religious views since it challenges not only certain claims but also the very worldview on which they are founded. In addition to challenging a literal understanding of the biblical passages of creation, it exposes the bankruptcy of a static worldview and urges the need for a dynamic worldview.

Today the Catholic Church is showing a certain openness to this theory. Gone are the days of cheering the Anglican bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford, who championed the traditional creationist view against Darwin. Gone too are the days of silencing Teilhard de Chardin and his supporters for their heroic efforts at christianizing the evolutionary perspective. Recent Popes, particularly Pius XII and John Paul II, have shown openness to this perspective. The influence of Teilhard and his evolutionary worldview on Vatican II is clearly visible in the "Pastoral constitution on the Church in the Modern World." Indeed, the document goes on to say: "The human race has passed from a rather static concept of reality to a more dynamic, evolutionary one."[87] Furthermore, in his message to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, on October 23, 1996, Pope John Paul II said that "it is now possible to recognize that the theory of evolution is more than a hypothesis."[88]

The theory of evolution is gaining more and more fresh evidence, thanks to the astonishing growth of genetics and related areas; the evolutionary perspective is sweeping practically all fields of knowledge. It seems to me that the evidence in favour of the evolutionary perspective is becoming more and more convincing, and so theologians and other thinkers can no longer hold out against it. Once more, the need for updating oneself in the scientific developments taking place all around is self-evident.

3. *Artificial Intelligence (AI)*

AI is another amazing boon of present day science. AI along with the dizzyingly fast computing power of the computers has transformed the world of information. Thanks to the invention of internet, information super highways, etc., the almost-instant creation and sharing of valuable information have become easily accessible to almost anyone.

AI poses a very serious challenge to long-established religious views, particularly to the concept of spirituality and the soul. One of the principal theses of AI is that the human brain is nothing but a super-programmemed super-

computer. Since the human brain and mind are intrinsically linked, the human mind also should be considered a super-computer. If this is accepted, then the mind gets reduced to a material reality. Since the human mind and human soul are intimately related, the soul too becomes a material reality, albeit an extremely complex and highly sophisticated one. Obviously, if the AI thesis is established, all talk about spirituality and the soul becomes a matter of the ignorant past.

AI will have other challenges too. Many scholars are optimistic about a computer revolution which will "incorporate intelligence into all of our artifacts as desired, and permit the creation of artificial intelligences which will be comparable to or beyond the human brain capabilities."[89] The power of computers will increase exponentially. Nanotechnology using super-chips will be able to build micro-fine machines which, when placed inside sophisticated robots, will have unimaginable capabilities, exceeding even those of humans. How will these and related developments affect humans and their society? Who will guide and supervise these beings of super-capabilities? All these are questions which go beyond the domain of pure scientists, and so religious leaders and others will have a say on the matter. Any twenty-first century leader will have to be informed about the basics of this field. Priests and other religious leaders cannot keep themselves aloof from this area.

4. The Genetic Revolution

The first several decades of the twentieth century were noted for startling breakthroughs in physics. However, during the last few decades the central stage shifted to biology, particularly to genetics. It is expected that researches in genetics will dominate the scientific world in the coming decades. Genetic engineering is already being carried out in many places. With genetic research scientific study is making a new turn: in other forms of scientific research the focus was on what humans have or want to have, but in genetic research the focus is on what humans are. Other researches involve mostly the conditions or surroundings of humans, but this one involves humans themselves. Obviously, it will have far-reaching ethical, religious, and social consequences.

The Genome Project[90] is the most talked-about research area today. Just a few weeks ago both the National Human Genome Research Institute of Bethesda, Maryland, and the Celera Genomics of Rockville, Maryland, announced the almost complete draft of the human genome. The Human Genome Project is an international venture to identify and understand our entire genome or genetic constitution. It attempts to study how the entire set of genes[91] of a human person has been arranged. Just as an anatomical study of the human body reveals how its different parts are wired, the genome sequence reveals how the 80,000 to 100,000[92] genes in a human body are organized.

The genome project is a mixed bag as far as the future of humans is concerned, since it is full of promises and risks. This opens up the possibility of easy access to a vast amount of useful information. As an editorial of the *New York Times* stated: "The prospect is that in the next few years humanity will understand – and be able to control, at least in part – the fabulously intricate mechanism through which each species of living organism transmits its essential properties to the next generation."[93] Its medical benefits are many - for understanding and curing many hitherto mysterious diseases, for rectifying many genetic defects and deficiencies, etc. Soon the entire genetic sequence of an individual could be made available on a CD. This information can be used to diagnose whether one has any one of the 5000 or more known genetically linked diseases or whether that person is prone to any one of them. This will speed up timely treatment and effective cure.

This has undesirable consequences too. This highly personal information may be used against the person concerned. Privacy and personal freedom of the individual may be in jeopardy. For some people knowledge about his/her genetic deficiency may become a source of anxiety and despair, especially when the person is too poor to meet the hefty expenses involved for genetic techniques.

5. *Genetic Engineering and Cloning*

Genetic engineering is micro-engineering at the level of genes by which genes are isolated, transferred to other cells, replicated and activated. Cloning basically is a form of genetic engineering employed for making multiple copies of a segment of DNA or gene.[94] This leads to the production of true copies of the parent organism. The cloning of Dolly in 1997 by Dr. Ian Wilmut and his team at the Scottish Roslin Institute took the world by surprise.[95] This was only the beginning. In less than a week a monkey was cloned in Oregon, USA. Similar feats were carried out in many parts of the world on different animals. In the years to come cloning will become commonplace. In 1998 two scientists of the Geron Corporation isolated pluripotent human embryonic stem cells, giving rise to the stem cell debate. Stem cells are cells capable of dividing without limit and giving rise to specialized cells. Pluripotent cells are those having the ability to give rise to many tissues of an organism.

The most logical question in this context is: first a sheep, then a monkey, why not a human being next? To preempt such a possibility many countries have already banned by law the cloning of humans. However, unofficially it is said that human cloning is right around the corner. This is not surprising since these techniques are already moving into the hands of private companies, with their own interests. For instance, the Geron Corporation of USA has already acquired Roslin Bio-Med, a commercial subsidiary of the Roslin Institute. With so many private companies in so many different countries with ideas and ideals of their own, spectres like that of an over-ambitious owner of

a basketball team placing an order with a cloning company for a dozen seven-footers, cannot be ruled out!

The ethical aspects of cloning and the production and use of stem cells are topics of heated controversy. Leaders of all religions will have to confront these issues in the days to come. Already many groups have come to the fore to articulate their views.[96]

No doubt, cloning and other techniques of genetic engineering have many beneficial results. It can rectify many genetic defects, cure many otherwise incurable diseases and disabilities, improve the quality of animals and crops. It will have many undesirable consequences as well. For instance, it will be very difficult to prevent a certain company in some country from going ahead with human cloning. Such a cloning will reduce humans to the level of mere animals, thereby bringing irreparable harm to human dignity. The sanctity of marriage, the bond of deep love existing between spouses and between parents and children, etc., will suffer incalculable damage. Since the expensive process of cloning will remain unaffordable for poor persons and nations, it will contribute greatly to the ever widening gap between the rich and the poor. These things are no mere scientific fictions, but are events taking place or about to take place all around us. Hence leaders of the Church cannot remain passive speculators. They need to be well-informed about it for their own sake and for the sake of others under their care.

IV. New Thinking in Science and Its Implications

1. Developments in Philosophy of Science

Recent developments in the philosophy of science have affected our understanding of science in a radical way. They have, in a real sense, "humanized" and "demythologized" the old understanding of science and scientists. In the past, thanks to the influence of rationalism in the nineteenth century and logical positivism in the first half of the twentieth century, science and scientists were thought to be very different from others. Scientific knowledge was considered to be absolutely rational, objective, certain, and unchanging. Scientists were looked upon as a "breed apart," a special kind of persons, free from passions and prejudices. However, contemporary researches into the nature and practice of science have revealed a different picture. Today it is getting more and more accepted that scientific knowledge basically is no different from other forms of knowledge. If there is a difference, it is a matter of degree only, not of basic kind. For instance, scientific knowledge may be less subjective than others. Furthermore, scientists are very much like other professionals; they are also swayed by personal preferences and biases.

These and related ideas have significant implications. For one thing, they have opened the door for science-religion dialogue. In the past scientists and rationalists thought that scientific knowledge, being characterized by rationality, objectivity, and certainty, was radically different from religious knowl-

edge which lacked these qualities. Hence, there could be no real meeting place between the two. This claim can no more be sustained today.

These developments in the philosophy of science also bring home the fact that science is not meant only for a select elite group. Its basic ideas are accessible to any person willing to learn. So no educated person can excuse himself/herself from taking some pains to learn the important ideas of present day scientific developments.

2. *Science-Religion Dialogue*

Another reason why acquiring a basic knowledge of science should become part of the formation programme of priests and religious comes from the new surge of interest in science-religion dialogue. It is surprising to note that all the many astounding developments in science and technology, all the knowledge and power the scientific world has amassed, do not seem to have eclipsed the human person's interest in religion. According to a study conducted in 1997, "40% of the American scientists believe in a personal God – not merely an ineffable power and presence in the world, but a deity to whom they can pray."[97] It is reported that more than 90% of the Americans believe in a personal God.[98] An important paper in *Scientific American,* written in response to the *Newsweek* article, says that in America "scientist's beliefs have changed little since the 1930s."[99] This clearly shows that despite all the tremendous upheaval brought about by science and technology during the past decades, religion has not lost its ground.

There is a conspicuously growing interest in science-religion dialogue in various parts of the world. Such a dialogue can enrich both science and religion. But to participate in this and to contribute to it meaningfully, one has to be informed about the important trends and ideas in the scientific world.

3. *The Indian Situation*

Another important consideration for making science education an integral part of the formation of priests and religious comes from the contemporary Indian situation itself. Despite the complexity of our political and social problems, despite the enormous challenges facing us mainly due to over-population and rampant corruption, India has made considerable progress in science and technology. Any Indian can take legitimate pride in the strides we have made in this area. Some studies place India eleventh among the most industrialized nations in the world. India still has the third largest number of scientists and engineers, in spite of the uncontrolled brain-drain. In software industry some studies place India second only to the US. When we realize that some of the topmost computer programmemers in the US are Indians or persons of Indian origin, we can imagine how strong we are in this field. Our achievements in the field of space technology and nuclear energy speak for themselves. India indeed is a scientifically and technologically advanced nation. In a country like India every educated person should have a certain level of familiarity with the important ideas and happenings in the field of science, particularly if she/he is expected to give leadership and guidance to a community.

It was some of these ideas that motivated the participants of the CCBI Consultation on Seminary Formation in Bangalore last year to extend unanimous support to the proposal to make courses in basic science, philosophy of science, scientific cosmology, and science & religion an integral part of the curriculum for priestly formation. In the same meeting I was commissioned to draw up a proposal to the CBCI for setting up a CBCI Committee for Science, Religion, and Society. The proposal was sent in July 1999, and we are waiting for a positive response. In the same spirit Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth started the Association of Science, Society, and Religion (ASSR), and it is hoped that other similar institutions will follow suit.

Conclusion

From our study it is quite clear that in our world today no one can remain neutral about these scientific developments. Much less can the present and future leaders of any community remain passive onlookers of the revolutionary scientific changes unfolding all around them. The future leaders of the Church need to be fully aware of the seriousness of the scientific challenges and the opportunities they offer. It is certainly unrealistic to expect all such leaders to be well-versed in the intricacies of science. What is most important is that they be sensitive to the full gravity of the situation. This is possible only if they are able to understand and appreciate the basic concepts and issues. Hence any good formation programme should make provision for familiarizing those in formation with contemporary developments in science and technology. The long-standing tradition of the Church assures us that such a pursuit is on the right track.

Notes

1. Quoted by David C. Lindberg, "Science and the Early Church,"in *God and Nature, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 26.
2. *Ibid.* p. 31.
3. Quoted in Andrew D. White, *A History of the warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York: Braziller, 1955), p. 71.
4. See Lindberg, "Science and the Early Church," p. 20.
5. See John Schreiber, S.J., "Jesuit Astronomy," *Popular Astronomy* 12 (1904), 10.
6. See Joseph MacDonnell, S.J., *Jesuit Geometers* (Vatican City: Vatican Observatory Publications, 1989), p. 1.
7. Dhruv Raina, "French Jesuit Scientists in India," *Economic and Political Weekly* (January 30, 1999), PE-30.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
9. John Heilbron, *Electricity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 2.
10. George Sarton, "An Appeal for the Republication in Book Form of R. Bosman's Studies," ISIS 40 (1949), 3-6.
11. William B. Ashworth, Jr., "Catholicism and Science," p. 154.

12. Dennis A. Bartlett, "The Evolution of the Philosophical and Theological Elements of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*: An Historical Study: 1540 - 1599," Dissertation, University of San Francisco, 1984, p. 28.
13. See *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, tr. George D. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), Nos. 450-451, p. 214. See also *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Annotated and Complemented by General Congregation 34* (Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1996), p. 121.
14. It may be noted that in those days what they meant by natural philosophy was the same as what we mean by natural sciences today.
15. See John L. Russell, S.J., "Catholic Astronomers and the Copernican System after the Condemnation of Galileo," *Annals of Science*, 46 (1989), 376.
16. See William Wallace, "*Galileo's Early Notebooks: The Physical Questions* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1977).
17. *Ibid.*, p. 259. This is Foscarini's version of Pereyra.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
20. See Job Kozhamthadam, S.J., "The Jesuit Response to Copernicanism and Its Influence on the European Contribution to the Development of Science in Asia," *Jesuits in Science*, 15 (1999), 10-14.
21. Raymond Mercier, "The Astronomical Tables of Rajah Jai Singh Sawai," *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 19 (1984), 159.
22. In a way, this was a refounding since the observatory in some form had its beginning earlier.
23. Sabino Maffeo, S.J., *In the Service of Nine Popes: 100 Years of the Vatican Observatory* (Vatican City: Vatican Observatory Publications, 1991), p. 210.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.
25. See Maffeo, *Service of Popes*, p. 3.
26. Vatican II, "Decree on the Instruments of Social Communications,: *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (London: Jeffrey Chapman, 1967), p. 319.
27. See Vat II, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," no.57, Abbot, p. 262.
28. *Ibid.* , no.57, p. 263.
29. *Ibid.*, no. 5, p. 203.
30. See *Ibid.*, no. 5, p. 203.
31. *Ibid.*, no. 5, pp. 203-204.
32. See *Ibid.*, no. 54, p. 260.
33. *Ibid.*, no. 5, p. 204.
34. *Ibid.*, no. 57, pp. 263-264.
35. *Ibid.*, no.57, p. 264.
36. *Ibid.*, no. 59, p. 269.
37. See *Ibid.*, no. 59, p. 265.
38. See *Ibid.*, no. 36, p. 234.
39. *Ibid.*, p. no. 36, 234.
40. See *Ibid.*, no. 57, p. 263.

41. *Ibid.*, no. 7, p. 205.
42. *Ibid.*, no. 57, p. 263.
43. *Ibid.*, no. 62, p. 268.
44. See *Ibid.*, no. 62, p. 270.
45. *Ibid.*, no. 62, p. 269.
46. *Ibid.*, no. 10, p. 648.
47. *Ibid.*, no. 10, p. 649.
48. *Ibid.*, no. 15, p. 450.
49. Pope John Paul II, "Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II," in *Physics, Philosophy, and Theology* (Vatican City: Vatican Observatory Publications, 1988), p. M8. PPT hereafter.
50. PPT, p. M14.
51. PPT, p. M2.
52. PPT, pp. M4-M5.
53. PPT, p. M7.
54. See PPT., p. M8.
55. PPT., p. M10.
56. PPT, p. M10.
57. PPT, p. M. 10.
58. PPT, p. M11.
59. See PPT, p. M.11.
60. PPT, pp. M11-12.
61. PPT, p. M14.
62. PPT, p. M12.
63. PPT, p. M13.
64. PPT, p. M13.
65. See "Encyclical Letter *Fides et Ratio* of the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II," (Mumbai: Pauline Publications, 1999), p. 3. FER, hereafter.
66. FER, p n. 69, p. 100.
67. FER, no. 106, p. 152.
68. See FER, no. 5, p. 9.
69. FER, no. 5, p. 10.
70. FER, no. 27, p. 44.
71. FER, no. 43, pp. 43-44.
72. FER, no, 46, pp. 70-71.
73. "The Training of Scholastics Especially in Studies," GC 31, no. 178, (Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1980), pp. 136-137.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
75. "The Better Choice and Promotion of Ministries,"no. 375, *Ibid.*, p. 222.
76. "Our Mission Today," GC32, no.74 (Anand: Anand Press, 1970), p. 117.
77. *Ibid*, no. 177, p. 164.
78. "The Intellectual Dimension of Jesuit Ministries," GC34, no. 401 (Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1995), p. 145.

79. *Ibid*, no. 397, p. 143.
80. S. Mohan, book review of *Visions: How Science Will Revolutionize the Twenty First Century,"* Michio Kaku (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), in *NISTADS News* 2 (2000), p. 25.
81. See Michael Elliott, "After Sheep and Pigs, Goo," Newsweek, March 27, 2000, p. 4.
82. A theory which says that the universe arose as a result of the explosion of a super-condensed "primeval atom."
83. A theory which says that the end of the universe is reached when all available energy gets converted into unavailable energy.
84. See Job Kozhamthadam, S.J., "Creation without a Creator," *Philosophy in Science* 6 (1995), 9-46.
85. William R. Stoeger, "Key Developments in Physics Challenging Philosophy and Theology," in *Religion and Science: History, Method, Dialogue*, eds. Mark Richardson and Wesley Wildman (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 192.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
87. "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern Word," Abbot, no. 5, p. 204.
88. Reported in *Catholic Chronicle*, December 20, 1996.
89. S. Mohan, op. cit., p. 26.
90. For a good discussion of the Genome Project see *Scientific American*, July 2000, pp. 38-57. See also *Outlook*, July 10, 2000, pp. 38-45.
91. Classically genes were considered units of heredity. They are arranged along chromosomes , and are usually segments of DNA. Genes contain specific information (code) for the construction of proteins.
92. This number is a matter of debate since, at least three different figures have been given by different research groups. The Institute for Genomic Research (TIGR) in Rockville, Maryland, USA, puts it at 120,000, while Brent Ewing and Phil Green of the University of Washington, Seattle, give it as 35,000. Another group considers 30,000 as the right figure. The difference arises because of the difficulty involved in identifying individual genes and counting them, and because the researchers differ in their definition of what constitutes an individual gene.
93. Quoted in *Unnatural Selection*, Lois Wingerson (New York: Bantam Books, 1998), p. viii.
94. Usually this replication Is done by inserting the segment to be replicated into an organism that will reproduce itself on a grand scale.
95. For a discussion of this event see Job Kozhamthadam, S.J., "The Cloning of Dolly: Some Reflections," *Vidyajyoti*, 62 (1998), 110-118.
96. See "Remarks in Response to News Reports on the Cloning of Mammals," in *Human Cloning: Religious Responses*, ed. Ronald Cole –Turner (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), pp. 142, 146.
97. Sharon Begley, "Science Finds God,"*Newsweek* July 27, 1998, p. 48.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
99. "Scientists and Religion in America," *Scientific American*, September 1999, p. 78.

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of Metaphysics at Innsbruck), Enrique Dussel (the Latin American philosopher of liberation), Raimon Panikkar (advocate of diatopical hermeneutics, born of a Keralite father and a Spanish mother) and Paul Ricoeur (that great bridge between British linguistic philosophy and Continental phenomenology – existentialism). There are at least five Indians (and nary a woman among them): Pradeep Bandyopadhyay ("Toronto, Canada"), Sidney Mascarenhas ("Bangalore, India"), Giridhari Lal Pandit ("New Delhi, India"), Johnson Puthenpurackal (the nearest to a JDV representative) and Srinivasa Rao (also of "Bangalore, India").

As for their answers, most mention the two World Wars, the establishment of the UN and the Fall of the Berlin Wall, with the consequent collapse of the Iron Curtain as key events that impacted on World History as also their own personal philosophies. None mention Vatican II which, in my opinion, was no mere religious event, relevant only to Catholics, but an epoch-making moment which had repercussions far beyond the pale of the Christian Churches. It gave great impetus to the growth of inter-cultural dialogue and the promotion of justice.

Responses are printed in the language in which they were sent in. Panikkar's is in Spanish, Ricoeur writes in French and Coreth in German. One has, therefore, to be something of a polyglot to appreciate the work.

Dussel, writing from Mexico in Spanish, recalls the impact of the World Wars, Heidegger's "analitic existenciara," the philosophy of language inspired by the Vienna Circle and, above all, the "events of 1968," that led him to develop his philosophy of liberation. Levinas' "ethics as first philosophy" is a significant inspiration for him as to many others. Panikkar, as may be expected, calls for "filosofía intercultural" and a greater respect for "pluralismo." He also wants philosophy to become less an *opus rationis* and be animated by a "love of wisdom" as much as by the "wisdom of love"! "What has metaphysics to say in the face of the war in Rwanda," asks Tanelle Bondi Kondé of Abidjan. "We are making test-tube babies, but have no remedy for death!" she (?) chillingly observes. There must be a decentralisation of the Ego, Reason, the One, the Father, God and Man (i.e. the Male), she continues: they dominate speaking and writing, they alone act, give orders and exclude – the rest may merely listen, remain silent and obey! John Puthenpurackal lists, besides the World Wars and the Fall of Marxism, also the Movement against Colonialism as also the forces of neo-Colonialism as significant events affecting Religion in the West, which is already making its presence felt in India. He wants a breaking down of the strict and exclusive "'boundary' that separates *truth* from *untruth*, *right* from *wrong*, *sacred* from *profane*." "We have had enough of "perenniality and "dogmatism," he avers. These must give way to an authentic "*philosophical humility* that takes man (sic!) and human knowledge in its essential finitude" (all emphasis original). This is echoed by Coreth who wants more serious reflection on the One and the Many, on Thinking and Living (i.e. Theory and Praxis). Shallow and uncritical assumptions about all these have led to lots of confusion. I would also add the need for a closer study of the causes at work in the decline and fall of Communism as we know it. Naïve ideas use this fact as a "proof" that Globalization and the Free Market are the unique and only saviour available to the oppressed masses of the Third World.

Certainly a thought-provoking book to delve into, even if one cannot read all the responses with equal fluency!

Cyril Desbruslais SJ

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Rural Poverty in India
An Empirical Study[1]

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The world celebrated the arrival of the new millennium a few months ago with great euphoria and fanfare. The grand festivities marking the dawn of the new millennium, beamed by the electronic media from the metropolitan centres of the globe to its remotest corners, were indeed breathtaking spectacles. Much has been written and spoken about the spectacular promises the new millennium holds for humankind.

Amidst all the hype and hoopla about the new millennium, which, it may be noted, was largely confined to the world's affluent metropolitan centres, twenty-four philosophy students of the Jnana-deepa Vidyapeeth, Pontifical Institute of Philosophy and Religion, Pune, got together and posed this question: "What does the new millennium hold for those languishing in the margins of society, the poorest of the poor, whose concern is not the next millennium but the next meal?" Enterprising as they were, they decided to find out for themselves. Under the direction of two faculty members, they prepared a field study project to investigate this question in a systematic fashion. During their vacation they travelled to some of the most backward areas of rural India, lived with the poorest of the poor and listened to them as they spoke about their lives: their difficulties and struggles, anxieties and fears, hopes and dreams, and how they make sense of it all. This essay attempts to highlight what these young men learned about poverty from the victims of poverty.[2]

1. Methodology

First, a word about the methodology. The study was conducted in five different locations across India: Langara village in the Almora district of Uttar Pradesh, Venkataraipur village in the Ganjam district of Orissa, Panchkui village in the Jabua district of Madhya Pradesh, Poondi and Kavunchi villages in the Kodai hills of Tamil Nadu, and Adimalathurai and Poonthurai villages in the Thiruvananthapuram district of Kerala.

As far as possible, all the households in the sample villages were surveyed. In all 860 households participated in the study. The sample households were more or less evenly distributed across the five states.

The data was collected by interviewing an adult member from each of

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the sample households, usually the housewife or the head of the household. The interview was conducted using a structured questionnaire, which was designed to elicit information on the following: the extent and dimensions of poverty, the attitudes and perceptions of the poor, and the role of religion in their lives.

In addition to the interview, the investigators employed also the observation method to check the reliability of interview data and to collect additional information.

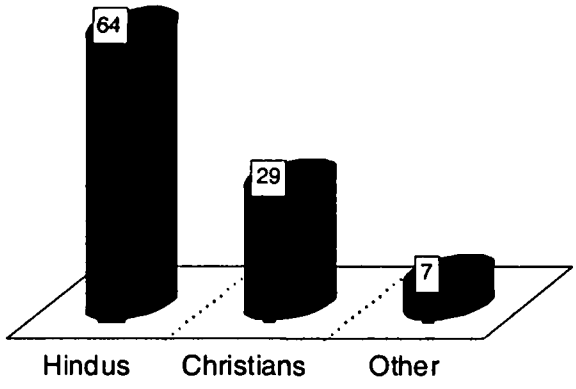
2. Profile of the Respondents

Sixty percent of the respondents were male, and 40% female. The median age of the respondents was 42. On the average, there were 6.22 persons in a household: 3 adults and 3.22 children.

Nearly two-thirds of the respondents (64%) were Hindus, 29% Christians, and 7% belonged to other religions (Chart 1).

In terms of social status, two-thirds of our respondents (67%) were Harijans or members of lower castes. Only a few (12%) belonged to the higher castes. The rest (20%) were either tribals or members of religions which do not recognise the caste system.

Chart 1. Respondents by Religion (%)



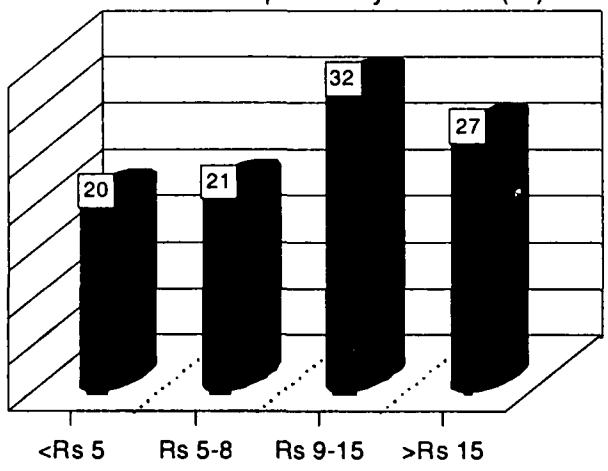
Occupation-wise our respondents fell into three main categories: daily wage earning agricultural workers (25%), farmers (22%) and fishermen (27%). There were very few who were unemployed; many, however, were underemployed. In fact, less than half of them were able to find work on all the days of the previous week.

3. Dimensions of Poverty

A. Low Income

The mean per capita daily income of the rural families in our sample is Rs 12.38. Grouped data on daily per capita income is given in Chart 2. Fortyone percent had per capita daily income of Rs 8 or less; in fact 20% had a daily income of Rs 5 or less. About one-third had daily income between Rs 9 and 15; only 27% earned Rs 15 or more a day.

Chart 2. Per Capita Daily Income (%)



The most-widely accepted measure of poverty in India is the 'Head Count Ratio'. It measures the proportion of population below a level of income defined as the 'poverty line'. The poverty line is an estimate of the income necessary to purchase a rudimentary food basket, which, when consumed, yields a minimum level of calories (2400 calories per day for rural popu-

lation and 2200 for urban). The Head Count Ratio is computed on the basis of the data on consumption expenditure collected by National Sample Surveys (NSS) every five years.

The rural poverty line was computed in 1973-74 as Rs1.63 per day or Rs 49 per month. At 1993-94 prices, it was estimated as Rs 6.86 per day per person or Rs 206 per month. The official estimate of the poverty line at current prices is not available. If we use an inflator similar to the one used to update the poverty line in 1993-94, the rural poverty line in 1998-99 would be Rs 8.43 per day or Rs 253 per month. By this reckoning, the proportion of the rural poor according to our data would be 40.6% in 1998-99. This is slightly higher than the NSS estimate of rural poverty for 1993-94, which was 39.65% (Parikh 1999:53).

Measurement of poverty on the basis of poverty-line, especially the Head Count Ratio, has been mired in controversy over methodology of data collection, empirical estimation procedures, and computation of the poverty-line (Sharif 1999: 24-47).

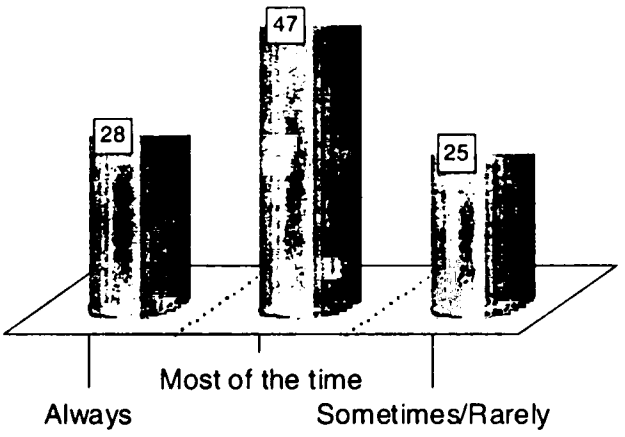
The present study, therefore, attempted to gauge poverty also in respects other than income such as hunger, indebtedness, illiteracy, housing, availability of safe drinking water and electricity, and ownership of house-hold consumer durables. We shall now look at these aspects of poverty.

B. Hunger

To a straightforward question: "does your family have enough to eat?," 28% said that their families get enough to eat *always*; 47% said they have enough to eat *most of the time*; and one-fourth reported that they had enough to eat only *sometimes or rarely*. In other words, more than two-thirds go hungry some of the time, and one-fourth go hungry most of the time (Chart 3).

The regular diet of our respondents consisted of rice or *chappati*, *dal* (lentils) and/or a vegetable. About 21% eat meat once a week, the rest cannot afford to eat meat except perhaps on certain special occasions during the year. About a third of the respondents have fish as part of their regular diet, but then the vast majority of these are fishermen. The average rural family spends on food only 9.84 Rupees per person per day.

Chart 3. Do you have enough to eat? (%)



We have seen that the average per capita daily income of rural India is Rs 12.38. Of this Rs 9.84 is spent on food alone, and a person is left with Rs 2.54 for all other expenses.

Are they eating better food now than they did ten years ago? 38% said their families can now afford better food than they did ten years ago; almost as many (37%) felt that they were worse off now than ten years ago with regard to the kind of food they eat. The rest said there was no difference between then and now.

C. *Indebtedness*

With such meagre income levels, it is not surprising that the majority of the rural population are in debt. 71% of the rural households have no savings at all; more than 60% are in debt. 27% have debts of up to Rs 5000, 35% owe more than Rs 5000, and 28 % have debts larger than Rs 10,000.

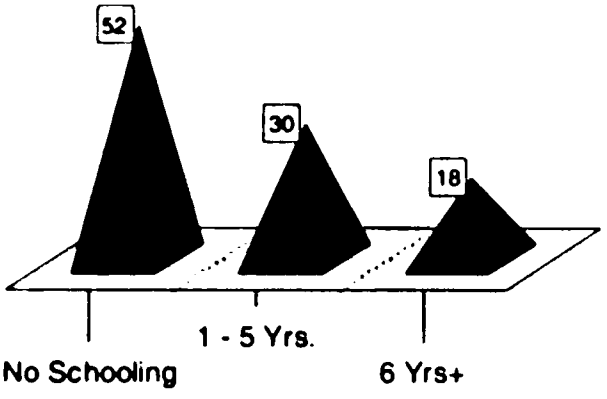
The average monthly household income is Rs 2081; the average amount of interest paid out on debts per household is Rs 758. This means, on an average, more than a third of a household's total income, 36% to be precise, has to be set aside merely for paying interest on their borrowing.

When we asked our respondents why they had to borrow money, several reasons were cited. The most frequently mentioned reasons were: medical treatment, arrangement of the daughter's marriage, buying food, and house repairs.

D. *Illiteracy*

The illiteracy rate among our respondents (1998-99) were even higher than the national average (48%) according to the 1991 census. The majority of our respondents (52%) had never been to school. Thirty percent had spent one to five years in school. Only 18% had attended school beyond the primary level. In fact, only about 7% had completed matriculation or the 10th standard (Chart 4).

Chart 4. Adult Illiteracy (%)



Illiteracy among the females were markedly higher than among the males. Nearly two-thirds of the women (64%) in our sample had never been to school in contrast to 44% of the men. 23% of the men had six or more years of education, while for women the corresponding figure is 11% (Table 1).

Table 1. Adult Illiteracy by Gender (%)

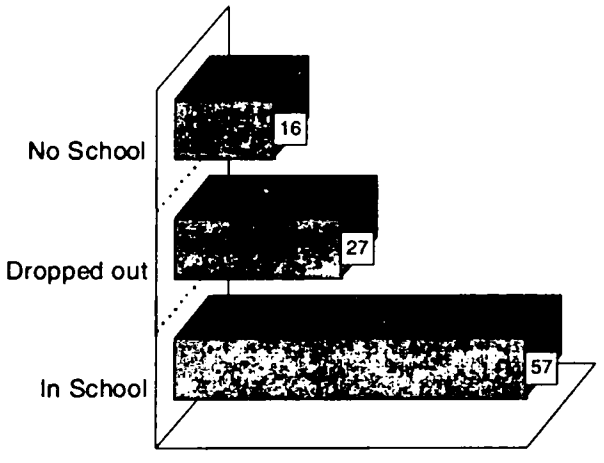
Years of Schooling	*Male*	*Female*
No schooling	44	64
One to five years	33	25
Six or more years	23	11

It is sometimes suggested that the poor do not go to school because they do not appreciate the value of education. Our findings do not support this hypothesis. The overwhelming majority (83%) disagreed with the statement: "For the poor, going to school is a waste of time." In fact, almost all (91%) were of the view that they would have been better off if they had the opportunity to study more. Nor was illiteracy owing to lack of access to a school. 87% of our respondents reported that they had a school within walking distance (3 kms.) when they were of school-going age. Indeed, for as many as 60% there was a school within a kilometre. The reason for their illiteracy, therefore, has to be sought elsewhere. Our findings indicate that they did not go to school because poverty forced most of them to

go to work when they were of school going age. 35% reported that they had already started working by the time they were 12 years old; another 36% went to work when they were aged between 13 and 15. So, as many as 71% of our respondents were part of the work force by the time they were 15.

As Chart 5 reveals, the children of our respondents are somewhat more fortunate than their parents with regard to schooling. There were in all 2182 children of school-going age in the 860 families we surveyed. Of these 57% were attending school at the time of the survey. 16% had never been to school and 27% had dropped out of school. Among those who had never attended school, there was a larger proportion of girls (20%) than boys (13%).

Chart 5. School Attendance of Children (%)



E. *Land and Livestock*

Forty-two percent of the families owned no land at all. One-third of the households owned less than an acre, and one-fourth had an acre or more. Even among those who did own some land, 25% could not generate any income from it.

Livestock was a source of income for some of the rural households. About 30% of the households owned one or more cows, buffaloes, goats or bulls. Other than land and livestock, hardly any other income generating assets were reported by the families.

F. *Housing, Electricity and Drinking Water*

About two-thirds of the families lived in thatched houses. In a large number of cases, the roof as well as the walls of these houses were made of straw or leaves. Others had thatched roofs and walls of mud or stone. Less than ten percent of the households lived in houses with tiled roofs and brick walls.

About a third of the houses consisted of a single room, which served as their living room, bed room, kitchen and store; another one-third had two rooms including kitchen; the rest had three or more rooms.

Nearly sixty percent of the households had no electricity. The majority of households (54%) had to travel half a kilometre or more to fetch drinking water. In fact, for about one-third of the families, the nearest source of drinking water was more than one kilometre away.

G. *Consumer Durables*

Our investigators also attempted to identify the households which owned common consumer durables like radios, tape recorders, televison sets, bicycles, mopeds or scooters.

As might be expected, the majority (57%) owned none of these household articles. 21% owned a radio, 5%, a TV, and 1%, a tape recorder. Only 12% of the households had the privilege of

owning a bicycle, which in India is the poor man's transportation.

4. Perceptions, Attitudes and Feelings of the Poor.

We have looked at poverty as different forms of material deprivation. But poverty is not only material deprivation; it is also a form of consciousness, a set of perceptions, attitudes and feelings. How do the poor feel about and make sense of their life and their world? What are their anxieties and fears, hopes and dreams? What role does religion play in shaping their world-view? It is to these questions that we shall now turn.

A. Poverty: Causes and Remedies

What, according to the poor, are the main causes of the deprivation they suffer, and what steps, in their view, will help to alleviate poverty? First the causes.

As Table 2 shows, the main causes of poverty according to the poor are illiteracy, unemployment, and lack of land and income generating assets. Quite a few attribute it to alcoholism, ineffective and corrupt government, exploitation, and lack of irrigation or poor crops. The gender and education level of the respondents did not appear to have any significant influence on the perception of the causes of poverty.

Table 2. Causes of Poverty according to the Poor (%)

Illiteracy	31
Unemployment/underemployment	31
Lack of land and/or resources	29
Drinking (alcoholism)	21
Poor/corrupt governance	18
Exploitation/unjust wages	16
Lack of irrigation/poor crops	14
Poor catch (fish)	9
Laziness	6
Overpopulation	5
Debt	5
Fate/sin	4
Other	6

The major steps the poor suggest to alleviate poverty are: education (36%), government initiative (23%), employment (22%) and hard work (12%). It is interesting to note that a substantial 27% of the respondents could not think of any step to remedy poverty.

B. Anxieties of the Poor

The poor, needless to say, have a lot to be anxious about. As Table 3 indicates, the number one worry of the poor is how to feed their hungry stomachs. Anxiety about the future of their

Table 3: Worries of the Poor (%)

Lack of food	34
Future of the children	33
Lack of land / resources	22
Debt	19
Crop failure	18
Dowry for daughter's marriage	17
Sickness	14
House repair	14

children is a close second. Lack of land and resources, debt, inability to come up with dowry for the daughter's marriage, failure of crops, sickness, and house repair are other frequently mentioned worries of India's rural poor.

In order to check what the most pressing needs of the poor are, we asked them: "Suppose someone were to give you Rs 5000, what would you do with it?" The most common answer (30%) was that they would use the money to pay back their debts. There were also quite a few who said that they would spend it to repair the house (13%) or buy food (12%).

C. Sense of Powerlessness and Fatalism

The findings reported in Table 4 highlight the sense of powerlessness and fatalism that throttle the lives of the poor. Almost all of them share the

Table 4. Powerlessness and Fatalism of the Poor (%)

	True	*False*	*Not sure*
In this country might is right; the poor cannot hope to get justice	92	6	2
The government is concerned about the welfare of the poor	16	79	5
The poor trust the police to protect them against injustice.	7	72	21
The rich have no concern for the poor; they only exploit them.	76	15	9
Day by day life is getting harder for me.	66	18	16
No matter what one does, one cannot change one's fate.	73	19	8
There are times when I feel that there is no point in living.	59	36	5

feeling that in this country "might is right" and that the poor cannot hope to get justice. The overwhelming majority are of the view that the government is indifferent to their problems and the rich are only interested in exploiting them. The poor look upon the police as the agents of the rich and the powerful and do not trust these law enforcement agents to protect them against injustice and harassment.

The vast majority also feel that life is getting harder for them day by day.

What is worse, they feel absolutely powerless to do anything about it. In fact, nearly three-fourths of them believe that no matter what one does, one cannot change one's fate. It is hardly surprising that there are times when they feel there is no point in living.

D. Obscurantist and Oppressive Religiosity

The sense of helplessness and fatalism that dominate the consciousness of the poor are induced, at least in part, by an oppressive religiosity. The poor are a very religious lot. Most of them go regularly to their place of worship and faithfully follow the prescriptions of their religion. Only 2% of our respondents reported that they never go to a place of worship. Three-fourths of them pray privately on a daily basis. However, their beliefs about god(s) and spirits are so obscurantist that they live in perpetual fear of them.

As many as 62% of our respondents believed in evil spirits, which inflict harm on human beings unless they are placated. Almost half of them (47%) said that they believed in black magic. In fact, more than one-third of them (35%) admitted that they had gone to a black magician to cure illnesses, to exorcize evil spirits, or to know what the future holds for them.

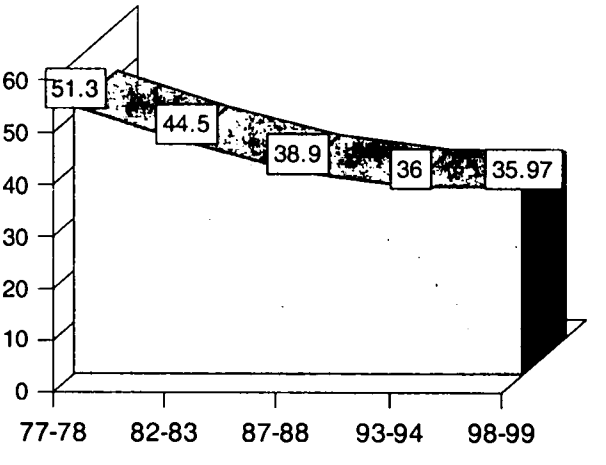
Misfortunes happen because the gods are angry according to 39% of the respondents. When asked why there is suffering in the world, 40% said that it is God's will or God's punishment; 13%, mostly Hindus, attributed it to one's karma. Hardly any one pointed to class conflicts, unjust structures, or relationships of dominance as possible causes of suffering in the world. It is no wonder then that most of them do not entertain any hope of liberation from their misery in this life.

Karl Marx's characterization of religion as "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the spirit of spiritless conditions; it is the opium of the people" still rings true for the rural masses of India.

5. Trends in Poverty

What does the new millennium hold for these 'wretched of the earth'? Will life get better for them as the politicians and the votaries of economic liberalization promise? Or, is life getting harder for them as the poor themselves feel? The latest official statistics on poverty put out by the Government of India appear to prove the poor right and the pundits wrong.

Chart 6. Poverty Ratio: 1977-1999



As Chart 6 illustrates, the proportion of population below the poverty line had been declining since the late 1970s, when half of India's population was below the poverty line.[3] In the 70s and the 80s, the heyday of the socialist

licence-permit raj, when rationing, price controls, import controls, and nationalization were the order of the day, poverty did fall at an annual rate of nearly three percent, even though during this period the country's economy grew only at a modest 3.5%, which is derisively called the "Hindu rate of growth". In contrast, in the 90s, the period of economic liberalization with its emphasis on free trade, foreign direct investment, dismantling of import controls and privatization, there has been no reduction in the rate of poverty despite the economy having grown by more than five percent per annum during this period. The stark contrast between the reform period of the 90's and the pre-reform period in poverty reduction is certainly disconcerting. The Indian economy, riding on liberalization wave, is growing at a faster pace than ever before; ironically, so are the number of the poor in the country.

Until the nineties the number of the poor in the country had been declining steadily both relatively and absolutely. However, in the era of economic liberalization and faster economic growth, according to the Government's own official estimates, the number of the poor in the country have gone up from 306 million to 360 million, which is equivalent to the total population of the country 50 years ago. The benefits of economic reform have failed to reach the poor; on the contrary, their condition has only worsened. As the Nobel laureate, Amartya Sen, has pointed out: "We must not make the mistake – common in some circles – of taking the growth rate of GNP to be the ultimate test of success and of treating the removal of illiteracy, ill-health and social deprivation as – at best – possible means to that hallowed end ... The more conventional criteria of economic success (such as high growth rate, a sound balance of payments and so forth) are to be valued only as a means to deeper ends. It would, therefore, be a mistake to see the development of education, health care and other basic achievements as **only** or **primary** expressions of "human resources" – as if people were just the **means** and not its ultimate end" (Sen and Dreze1989).

Conclusion

India, it is often said, lives in her villages. Our journey to the remotest villages of India revealed to us the dreadful reality of poverty more forcefully than any books, lectures or statistics could ever do. We saw the many faces of poverty. We saw it in the distress of the mothers who cannot feed their starving children; in the pain of a husband who helplessly watched his young wife die because he did not have the money to take her to a hospital; in the anguish of the parents who are unable to marry off their daughters because they cannot come up with the required sum for dowry; in the plight of an old couple who had to sit up all night holding banana leaves over their heads as it was raining and the thatched roof of their dwelling was badly torn; in the struggle of young girls who trek several miles every day to fetch drinking water for their families; in the predicament of the farmer who is forced to borrow ever increasing amounts every month only to pay interest on his debts;

in the misfortune of countless boys and girls growing up in the 21st century knowing neither to read nor to write; in the obscurantist religiosity, which makes them live in constant fear of angry gods and malevolent spirits; in the superstitions that make them resort to black magic to heal sickness and ward off evil; in the inhuman practice which requires women to get out of their home and live in the cattleshed during their menstruation; in the stultifying fatalism that leads to the paralysis of despair. And the most perplexing fact of all is that, with globalization and concomitant liberalization of the economy, any hope of liberation for these "wretched of the earth" seems to be receding.

An episode that took place recently in the city of Rajkot, in the state of Gujarat in western India, highlights the bizarre consequences of mindless economic liberalization. During this summer, when there was a severe shortage of water, some innovative traders came up with an imaginative marketing strategy for imported colour televisions. They advertised that 500 litres of clean water will be delivered free of cost, daily for six weeks, at the doorstep of every household which buys a new television set. As a result the sale of colour television sets in Rajkot went up by 70%. One of the customers, who was asked by a journalist why he bought a TV at this time, said: "I do not really need a new television now, but I do need the water." Imagine having to buy imported colour televisions in order to collect drinking water! That, sadly, is the predicament in which India finds herself today in the wake of the liberalization policies she has been pursuing for nearly a decade now.

Endnotes

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the *International Seminar on Poverty and Unemployment* organized jointly by the University of Rome and the University of Milan in Rome in September, 2000, as part of the Jubilee of the Universities of the World.
2. I gratefully acknowledge the contribution of the philosophy students of Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth in designing and executing this study as well as the assistance rendered by my colleague, Dr. Anthony da Silva, SJ, in planning this project.
3. The source of the statistics in this chart is Parikh (1999: 52) except the 1998-99 figure, which was from the reply of the Minister of Planning and Programme Implementation to a question raised in the Rajya Sabha on August 10, 2000 (Indian Express, Pune, August 11, 2000).

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Book Reviews

Religion and Politics From Subaltern Perspective, Thomas Kadankavil, CMI. (Editor), Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 1999, pp. viii + 142, IRS 60.00.

The nine essays incorporated in this volume are from the Proceedings of a seminar (October 23-25, 1998) organized by the Centre for Dalit Solidarity at Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram, Bangalore. In the Preface, the Editor highlights the focus of each author. The issues studied are diverse. Most deal with the Christian Dalit reality. The essays are of varying length, mostly stating issues, seldom discussing them in depth. The case studies of J.J. Pallath on the Christian *Pullayas* and of P.T. Mathew on the Christian *Mukkuvars* of north and south Kerala respectively bring in a fresh perspective. The two-part article of Roger E. Hedlund is quite an eye-opener about the Christian movement at the periphery of the Indian society. The task of identifying the Indian Christians of indigenous origins seems a difficult process judging by the fact that the author leaves the reader with various perspectives and hardly a definitive identity in the first part.

The articles and topics as dealt with by the respective authors have limited value and restricted space in the overall subaltern studies. Among the Dravidians, the mention of Tamils and their numerous attempts, religious as well, at establishing their separate identity from the Aryan culture is quite informative. At the same time the reader is left with the question as to what happened to the rest of the southerners.

The issue of reservations in the course of the political history of independent India has become somewhat vexed. Raju Thomas has restricted himself to the identification of the Dalits by Dr B.R.Ambedkar. In recent times, reservations and its beneficiaries identified by the Mandal Commission and even the Karnataka Government have entangled the debate even more.

The next set of four articles concerns the issue of caste in the Christian community. A point that could have enhanced Raja's article, somewhat descriptive, seems to be the evaluation of the achievements of the Dalit Decade (p.57) declared by the Church. Dr Maria Arul Raja, rector of *Arulkal* (sic), has made a commendable effort at seeking common ground between the biblical *(grande histoire)* and Dalit world *(petite histoire)*. The recent anthropological studies of the Christian Pulaya and the Christian Mukkuva by J.J.Pallath and P.T.Mathew respectively highlight the subaltern cultural values transplanted into their Christian life by the Dalit Christians of Kerala.

The volume has an article by Ruth Manorama on Dalit Women. She focusses on their status in society and the way they let their voice be heard in social and political issues that affect them. Finally, Antony Kalliath analyzes the ills of globalisation, and, in the latter part of his article, enumerates some approaches and responses to the threat of globalisation. He suggests that "what is needed is to act locally and think globally with a sense of commitment to social justice" (p.142).

The reader is in for a disappointment with the editing of the work. The style of editing leaves much to be desired. Note the glaring inconsistency with the same name even within the same article and the same page. The revered E. V. R. may be turning in his grave that his last name is Nicker and Naiker in the same breath (p.7). The lack of exactness in the spellings is rampant; leave alone desired syntax and apt

expression. Check out page 1 line 1 for Dravidavrutta which would be correctly Dravidavarta and the cover page at the back where the Editor becomes Dr. Thomas Kadandavil (sic). Such countless mistakes throughout the text are a real distraction and undermine the value of this work.

Rosario Rocha SJ

Philosophy in the New Millenium: *Quo Vadis, Philosophie? Antoworten der Philosophen: Dokumentation einer Weltumfrage,* Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Editor, Concordia: International Journal of Philosophy Monographs, Vol. 28. Aachen, 1999, pp. 343 (price not mentioned).

Since its inception in 1982, Concordia has sought to promote exchange between thinkers of different cultures on relevant issues. Themes like various aspects of Philosophy of Liberation, the Preferential Option for the Poor and Religion as the Poetry of theWorld to Come indicate that no mere sterile academic exchange between academicians in ivory towers has been envisaged. This volume, as the Latin title suggests, focuses on the role of philosophy in the XXth century, with a view to discerning whence it should proceed in the new millenium.

Accordingly, Fornet-Betancourt addressed a series of questions to various philosophers, chosen from all over the globe. The five pertinent and provocative questions are the following:

· In your opinion, which are the historical events that have more strongly influenced the development of philosophy in this century, and which of these events should become subject of philosophical reflection?

· Which are the events in this century that have influenced your own philosophical development the most, and which in particular have made you change your philosophical positions?

· Which issues, ideas, currents or works would you say are essential to the philosophy of the twentieth century?

· Which philosophical trends from this century do you think should continue to be developed in the future?

· Which tasks do you think should be given priority in philosophy at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

The responses of some 103 persons have been assembled and juxtaposed into this volume, without any naïve attempt to streamroll them all into one allegedly coherent consolidated report. The addresses of respondents are listed at the end, but regrettably no brief biographical notes are appended to each reply: one is left to guess at the nationalities (and even the sexes of those with exotic names), let alone the posts they hold in their respective Universities.

As to the criterion of selection, every effort was made to "keep in mind the plurality of thoughts" and a choice was made of "those philosophers who have contributed with their work to point out the direction of philosophy in this century." "Unfortunately," the editor informs us, "we did not receive answers from many philosophers whom we would have liked to include in this survey," and, on the other hand, answers came in "from people whom we did not invite" – and presumably these were included. This effectively forestalls any criticism as to who was admitted and who was left out: for all we know, those whom we miss were among those who were requested but didn't send a response and those whom we would prefer had been excluded were not among those originally chosen in the first place!

As to the philosophers whose answers have been gathered into the 300 odd pages, among the more well-known are Emerich

Continued on p. 148

jnanadeepa

Pune Journal of Religious Studies

It is undeniable that there is a crisis of authority in the world today. What can we do to develop a new understanding of and a new approach to authority? What contributions can different traditions and disciplines make towards this goal? These are some of the questions the next issue, July 2001, of *Jnanadeepa* will discuss.

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