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## **Towards a nonviolent and nonkilling society: the crusade of Prof. Glenn D. Paige**

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Professor Glenn D. Paige is one of the foremost champions of the movement for a new Nonviolent International Order which will gradually eliminate violent structures from contemporary lives. He has been vigorously promoting the concept of nonkilling society and global nonkilling political science.

What exactly is the critique of the Nonviolent Political Science he has been advocating? Is it just one of the fantasies or Utopian dreams coming from the wounded sentiments of an ex-military officer-turned-political scientist and peace activist? Well, history is replete with instances of how hard and long all those who pioneered great vision had to convince themselves and suffer for their courage to swim against the tide before they could convince those around them the efficacy of what they were trying to propagate. Professor Paige's experience does not appear to be different from any of his predecessors. Daring has its own prize-tag. Or does Mathew Arnold's description of poet Shelley "an ineffectual angel beating its wings in void," apply to Professor Glenn Paige also?

"Political Science is a science that will liberate itself. This will require five related revolutions: normative, empirical, theoretical, institutional and educational. The tasks for the political scientists at the end of the twentieth century are to begin these revolutions. Twenty-First century successors must carry them forward, consolidate them, and extend their influence throughout global society," wrote Professor Paige in his seminal

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work on political science in 1979. A few doubts arise here.

Is a nonviolent, non-killing society possible? Is not violence an essential aspect of human life? These doubts arise because nonviolence is not part of the mainstream way of thinking in today's society. Many societies have been brought up and socialized from childhood idealizing violence so much so now this monster has grown bigger than the master and is demanding his pound of flesh. Disagreeing strongly with the upholders of the theory that it is impossible to think of a nonviolent society since it is part of human nature to kill, Professor Paige says: "If the roots of violence are in human biology, then we must understand and change them. If they are in the psycho-dynamics of family socialization, we must alter them. If they are in inequitable economic structures, we must rectify them. If in prevalent cultures, we must create non-violent alternatives. If in prevalent political institutions, we must transform them. Since violence is the production of multiple causation, a multi-casual theory on nonviolent transformation is to be expected."

Thus, according to Professor Paige, the nonviolent liberalisation of global humanity is not a class monopoly, nor should it be the monopoly of any special elite or nation. It is a task in which all can and must share. It goes without saying in this context that some may have to share greater responsibility.

"The greater the violence of the individual, group or organization society or nation, the greater its responsibility for nonviolent development of others. Conversely the more nonviolent the human consciousness and material conditions, the greater the responsibility to assist others to become more nonviolent."

His basic premise of a nonviolent society is characterized by the vision of a social order where there is

- ❖ no killing or any threat of killing,
- ❖ no technology designed specifically to kill,
- ❖ no cultural justification for killing, and
- ❖ no social or economic conditions that have to be maintained through the use of violence.

The basic moral position thus according to Professor Paige for the

realization of a nonviolent society is:

**I will not kill a fellow human being;**

**I will withdraw material and moral support from those who kill or threaten to kill;**

**I will work positively for the creation and implementation of non-violent alternatives to satisfy human needs, to resolve conflicts, and to realize human aspirations.**

The argument runs almost as a sequel to the amazing manner in which Martin Luther King Jr. summed up Gandhi's concept of nonviolence. King wrote: "Gandhi was probably the first person in human history to lift the love of ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale,"

Professor Paige shares the Gandhian optimism of incredible changes which mankind is capable of making. Gandhi said "we are daily witnessing the phenomenon of the impossible of yesterday becoming the possible of today". Prof. Paige has been striving to establish Global Center for Nonviolence to spread the message of nonviolence, train nonviolent functionaries, document nonviolent resources and persuade policy-makers, academics and others to change their outlook, so that a nonviolent transformation will become a reality-in order to sustain life and ensure continuity of human race. He argues, "Although we are honoring Gandhi and will recognize his contributions, we must avoid placing responsibility for nonviolent global transformation exclusively upon his shoulders. In all world areas there are nonviolent cultural resources and traditions that have their own contributions to make. Gandhi's example can serve as a powerful stimulus to evoke them, as illustrated by his influence upon the Afro-American nonviolent civil rights movement in the United States. There Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. served as a main focus for inspired leadership by many other men and women, young and old that reached out to all Americans. But that movement also had its known roots in Christianity and in the Black American experience. Similarly, Leo Tolstoy provided a source of inspiration and example in Russia but contributed to Gandhi's work which in turn was creatively rooted in Gandhi's understanding of both Indian and British cultures."

The publication of "Global Nonkilling Political Science" by Paige marks the birth of a new era in contemporary history. Let me reproduce from my foreword to the Indian edition of this book:

To stand up and challenge any established belief or order requires extra-ordinary courage and conviction. The price paid by those who mustered strength to do so or swim against the current has been enormous. 'Visionaries', 'dreamers' or 'revolutionaries' as they are described endearingly or sarcastically have never been deterred in their 'seditious' activities. Ironically, notwithstanding threat of death, persecutions, imprisonment, crucifixion or torture, their tribes have only been steadily increasing.

Ancient India did preserve for posterity the details of the extraordinary transformation of Emperor Ashoka who after leading one of the bloodiest battles in history became a dove of peace and championed ahimsa by making it a state policy, perhaps first time in history. The Korean battle fields in the fifties witnessed a more or less similar transformation when a young anti-aircraft communications officer, Glenn D. Paige realized the need for alternative strategies to resolve conflicts. His awakening to nonviolence led him to examine seriously the life, and experiments of Gandhi. The decades that followed also witnessed Professor Paige developing a spiritual bond with India that left tremendous impact both on him as well as the Gandhian Movement in India, particularly, the Shanti Sena. The Global nonviolent awakening following the Gandhian era received tremendous support with Glenn taking a central role. His commitment to nonviolence became total and the numerous visits he made to several countries of the world, contacts he established with peace activists and the fresh insights with which nonviolent potentials were encouraged to be examined brought in a formidable group of young researchers, activists, academicians and thinkers in different parts of the world. His efforts acquired the nature of a crusade for nonviolence on a global scale and his commitment became inspiring and matchless. His pleas for a nonkilling society, though at the initial stages received only scorn and helped raise eye brows, are not totally lost on the present socio-political milieu. There



are several people who understand and appreciate the heroic efforts of Professor Paige, but not the established political scientists.

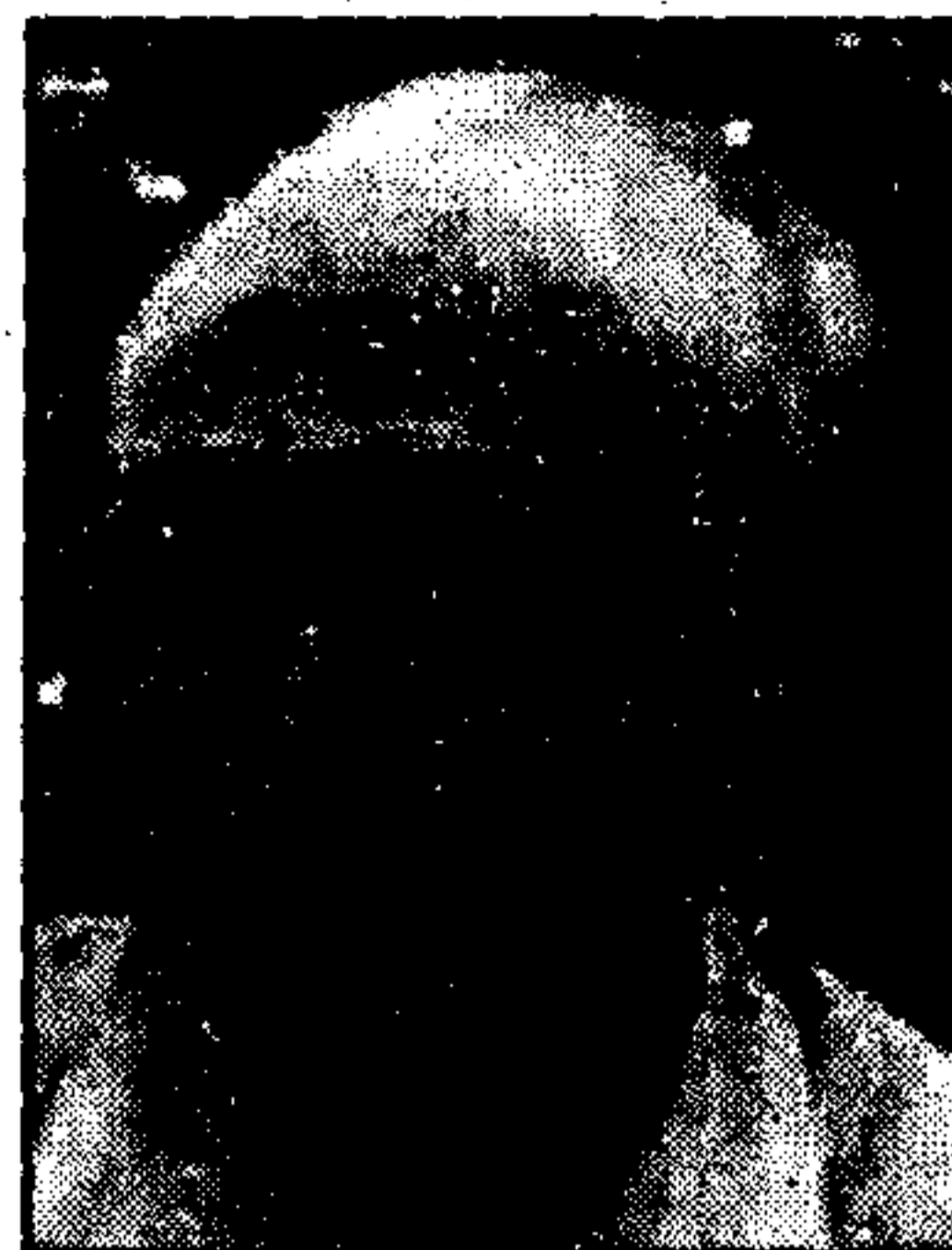
Johan Galtung while reviewing Glenn Paige's book, *To Nonviolent Political Science: From Season's of Violence* made a very interesting observation. Prof. Galtung felt that Glenn, "brings to mind the state of , social philosophy when slavery was deemed 'normal' and part of human nature." I can hear the Glenn Paige's of that time harassing their audience with 'do you think a non- slavery society is possible?' And I can hear the answer, very similar to what Glenn finds when the key-word is 'nonkilling'. There were probably even those who developed doctrines about 'just slavery'.

*Nonkilling Global Political Science*, the results of three decade' research, meditation, interaction, intensive dialogues with some of the best brains of the world, is a land mark publication by Prof. Glenn D. Paige. As the writer rightly believes this may be the first book in English language to contain the word, 'nonkilling' in its title. In a socio-political-economic and religious milieu which not only justifies killing but takes legitimate pride in it, what will be the fate of some one like Glenn D. Paige who challenges with conviction and courage the prevailing assumption that killing is an inescapable part of the human condition? Will his passionate plea be lost in the wilderness of the present-day hypocrisy and intolerance to change and reason or will it resonate and generate healthy discussions and change of attitude?

Professor Paige argues passionately and with conviction that a nonkilling global society is possible and that changes in the academic discipline of Political Science and its social role can help to bring it about. The assumption that killing is an inevitable attribute of human nature and social life is convincingly challenged by the author in this book.

**N. RADHAKRISHNAN**

## **Glenn D. Paige speaks\***



This book is offered for consideration and critical reflection primarily by political science scholars throughout the world from beginning students to professor's emeriti. Neither age nor erudition seems to make much difference in the prevailing assumption that killing is an inescapable part of the human condition that must be accepted in political theory and practice. It is hoped that readers will join in questioning this assumption and will contribute further stepping stones of thought and action toward a nonkilling global future.

This may be the first book in the English language to contain the word "nonkilling" in its title. The term is not in customary use. It seeks to direct attention beyond "peace" and even "nonviolence" to focus sharply upon the taking of human life. The initial response of many may be that to focus upon "nonkilling is too negative, too narrow, and neglects more important things. They may find company in Gandhi's admonition that to define ahimsa (nonviolence; non-injury in thought, word, and action) as nonkilling offers little improvement over Violence.

Yet perhaps even Gandhi as reader, on reflection, might be persuaded that concentration upon liberation from killing as source and sustainer of other forms of violence could be a significant step forward in the political science of nonviolence. And from the politics of taking, life to the politics of affirming it.

The thesis of this book is that a nonkilling global society is possible and that changes in the academic discipline of political science and its social role can help to bring it about. The assumption that killing is an inevitable attribute of human nature and social life that must be accepted

\*Foreword by Glenn. D. Paige

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in the study and practice of politics is questioned as follows. First, it is accepted that humans, biologically and by conditioning, are capable of both killing and nonkilling. Second, it is observed that despite their lethal capability most humans are not and have not been killers. Third, nonkilling capabilities already have been demonstrated in a wide range of social institutions that, if creatively combined and adapted, can serve as component contributions to realize nonkilling societies. Fourth, given present and expectable scientific advances in understanding of the causes of killing, the causes of nonkilling, and causes of transition between killing and nonkilling, both the psychobiological and 'social factors conducive to lethality are taken to be capable of nonkilling transformative intervention. Fifth, given the foregoing, the role of lethal human nature as the basis for acceptance of violence in political science and politics must at the very least become problematical as a foundation of the discipline. Sixth, in order to advance toward universally desired elimination of lethality from local and global life, political scientists who are presently not persuaded of human capacity for nonkilling social transformation are invited to join in taking up the possibility as a problem to be investigated hypothetically in terms of pure theory, combining inductive and deductive elements. Hypothetical analysis and role-playing by skeptics as well as by those who accept the possibility of nonkilling transformations can markedly assist disciplinary advance. Just as nuclear deterrence advocates and critics have been able to engage in theoretical and simulated exploration of local and global effects of limited or full-scale nuclear war, nonkilling and violence-accepting political scientists can join in constructively and critically exploring the preconditions, processes, and consequences of commitments to realize nonkilling conditions of global life.

Although this book is addressed primarily to those who study and practice political science, it is obvious that nonkilling societies cannot be realized without the discoveries and contributions of all scholarly disciplines and vocations. A magnificent example is Harvard sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin's pioneering advance toward an applied science of altruistic love in *The Ways and Power of Love* (1954). We need nonkilling natural and biological sciences, nonkilling social sciences, nonkilling humanities, nonkilling professions, and nonkilling people in every walk of life. Furthermore, in order to understand the full range of past and present human capabilities, we must share knowledge and experience beyond the bounds of local contexts and cultures. To be normatively sensitive, cognitively accurate, and practically relevant, nonkilling political science in conception and participation must be global.



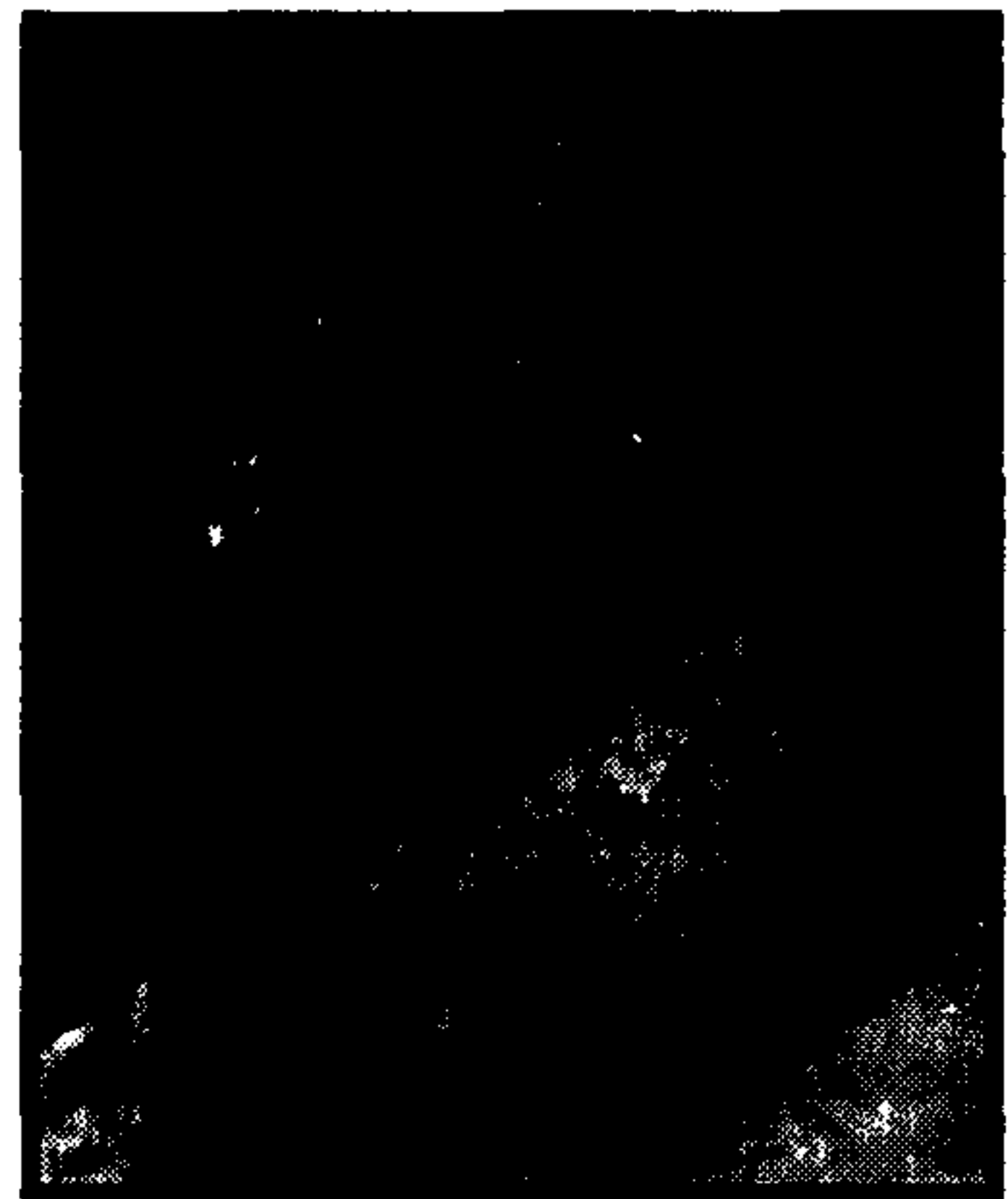
**REVIEW ARTICLE:**

## **Nonkilling Global Political Science**

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**ANIS HAMADEH**

If you want a nonkilling society, then read this book! Here an experienced philosopher and researcher of societies provide us with a new branch of political science: nonkilling. The thesis of the pioneer book at hand is that a nonkilling global society is possible, and that changes in the academic discipline of political science and its social role can help to bring it about. Professor Paige has very good arguments. The best one is that we all, independently of our dispositions, ultimately don't want killing in our societies, because we know that it only brings more trouble.



*Prof. Glenn D. Paige*

Let us take a walk through this book now, and after that journey I will give you my opinion as an artist. Here is a summary in six paragraphs first: In accord with the motto of the book "A science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost" (Alfred North Whitehead), Glenn Paige, after explaining what a nonkilling society is, starts the book with the consequential decomposition of Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Marx and Engels, Rousseau, and Weber in respect to their justification of violence in the political sciences. Glenn Paige calls it the "lethal philosophical tradition" (p.6) and makes plausible that political science has been predominated by people who believe in violence and who promote fixed images of an alleged invincibility of violence and killing. But, so the author's disarming question, "If political scientists, scholars who dedicate their lives to the study of political

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power in its multi-faceted manifestations from family life to world war, do not challenge seriously the assumption of lethality, then why should we expect political leaders and citizens of the world to do so?" (p.147).

Chapter 1 is named after the basic question: "Is a Nonkilling society possible?" (pp.1-23) and explains the visionary idea of nonkilling: "The nonkilling society is a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans, and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change" (p.1). This basic question was posed to the scene of political scientists all over the world and the reactions were amazing: it seemed as if this question generally never really occurred to the academic circles. In polls, many answered no, according to the pessimistic tradition, yet others felt that yes is the answer. The author knows: "In such a context of primal beliefs, philosophical heritage, patriotic socialization, media reinforcement, cultural conditioning, and global bloodshed - it is not surprising that most American political scientists and their students emphatically reject the possibility of a nonkilling society." (p. 17). And yet there are some serious voices who claim that ultimately - it's completely possible. Why this is so is elaborated in the next chapter. "Capabilities for a Nonkilling Society" (pp.25-70) is a long chapter on the possible grounds for thinking that a nonkilling society is possible. And why is it plausible to think that humans are capable of universal respect for life? Glenn Paige finds many Answers. For example the simple fact that most humans do not kill. In an inventory associated way he reminds us of the worldwide spiritual roots of nonkilling in religions and humanistic movements through history (p.27 fl), and the scientific roots like A. Richard Konrad (1974) who argues the need to shift from a philosophical predisposition to accept violence to one that seeks to create and test nonviolent alternatives. (p.31)

Paige finds biological evidence in Tsai who calls for a science-based philosophy of "survival of cooperation".(p.32) after a test where rats and cats lived peacefully together when satisfied; he brings in the conscience argument of guilt and mentions brain science to bear further evidence for a nonkilling human potential (p.36). We get the statistics of unarmed countries, of war refuses, abolition of death penalty in the field of public policies (p. 42 fl), and there are social institutions (p. 48 fl) and historical roots (p.56 fl) for

nonkilling as a foundation of global harmony. In the USA there is an important nonkilling tradition (p.59 fl), and moreover, there is the evidence of role-models, nonkilling individuals who carry their points (p.65 fl). So it will all right the author concludes that there is a lot of evidence for the functioning of a nonkilling society, only that the subject is not in the general awareness. The responsible people don't think about it enough!

In chapter 3, "Implications for Political Science" (pp.71-98), it is stated that the assumed attainability of a nonkilling society implies a disciplinary shift to nonkilling creativity. Nonkilling - this is the line of argumentation - has a logic to it, just as the currently prevailing

pessimistic trends have a logic for analysis. In the wake of the linkers like Thomas Kuhn (*The Structure of Scientific Revolution*, 1968), Paige calls for a "paradigm shift" (p.72), because we need to know more about the causes of killing and the characteristics of a nonkilling society, as well as about nonkilling action principles (p.76). The author here does, in fact, speak of a "nonviolent scientific revolution" (p.79), justified by the irrefutable responsibility of science in our violent world. In chapter 4, "Problem-Solving Implications" (pp. 99 - 124), the author presents many data and examples of how political science can constructively act for nonkilling. Chapter 5, "Institutional Implications" (pp. 125- 144), enlarges the scope of the nonkilling idea and talks about the level of society and of global society. The respective organisations and shared values already exist. The path for a social transition already is prepared. The chapter ends with the statement: "Every political scientist and each person can be a center for global nonviolence to facilitate transition to a nonkilling world". In the final chapter 6, "Nonkilling Global Political Science" (pp. 145 - 163) the underlying ideas are summarized and put into handy formulas, like "S4 x LCIR = Nonkilling Global Transformation", (p. 149, the letters stand for Spirit, Science, Skill, Song, Leadership, Citizen Competence, Institutions, Resources'). On the question: "No peace without justice?" he replies: "No justice without nonkilling!" (p. 153), and Glenn Paige even detects a pioneer of nonkilling philosophy in American political science: Professor John W. Burgess (p.1.58). For who can only be convinced on the last pages of his book, Paige refers to the society of Waorani in Ecuador, a striking example or . the successful transition of a strongly violent society into a much less violent one (p. 160).

The book at hand has a preface, acknowledgements, several tables and

appendices with statistics and essentialists of e.g. nonviolence organisations which fit the nonkilling philosophy. The introductory essay "The Policy Sciences of Nonkilling" by Professor James A. Robinson has eight pages. The book has notes, a bibliography and indices of names and of subjects. It is written in a clear and precise way, with an optimistic spirit and a sharp eye on the essential questions. It summarizes and brings together many different discourses from different areas, is full of vivid examples and written in a language that everybody can understand without appearing less academic for that. Although frankly whistling for a revolution, it is such a charming masterpiece that evens the most pessimistic lethal paleontologists will want to have at least a shy glimpse at it. No doubt, this book has all that it takes to become a standard reference work.

As an engaged artist (though also coming from the academic fields of Islamic Studies and linguistics) I can only entirely welcome Professor Paige's book and say that I have developed into the same questions and the same conclusions in my field. If you read my essays you will find the same spirit and concern in the mirror. The same holds true for the 400 pages online story "Rock'n'Roll. Message from Ozzy Balou" (in German) which was started shortly after September 11, a story in which the questions of violence are formulated in extends as well as the role of the media and other responsible groups. It is stated - similar as in my latest online essay "Artist and Society" that the half-ignorant half-suffering mainstream society prevents nonviolent role-models like pop stars to be big in society for fear thinking", and envy. Thus the climate is prevented in which global ideas like nonkilling can find the alternative power people to carry the idea and to promote and protect it in public. Yes, as an artist I also have found out that people tend to believe in the superiority of violence without much reflection. Not only in the political science, this is sure. And yet I passionately share Glenn Paige's optimism. For me, it has always, been engaged researchers like Professor Johan Galtung or peace linguist Professor George Lakotf nom Berkeley or Professor Kueng who served as role-models, academics who make clear that their sciences themselves are political, actively seeking harmony, presenting alternatives and workable solutions, and Glenn Paige's quasi-trademark "nonkilling" is another example for this fresh philosophy, in which the Greek concept "sophia", wisdom knowledge, is reflected in its original responsible meaning, connected to action.

**“Nonkilling Global Political Science” by Glenn D. Paige is a vision in its best scientific form. Maybe the online book “Omega 5”, of which three chapters are written now, is a literary parallel to this vision. It is in German and not yet translated. With an account of the Omega 5 story I give my personal contribution to this review: Omega 5 is the science fiction story of Jonas whose spirit travels from a distant planet to earth through a target. Via email and with the help of a medium he communicates with Anton in Berlin, telling him about a planet. Where giants live and speaking lemurs. Later in the book Anton finds the target and travels to Omega 5. Next to entertaining and fairytale episodes, Anton learns about the social structure of Omega 5, and this is the aspect I focus on here, as it relates to the nonkilling issue. The civilization of Omega 5 is much older than on earth, and people also live much longer. 200 years, the mediators even live as long as the oldest trees. Thus the societies are mentally advanced (though not technically): what we call materialism, for them is a phase in life between 20 and 40 that has associations on Omega 5 which puberty has on earth: the infantile touch and the embarrassing retrospective. It is similar with violence as a political means on Omega 5. Reason for this is not only the life-span experience, but foremost the existence of giants who care for peace on the planet.**

**As Jonas recounts, the history of Omega 5 starts with myths. The oldest book they have is the Koda Ka Miraat, the “Book of Peace”. The Koda is about 8000 years old and also the first evidence of the Berit language. Taoh wrote it after” At”, the war between Omegians and giants. The giants live on a plateau continent called Iram. Sources mention the culture shock that happened when Omegians and Gara (giants) first met: the Omegians from Targos were scared and negatively fascinated by the other society. They started to blame the giants for bad harvests and the weather and illnesses, and they built a huge tower close to the border. From the first chapter: “The Gala, in the years before the war, scarcely climbed down their mountain. Yet they were interested in the small Omegians, especially, when the Targs built the famous tower which had been rebuilt at his original place near the later capitol Raat. The tower is higher than the giants by one head, and it is generally assumed today that the idea for the erection of that tower sprang from a kind of inferiority feeling and an uncontrolled desire for attention” When the giants (whose fingers each are the size of an Omegian) climbed down to have a closer look at the building they unintentionally and without**



noticing trampled a couple of Omegians which they took as the final aggression necessary to launch hideous lethal attacks on the giants. The peaceful giants at that realized the danger that the small creatures were and in pain over a killed group member the Gara the next morning - according to the legend as preserved in the Koda - went out in all directions to kill the "Makara", i.e. the Omegians.

200 years lasted the war between Gara and Makara, and it was solved by the meditator Taoh, who sneaked to Iram and learnt the language and mentality of the wise naive giants. He combined the two languages and created Berit. With the Koda he gave the basis for a common language and a (nonkilling) tradition. He also introduced new philosophical concepts into the language Berit, like "miraat", meaning something like "peace in cooperation", and "oraat" meaning "peace through public" and "miana" meaning "co-consciousness". When the Koda was brought into all the countries and when the capitol Raat was founded 7730 years ago, the political dom system was introduced, according to the sentence of the Koda: "Live together in small social units (domra), where one knows the face of the other. One Dom is like the other, and all are different." As an explanation it must be added that we are dealing with a pun here, as "domra" also means "different, individual" There is no military on omega 5. The history of the planet points to an incident in an early century where the evil meditator Gandor and his" comparative violent racist traditionalists wanted to seize power. Here I give you a longer translated passage of the online book to make clear that artists can feel the very same that political scientists analyze. And of course, we on earth also have such giants. Gandhi was one, Martin Luther King, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Tolstoy, The Dalai Lama, Einstein, Mother Theresa, Jesus, Muhammad, Petra Kelly, John Lennon, Muhammad Ali Clay, Johan Galtung. The respect for life can best be conveyed in personal representation. Even words and idea are not as easy to be kept in the collective consciousness as personalities who stand for a great idea like nonkilling. Here is some more literary evidence, narrated by Jonas form Omega 5.

"The mastering of at can be dated to have come about in the year 2, when the bond between Gara and Makara was manifested in Raat. But many hold only the year 853 as an orientation date, when the rule of Gandor was broken. He was a meditator, hungry for power, and he had propagated

his school on the whole planet, a school that argued for the superiority of the Makara and for the archaic conflict with the Gara, which inevitably would break out again, and that the Makara had to be prepared for that. This movement denied oraat and worked in public as well as secretly. Beginning from the ninth century, his people persuaded different domra to rebellion. Corruption was a major factor in this development. They tried to provoke the giants so that later they could blame them for their violence. Gandor's myrmidons talked of a conspiracy and of Raat being secretly controlled by the giants. They promoted the "independence" of the Ornegians from the giants, and they wrote in a language they had developed out of old Targic.

In 853, the conflict broke out on all three continents, especially in Targos. There had been singular riots in the years and decades before. One Dom after the other now experienced what had grown behind the backs for a long time. Moreover, there had been a corruption scandal in Raat earlier in the year, and the Gandorians cleverly knew how to use the incidence for their purpose. Raat lost its credibility, and local lords suddenly entered the world political scene. They had only waited for their time to appear. Everything went very fast. The giants did not interfere at first, for this would only have supported and affirmed the reproach of control they were confronted with. Even when the parliament in Raat officially asked the giants for their help in battling the upheavals, they remained silent for a while and withdrew for consultation.

Then, about mid-year, the giants circulated a paper in every dom, in which the Gandorians to everybody's entire surprise were called to replace the delegates in Raat, who were to return to their domra. If the Gandorian law could achieve more than the Koda, then this would soon be obvious in practise. The Gandorians' first reaction was confusion. It is a trick, Gandor warned, but his people urged the meditator to accept power and to enter Raat. The regency of the Gandorians lasted for exactly three months. Because their principle, that there was an unbridgeable conflict between Gara and Makara, was neutralized by the giants who had returned to Iram and not left the mountain anymore. Many building projects had to be delayed. Gandor did not succeed in establishing the new old language, and his people in Raat did not have the necessary discipline to run a government. Bush-fires destroyed three domra and there were no giants who could have extinguished them within a couple of seconds with a simple watering-can. Instead, fights and power struggles were preformed in Raat, from the very day that the Gandorians had entered the city.

The change of government in Raat had the further effect that the leadership of the Gandorians, who before had worked in the domra and the provinces, now was singled out in the city, more isolated to a considerable part, and more concrete. Counter-movements in the domra were thereby advantaged. As soon as at the end of the year Gandor had created an unimaginable chaos, and the giants initiated a poll with the objective of finding out whether the Omegians wished that (a) the Gandorians continue this way (this choice reached 7 % of the votes), (b) that the condition of before 853 shall be reinstated (13%) or (c) that the condition of before 853 shall be reinstated with the supplement of exiling the Gandorians and arresting them in Iram for 20 years (80%). When Gandor and his people refused to leave Raat, the giants besieged the city. For this action, about twelve giants were necessary. They let all the traders and other Suamra (i.e. non-politicians) withdraw from Raat and set a deadline. Gandor hardly had any more support in the provinces and had to resign. But even he was free again after 20 years. A mild punishment, if you consider that a year on our planet has only 268 days and that the life expectance is so high.

Our long history knows similar attempts of creating monopolies of power, and it is a danger with which our politicians and the population have to confront themselves all the time. Belonging to our cultural heritage is a continuously topical writing with the title: "On the inconvenience that monopolies can only be prevented by a monopoly". The story of Gandor and his shipwreck, which I have sketched here without the profusion of its many facets" is very often referred to in our public, when the question of political power is raised."



## II

# Violence Against Violence Fails

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BALWANT BHANEJA

We have just entered the third year of the new millennium and war and terrorism is becoming the norm to resolve international conflicts. All the experience of bloody wars of the previous century and the wisdom thereby gained seems to have been wasted.

Professor Glenn Paige in his recent book, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* argues if political scientists, scholars who dedicate their lives to the study of political power in its multi-faceted manifestations do not challenge seriously the assumption of lethality, then why would one expect political leaders and citizens of the world to do so.

Is a nonkilling global society feasible? Paige in this path-breaking book asks this simple yet profound question, but goes a step further to challenge his discipline, questioning, if a nonkilling global political science is achievable? On both counts, through insightful analysis and substantive evidence, his answer is a resounding "yes" .

Glenn Paige, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Hawaii, writes from experience, having served in the Korean war. The work represents the synthesis of decades of his research which includes a number of books: *The Korean Decision* (1968), *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (1977), and *To Nonviolent Political Science: From Seasons of Violence* (1993).

The term Nonkilling unlike nonviolence is not as comforting because it confronts us with the modern violent reality that we witness regularly on our tv screens. The reality is that mighty nations still consider that they can assert pre-emptive wars, last experienced during the Third Reich and the Soviet period, without qualms. Professor Paige's use of the term is very specific, neither advocating pacifist philosophy nor religious faith, it's grounded in the evidence-based approach of behavioral sciences.

Paige shows that both violence-accepting politics and political science, in the last century have failed to suppress violence by violent means. The study of government and international politics has been unable to lay the groundwork and methodology for policy advice that goes to the roots of the causality of global violence.

Paige's vision is for political science to dedicate itself to a diagnosis of the pathology of lethality, and to discover both prescriptions and treatments that can be shared with all who seek to remove killing from global life. He shows that at most only about five percent of human beings have ever killed another person. Perhaps less than two or one percent of all homo sapiens have been killers of fellow humans. (p.27) Why not then to train, people and nations globally to strengthen their resistance to kill?

He uses life-affirming medical science as a metaphor. Medicine, through its continual research and training programs on prevention, intervention, and post-traumatic transformation strategies have proven successful in producing both knowledge and practitioners for the moral interest of preservation of life. Paige considers that same rigor and commitment to non-lethality can be made equally applicable to social sciences.

The last three chapters of the book lay out a road-map for a large-scale reconstruction of a nonkilling global society. In a chapter on Implications for Political Science, the author proposes changes that might accompany a shift towards non-lethality in the areas of political philosophy, political theory, leadership and polity, policy studies, comparative politics, and international politics.

For instance, why has the study of successful leadership in conflict resolution without military intervention remained neglected? There is a long list of Nobel Peace Prize winners who dared to take the nonviolent route for complex regime-change in their respective countries, and succeeded. Their accomplishments, leadership styles, skills, and strategies are waiting to be examined and analyzed.

Perhaps, a more important question political science ought to be exploring is the place of a sovereign nation-state, international law, multilateral institutions of civil society in an uni-polar world. Within the United States, political scientists may also ask whether that country wants to be seen as championing a democratic world order, or as an empire striving to impose its economic and security interests globally at any cost.

Paige calls into question the Weberian dogma that the acceptance of violence is imperative for the practice and science of politics. On this bias, he writes that

unlike natural sciences that encourage development of pure theory as a contribution to practical applications, political science has tended to be unreceptive to theoretical imagination, and this is especially true with regards to nonviolence creativity. By dismissing it in professional training as “utopian”, “idealistic” and “unrealistic”, political science is condemned to support perpetual lethality.

Consequently, killing that has been expected to liberate, protect, and enrich has become instead a source of insecurity, impoverishment, and threat

to human and planetary survival. This “pathology of defense” is such that Paige points out that what it is intended to defend becomes itself the source of self-destruction. Bodyguards kill their own heads of state, armies violate and impoverish their own people, and nuclear weapons proliferate to threaten their inventors and possessors.

Paige concludes that the time has come for a paradigm-shift in the discipline:

*“If tradition has taught that we must kill to be free, equal and secure — the present teaches that unless we stop killing not only freedom and equality are in jeopardy but our very survival — individual, social, and ecological — is imperiled. We have reached a point where the science and practice of politics must be aligned with the life-supporting forces of society and nature. It (nonkilling) is not only good morality, and good practically, but it is also this era’s imperative for good political science.”*

Paige is optimistic that this goal is neither utopian nor idealistic, but one that is reachable and essential. He courageously identifies and defines in its Nonkilling approach an imminent need for a new sub-field of political science. The book is both provocative and creative, an original work and a wonderful tonic for these troubled times.

III

**Nonviolent global order:  
searching a step farther**

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**K. GOPINATHA PILLAI**

The invisible face of violence in its varied forms reflects itself in the socio-economic and political structures that modern man has set up. Behind the magnificent edifice of modern culture and philanthropy ugly face of violence is couched in. In no time in human history violence has taken such a stride as in the 20th century. Glenn D Paige in his thought provoking work, *Non-Killing Political Science*, notes that, ‘The Twentieth century, mankind’s most murderous era, demonstrates the horror of human capacity to kill on a

massive scale”<sup>1</sup>. It is an irony of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that organised violence was legitimized and perpetuated against humanity under several pretexts by the role models of modern civilization. The war economies of developed countries pose greatest threat to the evolution of a non-violent global order. The relentless striving of great souls right from Christ, Buddha, Mahaveer down to Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela have given considerable hope or humanity’s yawning for peace and creation of a new human civilization.

The spiritualistic worldview that guided the social development of the ancient societies till the dawn of the age of science had conceived man to be the integral part of the universe. Man is part of the grand design of the Divine Will and human life is to be conducted in accordance with the Dharma of the Age. However, despite the philosophical reiterations of the unity and oneness of human soul and human brotherhood, gross inequality and exploitation were practiced in social life in all known period in ancient societies. From time immemorial it is found that lust for power and cruelty had reined human actions. We do not find missions of great spiritual visionaries having succeeded in creating a new human civilization.

However it is true that wanton lust for power, material acquisition and manifestation of violence had been kept under control and capped by the spiritual orientation of human life and social order in societies which had inherited spiritualistic world view. It is to be emphasized here that even during the long historical period in which spiritualistic world view had existed creation of a non-violent social order could never be achieved.

Modern man started his journey drawing upon the teachings of Descartes, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke. The matter–spirit dichotomy that haunted modern western civilization from its very beginning formed the basis of modern worldview and development. The value-free outlook nurtured and nourished by modern science found its expression in the direction in which modern revolutionary technologies developed. Man was reduced to the level of mere commodities in modern industrial society. Human actions were evaluated on the basis of the amount of material wealth it produced, rather than its qualitative basis. Pleasure seeking and acquisition of wealth came to be the objective of human life. On completing a full circle, modern science today realizes that in its insatiable greed for material advancement it has done irreparable damage to the mother earth pushing man on to the verge of a possible ecological tragedy.

## **Relevance of Gandhi**

The relevance of Mahatma Gandhi in the present global context characterized by unbridled violence, not only in the form of wars, terrorism, but also in the form of globalisation, continuing violence on nature and women is that he could chart a road map of a non-violent world order alternative to the violence ridden modern world order. Referring to Gandhi's seminal contribution to humanity Ram Manohar Lohia remarked: "In the context of this modern civilization Mahatma Gandhi came along and said even if you do not have an organization to support you, even if you do not have arms to wield, you have got something inside you, which enables you to resist oppression and injustice and also to bear suffering manfully. It was this strange and powerful quality of Gandhi's actions in his last 30 years that fascinated the attention of modern man and made him believe that the future might still contain the ingredients of a new world"<sup>2</sup>. The intuitive nature of Gandhi's each programme could never be cognized and appreciated by his followers. Keeping in view the ultimate destiny of humanity,

Gandhi found that the achievement of India's freedom struggle should be a path setter for saving humanity from the satanic hold of violence in modern civilization. Gandhi found that propelled by materialistic worldview modern civilization had been breeding violence in human consciousness as exemplified by its encroachments on nature, economy, polity and society. In its frantic search for the achievement of maximum efficiency, he pointed out, in a particular direction modern civilisation neglected and sought to negate the spiritual being of man, an inherent split haunted it from the very beginning.

The greatest contribution of Gandhi in the context of the failure of modern civilization in eliminating violence and provide humanity the promised peace and plenty is his exposition of the vanity and hollowness of materialist world view of modern world and sought to restore the spiritualistic world view. Going by the spiritualistic view of life, Gandhi emphasized the organic view of life and pointed out that any action that is performed has its inevitable positive or negative consequence in all realms of human life and nature. Placing the spiritualistic worldview in the center of human life, Gandhi explained the meaning of life, his inalienable nexus with nature and the values or norms that should be observed in all human activities.

Gandhi liberated spirituality from its misconceptions to be idleness,



asceticism, world negation, other-worldliness etc. Spirituality in its essence is the direct experience in one's own consciousness and one's whole being of the oneness of existence without any feeling of separateness with anything in universe<sup>3</sup>. Spirituality according to Gandhi is the normative basis that give guidance to make material life meaningful. That is why Gandhi is called "spirituality in action"<sup>4</sup>

Gandhi believed that only infusing and growing positive thinking and attitudes in people can eliminate the structures of violence in society and a non-violent order can be evolved. Gandhi visualized a social order devoid of violence, centralized power structures, and intolerance, which he called Ramrajya. Non-violent Satyagraha, the means that he devised for its attainment can be seen today, in the light of humanity's wisdom accumulated from the experience of developments over the last three centuries, as his greatest contribution and the brightest hope for mankind in ushering in a new human civilization. Ramhanohar Lohia observes, "This enabling the individual to resist oppression by himself and without any support is, to my mind, greatest quality of Mahatma Gandhi's life. Satyagraha as a weapon will prevail as long as injustice and oppression prevail, and it should prevail, because if it does not, the gun or the bullet."<sup>5</sup> Satyagrah is training and progression in truth.

### **Sarvodaya**

Gandhi's vision of a new society-sarvodaya-was based on the spiritual perception of the oneness of all life, sentient and non-sentient<sup>6</sup>. Gandhi envisaged the creation of a social order that promotes the accomplishment of the highest goal of human life. Such a new and transformed social order as would

facilitate the greatest good of all Gandhi called Sarvodaya<sup>7</sup>. Highlighting the significance of Gandhian concept of Sarvodaya, especially in the light of recent research in environment science, R.R.Diwakar points out that, "Once we accept Sarvodaya as a concept for the evolutionary and all sided development, not only of man, but of all sentient beings (animal life and plant life) since man's own future depends on the health of the eco-system we will have to look upon the whole of the planet and everything on or in it, from that point of view. That is, the health and healthy growth of the sentient world had to be organized with a view to its being helpful for human evolution

to higher moral and spiritual levels.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Can Go a Step Farther?**

In the beginning of the 21st century no more analysis and debates are required to substantiate the relevance and importance of the evolution of a non-violent social order or the Gandhian legacy in its creation. The rosy picture of golden future promised by modern western civilization in its dual form of liberalism and socialism have turned out to be an illusion. The urgent need of the hour is whether we can rise above our verbal reiterations and symbolic acts in support of the creation of a just and non-violent social order and work collectively by transforming our life pattern and value preferences for the furtherance of the cause of a just social order. The world is ripe with positive climate. We cannot wait for the advent of another Mahatma. Thanks to revolutionary changes in means of communication the awareness of average man is higher than in the period of Gandhi.

For initiating such a collective and determined move for liberating the world from the stranglehold of violence in its manifold expressions, various movements that work in different parts of the world should form a consortium. The people in the developed as well as in the developing countries are directly and indirectly subjected to the violent onslaughts of globalisation in the form of destruction of already shrunk production apparatus in poor countries—pushing thereby millions into poverty and dependence, depletion of water resources, forests, pollution, monopoly on global media and institutionalization and commercialization of knowledge.

Can we make one percentage sacrifice for the sake of our posterity by joining our self with purity of thought and action in a great global movement for peace. In such an effort aiming at a global cultural awakening practical and possible course of actions have to be worked out. In Sri Lanka under the great leadership of Ariyaratne, in South Africa under Nelson Mandela, in India under the aegis of Dr.N.Radhakrishnan, in Bangladesh the Grameen Banking movement, in U.S.A the Pacifist Party, in Germany the Green Movement, non-violent movements are conducting struggles against oppression, exploitation and marginalisation. A great movement, but silent, aimed at global spiritual and cultural renaissance takes place under the guidance of Shanthigiri Ashram through Viswasamskarika Navodhana Kendram, Shanthi Mahima, Guru Mahima and Mathrumandalam. Once we

take a brave initiative to form a federation of such myriad struggles of the people in a great effort to move a step farther in the direction of creating a non-violent social order, it will mark new era in people's struggle for liberation.

**Endnotes:-**

1. Glenn D. Paige, *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, p.16, New Delhi, 2002 see also, Lester Brown et.al., *State of the World*, New York, 1997
2. Rammanohar Lohia, *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, P.156, Hyderabad, 1963
3. R.R.Diwakar, 'Gandhi is Spirituality in Action', *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. VI, No.11, Feb.1985, p.8 see also, Ramashray Roy, *Self and Society-A Study in Gandhian Thought*, New Delhi, 1985
4. R.R.Diwakar. 'Gandhi is Spirituality in Action', op. cit. p.8
5. Rammanohar Lohia, op.cit. p. 157
6. M.P. Mathai, *Mahatma Gandhi's World-View*, P.225, New Delhi, 2000
7. Ibid., P.155
8. R.R.Diwakar, 'Journey to Sarvodaya', *Gandhi Marg*, vol.7, No.4, 1985, P.201



## **DISCUSSIONS:**

# **A nonviolent and nonkilling society: a discussion**

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The JPGS initiated a discussion among a cross section of people eliciting their responses to the movement for Nonkilling Global Political Science led by Prof. Glenn D. Paige. Reproduced below are excerpts of the views offered by a few of them.

### **B. R. NANDA** (Historian and Biographer of Gandhi):

On the question whether a nonkilling society is possible, Freud while talking to Einstein says that in the very process of creating a peaceful society, certain bad elements have to be brushed under the carpet, which later on come up as hatred, suspicion, violence, etc. Whereas, Gandhi maintained that man is born divine and it is the environment which denies him.

### **C.P.JOHN** (Member, Kerala State Planning Board):

Being a communist I believe in Marxism, but I do not consider Marxism as a dogma. The historical situations had conditioned many of the formulations of Marx. I feel that after Gandhi, it was Gorbachov, among the few great men in the world, who could steer the direction of the world towards peace. But his mission was either not properly understood or misinterpreted.

While analysing historically the dimension and gravity of violence in ancient societies was relatively less. Violence in the form of war was an instrument for annexation and expansion of empires in ancient societies. But in modern societies war and violence have been made the basis of national economies. This is a very serious development that has done considerable damage to human progress.

If we look at the cold war period, we can find that nations were more or less divided into two military camps and war preparedness was kept on the top of the national priorities of several countries. Manufacturing and sale of military hardware were the chief business of the advanced countries. This development fuelled by ambitions to expand the area of influence for protecting economic as well as ideological interests, has been sought to be legitimized in modern times. The political economy of war, therefore, poses the greatest challenge to any move towards peace and non-violent social order. The dismantling of war based political economies of the developed countries is a prerequisite for the progress of mankind in the direction of peace and creation of a new human civilisation.

It is not that world is not progressing towards peace. In the contemporary era the triumph of the African National Congress in ending the minority white rule through a long drawn predominantly non-violent struggle is a precursor of the rising relevance of Gandhian non-violent struggle in resisting state oppression. The non-violent struggles going on indifferent parts of the world on different fronts can be considered as a positive sign towards peace. Another point that I consider will contribute to the attainment of peace is the emancipation of women. The warring trait is more in man. Women are the peace element of nature. If women can achieve 50% representation in decision-making process, violence from all realms of life will come down. Even the feminist movements do not understand this positive role that women can play in the furtherance of peace.

The twentieth century was a century of war. The 21st century has to be the century of peace. Man is transformable. The humanity is still on its childhood. Many of the negative traits are being slowly transformed. Gandhi was not appreciated because he was an adult. The rationality of an adult is different from the rationality of a child. Gandhi is a forerunner adult. When the children will grow they will realize that Gandhi was more rational, peace is more rational. Gandhi pursued, in my opinion, rational spirituality. He was not the exponent of any religion as such. He was a polytheist. True spirituality as well as positive elements in materialist worldview could be the basis of the evolving world order.

**K. D. GANGRADE** (*Vice Chairman, Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti*):

The title of Prof. Paige's book has intrigued me as also others. I was, however, happy to note that the definition extends to animals and other forms of life. But Nonkilling of humans is a minimum characteristic which needs to be achieved. Of course, the late Indian Scientist Prof. Jagdish Chander Bose's research had proved that even plants have life like humans. I personally feel that we shall not be able to reach our dream-goal of Nonkilling society unless we give up non-vegetarian food(s).

Our goal requires that we should become members of one family to love each other. The Indian *Rishis* down the ages have given us a vision of 'onenesses, where whole world is considered as one family. On being asked where he lived, Sant Gyaneshwar said, "*The whole world is my home.*" Wherever there are two families there is a conflict of interests. In the epic Mahabharata the *Pandavas* and the *Kauravas* fought because they belonged to two families. We may belong to some nation or a particular religion, but deeply we must belong to only this earth family. This is the Gandhian way to reach our cherished goal to have Nonkilling society.

Today, the nations of the world are engaged in a race for power and technical supremacy. What is the principal purpose of this? To prevent one nation—one part of humanity – from dominating or destroying other, much intelligence and much energy are going into this effort. Greater effort must be made to achieve positive and mutually helpful human relations. This cannot be accomplished by harnessing war weapons and technical forces but only through man himself, working with other men as suggested by Prof. Paige. Among several others, the profession of Political Science makes effort, through its theories and policies, to improve human relations. And today its goal and value system need greater clarification and thinking by members of the professions and other experts. This has been the basic thrust of the message of Professor Paige.

All those concerned with respecting life on the earth planet will find the thoughts of Prof. Paige highly enlightened and useful. He has breached the castle of prevalent ideas to have a Nonkilling post modern society. The fight

for peace, pluralism and harmony is as crucial as the fight against terrorism. We should remember what Gautam Buddha said: "what we think, we become".

**A.K. MERCHANT** (*Representing Bhahai community*):

The idea seems fine. But going by the present situation unless and until there is a "World-Government", just a few individuals taking an initiative will not go far. There are several issues that need to be considered. The movement initiated by Professor Paige has great potential and it is a revolution similar to those humanity witnessed in the past.

**SUSHILA** (*Delhi University*):

The basic issue is that of Power. If the U.S.A. could act the way it has been acting now it is because of its military and economic superiority. Buddha as a world teacher did not go to the people with this kind of power. He went with a different kind of power to the people. Give it any label but it is not possible to develop such a power today in a violent capitalist society where consumerism and marketism rule the roost. You need to think about a post-capitalist society before you ask any other question.

**J. P. SHARMA** (*Lecturer in Political Science, Delhi University*):

In the last 50 years, nonviolence as an instrument for peace is a very difficult proposition. For e.g., in the Middle East, Peace has been treated as a bargaining commodity by both sides.

**PANDAV NAYAK** (*Vice Chancellor*):

The world's top five exporters of arms and weapons are also the members of the Security Council and are also supposedly responsible for maintaining peace. The 20th Century has witnessed 65 million people dying in genocidal war. In such a situation, can we achieve our goal of peace by confronting the present reality than by simply philosophising about peace?

**SUMITA MEHTA** (*Journalist*):

If an individual desires peace, then he'll work for it and if a society desires peace, so will it. It is this attitudinal change which is needed.

**S. K. DE** (*former Secretary Gandhi Peace Foundation*):

The main crux of the problem is the concentration of economic power in a few hands and it is these very hands which wield these weapons. Both the State and the weapons are powerful and this situation is very difficult. The only method is a non-violent peoples' movement to meet the enormity of both the State and the weapons. It is the human dilemma which needs to be dealt with, the dilemma being- 'I don't do what I want to do and I do what I don't want to do/Hence, unless and until this human personality can be changed, nothing can be done.

**LEE OLSEN** (*a Holocaust Survivor*):

Simply organising- mass movements may be essential but insufficient unless and until there is a development and revolution in the 'individual behaviour'.

**EDWARD WELLS** (*Electrical and Bio-medical Engineer, USA*):

If one is pessimist then nothing will happen. Fear of the dog comes from this human feeling of separation and duality from the dog. The question is whether there is a way to change the society/individual to believe in Ahimsa. These methods were devised in India. If all these one billion people are to live that consciousness then the problem would be solved.

**SHABIA MATHUR** (*Indian Institute of Mass Communication*) posed a counter question:

If we need time to think, then by what time will we finally achieve a nonkilling society? By the next millennium?

**KUSUM CHADDA** (*Faculty Member, Political Science, Delhi University*):

The infinite human capabilities to devise suitable alternatives to ensure both survival and sustainability of all what constitutes life will ultimately, might be gradually, have to accept Prof. Paige's prophetic formulations. No saint was ever understood and accepted that easily.

**Discussion compered by KUSUM CHADDA**





**Interview with Glenn D. Paige by MAHENDRA VED\***

## **The Peace Correspondent**

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Prof. Glenn D. Paige, Chairman, Centre for Global Nonviolence, Hawaii, proposes that the six military men, Chiefs of the Army, Navy and the Air Force of India and Pakistan sit across the table and jointly declare that they would not use weapons, conventional or nuclear. That the armed forces of the South Asian adversaries and neighbors have totally different relationships with their governments does not dissuade him. Nor was he discouraged when told by *Mahendra Ved* that he wrote on military matters.

“Then you are the best person. I would rather speak to you than a conforming pacifist,” he said with a smile and a *namaste*.

### ***What was the reaction to your proposal?***

*Most of people said it is not practical, because military people are not likely to take this kind of initiative. I told them that I am not trying to dissolve the armed forces of the two countries and take away millions of jobs. All I want is that India and Pakistan become the first countries in the world to respond to the universally desired hunger for complete abolition of genocidal-suicidal nuclear weapons just think of what happened to King Ashoka after the Kalinga war. The armed forces chiefs of India and Pakistan should be the modern Ashokas.*

### ***Why the military chiefs?***

*The generals, because they are the ones trained in the art and science of killing. I bet they will get inspiration*

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*\*Published in the Times of India Daily, 2000*

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January 2004

*not only from Emperor Ashoka, but also Napoleon Bonaparte, who said: "there are two powers in the world, sword and spirit, and in the end, spirit overcomes the sword. General Mac Arthur, General Eisenhower and latest of the American military men, Gen. George Butler, have all renounced violence and the spirit behind after they retired.*

*Take Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa, who met Mahatma Gandhi thrice, on December 1 and 2, 1947 and January 18, 1948 to engage in a dialogue on the military relevance of nonviolence, Gandhi had no answer. "I am still groping in the dark for an answer. I will find it and give it to you some day," the Mahatma said. The assassination of Gandhi cut short this dialogue. But it remains relevant. With deepest respect, I salute the nonviolent legacy of Cariappa.*

*Not only Cariappa, subsequent military leaders have fought each other. So why begin with India and Pakistan? Why not ask your country, the U.S, which is the military superpower and exporter of arms?*

*I insist on India and Pakistan because they have the rich cultural heritage to grow upon. This the U.S or Britain and the West completely lack. They do not have the moral tradition of ahimsa, even though Christianity and Judaism preach "thou shalt not kill..." But they have been colonizers and who have ruled the world by violence.*

*You know, what bothers me is not the weapon, but the mindset that creates it and uses it. That is why I use the twin phrase "genocidal/suicidal". And here, I feel utterly sorry; I am disturbed that both India and Pakistan have chosen to go nuclear. They are emulating, aping their former colonizers.*

*China too has been an ancient civilisation.*

*Yes, but I would say they have given up much of what Buddha and Confucius taught them.*

**Why do you consider nuclear weapons bad? After all, India and even Pakistan, are reacting to the stockpiles in your part of the world?**

*I understand it is a murderous situation. And I am not blaming any one. Nor am I picking up favorites. The irony is that India thinks that Pakistan will use the nuclear weapon, and Pakistan thinks the same of India. But I know and people of India and Pakistan know that violence does not fit in with either Hindu Dharma, or Islam. Here, I am trying to convince Indians. May be, I will go to Lahore and speak to Gen. Pervez Musharaf.*

**Are you aware that since the partition, the military of India and Pakistan have different approach to government?**

*Yes, I am. And that is why I insist on the generals coming together. Violence is rampant regardless of the society being democratic or otherwise. A government accepts the role of the military and the weapons. A General carries out his act of violence regardless of who is in the government. When military decisions are taken, regardless of who is taking them, we have 'military Chernobyls'.*

**What made you turn to nonviolence?**

*I am for nonviolence because I saw the Korean war as a young subaltern with anti-aircraft artillery. I have seen Koreans, Americans, Russians and Chinese die. Back in Korea years later, I protested when Singhman Rhee's democratic Government was overthrown and a military junta took over. It was in 1973-74 that I was 'awakened to nonviolence. It came in the form of three words: no more killing.' It was not something supernatural realised that I had to pursue this new path and paid my first spiritual visit to India in 1975. I had to reeducate myself.*

**The world has only been more violent since then. What makes you so sure that nonviolence is the answer to the**

***world's problem?***

I see no other way. We have to continue with pursuit of *ahimsa* and it has to be a scientific approach. Then you will not have an army, but a *Shanti Sena*. You say you are a *Defense Correspondent*. Why does not your paper have a peace correspondent? I know I do not have things cut out for me.

In 1986 at Bali, when I told a seminar that Islam was against violence, the Indonesian Muslims told me: "you are crazy. Islam and nonviolence do not go together." But one man who participated, I do not remember whether he supported me or not, was Abdur Rahman Waheed. He is today Indonesian's President. What is true of Islam, according to me, is true of all religions. I belong to all religions, because nonviolence is enshrined in all of them.

***Has not religion been a divisive force?***

Yes, but not the only one. At the root is human greed. I would say not religion, but fundamentalism divides the people.

***You remain not only convinced, but also hopeful of the spirit of nonviolence prevailing in the end?.***

*Of course. The UN is now talking of the next Decade as one of International Decade of Peace and Nonviolence for Children of World. The number of human rights bodies is going up. Nonviolence is not just words. And if you find that the world remains violent, let me show you the other side: 28 countries do not have armies, 47 countries and territories have reaffirmed their conscientious objection to death penalty, 67 countries do not have death penalty. Governments are born and based on violence, then how come they talk of nonviolence? All countries that do not have armies should logically be gobbled up by their mighty neighbors. Why this has not happened?*



**FOCUS ON AHIMSA IN ACTION:**

## **A Nonkilling and Nonviolent society: H.H. Mahaprajna shows the way**

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**S. JAYAPRAGASAM & N. VASUDEVAN**

One of the historic and highly revolutionary steps India has witnessed in recent times is the silent four year old *Ahimsa Padyatra* of H.H Acharya Maha Pragy from Sardarsahar from 4th December 2000. It is significant that his holiness, the head of the Terapanth Jains and venerable scholar cum philosopher has initiated this *Padayatra* to draw the attention of people everywhere to values of ahimsa. The *Acharya* who is on four a year Ahimsa Padayatra is on a whirl-wind and massive programme of mass contact, awareness creation and concretization.

The *Yatra* which began from Sardarsahar on 4th December 2000, has been attracting huge crowds and considerable *attention of the public, reminding one of some of the greatest movements for awareness creation.* The *Acharya* during his *Padayatra* stresses in his dialogues, speeches and discussions with people from various walks of life, the supreme importance of developing new ethos, new dialogue and a readiness to respect diversity through profound understanding of *Anekant*. The lucid and clear analysis that he makes of the contemporary crisis encourages those who listen to him to introspect and sink differences and become agents and tools of genuine ahimsa.

What the *Acharya* has been doing in the first phase of his four-year *Yatra* to four states of India, namely, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and MP, will yield, it is hoped, rich dividends. What he emphasises is the supreme

value of Ahimsa as a personal virtue and a social goal. The enthusiasm he has been able to generate among the various segments of people will definitely lead to substantial change in their attitude. All the organisations and individuals, it is hoped, will realise the supreme importance of what His Holiness has embarked upon and join joyfully in this historic *Ahimsa Yatra* initiated by this *Yugpradhan*.

The Acharya has been creating considerable awareness among those with whom he has been interacting and those who have had the privilege of listening to him or seeing him in action during this historic *Padayatra*. One of the highly significant developments took place on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2003 at Surat in Gujarat when the Acharya met with 15 religious/spiritual leaders representing different religions and areas of public life was the signing of the historic *Surat Declaration* which was presented to the President of India Dr. A.P.J. AbdulKalam. The *Surat Declaration* has the potential to initiate a spiritual revolution of unprecedented magnitude and in its essentials appeared to be a new *Magna Carta* for a non-killing and nonviolent social order.

## **Surat Spiritual Declaration**

### ***Creator's Message***

God has created the human being with brain and thinking faculty. He has commanded His creation to use the faculty with reasoning to reach His image.

This is the mission of human life.

Science is a recent boon God has bestowed upon mankind. Science with reasoning becomes the capital of the society.

Spirituality is a special quality God has given to the human being. The duty of the human being is to discover it and use it for the benefit of all.

In whatever field we work, be it science, technology, medicine, politics, policing, theology, religion or judiciary, we have to remain in the service of the common man whose well being is central to all human knowledge and endeavour.

### ***The present condition***

Even while the above is the main focus of human life we find that our

nation is facing loss of confidence in itself, at various levels. There is lack of tolerance for others' religion, faith and philosophy or viewpoints; there is lack of sensitivity to poverty and inequality. Womanhood is not given its rightful place. There are various social problems like lack of employment opportunities and the resultant rise in crime and other social evils like addition to drugs etc. Thus there are various forms of violence spreading in the country. While science and technology and economic growth would help in solving some of these problems, it is possible to manage these complex forces to the benefit of humanity only when the dimension of spirituality is embedded in human knowledge and efforts.

### ***Dimensions of spirituality***

Every religion has a central component - spirituality driven by compassion and love. Rationality and logic are intrinsic to science and spirituality. A spiritual experience is the goal of deeply religious persons whereas a major discovery or an invention is the goal of a scientific mind. If both the aspects are unified, amalgamated in our own patterns, we can transcend to that level of thinking, in which unity is a cohesive concept. Then the enlightenment of citizenship will take place. For this environment, the two major components - science and spirituality have to interact. A Peace prayer can be foundation for both.

### ***Peace Prayer***

*'Oh Almighty, create thoughts and actions  
in the minds of the people of the nation  
so that they live united.*

*Oh Almighty, bless the people  
to take a path of life with righteousness  
as righteousness gives the strength of character.*

*Help all religious leaders of the country to  
give strength to the people to combat the divisive forces.  
Guide the people to develop an attitude to appreciate  
different viewpoint and ways of lives and transform enmity  
among individuals,*

*organizations and nations into friendliness and harmony.*

*Embed the thought 'Nation is bigger than the Individual'*

*in the minds of the leaders and people.  
O God, bless the people to work with perseverance to  
transform the country into a peaceful and  
prosperous nation."*

### ***Spiritual component of religion***

In our country, certain regions are presently being subjected to tremendous stress due to violence in body and mind. If we study the history of India over 3000 years, we will find that the country has always stood for peace. It worked for peace; it prayed for peace to live in peace. But these days, peace seems to be endangered due to societal dynamics described briefly earlier. So, how does one bring back peace? Paradoxically, the 'I' in us wants peace. Nevertheless, to get peace one has to first get rid of the 'I' and 'me' as per our scriptures. This may be a tough proposition. For in virtually every sentence, every thought we are dictated by 'I' and 'me'. As said, if we remove 'I' and 'me' the ego will vanish. When the ego vanishes, hatred, fades away. When hatred goes away, violence in mind and body will disappear. Therefore, peace comes when you forsake, 'I' and 'Me'. The spiritual goal of every religion is indeed a violence free individual in mind and body and thereby a peaceful society. Removal of poverty is one of the components for realizing peace.

### ***Removal of poverty***

We realise that the 300 million young citizens who are below 20 years of age in India want peace, prosperity, happiness and safety. It is our responsibility as religious and spiritual leaders to carry out this mission of removal of poverty from our people. Fortunately, there is a road map to go to the India 2020 of our national dream. That entails working intensively on five important areas that have been identified. These are agriculture and food processing, education and healthcare, information and communication technology, infrastructure development including networking of rivers and providing urban amenities in rural areas. If the villages prosper, the states prosper; if the states prosper, India can prosper. Such a network of prosperity is extremely important to realise the vision of the nation. Removal of poverty



means addressing several related elements like removal of illiteracy and providing good governance as it is vital to ensure that funds allotted for the poor and the earnings by the poor people are not frittered away in various forms of social evils like corruption. This is where making of an enlightened citizen comes in. This acquires a moral, ethical and spiritual dimension. Therefore another component for prosperity is religious and spiritual partnership. We have considered how this partnership can be developed.

***Religion a beautiful partner in the nation's prosperity***

Religions are like exquisite gardens, places full of surpassing beauty and tranquility, like sacred groves filled with beautiful birds and their melodious songs. Religions are beautiful gardens, but they are islands. They are enchanting islets, veritable oases for the soul and the spirit. But they are islands nevertheless. If we can connect all these islands with love and compassion, in a 'garland project', we will have a peaceful, happy and prosperous India in front of us. Universal truths embodied in each religion are very similar and they will help to form the bridge thus reinforcing basic unity. Another fact of today is that the intellectual gap between the opinion maker class and the masses is rather large. The removal of the gap is best done by spreading knowledge and increasing the knowledge base of every citizen in all vital aspects of their lives. As the number of enlightened citizens increases, the ability to cope with and transform problems also increases. In order to achieve this, in addition to concentrating on education of the youth, there is also need for continual education of adult population and senior citizens on values of lives and about the basic spiritual unity of all religions. Education and intellectual activities are vital. In addition these values have to be reinforced in every citizen through specific projects, which can bring people together, irrespective of their social levels or religious beliefs.



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\*This note is prepared on the basis of the Surat Declaration Documents made available by the Jain Viswabharati Institute, Ladnun. We are grateful to Smt. Sudhamahi Regunathan for her generous guidance in this (editor)

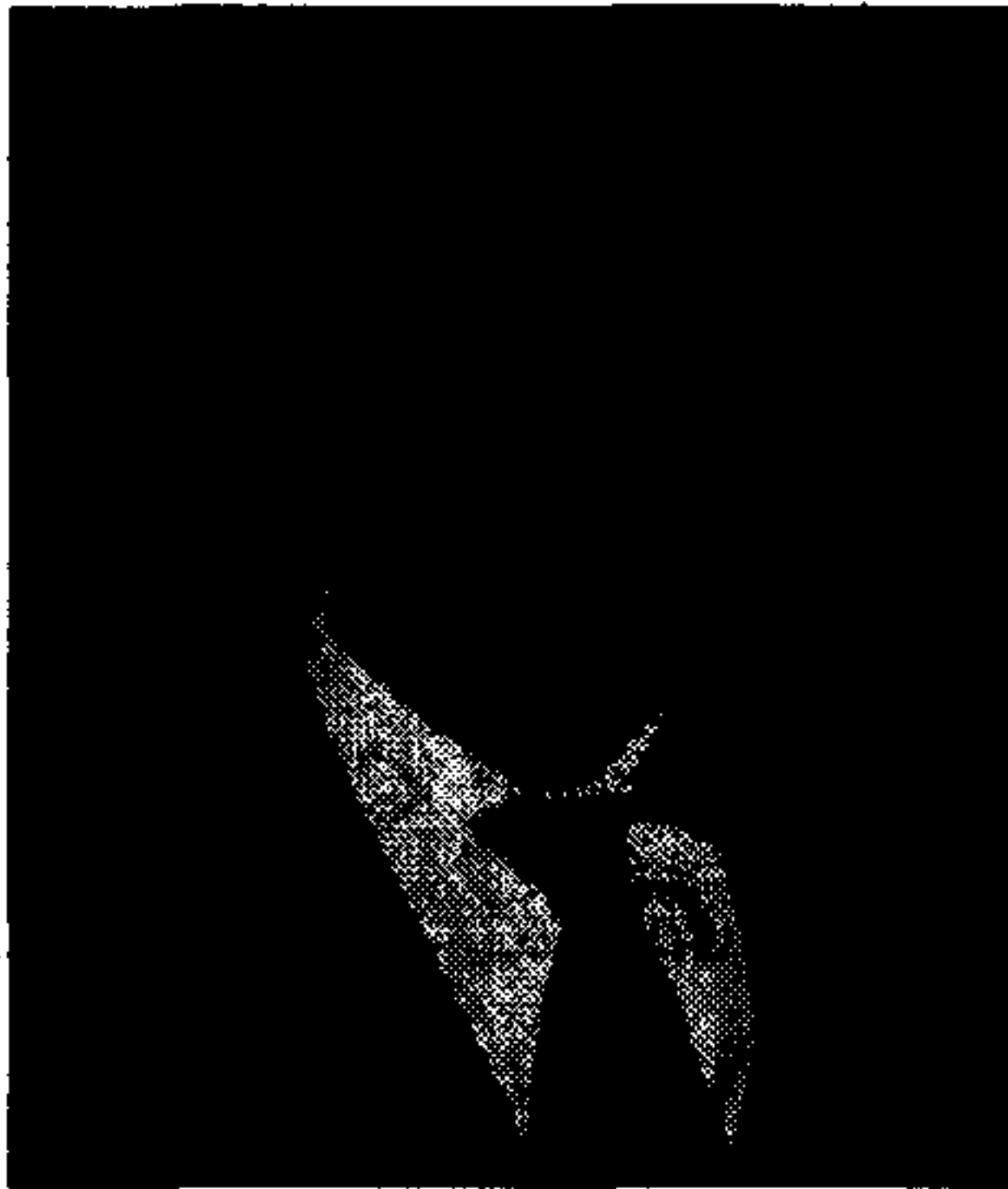
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**PERSONALITY:**

## **Nonviolent Martyr: Governor Guillermo Gaviria of Colombia**

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**RICHARD DEATS**



The killing of Antioquia State Governor Guillermo Gaviria Correa on May 5, 2003, among ten hostages massacred by FARC guerrillas in reaction to a military rescue attempt, deprived Colombia and the world of a major nonviolent political leader.

Guillermo Gaviria Correa was born in Medellín in 1962, eldest son of a family prominent in politics, publishing, and business.

*Governor Guillermo Gaviria* After a decade of innovative public service including stints as Antioquian Secretary of Mines and General Director of the Colombian Roads Institute, he campaigned for “A New Antioquia” in 2000. He was overwhelmingly elected governor by 600,000 of the six million people in Colombia’s most populous state.

Gaviria’s brief but dynamic governorship was profoundly rooted in the principles and practices of nonviolence; he wanted all Antioquians to be educated in nonviolence and trained in the skills of putting it into practice. In office, Gaviria was able to combine the powers of government with those of popular political leadership. He engaged more than 5,000 leaders in a process to clarify Antioquia’s priority problems and to suggest solutions for them. This undertaking produced a Strategic Plan of Action and a Congruent Peace Plan. Personally leading marches and caravans together with First Lady Dr.

Yolanda Pinto de Gaviria, he awakened citizen participation for implementation.

The most dramatic of these actions was the five-day, thousand-person March of Reconciliation and Solidarity to Caicedo, a mountain coffee-growing town eighty-five miles from the capital, Medellín. The March (running from April 17 to 21, 2002) was intended to express solidarity with the FARC-threatened people of Caicedo, who had declared themselves a nonviolent community, and to seek reconciliation with the guerrillas. The Governor had disagreed with Colombian President Andrés Pastrana's February 23 decision to terminate peace talks with the FARC. He ordered the police and the army not to protect the March and not to rescue him or retaliate if he were kidnapped or killed.



## Guillermo Gaviria's Last Letter to his Father

*Mountains of Colombia  
January 2, 2003*

*Dear Father:*

*I remember when I was first thinking about the Caicedo March I would purposely avoid talking to you about it; I knew you would not agree with my plans. During the preparation and promotion process I preferred to maintain discretion and I think you understood my reasons. Despite the fact that you considered my approach to be dangerous and probably useless (as you warned me many times) you respected my decision with deep resignation. But you were right as usual, and I always knew it.*

*Just as you predicted, the results of the march have not been what I so fervently hoped for. I put myself at risk and affected the well-being of our family and loved ones. You were also right in forecasting my inability to continue fulfilling my responsibilities as a governor trying to restore Antioquia, turning into reality everything promised to our*

people. You were right when you predicted the slight chance we had for FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army) to recognize this march as an opportunity for a nonviolent reconciliation. Unfortunately, FARC-EP decided to ignore our call for nonviolence, a call that was slowly but surely starting to rise in Antioquia. They instead chose to take us hostage, taking away our freedom along with the possibility of constructing a good and honest government that would listen to the people's needs.

Despite obvious limitations due to my captivity, I believe that part of my original purpose has been preserved. And not only that: I realize that the philosophy of nonviolence has quickly spread among the inhabitants of Antioquia, exceeding my own expectations.

More often than not, we imagine social transformations will occur in a matter of months when they actually take generations, along with some luck...or lots of luck, I should say! Father, I am conscious that to introduce and promote such a demanding way of understanding our role in society constitutes a challenge that will require the work of a lifetime. I am also aware that there are many people in Colombia, especially among our own "leaders," who believe we are "too violent" to incorporate into our way of thinking Gandhi's, Martin Luther King's, or even Jesus Christ's ideas, which would allow us to modify our methods of dealing with problems, injustices, and violence itself.

Call it stubbornness, but I rather think of it as perseverance: I still believe that sooner than later the Antioquian community, and maybe all of Colombia, will look for the strength that only nonviolence offers.

In the midst of captivity, it comforts me to perceive myself as a contributor in portraying nonviolence as an alternative path that could direct our people to finally recognize the urgent necessity for a change in attitude. It consoles my soul to learn that our kidnapping has at least been an instrument to shake public opinion; it keeps national interest focused on the misfortune of thousands of hostages (particularly victims in the military). They themselves claim, "It seems that FFAA [Armed Forces] and Colombians have never before shown a genuine interest

*in mending the situation that demoralizes the country they so proudly defend."*

*I am conscious that the consequences of my actions affect others besides me. It must be a tough situation for you and Mother, as well as heartbreaking for the rest of the family and my wife, not to mention the kids Mateo and Danny. Perhaps this is the true reason that stopped me from writing to you previously. A devastating feeling of guilt overwhelms my spirit every time I think of how much you must be worrying and suffering because of me. Please, Father, be so kind as to forgive me for not taking you into consideration and for making you undergo such horrifying moments; I think indeed I should ask not just you, but everybody else, to forgive me too.*

*On the other hand, what is then the correct way for a governor in Colombia to lead his people if his beliefs lean toward nonviolence? Should he continuously avoid dangerous situations for the sake of safeguarding his family from pain and suffering? How does he reach a balance between his own safety and the inevitable risks that accompany being a governor in Colombia today? Could he pursue the path to nonviolence without getting himself involved with the various forms of violence that surround every corner of this country? How could he face injustices and attempt to dismantle them and overcome them when he is constantly and mostly worried about his own safety? Is it not that fort, ironically, the one we build around governors in order to protect them, that makes it impossible for them to see the reality in which their people struggle everyday? There are so many questions, yet so few answers, and unfortunately, those answers are not very hopeful for the short run.*

*As time passes, my confidence about the benefits of spreading and promoting nonviolence in Antioquia grows stronger. It is not about using nonviolence as a tool to try to transform FARC-EP attitudes. Before we can aim that high, it is absolutely necessary for the people of Antioquia to familiarize themselves with the concept of nonviolence and to adopt it, to the best of their abilities, as their own. We need*

*nonviolence as a society to overcome our mistakes and transform the cruel reality suffered by so many in Antioquia. Here I have pondered about what kind of message I could offer as a leader. I came to the conclusion that the only message I want and can give is about the transforming power of nonviolence, its tremendous capacity to bring out the best in human beings, even in the worst of circumstances.*

*Let's empower ourselves to begin building consciousness. Let's make a commitment to work for a more just and peaceful country, without the need to resort to the conventional use of brute force. Violence due to ignorance or misconceptions is embedded in many of our traditions and the education system in Colombia. Our average leaders and government officials have commonly portrayed hypocrisy as a strategy for success. It seems to me that today's politics in Colombia have as their motto "the end justifies the means." This scheme is no longer valid or acceptable to me. Yes, we wish for a noble cause. We want to consolidate it and we want a true social transformation to last. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of us governors to be cautious of the means.*

*Our task, if we hope for a new Antioquia, is to open the doors to all the possibilities that nonviolence offers and to incorporate them in the different segments of community life—family, education, relationships among people, communities, and nations—overcoming poverty and inequalities to be able to build a new nation based on human principles. I am a true believer in the potential of nonviolence to transform behaviors and attitudes. This in turn will help us to create new forms of politics and new models for social solutions. I feel that we cannot continue justifying violence as inevitable and accepting it as routine. Nonviolence, as Mario Lopez has stated "...allows us to view human beings as talented creatures not limited in nature; capable of achieving the highest ideals and finding the best solutions." These thoughts almost replicate word by word what I proposed during my campaign for governor. Now is the moment of truth, to prove it to my people by setting an example. That is precisely what I have been doing by means of*

*suffering firsthand the undeserved torture that horrifies all of Colombia's people: kidnapping.*

*In any case, beloved Father, these are some of the explanations I wanted to share with you. Please forgive the melodrama....*

*Being here, in the midst of simplicity and routine, can teach so much to a human being as long as he is willing to learn. Jokingly, we sometimes think of ourselves as graduate students mastering various subjects. One area is tolerance and adaptability to the most ascetic ways of living; another area is nutrition, since we have been able to test how much we can reduce our diets without affecting the good functioning of our bodies. I remember how much you love rice. Here I have learned to value it, and now I consider it a true delicacy. When they give us rice I sometimes do not eat it all; I save it in a little container for the next meal. (I do the same thing with the arepas [traditional pastries], which can last up to a few days this way.) I could do an extended study of the flora and fauna here, but for that I would need a great expert such as Tone. So far what I have been able to enjoy and learn about flora has not been much; I have not even seen that many orchids around yet. In this way I could go on and on with an infinite number of small areas of study. Thus I do not feel I am totally wasting my time here. I also teach English to the officers and noncommissioned officers. With some difficulty, but with the dictionary's help, I am trying to improve my orthography (I am sure you notice how far from success I remain).*

*Beloved Father, it would be a great joy for me to hear your voice again or at least receive some news from you. There are a few radio broadcasts (La Carrilera at 5 am-RCN and Las Voces del Secuestro-Caracol), that receive written messages (fax or e-mail) and broadcast them for hostages to listen to. I do not expect you to do it often, but it would certainly make me very happy to listen to you from time to time. If you believe it would not be appropriate I will surely understand. In that case, Yolanda could forward some information about the latest developments in your battles....*

*The FARC-EP has a much slower pace in dealing with things than we citizens and governors are used to. It is likely that our captivity could lengthen further, and I do not wish you to feel frustrated. So it is better to be prepared in advance for an even longer separation and for the possibility of losing the communication privileges that Gilberto and I have been enjoying up until now, even though there is no particular reason to make me think that a complication could occur in the near future.*

*Whatever the case may be, dear Father, what I wanted to express with this letter is that everything I have accomplished so far was purposed in accordance with the teachings I received from you and Mother; all the mistakes are mine. I love you and think of you every day. I miss you greatly; you have no idea how much it hurts me to realize the pain I have caused you. I hope you understand after reading this letter that I am fine. I want you to know that I will overcome absolutely anything necessary just to embrace you once again.*

*With warmest regards from your son who loves and remembers you always,*

**Guillermo**

[This letter was published in full as an editorial in El Mundo (Medellín, Colombia), May 11, 2003. Translation by Tatiana Maurin, Center for Global Nonviolence, Honolulu, Hawai'i ([www.globalnonviolence.org](http://www.globalnonviolence.org)). Glenn D. Paige is the author of Nonkilling Global Political Science (Xlibris 2002, available from FOR) and president of the Center for Global Nonviolence. For more on Gaviria's nonviolence see <http://www.colombianoviolencia.gov.co>.]

