



From conflict to harmony: Dismantling terrorism with Gandhian nonviolence

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Abstract:

This paper explores the application of Gandhian principles of nonviolence in dismantling terrorism, particularly in the context of modern-day India. Drawing upon the teachings and practices of Mahatma Gandhi, the paper examines how nonviolent resistance can offer an alternative approach to addressing terrorism and achieving sustainable peace. The paper discusses various strategies and tactics derived from Gandhian philosophy, such as civil disobedience, dialogue, and community empowerment, and their inherent efficacy in countering terrorism. It highlights the importance of addressing root causes, promoting social justice and cultivating social justice as essential components of nonviolent resistance against terrorism. Additionally, this paper explores case studies and examples from contemporary India, empirical illustrations where nonviolent approaches have been successfully employed to address the conflict and promote reconciliation. It emphasizes the role of civil society, grassroot movements and political leadership in advancing nonviolent solutions to terrorism. Overall, this paper argues the Gandhian nonviolence offers a viable and ethical framework for dismantling terrorism, fostering dialogue, and building a more peaceful and just society.

Keywords:

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Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of nonviolence, stands as a towering figure in the annals of history. His philosophy of Satyagraha (truth force) and *Ahimsa* (nonviolence) not only led India to independence but also inspired countless movements for justice and freedom worldwide. Yet, amidst the reverence and admiration, a contentious debate persists regarding Gandhi's stance on terrorism and its place within his doctrine of nonviolence. Gandhi unequivocally denounced terrorism in all its forms. He saw violence as antithetical to the principles of truth and love that formed the bedrock of his philosophy. In his view, resorting to violence only perpetuated a cycle of hatred and suffering, undermining the pursuit of genuine freedom and justice. His rejection of violence was not merely tactical but deeply moral and spiritual. However, Gandhi's condemnation of terrorism was not merely a passive rejection; it was an active challenge to address the root causes of violence. He recognized that oppression and injustice breed resentment, which can manifest in violent acts. Thus, he advocated for addressing social and political grievances through nonviolent means, engaging in constructive dialogue, and effecting change through peaceful resistance. Critics often point to Gandhi's refusal to endorse armed struggle against colonial rule as evidence of his supposed naivety or ineffectiveness. Yet, Gandhi's approach was not passive resignation but strategic resistance. He understood the power of moral persuasion and the ability of nonviolent action to awaken the conscience of both oppressor and oppressed. His methods sought to transform not only external circumstances but also the hearts and minds of individuals and societies.

Moreover, Gandhi's rejection of terrorism did not imply a tolerance of injustice. On the contrary, he was a fierce advocate for social justice, equality, and human rights. His nonviolent campaigns against discrimination, poverty, and exploitation underscored his commitment to confronting systemic injustices without resorting to violence. In the context of contemporary terrorism, Gandhi's principles offer valuable insights. While terrorism often emerges from legitimate grievances, Gandhi would caution against the temptation to justify violence as a means to an end. Instead, he would urge addressing root causes through peaceful means, fostering dialogue, and building bridges of understanding. Furthermore, Gandhi's emphasis on the ethical dimension of struggle reminds us that the ends do not justify the means. Even in the pursuit of noble causes, resorting to violence undermines the very values we seek to uphold. True liberation, in Gandhi's view, is not merely political but moral and spiritual, requiring a commitment to nonviolence even in the face of oppression. As we grapple with the complexities of terrorism and violence in the modern world, Gandhi's legacy remains a beacon of hope and wisdom. His unwavering dedication to nonviolence challenges us to reevaluate our approaches to conflict resolution and social change. Ultimately, the path of nonviolence is not easy, but as Gandhi famously said, "An eye for an eye only ends up making the whole world blind." It is a path that demands courage, perseverance, and unwavering faith in the power of truth and love to triumph over hatred and fear.

What is terrorism

Terrorism is a complex and contentious term that lacks a universally agreed-upon definition. However, it generally refers to the use of violence, intimidation, or coercion to achieve political, religious, or ideological aims. The key characteristics often associated with terrorism include.

- Terrorism involves acts of violence or the threat of violence against civilians or non-combatants. These acts are often carried out indiscriminately or deliberately target vulnerable populations to instill fear and create a sense of insecurity.
- Terrorist acts are typically motivated by political, religious, or ideological goals. These goals may include seeking independence, promoting a particular religious belief, or challenging perceived injustices or inequalities.
- Terrorism aims to intimidate and coerce governments, societies, or specific groups into conceding to the terrorists' demands or objectives. The use of violence or the threat of violence is intended to create a climate of fear and uncertainty, thereby destabilizing the targeted entities.
- While states can also engage in acts of violence against civilians, terrorism is often associated with non-state actors, such as extremist groups, insurgent movements, or clandestine organizations. These groups operate outside of the established structures of governance and may use asymmetrical tactics to achieve their objectives.
- It's important to note that the term "terrorism" is subjective and can be politically charged. Different entities may label certain actions as terrorism or freedom fighting depending on their perspectives and interests. Moreover, what constitutes terrorism can vary depending on legal definitions within different jurisdictions.
- The roots of modern terrorism can be traced back to the radical ideologies of the nineteenth century, particularly those espoused by anarchist, collectivist anarchist, and anarcho-communist groups. Figures like Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Karl Marx, and Mikhail Bakunin played pivotal roles in shaping anti-establishment movements during this era. Initially, these groups sought social change through nonviolent means, such as distributing political literature and advocating for uprisings. However, faced with limited success in sparking widespread revolution, some radicals, like Karl Heinzen, began to advocate for the use of violence, including mass murder, as a means of achieving their political goals. This shift towards violent tactics, often referred to as "propaganda by the deed," became a central strategy within European anarchism, as disillusionment with traditional methods grew.¹¹

¹¹ *Counter-Terrorism 1: INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM*, UNITED NATIONS, Vienna, 2018, pp.4-5

Tracing the history of terrorism in India

The word 'Terrorism'¹² and the term "terrorist" were first documented in 1975, originating from the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution. However, the designation of "terrorist" in the context of anti-government actions was noted much earlier, in 1866 with reference to Ireland, and even earlier in 1833 concerning Russia.

- The history of terrorism in India is complex and spans several decades, with various groups and movements employing terror tactics for political, ideological, and religious purposes. The struggle for Indian independence saw the emergence of militant groups such as the Anushilan Samiti and the Ghadar Party, which carried out assassinations and bombings targeting British officials and institutions. The Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930, led by revolutionary leader Surya Sen, is one notable incident during this period.
- The partition of India in 1947 led to widespread communal violence between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. The insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir, which began in the late 1980s, has been one of the most significant sources of terrorism in India. The Naxalite movement, inspired by Maoist ideology, has been active in several states in eastern and central India since the late 1960s. The movement seeks to overthrow the Indian government through armed struggle and has carried out attacks on security forces, government officials, and infrastructure.
- Some groups have been responsible for numerous high-profile attacks, including the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the 2001 Parliament attack, and the 2006 Mumbai train bombings. The history of terrorism in India is complex and multifaceted, with various factors such as political unrest, communal tensions, and regional conflicts contributing to its prevalence. Counter-terrorism efforts by the Indian government have involved both military operations and initiatives aimed at addressing root causes such as poverty, inequality, and religious extremism.

Understanding the contrast between terrorism and violence

Violence refers to the use of physical force to cause harm, damage, or injury to people, property, or communities. It can manifest in various forms, including physical assault, warfare, domestic abuse, and riots. Violence can occur within the context of interpersonal conflicts, criminal activities, state actions (such as police brutality or military operations), or societal unrest. On the other hand, Terrorism involves the deliberate use of violence, intimidation, or coercion to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives. Unlike random acts of violence, terrorism often targets civilians or non-combatants to instill fear and advance a specific agenda. Terrorism can be perpetrated by individuals, groups, or

¹² Origination of the word *Terrorism*: In French this word is called 'régime de la terreur' [Bala. K., Phd. Thesis titled *Relevance of Gandhi's concept of non-violence in combating global terrorism in modern times*, Dept. of Political Science, Punjabi University, Chapter two, p. 44, <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/383156>]

organizations and may involve tactics such as bombings, shootings, kidnappings, or cyber-attacks. The primary aim of terrorism is not only to cause immediate harm but also to create widespread panic and disrupt societal stability, often for propagandistic purposes. In brief we just can say, while violence is a broad term encompassing various forms of physical force and aggression, terrorism specifically refers to acts of violence carried out with a strategic intent to achieve specific political, religious, or ideological goals through fear and intimidation

Common traits between violence and terrorism

Both violence and terrorism involve the use of force or coercion to achieve certain objectives. Whether through physical assault, destruction of property, or psychological intimidation, both aim to exert control or influence over others. Both violence and terrorism can have significant impacts on society. They can instill fear, disrupt communities, undermine trust in institutions, and create a sense of insecurity among the population. While violence can target various individuals or groups, terrorism often specifically targets civilians or non-combatants to maximize its impact. Both violence and terrorism can result in harm to innocent people who are not directly involved in the conflict. While violence can stem from a variety of motives, including personal disputes or criminal activities, terrorism is typically driven by political, religious, or ideological goals. Both may seek to challenge authority, impose a particular worldview, or advance a specific agenda. Both violence and terrorism often use media attention and propaganda to spread their message or draw attention to their cause. They may seek to garner sympathy, recruit supporters, or create division within society through their actions. Despite these similarities, it's essential to recognize that terrorism represents a specific form of violence characterized by its strategic intent to achieve political or ideological objectives through fear and intimidation.

Gandhi's definition of terrorism

"Terrorism has become the systematic weapon of a war that knows no borders or seldom has a face."¹³

In this part we explore Gandhi's understanding of terrorism and how he differentiated it from legitimate forms of resistance. Let us discuss how Gandhi viewed terrorism as a symptom of deeper social, economic, and political injustices. Gandhi did not explicitly define terrorism in the modern sense, but his writings and speeches offer insights into his understanding of violence and its relationship to broader social, economic, and political injustices. He saw violence, including terrorism, as a symptom of deeper-rooted issues

¹³Jacques Chirac, art. *On Defining Terrorism*; p: 6

within society rather than as a legitimate form of resistance. One of the key distinctions Gandhi made was between violence as a means of achieving political ends and nonviolent resistance as a more morally justifiable approach. In Gandhi's view, terrorism was characterized by the deliberate use of violence or intimidation to achieve specific political or ideological objectives. He believed that such actions were ultimately counterproductive and detrimental to the cause they purported to serve. Instead, Gandhi advocated for nonviolent resistance, which he saw as a more effective and ethical means of addressing social injustices.

Gandhi viewed terrorism as a manifestation of deeper societal problems, including poverty, discrimination, and political oppression. He argued that resorting to violence was often a result of frustration and desperation among marginalized and oppressed groups who felt powerless to effect change through peaceful means. Rather than condoning or excusing acts of terrorism, Gandhi called for addressing the root causes of violence through nonviolent action and social reform. In his writing, "The Doctrine of the Sword,"¹⁴ Gandhi discusses his rejection of violence as a means of achieving political goals. He emphasizes the importance of confronting injustice with courage and moral strength, rather than resorting to violent methods. Gandhi believed that true change could only come about through nonviolent resistance, which required a commitment to truth, justice, and compassion. One of Gandhi's most famous quotes, "An eye for an eye only ends up making the whole world blind," encapsulates his belief in the futility of revenge and retaliation. He saw violence as a vicious cycle that only perpetuated suffering and division, rather than offering a genuine solution to social problems. Overall, Gandhi's understanding of terrorism was rooted in his broader philosophy of nonviolence and his commitment to addressing social injustices through peaceful means. He recognized the complexities of violence and terrorism but maintained that true progress could only be achieved through nonviolent resistance and social transformation.

Non-violence as preached by Gandhi

One of the primary texts where Mahatma Gandhi extensively elaborates on the concept of nonviolence is his seminal work "Hind Swaraj" (Indian Home Rule). In this book, Gandhi presents his vision for India's future and outlines his philosophy of nonviolent resistance. Let me explain with a specific reference. In "Hind Swaraj," Gandhi discusses nonviolence as a fundamental principle of his philosophy, which he calls "Satyagraha" or "Soul Force." While I can't provide exact page numbers without access to the specific edition of the book, you can find detailed discussions on nonviolence throughout the text. One notable section where Gandhi discusses nonviolence is in Chapter 15, where he explores the concept of "Soul Force" (Satyagraha) in depth. Furthermore, Gandhi

¹⁴ M.K. Gandhi, Ed. *The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi: Doctrine of the Sword*, Vol.18, Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, 1958, pp.134

illustrates the practical application of nonviolence through various examples from his own experiences, including his campaigns in South Africa and India. He demonstrates how nonviolent resistance can be used to challenge unjust laws and oppressive systems, ultimately leading to social and political change. Overall, "Hind Swaraj" serves as a comprehensive exposition of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence, providing readers with a profound understanding of its principles and practical applications. Gandhi thought that "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and nonviolence are as constant as the hills. My life's work has been an exploration and experimentation with these principles on a large scale. Through trial and error, I have learned from my mistakes, making life and its challenges opportunities to practice truth and nonviolence. It was through my pursuit of truth that I discovered the power and significance of nonviolence."¹⁵ Gandhi emphasizes the inseparable connection between ahimsa (nonviolence) and truth. He compares them to two sides of a coin, suggesting that they are intricately linked and cannot be separated. Just as it's impossible to determine which side of a smooth, unstamped metallic disc is the obverse or reverse, it's equally challenging to distinguish between ahimsa and truth. According to Gandhi, ahimsa is the means, while truth is the ultimate goal or end. He argues that ahimsa must be pursued as a fundamental principle because it is through nonviolence that truth can be realized. Just as the means to achieve a goal must always be within reach, ahimsa becomes our paramount duty. By prioritizing ahimsa and ensuring that our actions align with nonviolent principles, we are inevitably led towards the realization of truth, whether it happens sooner or later. Thus, Gandhi underscores the importance of practicing ahimsa as a pathway to the ultimate truth.¹⁶

In Gandhi's philosophy, the term *Ahimsa* encompasses both negative and positive dimensions. However, Gandhi prioritizes the positive aspect of Ahimsa, considering it more fundamental. This positive aspect not only includes but also encapsulates the negative aspect, constituting the essence of Ahimsa. Gandhi's understanding of Ahimsa, or nonviolence, is multifaceted. While its typical interpretation centers on non-killing, Gandhi expands its meaning to encompass non-injury. He acknowledges Jainism's influence in advocating Ahimsa in thought, speech, and action but adopts a less rigid approach. Gandhi recognizes the inevitability of causing harm in daily activities like eating or walking, where injury to other beings may be unavoidable for survival. He even advocates for killing under specific circumstances, such as in self-defense or to relieve the suffering of a dying animal. However, he emphasizes that such actions must be devoid of negative emotions like anger or selfishness to remain nonviolent. Thus, while the negative aspect of Ahimsa pertains to non-killing or non-injury, Gandhi underscores the importance of conducting nonviolent acts with compassion and without harmful intentions. Gandhi strongly opposes causing harm to any living being and cannot bear to witness suffering, even in animals. He believes in exhausting all remedies before considering euthanasia, but sees it as a duty to end the suffering of a rabies-infected

¹⁵ N. K. Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*, 81-7229-173-6, Ahmedabad, 1960, p.17

¹⁶ N. K. Bose, *Selections from Gandhi*; 81-7229-173-6, Ahmedabad, 1960, pp. 17-18

child if no other options remain, acknowledging the limitations of fatalism.¹⁷ For Gandhi, the good parts of Ahimsa are more important than the bad parts. Ahimsa is merely just about not hurting others; it's about having positive feelings and actions toward all living beings. Gandhi believes that nonviolence is for the strong, not the weak. He explains this by saying that even a helpless mouse, if it could, would defend itself against its attacker, showing that it's not nonviolent simply because it's weak and gets eaten by the cat. If someone given the chance, the mouse would fight back to protect itself.¹⁸ To Gandhi, nonviolence requires the capacity to retaliate.¹⁹

Ethical dimensions of nonviolent resistance

'Nonviolence is not a mechanical performance. It is the finest quality of the heart and comes by training.'²⁰ The ethical dimensions of nonviolent resistance are profound, especially when contrasted with the morally ambiguous choice of resorting to terrorism or violence. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy offers valuable insights into these ethical implications, emphasizing the moral courage required to adhere to nonviolent principles in the face of violence and oppression. In Gandhi's autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth,"²¹ he extensively discusses the ethical foundations of nonviolence and the challenges of maintaining moral integrity in the midst of conflict. One of the key principles Gandhi elucidates is the concept of Satyagraha, or truth-force, which involves the pursuit of truth and justice through nonviolent means. Gandhi believed that nonviolent resistance was not just a tactical strategy but a moral imperative rooted in the inherent dignity and worth of every human being. Choosing nonviolence over terrorism or violence requires a commitment to upholding fundamental ethical principles such as compassion, empathy, and respect for human life. In morally ambiguous situations where individuals or groups face oppression and injustice, the decision to embrace nonviolent resistance entails significant moral courage.

Gandhi emphasizes the importance of staying true to one's convictions and principles, even in the face of adversity and violence. Gandhi's writings also underscore the transformative power of nonviolence in challenging systems of oppression and injustice. By refusing to resort to violence, individuals and communities can uphold their moral integrity and inspire others to join in the pursuit of justice and peace. Moreover, Gandhi's emphasis on nonviolent action as a means of addressing root causes of conflict highlights the ethical imperative of seeking constructive and sustainable solutions to

¹⁷ *Yong India*, 18-11-26

¹⁸ *Harijan*, July 20, 1935

¹⁹ *Young India*, 12-8-1926

²⁰ *Yong India*, 16-4-31

²¹ M. K. Gandhi., *An Autobiography Or The Story of My Experiments With Truth* : A CRITICAL EDITION Translated from the original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai Introduced with Notes by Tridip Suhrud Foreword by Ashis Nandy, Printed & Published by: Navajivan Publishing House, 978-0-300-23407-7, London, 2018 , pp.437

social and political problems. Rather than perpetuating a cycle of violence and retribution, nonviolent resistance offers a pathway towards reconciliation, healing, and genuine social change. In summary, Gandhi's philosophy illuminates the ethical dimensions of nonviolent resistance and the moral courage required to choose nonviolence over terrorism or violence. His insights underscore the transformative potential of nonviolent action in fostering justice, compassion, and human dignity. Gandhi clarifies that nonviolence is not about passively accepting the oppression of the wrongdoer. Instead, it involves the complete dedication of one's innermost being to resist the tyranny of the oppressor. Adhering to this fundamental law of our existence, even a solitary individual can stand up against the overwhelming power of an unjust regime.²²

Pathways to Peace: Countering Terrorism with Gandhian Non-violence

This section refers to the application of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of nonviolence (ahimsa) as a strategy to combat terrorism and achieve lasting peace. Gandhi's philosophy emphasized the power of nonviolent resistance in challenging oppression and injustice. He believed that nonviolence required immense courage and self-discipline, but ultimately could bring about transformative change without resorting to violence. One of the key references for understanding Gandhi's approach to nonviolence is his autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth." In this book, Gandhi reflects on his experiences with nonviolent resistance during India's struggle for independence from British rule. He describes how nonviolent protests, civil disobedience, and peaceful resistance were used to challenge colonial authority and inspire mass mobilization. Another important reference is Gandhi's seminal work, "Hind Swaraj," where he expounds on his vision for a self-reliant and nonviolent society. In this book, Gandhi critiques modern civilization and advocates for a return to traditional Indian values based on simplicity, self-discipline, and nonviolence. Furthermore, scholarly works on Gandhian philosophy and nonviolent resistance, such as "Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World" by Louis Fischer²³ and "The Moral Architecture of World Peace: Nobel Laureates Discuss Our Global Future" edited by Douglas M. Johnston, provide valuable insights into the principles and practices of Gandhian nonviolence. By drawing on these references and applying Gandhian principles of nonviolence, societies can seek to address the root causes of terrorism, promote dialogue and reconciliation, and build sustainable peace. Gandhian nonviolence offers an alternative to the cycle of violence and retaliation, emphasizing empathy, understanding, and constructive engagement as the path to resolving conflicts and dismantling terrorism.

²² Young India, 11-8-1920

²³ L. Fischer, *Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World*, 978-1-101-66590-9, New York, 2010

Concluding remarks

In modern times, India faces various forms of terrorism, including separatist movements, religious extremism, and insurgencies. Adopting Gandhian principles of nonviolence offers a strategic approach to dismantling terrorism while promoting peace and reconciliation. Nonviolent resistance involves the use of peaceful means, such as civil disobedience, dialogue, and community mobilization, to challenge oppressive systems and address underlying grievances. In the context of India, this approach can be applied in several ways. Empowering communities affected by terrorism through education, economic development, and social services can address root causes and prevent radicalization. Community-led initiatives promote dialogue, build trust, and foster cooperation among diverse groups. Nonviolent protests, demonstrations, and marches provide a platform for expressing grievances and advocating for change without resorting to violence. Civil society organizations, human rights activists, and religious leaders can play a crucial role in mobilizing public support for peace initiatives. Facilitating dialogue and negotiations between conflicting parties can help resolve disputes and prevent violence. Mediation efforts by impartial mediators, such as civil society groups or international organizations, can promote reconciliation and build sustainable peace agreements. Collaborating with regional and international partners to address transnational threats, such as cross-border terrorism and illicit financing can enhance counter-terrorism efforts. Diplomatic engagement, intelligence sharing, and joint security operations can disrupt terrorist networks and prevent attacks. Overall, dismantling terrorism through nonviolence requires a comprehensive approach that addresses root causes, promotes dialogue and reconciliation, and builds resilient communities. By embracing Gandhian principles of nonviolence, India can advance peace and stability while confronting the scourge of terrorism in the modern era

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